

EXTRAPOSITION AND
PRONOMINAL AGREEMENT
IN SEMITIC LANGUAGES

By

GEOFFREY ALLAN KHAN

Submitted for the degree of PhD at the
School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London.

ProQuest Number: 10673220

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10673220

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

A B S T R A C T

This thesis is a study of extraposition and pronominal agreement in Semitic languages.

By the term 'extraposition' I understand the syntactic construction in which a noun or nominal phrase stands isolated at the front of the clause without any formal connection to the predication. The grammatical relation of the nominal is usually indicated vicariously by means of a co-referential resumptive pronoun, e.g. (Arabic) Zaydun 'abū-hu tājirun "Zayd - his father is a merchant".

'Pronominal agreement' is a construction where a noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an adjoining relational particle is accompanied in the same clause by a co-referential pronoun agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation, e.g. (Syriac) lə-malkā qatl-eh "The king - he killed him".

Each chapter constitutes an independent study of extraposition and pronominal agreement in a separate Semitic language. These languages include Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, Akkadian, and Amharic. A single chapter is also devoted to the two Aramaic dialects Biblical Aramaic and Syriac.

Both the structure and the function of the constructions are examined. The study of the structure consists of a taxonomy of the various structural types which are attested in the language. The function of the constructions is elucidated by examining their rôle within the discourse in which they occur.

These independent studies are followed by a concluding synthesis which explores the possibilities of Semitic comparative syntax.

C O N T E N T S

Preface	p. 4
Introduction	p. 5
Chapter 1. ARABIC	p. 33
Chapter 2. BIBLICAL HEBREW	p. 131
Chapter 3. ARAMAIC:	
Chapter 3a. BIBLICAL ARAMAIC	p. 191
Chapter 3b. SYRIAC	p. 215
Chapter 4. AKKADIAN	p. 254
Chapter 5. AMHARIC	p. 338
Comparative Semitic Syntax	p. 378
Bibliography	p. 396

P R E F A C E

The transliteration systems which have been adopted are self-explanatory and there is no need to provide an inventory of their symbols. Morpheme boundaries within a single word unit, such as those between a prefixed definite article and a noun or between a noun or verb and a suffixed pronoun, are not indicated by a hyphen. In Arabic, final long vowels are transcribed as short when they are followed by a word beginning with a cluster of two consonants, e.g. fi lbayti. Cuneiform logograms are transcribed with their Akkadian values, unless these are unknown, in which case they are transcribed with their Sumerian reading.

Occasionally recourse is had to referential indices to indicate the co-referentiality of two elements in a clause, e.g. John_i broke his_i arm where John = his; John_i broke his_j arm where John ≠ his.

Translations are kept as literal as possible so that the reader can see clearly how I am interpreting the syntax. In order to save space the chapters on Biblical Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic make frequent reference to passages in the Old Testament without reproducing these in the text.

I should like to express my deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. A. K. Irvine, and to Professor J. Wansbrough for devoting many hours of their precious time to reading and discussing the preliminary draft of the thesis. I am indebted also to Professor E. Ullendorff for guiding me in the early stages. I also wish to thank Dr. O. Wright, Miss J. Firbank, Mr. D. Hawkins, Dr. D. Appleyard, Dr. M. Weitzman, Dr. M. Geller, Professor G. Goldenberg, and Professor J. Blau for giving me many helpful comments on some of my ideas. Finally, words are unable to convey my gratitude to my wife, Colette, who typed the thesis and without whose constant positiveness and encouragement I should never have completed it.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

This thesis is a study of extraposition and pronominal agreement in Semitic languages.

By the term 'extraposition' I understand the syntactic construction in which a noun or nominal phrase stands isolated at the front of a clause without any immediate formal connection to the predication. The initial 'extraposed' nominal is not adjoined to any relational particle such as a preposition or an object marker and in those languages which have case inflection it is generally in the nominative. The grammatical relation of the nominal in the predication is usually indicated vicariously by means of a co-referential resumptive pronoun, e.g.:- (Arabic)

zaydun ḡarabtu-hu "Zayd - I hit him".

zaydun abū-hu tājirun "Zayd - his father is a merchant".¹

There are a few examples attested of extrapositional constructions in which the extraposed nominal stands at the end rather than at the front of the clause, e.g.:- (Arabic) 'iḡā hiya ṣākiṣatun 'abṣāru llaḡīna kafarū ("Behold they are looking upwards - the eyes of those who disbelieve". Q21/97). Since, however, such constructions occur only very rarely in Semitic languages they have been largely excluded from consideration.

'Pronominal agreement' is a construction where a noun or nominal phrase whose grammatical relation is indicated by its case inflection or by an adjoining relational particle is accompanied in the same clause by a co-referential pronoun agreeing with it in number, gender, person, and grammatical relation.

Unlike extraposed nominals, nominals which are accompanied by such 'agreement pronouns' are not restricted to initial position but may occur anywhere in the clause - the front, the interior, or the end. Agreement pronouns, therefore, may be either resumptive or anticipatory, e.g.:- (Syriac)

lə-malkā qaṭl-eh	"The king _i he _j killed him _i "
qaṭl-eh lə-malkā	"He _j killed him _i the king _i

Pronominal agreement constructions in which the 'agreed with' nominal occurs at the front of the clause are closely allied to extraposition.² Many Semitists treat extraposition and pronominal agreement with a clause initial nominal as variants of the same basic construction.³ Such a classification is valid if the criterion of the taxonomy is function, since in many cases these two construction types are functionally equivalent.⁴

In this thesis, however, the two constructions are kept distinct and designated with different terms. The justification for this is as follows:- Two basic features of my methodology are (a) that a clear dichotomy is drawn between the structure of a syntactic construction on the one hand and its function on the other, and (b) that structure is the starting point of the analysis, i.e. my aim is to seek the function which is performed by a given structure rather

than the structure which performs a given function. This last methodological point is not trivial since the relation between structure and function in language is usually not one to one but rather many to many (cf. Green 1980). Consequently, in order for the field of inquiry to be well circumscribed one must start with a single structure (or a group of closely related structures) and seek its several, and often very diverse, functions or else start with a single delimited function and seek its various exponent structures. I have decided to make a group of closely related syntactic structures my departure point. The reason for this is simply that the existence of the structures in question has been widely recognised by Semitic philologists but their functions have remained poorly understood. It follows that the syntactic constructions which I wish to make my starting point must at the outset be classified qua structure and labelled according to this structural classification. Clauses such as (Syriac) le-malkā qaṭl-eh and qaṭl-eh le-malkā are therefore regarded as variants of a single basic structure (Pronominal Agreement) which is distinct from, though closely related to, the structure of extraposition.

The crucial point of differentiation is that in pronominal agreement the nominal stands immediately inside the predication whereas in extraposition the nominal is structurally isolated from the predication and is integrated within it vicariously by the co-referential pronoun. The fact that the two Syriac clause types given above may have different functions or that the first may be functionally equivalent with extrapositional clauses has no bearing on the choice of terms with which these structures are designated.

The thesis consists of five chapters, each one of which is devoted to a separate Semitic language. The chapters constitute a series of independent studies of Extraposition (henceforth Ex) and Pronominal Agreement (henceforth PA) in each language with the minimum of cross-linguistic comparisons. These independent studies are followed by a concluding synthesis that explores ways in which comparative Semitic syntax can be undertaken and the results it can yield. For the most part the synthesis is based on the data which have been presented in the preceding chapters. In some cases, however, reference is made to Semitic languages which have not been dealt with.

Three criteria were taken into account when deciding which languages to select for detailed treatment. Firstly the selection had to be representative of the entire Semitic language area. Secondly it was essential for the selected language to have an extensive indigenous literature, since, as is argued below, syntactic constructions can only be fully understood by studying numerous instances of them within the context of the discourse in which they occur. Finally the bulk of the linguistic analysis was to be based on free prose texts with only marginal consideration of poetry.

Excluded by these criteria were languages such as Epigraphic South Arabian and Old Aramaic, which are attested for the most part in stereotyped and often incomplete monumental texts. Ugaritic was also considered unsuitable since the majority of the unbroken texts of any length which have survived are poetic.

The following are the languages which were selected:- (overpage)

1. ARABIC.

Most of the material is taken from Classical Arabic. Where appropriate this is arranged according to a three-way classification, viz. standard prose, Qur'ān, and poetry. Texts belonging to the last two categories display distinctive syntactic features which set them off from the first. Also included are examples from Mediaeval Middle Arabic (mainly Judaeo-Arabic), since the syntax of this layer of Arabic sometimes deviates from that of the Classical language in ways which are relevant for this study.

2. BIBLICAL HEBREW.

The Hebrew of the Old Testament is treated as a linguistic unity. In general there is no attempt to trace historical development or to distinguish the various sources, except in the case of the syntax of the Pentateuchal law formulae. Most of the material on these latter constructions is presented in an appendix at the end of the chapter. The appendix also includes a brief study of Ex in the Qumran law code serek hayyahad and in the halakic portions of the Mishna.

3. BIBLICAL ARAMAIC AND SYRIAC.

Since these are dialects of the same language they are treated in two sub-divisions of the same chapter.

4. AKKADIAN.

Most of the linguistic data are taken from Old Babylonian texts or later texts which are written in Standard Babylonian. Several

examples are also adduced from Mari texts which, although evincing certain linguistic particularities, do not deviate significantly from Old Babylonian with regard to Ex or PA. Occasionally reference is made to the later local dialects when these differ from the standard language in a relevant manner, e.g. Middle Babylonian/Assyrian, Neo-Babylonian/Assyrian, and Late Babylonian (Spätbabylonische).

5. AMHARIC.

This language was chosen as a representative of Ethiopian Semitic in preference to the classical Ge^cez. Ge^cez texts are generally unsuitable for syntactic analysis since the majority of them are translations from Greek, Coptic, Arabic or Aramaic and there is no certainty that their syntax has not been influenced by the language of the non-Ethiopian Vorlage.

PREVIOUS LITERATURE.

Most of the standard grammars of the Semitic languages with which we are concerned devote sections to Ex and PA. PA with a clause initial nominal, however, is sometimes classified as Ex (see above). All such works arrange the Ex and PA constructions in a taxonomy of their various structural types with little regard to their function. This applies to the following:-

ARABIC.

Ewald (Gram. Ling. Ar. paras. 667, 672); Wright (Ar. Gram. II, p.256); Reckendorf (S.V. pp.782-808; A.S. pp.366-376, 540-544); Blau (Diqdūq, pp.202-207; ChA pp.470-486).

BIBLICAL HEBREW.

Ewald (Ausführ. Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprach. p.675); Gesenius-Kautzsch (Heb. Gram. pp.457-8); König (Lehrgeb. des Heb. Schlusstheil pp.438-439, 441-446); Lambert (Traité de Gram. Heb. pp.438-441).
Jouon (Gram. Heb. Bib. pp.477-478).

BIBLICAL ARAMAIC.

Kautzsch (Gram. p.162); Bauer-Leander (Gram. pp. 345-347, 342, 269-270).

SYRIAC.

Nöldeke (Gram. pp.250-251, 163, 227-230); Duval (Traité, pp.291, 326, 327, 363).

AKKADIAN.

Ungnad (Bab. Ass. Gram. p.60); Von Soden (GAG p.182).

AMHARIC.

Praetorius (Amh. Sprach., pp.416-418, 283); Cohen (Traité, p.93);

COMPARATIVE SEMITICS.

Brockelmann (GVGSS II, pp.439-446, 666-668, 243-246, 315-319).

In these grammars one frequently finds statements to the effect that Ex or PA is used to emphasize the nominal.⁵ Since, however, the terms emphasis, Verstärkung, Hervorhebung, etc., may be interpreted in a wide variety of ways, such statements do not significantly add to our understanding of the function of the constructions.

Reckendorf and Brockelmann explained Ex in the framework of the contemporary psychological notions of language (cf. the views of Wundt, Paul, and Havers, which are discussed below). They held that the extraposed nominal represents a concept which is prominent within the mind of the speaker or writer. The terminology they employed reflects this interpretation, viz. 'natürliches Subjekt' and 'dominierende Vorstellung'.

S. R. Driver discussed Ex in an appendix to his work on the Hebrew tenses (pp. 290-299). He contended that Ex is used in Biblical Hebrew to extract long and unwieldy nominal phrases and so 'lighten' the clause. Such an explanation, however, is not satisfactory, since not all extraposed nominals in Biblical Hebrew are long and unwieldy. Indeed sometimes they are short personal pronouns (cf. Chapter 2).

Ex clauses were also dealt with by Bravmann in his Studies in Arabic and General Syntax. His main contention was that an Ex clause such as zaydun ra'aytu 'abāhu is to be construed as an asyndetic cleft sentence. He glossed this construction as: "Zayd is (one) whose father I saw" (ib. p.2). In other words ra'aytu 'abāhu is a nominalised adjectival clause which is predicated of Zayd. This analysis must be rejected on the following grounds: If the nominalised clause has the function of an adjective it must constitute a classificatory predicate, i.e. one which assigns the subject referent to the membership of a category,⁶ cf. zaydun tājirun ("Zayd is a merchant"). Such classificatory constructions are necessarily stative. They cannot express an action which takes place at a specific point in time. Apparently Bravmann was not aware of this implication of his theory since the example which he adduced has a perfect verb which

he glossed with an English preterite. Moreover, such an analysis is unworkable for instances of 'double extraposition' which are sometimes attested in Arabic (cf. Chapter 1), e.g. yadāka 'iḥdāhumā tusqi l^c aduwwa bihā samman : "Your two hands - one of them - with it you administer poison to the enemy". Consequently Bravmann's interpretation is unsatisfactory.⁷

Several attempts have been made to study Ex clauses within the framework of generative transformational grammar, e.g. Snow (1965), Anshen and Schreiber (1968), and Lewkowitz (1971)⁸ for Arabic; Ornan (1979) for Hebrew. The aim of these studies is to devise a set of explicit rules which will 'generate' an Ex clause from a non-Ex clause, e.g. ra'aytu Zaydan → Zaydun ra'aytuhu. If we apply these rules and turn the crank we do indeed produce Ex clauses. Unfortunately, however, our objective understanding of the construction is little advanced.⁹

Hetzron (1971) has also applied transformational grammar to PA in Amharic, although the main body of his article describes the function of PA in a less theoretical manner.¹⁰

Andersen, in his book The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew has systematically sought to elucidate the function of syntactic expressions by examining their rôle within the discourse in which they occur. In a short section on Ex clauses he argues that their major function is to express information which is tangential to the main thrust of the discourse.

Some of Givon's work also touches on the discourse function of Ex in Biblical Hebrew (cf. especially Givon 1977). Since, however, Givon is essentially a linguistic theorist rather than a Semitist, his contributions are discussed below in the section on linguistic theory.

LITERATURE ON EX AND PA CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH OCCUR
OUTSIDE THE SEMITIC AREA

1. Indo-European Philology.

With regard to Ex constructions it is sufficient to cite under this head the works of Paul (Prinzipien, para. 199) and Havers (1926; and Handbuch, pp. 8-9, 158) which include examples from many Indo-European languages and references to other secondary literature. Both of these philologists maintain that Ex is the result of a process whereby a concept which is uppermost in the mind is uttered in isolation before the syntactic frame of the clause has been properly formulated.¹¹ Consequently Ex is characteristic of excited speech (affektische Rede). Havers (1926) also states that an extraposed nominal sometimes serves as a chapter heading or as a lemma within a chapter.

Haas (1973) has made a detailed study of PA in the Balkan languages, which includes a survey of previous literature on the subject. Her main concern is to show that PA is an areal feature which is shared by all languages of the Balkan Sprachbund despite the fact that these belong to different branches of Indo-European.

2. Contemporary linguistic theory.

Ex and PA have been discussed in several places in the recent literature on linguistic theory.

The first to deal with Ex within the framework of generative transformational grammar was Ross (1967).¹² He called the construction 'Left Dislocation', reserving the term 'Extraposition' for constructions in which a nominalised clause is moved to the right and replaced by the

pronoun 'it', e.g.:- that the boy came in late upset the teacher
it upset the teacher that the boy came in late. Most subsequent
transformational linguists who have studied Ex have retained Ross'
terminology, cf. Postal (1971), Rodman (1974), and Cinque (1979).
Cinque (1977 - Italian and French), however, used the term 'Left
Dislocation' to refer to constructions in which the initial nominal
is adjoined to a relational marker, i.e. PA, and has designated Ex
constructions as 'Hanging Topics'. The major concern of Ross and of
all subsequent linguists who have approached these constructions within
transformational syntactic theory has been to establish how they are to
be 'generated' by the theoretical 'generative transformational grammar'
and what modifications need to be made in the formulation of the grammar
in view of their patterns of occurrence.¹³

Several linguists have studied Ex clauses in terms of their information
structure, e.g. Hirschbühler (1974, 1975 - French), Gundel (1975),
Creider (1979), and Galambos (1980 - Substandard French). They have
sought to ascertain how old and new information is generally distributed
in the construction. The portion which conveys old information they
have called the 'topic' whereas that which conveys the new information
has been variously termed the 'comment' (Hirschbühler, Gundel, Galambos),
'focus' (Hirschbühler) or 'assertion' (Creider). According to these
studies, which are based mainly on English and French, an extraposed
nominal usually conveys old information, yet in certain circumstances
it may be new.¹⁴

Ex constructions have also been studied in terms of the wider notion
of 'discourse topic', i.e. the referent which is the centre of
attention over a certain stretch of text, cf. Givon (1976, 1977,
1979 - many languages), E. O. Keenan and Schieffelin (1976a, 1976b),
E. L. Keenan (1976 - Malagasy), and Duranti and Ochs (1979 - Italian).

According to these linguists Ex clauses are generally employed to shift attention to a topic which is different from that which has been discussed in the immediately preceding discourse, the new topic being expressed by the extraposed nominal.

Some linguists have expressed the view that Ex arises through lack of forethought and careful preparation in speech, e.g. Ochs (1979). According to Ochs (ib.) this is consonant with the fact that Ex occurs abundantly in the speech of young children (cf. Gruber 1967), which exhibits many other parallel features with adult unplanned discourse.

Halliday (1967), on the other hand, claims that Ex belongs in the area of speech planning in the same way as do constructions such as cleft sentences and word order inversions.

With regard to PA, the works of Moravcsik (1974) and Givon (1976) should be mentioned. Both of these studies have sought the predominant occurrence patterns of PA constructions across a wide range of languages. They were made in quest of language universals and, although of considerable methodological interest, suffer from the fact that they rely heavily on secondary sources. By contrast, Wald (1979) has done primary research on the use of agreement pronouns in Swahili.

METHOD OF ANALYSIS ADOPTED IN THIS THESIS

Each of the five chapters of this thesis is constructed according to the same methodological framework. A basic feature of my approach is that the chapters are all divided into two sections. The first section presents a taxonomy of the various types of structure which are evinced by the Ex and PA clauses in the language concerned. This is

on the same lines as the method of treating Ex and PA in the standard grammars (see above). Nevertheless, the taxonomy is in all cases more elaborate and more detailed than that of previous works. Having thus established the various forms in which Ex and PA are attested I move on in the second section to investigate the function of the constructions. Thus my aim is to examine not only what constructions are used in a language but also why they are used. The standard treatments of Semitic syntax show little concern for the second of these goals. In this present work it is in the investigation of the function of Ex and PA that I hope to make the greatest contribution to the field.

The principal methodological framework which has been adopted in the second section of the chapters is discourse analysis, i.e. the function of Ex and PA clauses is examined within the context of the discourse in which they are used. In most cases the motivation for the use of Ex and PA cannot be adequately explained except by taking this broad textual perspective.

Such a method of analysis has already been applied to Ex in Biblical Hebrew by Andersen and to PA in Amharic by Hetzron (references above). However, Andersen's treatment of Ex, which is only cursory, does not satisfactorily explain all the data and Hetzron's arguments are invalidated by the linguistic facts.¹⁵ One weakness of both of these works is their attempt to link all Ex or PA clauses with one specific discourse function. My research has shown that in reality these constructions may perform a number of often quite diverse functions, thus confirming Green's (1980) claim that the relation between syntactic structure and function in language is generally not one to one.

A form of discourse analysis has also been employed by several linguistic theorists who have studied Ex, notably those who have worked with the notion of 'discourse topic' (see above). These studies are based for the most part on languages which lie outside the Semitic area, although Givon has directed some attention to Biblical Hebrew syntax. Their theory of 'topic shifts' explains many of the instances of Ex which I have collected yet there is a large residue of constructions for which this analysis is not valid. Consequently a broader approach is necessary.

It is beyond the scope of this introduction to review all the manifold theoretical frameworks which have been developed to analyse the linguistic structure of texts. For such a survey the reader is referred to Dressler (1977, 1978). My methodology has been inspired mainly by the work of Joseph Grimes, Robert Longacre, and Teun van Dijk. The value of their approach to the analysis of discourse is that it is largely empirical.¹⁶ This applies especially to the work of Grimes and Longacre, who have both carried out extensive field work in a large number of language communities.¹⁷ The work of other text linguists has also been drawn on where appropriate. I have, however, rejected the more abstract methods of discourse analysis, many of which are still embroiled in theoretical preliminaries and show little concern for the direct analysis of texts.¹⁸

In general I have been eclectic in my methodological approach, selecting only those forms of analysis which could be successfully applied to the material I had collected. I have not allowed any of the various models of analysis which I have used to become an 'intellectual straitjacket', but have developed and adapted them according to the requirements of the data. Indeed occasionally the approach which is adopted is entirely my own.

The major theoretical concepts with which I have worked are as follows:-

1. DISCOURSE SPAN.

A span is a stretch of discourse in which there is some kind of uniformity. Such stretches of uniformity exist in several, usually overlapping, dimensions of a text such as those discussed in 2 - 5 below. This notion of discourse span is based largely on Grimes (1975: p.91 ff.).

Bateson (1970) has used a similar concept in her analysis of the Arabic mu^callaqāt. She segments each poem into a series of 'pattern spans', each pattern span consisting of a cluster of repeated phonological, morphological, or syntactic features. However, whereas Bateson's emphasis is on stretches of structural repetition, I shall be concerned with spans on the semantic axes of the text.

2. TOPIC.

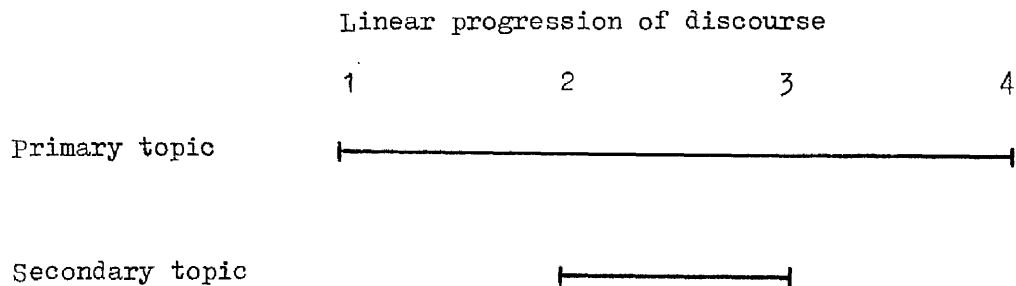
The term topic refers to an individual or an entity which occupies a central position in a stretch of discourse. Impressionistically it may be said that a topic is a referent which a stretch of discourse is 'about'. The following are some of the characteristic features of topics which are objectively verifiable:-

(i) they are referred to frequently and at close intervals (cf. Levy 1982; Van Dijk 1981: p.182);

(ii) they often occupy the subject/agent slot of the clause (cf. Givon 1979; Levinsohn 1978).

These features, however, are only typical. They do not constitute a necessary condition for the 'topic status' of a referent.

A topic span is a stretch of discourse in which a certain referent has topic status. Often one topic span is integrated into another 'higher level' topic span. In such cases the topic of the higher level span is referred to as the primary topic and that of the shorter 'embedded' span as the secondary topic. Structures of this type may be represented graphically as follows:-



3. THEME.

This term is used to refer to the semantic domain of the information which is predicated about the topic referent. A theme span is a stretch of discourse the content of which belongs to a single semantic domain. Consider the following passage:-

"The king was of a rather irascible disposition. He used to lose his temper at the slightest provocation. When in a rage, he would storm through the palace breaking everything he could lay his hands on. He was also an incorrigible glutton and frequently made himself ill by his gastronomic excesses".

The topic referent of this passage is 'the king'. In the first three sentences the theme is 'irascibility', i.e. all the propositions within this segment of discourse express information which belongs to the semantic domain of 'irascibility'. The last sentence on the other

hand has the theme of 'gluttony'. The passage, therefore, consists of two theme spans.

The term 'theme' is employed here to denote a concept which is similar to that which some text linguists refer to as a 'frame'. This term is used to describe a set of concepts which by convention and experience typically belong together.¹⁹ For instance, the three concepts of 'losing his temper at the slightest provocation', 'storming through the palace', and 'breaking everything he could lay his hands on' are all contained in the 'irascibility'-frame.

4. LEVEL OF DESCRIPTION.

This refers to the specificity of a stretch of discourse. It is important to note that the parameter of level of description is relative. It can only be gauged if two contiguous segments of a discourse describe the same event or state. In such cases the second description can be judged to be more specific or more general than the first, e.g. "They took care of his needs. They sobered him up, fed him, clothed him, and gave him a place to stay". Here the initial general statement is elaborated by a subsequent series of clauses which describe the same event in more specific detail (cf. Longacre 1976, 1979).

5. GROUNDING.

In any discourse some portions are more important than others. The material which supplies the main points of a discourse is referred to as foreground. By contrast, that part of the discourse which does not immediately contribute to the speaker's/writer's goal but merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it is designated as background. Grounding is the generic term which refers to the organization of the text into foreground and background segments.²⁰

In narrative discourse the foreground is constituted by the central sequence of events whereas the background consists of scene-setting descriptions, circumstantial events, flashbacks (= plusquamperfectum), evaluative comments, etc. In expository discourse, on the other hand, explanatory information forms the foreground of the text and narrative sequences may be used to illustrate it (Grimes 1975).

6. INDIVIDUATION.

This term refers to the distinctness or salience of a nominal from its own background and, in some circumstances, also its distinctness from the other nominals in the clause (cf. Hopper and Thompson 1980; Timberlake 1975, 1977). Many factors have a bearing on individuation. For instance, a reflexive verb complement, which is co-referential with the subject, is less individuated, i.e. less distinct, than a non-reflexive one. A nominal which refers to a specific entity is more individuated than a generic nominal, which refers to a class of entities. A proper noun with a unique referent is more individuated than a common noun. A noun which is specified by a qualifier is more individuated than one that is not so specified.

The distinctness of a nominal also depends on the perceptual salience of its referent. Humans do not perceive the environment with uniform objectivity. Rather our perception is subject to a pre-conscious ego-centric bias (Zubin 1979; Carr 1976). This means that a human being tends to pay more attention to entities which are most akin to himself, i.e. other human beings. The more 'ego-like' a referent is the more perceptually salient it is. Human individuals are more ego-like and therefore more perceptually salient than inanimate objects. It follows also that 1st person and 2nd person referents are more salient than 3rd person referents. These distinctions may be represented

in the following hierarchy:-

1st pers. > 2nd pers. > 3rd pers. > human > animate > inanimate

This 'perceptual salience' hierarchy²¹ is reflected in the structure of many languages.²²

The individuation of a nominal is also dependent on its assumed familiarity, i.e. the degree to which the speaker/writer assumes that the hearer/reader is familiar with, and is able to identify, the referent of the nominal.²³ A nominal may be assumed to be familiar by virtue of either (a) being closely related to a previously mentioned nominal, or (b) being in the permanent knowledge store of the hearer/reader. The most obvious kind of close relationship between two nominals is co-reference, i.e. the referent of the nominal has already been 'evoked' or 'given' in the prior discourse.

Alternatively a nominal may be linked to a previously given referent only implicitly by way of inference, e.g. the nominal may be a 'part' of a previously mentioned 'whole' or vice versa. The second category of familiar referents are those which do not necessarily have any relation to the prior context but which are nevertheless assumed to be known about. Under this head are to be included (i) proper nouns which name a person or place which is assumed to be known by the hearer/reader, and (ii) generic nominals. A generic nominal may be considered familiar in that the hearer/reader can be assumed to know about the class it refers to if he knows the meaning of the nominal (cf. Li and Thompson 1976: p.461).

In the present work the term definiteness will also be employed to refer to the same kinds of nominal as those which are embraced by the

term 'assumed familiarity', i.e. nominals which have identifiable referents (cf. Chafe 1976: pp. 38-43). However, whereas 'definiteness' is a discrete category, 'assumed familiarity' allows of a certain degree of gradation. A 'given' referent, for instance, may be said to be more familiar than one which is only inferable from the prior discourse. Moreover, within the set of nominals with identifiable referents, context bound nominals (i.e. those which are given or inferable) are sometimes treated by the speaker/writer as more familiar than nominals which are not context bound (i.e. newly introduced generics or proper nouns). Consequently the term 'assumed familiarity' is used when it is necessary to take into consideration these finer distinctions. Elsewhere the more conventional term 'definiteness' is retained.

Finally, a nominal may be individuated or salient by virtue of its prominent rôle within the text. This is usually indicated by its frequent mention (cf. Levy 1982). A topic referent, therefore, is to be classified as individuated by this criterion.

The various factors which determine individuation have been isolated for the sake of exraposition, yet it must be pointed out that usually more than one factor is at play simultaneously. A nominal may often be classed as individuated on several counts, e.g. by virtue of being definite, human, and qualified by a modifier. Moreover there is no absolute dichotomy between an individuated nominal and a non-individuated one. It is more accurate to state that some are more individuated than others. This has already been seen with regard to the hierarchies of assumed familiarity. It must also be taken into account when assessing the status of generic nominals. Such an assessment is of particular significance for certain sections of this thesis. According to the aforementioned criteria generic nominals are less individuated

than specific ones, yet nevertheless have a certain degree of individuation on account of their definite status (i.e. their referents are always identifiable). This may be expressed in the following hierarchy schema in which the symbol $>$ is to be read as 'is more individuated than':-

definite specific $>$ generic $>$ indefinite

7. CONTRASTIVE ASSERTION.

This is generally focused on only one nominal in a clause. It is expressed on the prosodic level by uttering the contrastively asserted nominal with high stress, e.g. JOHN hit Bill (where 'John' is stressed). The intention in such an utterance is to assert forcefully, forestalling any misapprehension on the part of the hearer, that the one who hit Bill was John.

Three factors are involved.²⁴ Firstly the speaker assumes that the hearer knows that someone has hit Bill. Secondly the speaker assumes that the hearer is possibly entertaining another candidate for this rôle. Thirdly he asserts forcefully which candidate is the correct one, i.e. 'John and not anybody else you may have had in mind'.

8. ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE.

This is used to describe the kind of 'act' an utterance is intended to perform in communicative interaction, i.e. it may constitute an act of praise, criticism, command, statement, etc. For instance a stretch of

discourse which is intended as an act of praise is said to have the illocutionary force of praise. The term was coined by Austin (1962) who formulated a theory of 'speech act semantics' (cf. Kempson 1977: p.50).

9. RE-IDENTIFICATION.

When a referent which is familiar from the prior discourse is referred to by a full nominal which explicitly identifies the referent rather than by a pronoun, the referent is said to be 're-identified'.

Finally it should be pointed out that, in discussing the function of Ex and PA constructions the term 'emphasis' has been systematically avoided. This term is used by some to refer to what I call 'contrastive assertion'. In many other cases, however, it is employed in a rather indeterminate manner as a cover term to explain a number of disparate, and usually poorly understood, syntactic phenomena. The indiscriminate use of this term (or its equivalent in the language of the writer) has marred many of the descriptions of Ex and PA in Semitic languages (see p. 11 above).

F O O T N O T E S

1. The term 'extraposition' was first applied to constructions of this type by Jespersen (cf. *Mod. Eng. Gram.* II, p.7, III, pp. 25, 71-72, 356-357; *Anal. Syn.* pp. 45-48).

Semitic philologists have used a wide variety of terms, e.g.:- 'Isolierung des natürlichen Subjekts' (Reckendorf, *S.V.*, pp. 366-376, 540-544; followed by Bravmann, *Studies* - 'Isolation of the natural subject' and Blau, *Diqdūq - biddūd hannōsē' hattib^ci*); 'compound sentence' (Gesenius-Kautzsch *Heb. Gram.*, p.457-8; Davidson, *Heb. Syn.* p.148), 'zusammengesetzte Satz' (Ungnad, 1906: p.60); 'compound nominal sentence' (Wright, *Gram. Ar. Lang.* II, pp. 255-256), 'zusammengesetzte Nominalsatz' (Kautzsch, *Gram. Bib. Aram.*, p.162; Bauer-Leander, *Gram. Bib. Aram.*, pp. 345-347; Bergsträsser, *Einführung*, p.16; Von Soden, *GAG*, pp. 182-183); 'casus pendens' (Driver, *Tenses*, pp. 290-299; Davidson, *Heb. Syn.*, pp. 148-151; Jouton, *Gram. Heb. Bib.*, pp. 477-478); 'casus independens' (König, *Lehrgeb. des Heb.*, *Schlussheil*, pp. 441-446); 'dominierende Vorstellung' (Brockelmann, *GVGSS* II, pp. 439-446, 666-668); 'Nominativus absolutus' (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, p.410), 'nominative absolute' (Segal, *Mish. Heb. Gram.*, pp. 211-215); 'Nomen absolutum' (König, *ib.*); 'Absolute Voranstellung' (Praetorius, *Amh. Sprach.*, pp. 416-418; Kropat, 1909: pp. 60-61); 'position absolue' (Lambert, *Traité de Gram. Heb.*, pp. 438-441); 'anticipation d'un élément nominal' (Cohen, *Traité de Lang. Amh.*, pp. 93-94).

2. Indeed in some cases the two constructions are indistinguishable, cf. pp. 194, 274.
3. e.g. Reckendorf, Brockelmann, Driver, Von Soden (references in Footnote 1).

4. cf. pp. 147, 229, 281.
5. cf. Ewald, (Gram. Ling. Ar.); König (op. cit., p.438); Duval (op. cit., p.363); Von Soden (op. cit., p.182); Cohen (op. cit. p.93).
6. For classificatory predicates cf. Beeston (1970:66) and J. Lyons (1977:472).
7. It is interesting to note that although Bravmann's analysis of Ex clauses is unacceptable (as is shown by double Ex clauses) the occurrence patterns of Ex clauses in Arabic are in fact those which his analysis implies, viz. they are attested predominantly in stative and imperfective clauses (see Chapter 1)!
8. Beeston (1974a) presents a critique of this article. His main concern is to show that contrary to the claim of Lewkowicz the rule of extraposition cannot be applied to a clause ad infinitum, i.e. constructions such as zaydun 'abūhu baytuhu šubbākuhu jamīlun are impossible.
9. The fallacy that transformational grammar can scientifically 'explain' a linguistic phenomenon has been well demonstrated by Givon (1979). Most work on TG does little more than develop TG per se; see below, where studies on Ex which come from the mainstream of TG are discussed.
10. Getatchew (1970) and Fulas (1972) have also studied PA in Amharic. These two articles together with that of Hetzron are reviewed in detail in Chapter 5.

11. This interpretation is related to the notion which was expressed several years earlier by G. von der Gabelentz (1869: p.378) that an element at the front of the clause generally refers to something which is cognitively prominent. Von der Gabelentz was one of the first to use the term 'psychological subject' to designate this 'psychological' starting point of the clause, which need not necessarily coincide with the 'grammatical' subject. Later Wundt used the same notion to explain word order in language but introduced the term 'dominierende Vorstellung' (dominating idea) to refer to the cognitively prominent element of the clause (Völkerpsychologie, vol. I, part 2, pp. 259-263). Brockelmann adopted Wundt's term to refer specifically to Ex constructions (see above).

12. The data base of the linguistic works which are cited is English except in those cases where there is indication to the contrary.

13. A prominent feature of TG analysis is the testing of the 'generative transformational' rules by examining the grammaticality of a number of contrived sentence structures. For instance, transformationalists point out that in English an extraposed nominal may be separated from its resumptive pronoun by an indefinite number of embedded clauses, e.g. (i) John_i - Mary said that Bill claimed that Peter believed that Sam hit him_i. On the other hand if an object nominal is placed at the front of the clause without a subsequent resumptive pronoun, the verb which governs the fronted object must occur in the same clause, e.g. (ii) John Mary saw, but not (iii) John Mary claimed that Bill saw, which is inadmissible. Such monstrosities as (i),

which are judged to be 'grammatical' by the transformational analysts, are highly unlikely to occur outside the linguistics classroom in natural speech or writing. The preoccupation of TG with 'grammaticality judgements' of the kind illustrated above renders it unsuitable as a tool for the analysis of a language which is only attested in written texts and for which there are no native informants.

14. In cases where the extraposed nominal is new it is generally contrasted with some other referent. Chafe (1976) claims that all extraposed nominals, at least in English, are contrastive.
15. See Chapter 5.
16. It should be pointed out, however, that Van Dijk's early work was of a somewhat programmatic nature, e.g. Van Dijk (1972).
17. cf. Grimes (ed.) (1978) and Longacre (1972, (ed.) 1976). Andersen's study of the sentence in Biblical Hebrew was in fact based mainly on the methodology which was developed by Longacre.
18. This applies to the work of many text linguists from Continental Europe, e.g. Nøth (1978); Petöfi and Rieser (1974); Petöfi (1978); Schmidt (1978); Wienold (1978).
19. cf. Charniak (1975); Minsky (1975); Winograd (1975).

20. For the distinction between foregrounding and backgrounding, see Grimes (1975), chs. 3, 4, 6; Hopper (1979); Hopper and Thompson (1980); Labov (1972); Labov and Waletzky (1967); Polanyi-Bowditch (1976); Scheffler (1978).

21. Linguists have also referred to this hierarchy as the hierarchy of 'topicality' (Hawkinson and Hyman 1974; Givon 1976), 'agency' (Silverstein 1976), 'animacy' (Comrie 1981), or 'empathy' (Kuno 1976; De Lancey 1981). In all cases the form of the hierarchy is essentially the same. The name given to it reflects the immediate concern of the linguist. Silverstein, for instance, in his work on Australian languages, used the hierarchy to elucidate the nature of 'agents'. He showed that referents which are high on the hierarchy are more likely to be chosen to function as agent in a clause than those which are lower in rank. Hawkinson and Hyman and Givon, on the other hand, argue that the hierarchy determines which referent is made the 'topic' of a clause (it should be pointed out that these linguists do not use the term 'topic' in exactly the same way as I am using it in this work).

22. In Spanish and Biblical Aramaic, for instance, the occurrence of the direct object marker particle is by and large restricted to objects which have human referents. Some Australian languages (e.g. Dyirbal) have separate accusative forms only for first and second person pronouns (Blake 1977). In Slavonic languages the distinction between human and non-human or that between animate and inanimate is relevant to the existence or not of a special genitive-like accusative (Comrie 1978).

23. This account of assumed familiarity is based on Prince (1981).

24. The ensuing account of contrastive assertion is based on
Chafe (1976).

Chapter 1.

A R A B I C

I S T R U C T U R E

1.0 FORM OF EXTRAPOSED CONSTITUENT

1.1 Personal pronoun, e.g.:-

- (1) wahum fī hāḥa lwaqti ta'wā
'ilayhim bawāriju lhindi "They - at this time the boats of
the Indians seek refuge amongst
them". (Mas. III, 37/4).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (2) wahuwa mā ma^cahu šay'un "He - there is nothing in his
possession". (David 245/13).
- (3) wa'anā ḥaramtanī "I - you have deprived me".
(David 246/2).

Poetry:-

- (4) huwa lā tanmī ramiyyatuhu "He - what he has shot does not
rise up". (A.S. 368).

Qur'an:-

- (5) kayfa takfurūna wa'antum "How can you disbelieve when the
tutlā^c alaykum 'āyātu llāhi signs of God are recited to you?".
(Q3/101).

1.2 Demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (6) hā'ulā'i yaqūtuḥum kubzun "These (men) - bread is their
food (lit. bread feeds them)".
(Nis. 178/7).

Qur'an:-

- (7) ḥālikum waṣṣākum bihi "This - he has charged you with
la^c allakum taḥakkārūna it that you might remember".
(Q6/152).
- (8) 'ulā'ika lahum ^caḥābun "These - for them is great
^cazīmun torment". (Q3/105).

1.3 Full nominal.

1.31 Definite, e.g.:-

- (9) 'almuṣammimu qatluhu bil'ijhāzi "The schemer - his death is quick". (Jāh. 199/7).
- (10) walfarīqu l'ākāru min annūbati
yuqālu lahā ^calawa "The other group of Nubians is called ^calawa". (Mas. III, 32/1).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (11) wazzawjatu ma^cahā hifzun min
almiqrā "The wife had knowledge of scripture". (Res. Maim. 226/6).
- (12) fassadaqatu llatī hiyya
miθlu hāḏī yansarru bihā
lkāliq "Such almsgiving as this - the Creator is delighted with it". (David 247/2).

Poetry:-

- (13) wazzulmu marta^cuhu wakīmu(n) "Wrong-doing - its pasture is unwholesome". (Del. 1/11).

Qur'ān:-

- (14) wallāhu ^cindahū husnu
lma'ābi "God - with him is an excellent refuge". (Q3/14).
- (15) walbaladu ttayyibu yakruju
nabatuhu bi'iōni rabbihi "The good country - its vegetation comes up by permission of its Lord". (Q7/58).

1.32 Indefinite, e.g.:-

- (16) 'asadun marratani štadda
^calayhi harru ššamsi "A lion - once the sun shone fiercely upon him ...". (Fables of Luqmān, in Lyons, Classical Arabic Reader, p.4).

1.4 Interrogative pronoun or interrogative phrase, e.g.:-

- (17) man bibagdāda yahtawī
milkuhu ^calā 'alfi 'alfi
dīnārin "Who in Bagdād - his possessions have the value of one thousand thousand dinars?". (Tan. 17/14).
- (18) man ra'aytahu "Whom did you see?". (Sīb. I, 37/19).

Poetry:-

- (19) ʕumma qālū man na'ummu bihā
'abanī^c awfin 'am innajarah
(= innajarati) "They said: 'Whom shall we make
for, the Bani^c auf or the Najara?'"
(Sīr. 23/4).
- (20) 'ayyu karīmin lam tuṣibhu
lqawāri^cu "What noble man - the blows of
fortune have not smitten him?".
(S.V. 786).

Qur'ān:-

- (21) man biyadihi malakūtu
kulli šay'in "In whose hand is the dominion
of everything?". (Q25/90).

1.5 The extraposed constituent is sometimes preceded by the
particle 'ammā and connected to the rest of the sentence
by fa-, e.g.:-

- (22) 'ammā lfaqīru famā 'aḡnāhu
^can ilḥamdi "As for the poor man - how free
he is from praise". (Jāh. 184/8).
- (23) 'ammā ljawāmis fa'innahā
biṯṯaḡri ššāmī tajurru
'akbara mā yakūnu min
al^cajali "As for the buffaloes - they pull
carts of great size on the Syrian
border". (Mas. III, 28/8).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (24) 'ammā l'umūru llatī yajibu
^cala lmu'mini ttawakkulu
fiḥā^cala llāhi fajamī^cuhā
jinsayni "As for the things in which a believer
must rely on God - all of them
(belong to one of) two categories".
(Hob. 183/1).
- (25) 'ammā^c ilmu ttaṣrīfi
wattakallumu fiḥi fahuwa
mimmā yatašā'amūna bihi
"As for the science of conjugation
and talking about it - it is
something they attribute evil to".
(Janāḥ 102/3).

Qur'ān:-

- (26) 'ammā ṯamūdu fahaḡaynāhum
"As for Thamud - we guided them".
(Q41/17).
- (27) 'ammā lgulāmu fakāna
'abawāhu mu'minayni
"As for the boy - his parents were
believers". (Q18/80)¹.

The fa- in constructions with 'ammā is sometimes omitted in poetry owing to the exigencies of the metre (ḍarūra)², cf. Muḡnī p.56 where the following example is given:-

- (28) fa'ammā lqitālu lā qitāla "As for fighting - there is no
ladaykumu * walākinna sayran fighting among you, but walking
fī^c irāḍi lmawākibi in processions". (ib.)

In Judaeo-Arabic the fa- is often omitted after 'ammā (cf. Blau, Diqḍūq p.204 ff), e.g.:-

- (29) 'ammā ḍḍa^c īfu llatī qataltu "As for the poor man whose cow I
baqaratahu kānat fidā killed - it (i.e. the cow) was the
zawjatihi ransom of his wife". (Nis. 179/6)³.

The item introduced by 'ammā is occasionally connected to the rest of the sentence by wa-, e.g.:-

- (30) 'ammā bilādu lwāḥāti "As for the land of
wahiyya bayna bilādi miṣra the oases - it is between the
wal'iskandariyyati waṣa^c īdi (province of) Miṣr, Alexandria,
miṣra walmaḡribi wa'arḍi the Sa^c īd, the Maḡrib, and the
l'aḥābiṣi min annūbati part of Abyssinia which is
waḡayrihim inhabited by the Nubians and other
peoples". (Mas. III, 50/11).

cf. Mas. III, 29/8.

'ammā wa is also attested in Christian Arabic, e.g.

- (31) 'ammā Yuḡannā wakāna libāsuhu "As for John - his clothing was of
min wabari l'ibili camel's hair". (Graf, 77B).

1.6 The extraposed constituent is sometimes preceded by:-

1.61 The particle 'inna or a conjunction containing
'inna, e.g.:-

- (32) wa'inna l'ibila l'aḡlabu "Camels - it is very common for
minhā 'an taf^c ala ḍālika them to do this". (Mas. III, 60/2).

- (33) walākinna nnaḥwiyyīna s̄ara
ḍā^cindahum ṣifatan "But the grammarians - this in
their opinion had the status of
ṣifa". (Sīb. I, 345/5).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (34) fa'inna kaḥīran min "For many of those who are jealous
ḥussādi 'ahli l^cilmi fī of men of science in our own time,
zamāninā hāḍā wafī suq^cinā and especially in our country, -
kāṣṣatan qad yab^caḥumu their jealousy for them together
lḥasadu lahum ma^ca ljahli with their ignorance incites them
^cala tta^calluli ^calayhim to find pretexts against them".
(Janāḥ, 108/11).

Qur'^{ān}:-

- (35) 'inna llāh lā yakfā "God - nothing is hidden from
^calayhi ṣay'un him". (Q3/5).
- (36) 'innanī hadānī rabbī "I - my Lord led me to a straight
'ilā ṣirāṭin mustaqīmin path". (Q6/161).
- (37) 'innahum lā'aymāna lahum "They - they have no (binding)
oaths". (Q9/12).

1.62 ka'anna, e.g.:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (38) faka'annī kāna yuhā 'ilayya "It was as if I - it was revealed to
waḥyan me in an inspiration". (Janāḥ,
116/13).

1.63 la^calla, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (39) la^calli law raja^ctu 'ilā "Perchance I - if I were to return
'ahlī to my people (sc. what would it be
like?)". (A.S. 131).

1.64 layta, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (40) yā laytanī qabla bišrin "If only I - before (marriage with)
kāna ^cajalanī dā^cin Bišr someone had warned me".
(A.S. 132)

1.65 rubba, e.g.:-

- (41) rubba ṣawābin qultahu "Many a truth have you uttered".
(Tan. 13/3).
Poetry:-
- (42) rubba baytin hunāka "Many a house there they have
akrabūhu destroyed". (Arb. 67/8).
- (43) rubba qawmin bātū bi'ajma^ci "Many a people who passed the night
ṣamlin tarakū ṣamlahum in closest unity, they left their
biḡayri niḡāmin unity without order". (ib. 67/11).

1.66 wāwu rubba, e.g.:-

- Poetry:-
- (44) waḡulāmin 'arsalathu "Many a young man - his mother has
'ummuhu sent him". (S.V. 528).
- (45) walaylatin qad bitta "Many a night have you spent
tasrihā travelling (in it)". (S.V. ib.).

1.67 kam, e.g.:-

- Poetry:-
- (46) kam mufaddan fī 'ahlihi "How many a one most precious to his
'aslamūhu kinsmen they betrayed". (Arb. 65/12).
- (47) kam radī^cin hunāka qad "How many a suckling child they
faṭamūhu biṣaba ssayfi weaned with the edge of the sword".
(ib. 65/13).
- Qur'an:-
- (48) kam min qaryatin 'ahlaknāhā "How many a town have we destroyed".
(Q7/4).

1.68 ka'ayyin, e.g.:-

- Qur'an:-
- (49) ka'ayyin min 'āyyatin fī "How many a sign in heaven and earth
ssamawāti wal'arḍi yamurrūna do they pass by and ignore".
^calayhā wahum ^canhā (Q12/105).
mu^criḍūna
- (50) ka'ayyin min nabiiyyin qātala "How many a prophet - many thousands
ma^cahu ribbiyyūna kaṭīrūna of men fought with him". (Q3/146).

1.7 The extraposed constituent may be the subject of an auxiliary verb:-

1.71 kāna, e.g.:-

- (51) k̄anat ilyahūdu qad "The Jews - he pleased them, since
'a^cjabahum 'iḥ k̄ana yuṣallī he prayed towards the temple (in
qibala bayti lmaqdisi Jerusalem). (Buk. 35/15).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (52) lammā k̄anat hāḍihi "Since these books - their contents
lkutubu lā yūqafu ^calā mā are only understood through knowledge
fihā 'illā bi^cilmi of the language". (Janāh, 99/13).
llisāni

1.72 laysa, e.g.:-

- (53) 'awalasnā wa'in jahalnā "We - although we are ignorant of
'asbābahā faqad 'ayqannā their (= events) causes, yet are we
bi'annahā tajrī 'ilā not certain that they will run their
ḡayātihā full course?". (Jāh. 189/20).

Poetry:-

- (54) laisa ljadīdu bihi tabqā "The new thing - its enjoyment does
bašāṣatuhu not remain with it (= time)".
(Quṭāmī I/6).

1.73 Negator + zāla, e.g.:-

- (55) lam tazal ilmulūku "The kings - their affairs remained
'umūruhum muntazimatun in order". (Mas. I, 298/1).

Qur'^{ān}:-

- (56) lā yazālū llaḍīna kafarū "Those who disbelieve - disaster
tuṣībuhum bimā ṣana^cū does not cease to strike them.
qāri^catun (Q13/31).

1.74 Occasionally with 'amkana:-

- (57) lam tumkinnī kalimatun "I could add nothing to any word
'udkilu fihā ṣay'an ḡayru except this word". (Buk. I, 8/13).
hāḍihi lkalimati

Extrapositional constructions with other auxiliary verbs are mainly restricted to poetry:-

1.75 'aṣbaḥa, e.g.:-

- (58) 'aṣbaḥtu qad ḥallat yamīnī "In the morning my oath was discharged".
(S.V. 789).

1.76 'amsā, e.g.:-

- (59) 'amsā 'a^claqathu lḥabā'ilu "He - the ropes bound him".
(S.V. 789).

Also with 'aḏḥā, ḡadā, and rāḥa; cf. Reckendorf, S.V. p.789.

1.8 The extraposed constituent may be preceded by an adverb, e.g.:-

- (60) 'akulla yawmin Zaydan "Do you hit Zayd every day?".
taḏribuhu (Sib. I, 43/11).

Such constructions, however, are rare. The only examples attested in texts are from poetry, e.g.:-

- (61) wayawman 'anta maḥtiduka "Sometimes you - your origin is
l^cabīdu slaves". (GVGSS II, 441).
- (62) fabitilka laḏḏātu ššabābi "With such things, the pleasures
qaḏaytuhā * ^cannī of youth - I have brought them to
fasā'il ba^cdahum māḏā an end; ask one of them what he has
qaḏā brought to an end".
(Nöldeke, Poesie, p.82/5).

1.9 An adverb intervenes between the extraposed constituent and the rest of the sentence, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (63) 'asyāfunā fī kulli ḡarbin "Our swords - in all west and east
wamašriqin bihā min qirā^ci there are notches in them from
ddāri^cina fulūlun smiting against armoured warriors".
(Arb. 33/6).
- (64) ḥumma hadamā ḏālika lbayta "Then they destroyed that temple, and
fabaqāyāhu lyauma kamā its remains today - I have been told -
ḏukira lī bihā 'āḥāru on them are the stains of the blood
ddimā'i llatī kānat which was shed upon them".
tuharāqu ^calayhā (Sīr. 28/14 ff.).

cf. also Example (1).

1.10 Double extraposition, e.g.:-

- (65) 'a^cabdullāhi 'akūhu taḍribuhu "Abdullah - his brother - are you hitting him?". (Sīb. I, 43/13).

Such constructions seem to be restricted to sentences in which the second extraposed item (corresponding to 'akūhu in (65)) is counterpoised by another item in an adjacent clause. The two counterpoised elements usually constitute an antithesis, e.g.:

- (66) yadāka 'iḥḍāhumā tusqi "Your two hands - one of them - with
l^caduwwa bihā samman 'ukrā it you give the enemy to drink
nadāhā lam yazal diyamā poison, the other - its generosity
is ceaseless rain". (S.V. p.784).
- (67) yadāka yadun rabī^c u nnāsi "Your two hands - one hand - in it
fīhā wafī l'ukra ššuhūru is the herbage of mankind, and in
min alḥarāmi the other are the sacred months".
(Lane, Lexicon, Part 3, p.1019).

In the Arabic of the Qur'^{ān} there are several examples of 'double' extrapositional sentences in which the first extraposed constituent is a relative phrase and the second a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

- (68) 'allaḏīna 'āmanū billāhi "Those who believe in God and his
warusulihi walam yufarriqū messengers and have not made
bayna 'aḥadin minhum distinction between any of them -
'ulā'ika sawfa yu'tīhim those - he will bring them their
'ujūrahum reward". (Q4/152).
- (69) 'inna llaḏīna kafarū "Those who disbelieve and die
wamātū wahum kuffārū disbelievers - those - upon them
'ulā'ika ^calayhim la^c natu is the curse of God".
llāhi (Q2/161).
- (70) man 'arāda l'ākīrata wasa^{cā} "Whoever desires the Hereafter and
lahā sa^c yahā wahuwa strives for it with the effort
mu'minun fa'ulā'ika kāna nec^e necessary, being a believer - those -
sa^c yuhum maškūran thei^e their effort is appreciated.
(Q1⁷(Q17/19)).

It is to be noted, however, that such constructions in the Qur'^{ān} were probably formed by the mechanical linking of two pieces of formulaic phraseology (cf. p. 87)⁴.

1.11 Extraposed constituent is preceded by an initial subject, e.g.:-

- Judaeo-Arabic:-
- (71) 'innakumā lā mā maḏā
tudrikānihi walastu ^calā
mā fātānī mutanaddimā "You will not overtake what is past
and I am not repentant for what has
escaped me". (Ḥātim, 25, 9).
- (72) 'annāsu man yalqa kayran
qā'ilūna lahu ... "People say to anyone who experiences
good fortune ...". (Quṭāmī, I,8).

Qur'ān:-

- (73) 'innā kulla šay'in
kalamānahu biqadrin "We have created everything by
measure". (Q54/49).

cf. Sībawaihi:- 'anā ẓaydun ẓarabtuhu (I, 43, 8), 'a'anta
^cabdullāhi ẓarabtahu (ib.); also I, 42, 15; I, 42, 19.

In all available examples, the subject is a pronoun, with the exception
of (72) in which the verb form is a participle⁵.

1.12 Extraposition within a subordinate clause.

1.121 After 'anna and its compounds, e.g.:-

- (74) ʔumma ^carafū 'annahum lā
ṭāqata lahum bihi "Then they realized that they -
there was no power to them (= they
had no power) to resist him".
(Sīr. 50/4).
- (75) wa'innamā yajibu 'an ta^clama
'anna nmuḏā lā ^ciwaḏa lahā "You should know that the soul -
there is no replacement for it".
(Tan. 16/18).

li'anna:-

- (76) li'anna l'alifa jī'a bihā
lil'istifhāmi ^can ilfi^cli "Because the alif - one employs
it to question the verb".
(Sīrāfī on Sīb. I, 42, 2).

law 'anna:-

Qur'ān:-

- (77) law 'annā 'unzila ^calaynā
lkitābu lakunnā 'ahdā minhum "If we - the book had been revealed
to us, we would have been better
guided than them". (Q6/157).

cf. Q13/31.

1.122 After 'iḏā:-

The only examples available are from poetry:-⁶

- (78) 'iḏā lmar'u lam yadnas min "When a man - his honour is not
allu'mi^c irḏuhu fakullu defiled by baseness, then every
ridā'in yartadihi jamīlu cloak he wears is comely".
(Arb. 31/1).
- (79) wa'iḏā 'akūka taraktahu When your brother - you desert him
wa'aka mri'in 'awdā 'akūka your brother perishes and you
wakunta 'anta tatabbahu are in danger of destruction".
(Lyall, Abraṣ 14/5).

cf. Reck. S.V. p.797.

1.123 After 'in:-

The only examples available are from poetry:-

- (80) ka'anna llāha yajda^cu 'anfahu "It is as if God mutilates his
wa^caynayhi 'in mawlāhu ḡāba nose and eyes if his client -
lahu wafru abundance comes to him".
(S.V. p.797).
- (81) fa'in nahnu 'a^cazzanā llāhu "If God gives us strength and
wa'azharanā^c ala^c adūwinā allows us to vanquish our foes".
(GVGSS II, p.636).

1.124 Within a relative clause.

This is only attested in cases where the extraposed item is counterpoised by some other element in an adjacent clause (cf. double extraposition, p.42), e.g.:-

- (82) ra'ayta llaḏī lā kulluhu 'anta "You have seen something which -
qādirun^c alayhi walā^can all of it - you have not power
ba^cḏihi 'anta ṣābiru over it - and part of it you do
not relinquish". (S.V. p.797).

Qur'^{ān}:-

- (83) bābun bāṭimuhu fihi rraḥmatu "A gate the inside of which - in
wazāhiruhu min qibalihi it is mercy, the outside of which -
l^caḏābu opposite it is doom". (Q57/13).

- (88) wamin ^Cādatihim 'annahum "It is their custom that they
'iḏā ṣallaw iṣṣubḥa 'atat - when they perform the morning
kullu mra'atin 'ilā zawjihā prayer, every woman brings to
'aw ibnihā bilmukḥalati her husband or her son a box
wabimā'i lwardi waduhni containing antimony, rose
lgāliyati water, and an unguent of
ambergris". (Ibn Baṭūṭah; in
Nicholson (1911), 78/5).

According to Reckendorf (S.V. p.797) and Brockelmann (GVGSS II, p. 666), constructions in which the referent of the fronted noun is the subject of the main clause are also extrapositional, e.g.:-

- (89) ʔumma 'inna ^Cubaydallāhi See below:-
lammā qatala musliman
wahāni'an ba^Caḥa
biru'ūsihim 'ilā yazīda

They postulate that the nominal ^Cubaydallāhi is syntactically isolated and is not the grammatical subject of ba^Caḥa, i.e.:-
"Then Ubaydallah - when he had killed Muslim and Hāni, he sent their heads to Yazīd".

Sībawaihi directed attention to analogous structures in which a noun stands before a temporal or conditional sentence (Chapter 32). According to his statements on this matter, the fronted noun is always syntactically isolated from the main clause if the main clause is an apodosis (jawāb) to the preceding clause, e.g. the initial noun in a construction such as 'a^Cabdullāhi 'in tarahu taḍrib or even 'a^Cabdullāhi 'in tara taḍrib must be nominative (Sīb. I, 55/11). The verb in a jawāb cannot govern a fronted noun, i.e. 'a^Cabdullāhi 'in tara taḍrib is not permissible.⁸ On the other hand, if the main clause is not an apodosis then its verb may govern a fronted noun, e.g.:- 'a^Cabdullāhi hīna ya'tīnī 'aḍribu. In such sentences the subordinate clause (hīna ya'tīnī) is an adverbial insertion intervening between the main verb and its complement.⁹

According to this analysis, the initial noun in constructions like (89) stands in extraposition only if the main clause is an apodosis. On the other hand, if the main clause is not an apodosis, but rather the subordinate clause is an adverbial insertion, then the initial noun is the immediate subject of the main verb.¹⁰

1.132 Clause order main-subordinate.

Only resumed in subordinate clause, e.g.:-

Qur'ān:-

- (90) 'inna llaḏīna 'āmanu ḡumma "Those who believe then disbelieve
kafarū lam yakun God is not one to pardon
illāhu liyaḡfira lahum walā them or to guide them on the way".
liyahdiyahum sabīlan (Q4/137).

cf. Q4/11; Janāh 109/19; Misk. 38/8;

1.14 Extraposed constituent connected to the rest of the sentence by fa:-

1.141 Regularly after 'amma (cf. p. 36).

1.142 Regularly when the verb in the clause is an imperative or jussive, e.g.:-

- (91) fanafsuka faḡfazḡā "Your soul - guard it".
(A.S. p.372).

Qur'ān:-

- (92) wassāriqu wassāriqatu "The male and female thief -
faḡṡa^cū 'aydiyahumā cut off their hands". (Q5/38).

- (93) 'azzāniyatu wazzānī "The adulteress and the adulterer
fajlidū kulla waḡhidin - scourge each one of them with a
minhumā mi'ata jaldatin hundred stripes". (Q24/2).

- (94) wallaḏīna^c aḡadat "Those with whom your right
'aymānukum fa'ātūhum hands have made a covenant -
naḡībahum give them their portion".
(Q4/33).

- (95) wallaḍāni ya'tiyānihā "The two of you who are guilty of
minkum fa'āḍūhumā it (= alfāḥiṣa) - punish them
both". (Q4/16).

1.143 When the extraposed nominal phrase is generic,
i.e. a nominal which names a class of entities.¹¹
The occurrence of fa- is especially common when
the extraposed noun is preceded by kullu, e.g.:-

- (96) wakullu ḥayawānin ḍī "Every animal with a tongue -
lisānin fa'aṣlu lisānihi the base of its tongue is within
'ila ddākili waṭarfuhu (its throat) and its tip is
'ila lkāriji (pointing) outwards".
(Mas. III, 21/1).
- (97) kullu 'arḍin mustawiyatin "Any level ground is a 'ṣa'īd'.
fahiya ṣa'īdun (Muzhir 326/7).
- (98) kullu ḥājizin bayna "Any thing which forms a barrier
ṣay'ayni fahuwa mawbiqun between two things is a 'mawbiq'.
(ib. 326/8).
- Qur'ān:-
- (99) walqawā'īdu min annisā'i "Women past child-bearing who
llātī lā yarjūna nikāḥan have no hope of marriage - it is
falaysa 'alayhinna junāḥun not a sin for them to discard
'an yada'nā ḥiyābahunna their (outer) clothing". (Q24/60).
- (100) 'inna llaḍīna qālū rabbunā "Those who said: 'Our Lord is
llāhu ḥumma staqāmū falā God', then become upright - there
kawfun 'alayhim walā hum is no fear upon them nor do they
yaḥzanūna grieve". (Q46/13).¹²

cf. also the examples in A.S. p.372-3, in all of which the
extraposed nominal is generic, except for those in which the
verb is an imperative.

fa- also occurs after generic relative phrases introduced by man or mā, e.g.:-

- (101) man kānat hijratuhu 'ilā "He whose migration is to some
dunyā yuṣībuhā 'aw 'ila worldly goods he wishes to
mra'atin yankihuhā possess or to a woman he wishes
fahijratuhu 'ilā mā to marry - his migration is to
hājara 'ilayhi what he migrates to".
(Buk. I 1, 19).¹³

cf. Q2/270, 272; 3/115.

1.144 Occasionally elsewhere, e.g.:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (102) wanib^cū maṣpūnāw 'allaḏi "(the form of the verb in the
stašhada bihi šemū'ēl clause) nib^cū maṣpūnāw, which
fahuwa nfi^cālun Šemū'ēl cited is passive".
(Janāḥ 104/15).

Occasionally an extraposed nominal is connected to the rest of the clause by wa, cf. p.37, also:-

- (103) kullu mri'in walahu "Every man - for him is
rizqun sayabluḡuhu sustenance which will come
to him". (GVGSS II, p.443,
variant to falahu).¹⁴

2.0 Resumptive element.

2.1 Grammatical relation of resumptive element.

2.11 Verbal clause.

2.111 Object, e.g.:-

- (104) wahāḍa nnaw^cu lhindiyyu "This Indian type (of emerald) -
ya^crifuhu 'aṣḥābu jewellers know it by (the name of)
ljawāhiri bilmakkiyyi Makki". (Mas. III, 48/3).

2.112 Prepositional complement, e.g.:-

- (105) wahāḍa nnaw^cu mina "This type of cow - dead animals
lbaqari yuḥmalu^c alayhā are carried upon it". (ib. 27/4).
lmayyitatu mina
lḥayawāni

2.113 Noun complement, e.g.:-

- (106) wa'ahlu ṣṣīni yattakiḍu "The Chinese - their kings, their
mulūkuhā waquwwāduhā military leaders, and their civil
wa'arākinatuha l'a^cmidata leaders have ivory palanquins".
mina l'^caji (ib. 8/7).

2.114 Subject, e.g.:-

- (107) li'annahu yarā 'anna "For he sees that the repetition
takrīra lmawā^ciḥi of admonitions, discipline, and
watta'dība wa'akḍa the good and virtuous guidance
mnāsi bissiyāsati of people - there is no avoiding
ljayyidati lfāḍilati but that (each) produces different
lā budda 'an yu'aḥḥira results on different people".
ḍurūba tta'ḥiri fī (Misk. 27/6 ff.).
ḍurūbi mnāsi

2.114 continued;

Poetry:-

- (108) qawmī hum qatalū 'akī "My people - they killed my
brother". (A.S. 366).¹⁵

2.12 Verbless clause.

2.121 Prepositional complement, e.g.:-

- (109) wahāḍa nnaw^cu mina "This type of cow - most of them
lbaqari lḡālibu^c alayhā have red pupils (literally:
ḥumratu lḥadaqi predominant upon them is redness
of the pupil)". (Mas. III, 27/10).

2.122 Noun complement, e.g.:-

- (110) wahāḍa lbaḥru ttiṣāluhu "This sea - its junction is with
bilqulzumi the (sea of) Qulzum". (ib. 55/7).

2.123 Subject, e.g.:-

- (111) waddirhamu huwa lquṭbu "The dirham is the pivot upon
llaḍī tudūru^c alayhi which the millstone of the
raḥa ddunyā world turns". (Jāḥ. 199/19).¹⁶

2.2 Form of resumptive element.

2.21 Clitic pronoun, e.g. above passim.

2.22 Subject morpheme of verb, e.g. (107).

2.23 Independent personal pronoun, e.g.:-

- (112) ya^crifu kullu wāḥidin "Everybody knows what is the meaning
'anna lḥamda mā huwa of hamd". (Wright, Gram. II, p.277).

2.23 continued:

Qur'an:-

- (113) allāhu lā 'ilāha 'illā huwa "Allah - there is no god save him".
(Q2/255).

cf. (108) and (111).

2.24 Demonstrative pronoun.

Resumptive demonstrative pronouns occur:-

2.241 After long extraposed nominal phrases, e.g.:-

- (114) fa'ammā ḡayru hā'ulā'i "As for the other Abyssinian
mina lḡabašati llašīna tribes which we mentioned
qaddamnā ōikrahum mimman previously, viz. those which
'am^cana fi lmaḡribi miḡla migrated to the West such as
zaḡāwa walkawkaw walqarāqar Z., K., Q., M., M., M., Q., D.,
wamadīda wamaris walmabras and Q. - each of these and of
walmalāna walqumati the other Abyssinian tribes
waduwayla walqarma has a king and a royal
falikulli wāḡidin min residence".
hā'ulā'i waḡayrihim min (Mas. III, 37/11 ff.).
'anwā^c i l'aḡabiši malikun
wadāru mamlakatin

2.242 After quotations.

This is particularly common in commentaries.
When lemmata of the text occur within the
body of the commentary the sequence lemma +
comment often has the structure of an
extrapositional sentence, e.g.:-

- (115) qawluhu bābu qawli llāhi "His words 'Chapter of the words
^cazza wajalla 'aw of God - he is powerful and
ṡadaqatin wahiya 'it^camu magnificent - "or almsgiving",
sittati masākīna: yušīru that is feeding six poor men' -
bihāḡa 'ilā 'anna ṡṡadaqata by this he alludes to the fact

(continued overpage)

(115) continued:

fi l'āyati mubhamatun
fassarathā ssunnatu

that the term "almsgiving" in
the verse is vague (and that) it
has been explicated by the sunna".
(Fathu lBarī IV, 13/12).

cf. ib. 12/6, 145/13.

Further examples:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

(116) waqawluhu fakullu hāḏā (REJ 70, 55/7-9).¹⁷

(117) qawluhum ḏālika (JQR 14, 288/4).¹⁷

(118) waqawluhu hāḏā (REJ 70, 56/16).¹⁷

Christian Arabic:-

(119) faqad naba'anā lmasīḥu
rabbunā 'anna qawla
rrasūli 'innamā
kāna ḏālika min ta^clīmi
ššayṭāni

"And Christ our Lord had informed
us that the words of the apostle
..... were from the teaching of
Satan".
(Blau ChA, p.484).¹⁸

2.243 Occasionally elsewhere, e.g.:-

Qur'an:-

(120) libāsu ttaqwā ḏālika
kayrun

"A raiment of piety - that is
better". (Q7/26).

Poetry:-

(121) yadāhu 'aṣābat hāḏihi
ḥatfa hāḏihi

"His two hands - the one brought
about the death of the other".
(A.S. 373).

In (121) the use of demonstratives gives distinctness to the opposition
between the two hands.

2.25 Full nominal

2.251 Same lexical item as extraposed nominal, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (122) al^cabdu lil^cabdi lā
'aṣlun walā ṭarafun "The slave - the slave has no
origin and no relatives".
(A.S. 374).
- (123) 'inna lhawādata lā
hawādata baynanā "Peace - there is no peace
between us". (ib.).

2.252 General class term which is semantically entailed
by the extraposed nominal, e.g.:-

- (124) ^cabdullāhi ni^cma
rrajulu "^cAbdullah - how fine is the man!"
(Sīb. I, 259/14).
- (125) hāḏihi ddāru ni^cmati
lbalādu "This abode - how fine is the
place!" (Ibn Ya^ciṣ 103, 5/23).¹⁹

2.253 Nominal subsuming a number of co-ordinated
referents, e.g.:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (126) azza^cim wallaḏī lā yurzaq "The fool, he who is not granted
'awlād wallaḏī qaḏā children, he who spends his life
zamānhu bil'amrāḏ waḏḏayyiqu in disease - he who is of
rrizq 'amarr mina θθālāθa straitened means is more wretched
than the three". (David 247/5).

2.254 Nominal standing in a part-whole relation to the
extraposed nominal, e.g.:-

- (127) wanaklatuhu llatī ḡurisat "The palm-tree which was planted
'ilayhi yakādu lbusru in it - the fruit almost bends the
yahṣiru bil^cuḏūqi racemes".
(Sīr. 41/1).

2.273 The Arab grammarians adduce several examples from poetry which do not fall into the preceding two categories, e.g.:

- (132) qad 'asbaḥat 'ummu lkiyāri tadda^{cī} ^calayya ḥanban kulluhu lam 'asna^c "Umm lkiyar ascribes to me a crime of which I have not committed any part (literally: all of it - I have not done)". (Sīb. I 33/20).²¹
- (133) fa'aqbaltu zaḥfan ^cala rrukbatayni faḥawbun ^calayya faḥawbun 'ajur "I came crawling on my knees, one garment was on me and one garment I dragged (on the ground)". (Sīb. I 33/23).²²
- (134) ḥalāḥun kulluhunna qataltu ^camdan "All three (women) I have killed on purpose". (Sīb. I 34/5).

In his discussion of the particle 'ayyu, Sībawaihi states that the construction 'ayyuhum jā'aka faḍrib (i.e. with initial nominative) is possible if 'ayyu has the function of a conditional particle (ḥarf lmujāzāti), viz. "Whoever should come (= if somebody comes) beat (him)". On the other hand if the accusative is used, viz. 'ayyahum, the initial phrase should be interpreted as a nominal relative phrase, 'ayyu being equivalent to the relative pronoun 'allaḥī (Sīb. I 57/5-8).

Finally we should also mention here that some traditions read Q38/85 as walhaqqu 'aqūlu ("I say the truth") instead of walhaqqa ...²³

3.1 continued:

Often a variant text reads a nominative instead of an accusative, e.g.:-

Qur'an:-

- (142) 'ammā ṭamūdu (variant: ṭamūda²⁶/ṭamūdan²⁷) fahadaynāhum "As for Thamud - we guided them". (Q41/17).
- (143) sūrātun (variant: sūratan²⁸) 'anzalnāhā "A sūra - we have revealed it". (Q24/1).
- (144) wassāriqu (variant: wassāriqa²⁹) wassāriqatu (variant: wassāriqata²⁹) faqta^cū 'aydiyahumā "The male thief and the female thief - cut off the hands of both of them". (Q5/38).
- (145) wazzāniyatu (variant: wazzāniyata³⁰) wazzānī (variant: wazzāniya³⁰) fajlidū kulla wāhidin minhumā "The adulteress and the adulterer - scourge each one of them". (Q24/2).

Poetry:-

- (146) la tajza^cī 'in munfisun (variant: munfisun³¹) 'ahlaktuhu "Do not grieve if I lose wealth". (Sīb. I 56/4).
- (147) muḥarriqan (variant: muḥarriqun) ṣafadū 'ilayhi yamīnahu "Maḥarriq - they bound his right hand to him". (Naqā'id, ed. Bevan, p.192/12).
- (148) fa'ammā tamīman tamīma bna murrin (variant: tamīmun tamīmu bnu murrin) fa'alfāhum lqawmu rawbā niyāmā "As for Tamīm, Tamīm ibn Murr, the people found them drowsy and somnolent". (Sīb. I 32/6).

3.2 Sībawaihi discusses Ex in chapters 24-34 of his Kitāb. He is mainly concerned with the case inflection ('i^crāb) of the extraposed noun and takes pains to specify the

3.2 continued:

circumstances in which each case vowel is used. In view of the relative interchangeability of the nominative and accusative inflection which is exhibited in Examples (142) - (148) and considering, moreover, the very low functional yield of Arabic case endings, approaching zero in prose texts,³² Sibawaihi's detailed analyses sometimes give the impression of linguistic prescription rather than description. Nevertheless, we are often not in a position to objectively assess the validity of his statements, for many of the constructions he discusses are rarely attested in texts. We cite here some of his examples and observations by way of illustration:-

1. The extraposed noun may be put in the accusative if the resumptive element is a noun complement, e.g.:-

zaydan laqītu 'akāhu "Zayd - I met his brother".

This is possible since "when (a verb) governs something which is connected with (the fronted noun) it is as if it governs (the fronted noun)".³³ (I 32/17). Similarly:-

'azaydan ḡarabta rajulan "Zayd - did you hit a man who
yuḡibbuhu loves him?"

With regard to this example it is stated that "the first noun is in the accusative because the second is related to the first".³⁴ (I 45/7).

2. A noun which stands at the front of the clause in the adverbial accusative may be resumed by a prepositional phrase consisting of a preposition + resumptive pronoun, e.g.:-

yawma ljum^cati 'ātīka fihi "On Friday - I shall come to
you then". (I 33/10).

3. Under certain circumstances it is preferable for the extraposed noun to be in the accusative rather than in the nominative:-

3. continued:

- (i) When the Ex clause is co-ordinated with a preceding clause which has an accusative object, e.g.:-

ra'aytu zaydan wa^camran "I saw Zayd and ^cAmr - I spoke
kallamtuhu to him". (I 35/4).

laqītu k̄alidan wazaydani "I met Khalid and Zayd - I
štaraytu lahu Ṡawban bought him a garment".³⁵ (ib).

However, if the extraposed noun is separated from the preceding clause by a particle such as 'ammā it is in the nominative, e.g.:-

qad laqītu zaydan wa'ammā^c "I met Zayd and as for ^cAmr -
^camrun faqad marartu bihi I passed by him". (I 38/10).

- (ii) In answers to specific questions in which the interrogative word is the object of the verb (I 37/15), e.g.:-

Question:- man ra'ayta
Answer:- zaydan ra'aytuhu

- (iii) When the extraposed noun is preceded by the interrogative 'alif, e.g.:-

'azaydan mararta bihi "Zayd - did you pass by him?".
(I 41/18).

'a^camran qatalta 'akāhu "^cAmr - did you kill his brother?".
(ib.).

However, when the Ex clause is verbless the extraposed noun can only be in the nominative, e.g.:-

'a^cabdullāhi 'anta 'aṣḍaqu "^cAbdullah - are you more faithful
lahu 'am bišrun to him or Bišr?" (I 55/5).

- (iv) When the extraposed noun is preceded by the particles

3. (iv) continued:

'in, 'iḏā, or ḥayṡu (and the resumptive element is the object complement of a verb), e.g.:-

'iḏā^c abdallāhi talqāhu fa'akrimhu "If^c Abdullah - you meet him,
honour him". (I 44/7).

hayṡu zaydan tajidhu fa'akrimhu "Wherever Zayd - you find him,
honour him". (ib.).

(v) When the verb is an imperative or prohibitive, e.g.:-

zaydani ḍribhu "Zayd - hit him". (I 58/9).

^camrani mrur bihi "^cAmr - pass by him". (ib.).

'ammā kālidan falā taštīm 'abāhu "As for Khalid - do not abuse
his father". (I 58/10).

(vi) When the extraposed noun is preceded by a negative particle,
e.g.:-

mā zaydan ḍarabtuhu "Zayd - I did not hit him".
(I 61/15).

mā^c amran laqītu 'abāhu "^cAmr - I did not meet his
father". (ib.).

(vii) When, by poetic licence, the extraposed noun is preceded
by a particle which must normally occur immediately before
a verb, e.g.:-

lam zaydan 'adribhu "Zayd - I did not hit him".
(I 40/2).

4. The extraposed noun may be in the genitive when preceded by hattā in constructions such as:-

laqītu lqawma hattā ^cabdillāhi "I met the people, even ^cAbdullah
laqītuhi - I met him". (I 39/13).

Here laqītuhi is added as an afterthought after ^cAbdullah was made the end of the sentence.³⁶ A similar afterthought construction is where the extraposed noun is a co-ordinate complement of a preceding preposition, e.g.:-

marartu bizaydin wa ^cabdillāhi "I passed by Zayd and ^cAbdullah
marartu bihi - I passed by him". (ib).

According to the parameters which were laid down in the Introduction (p. 6), constructions such as zaydan ḍarabtuhu should perhaps be classified as Pronominal Agreement rather than Extraposition. Such an analysis, however, is by no means certain since it is not clear whether zaydan in this clause is put in the accusative by the direct government of the verb. This ambiguity arises since, as we have seen, a fronted noun may stand in the accusative in circumstances where it is isolated from any direct government, viz. (a) when its verb occurs in a clause which is embedded in the main clause and so is separated from the fronted noun by a clause boundary (cf. 'azaydan darabta rajulan yuḥibbuhu above), and (b) when the resumptive element is a preposition complement or a noun complement.

The only clear examples of Pronominal Agreement in Standard Arabic are constructions in which a fronted prepositional phrase is subsequently resumed by a duplicate phrase consisting of a preposition + co-referential pronoun. Instances of this are largely restricted to poetry, e.g.:-

(149) bil'ablaqi lfardi baytī "In the one Ablaq - my home is
bihi in it". (Nöldeke, Poesie 63/3).

II FUNCTION

1.0 SV(0) and Extraposition.

Constructions which consist of an extraposed nominal + resumptive independent pronoun + verb (e.g. zaydun huwa jā'a) occur extremely infrequently in comparison to other kinds of Ex verbal clause.³⁷ The explanation for this dearth of verbal clauses with extraposed subjects is that clauses with simple SV(0) word order occur in the same range of contexts as verbal clauses which have an extraposed object, prepositional complement, or noun complement. In other words, SV(0) and Ex clauses are distributionally equivalent.³⁸ This is demonstrated by the fact that for every syntactic construction which involves the placement of a subject before its verb there is a corresponding Ex construction.

The most obvious context in which such distributional equivalence is manifested is that of main clauses, viz. zaydun jā'a - zaydun ḍarabtuhu. In addition we may cite constructions with auxiliary verbs (cf. I 1.7):- kāna zaydun jā'a - kāna zaydun ḍarabtuhu; constructions with verba cordis in which a noun from the complement clause is raised into the object slot of the main verb:- ra'aytu zaydan jā'a - ra'aytu zaydan jā'a 'abūhu; relative clauses, in which the relative pronoun either stands in extraposition or else functions as subject to the following verb:- zayduni llaḍī jā'a - zayduni llaḍī ḍarabtuhu.

Conversely, the occurrence of SV(0) is restricted in the same contexts as those in which Ex is restricted. For instance, SV(0) is very rarely attested (a) after initial adverbials, e.g. yawma ljun^c ati zaydun jā'a (cf. I 1.8); (b) within the body of relative clauses, e.g. zayduni llaḍī 'abūhu jā'a (cf. I 1.124); (c) after another fronted or extraposed nominal, e.g. zaydan^c amrun ḍaraba (^cAmr hit Zayd), zayduni lkalbu^c addahu (Zayd - the dog bit him) (cf. I 1.11); (d) after temporal or conditional subordinating conjunctions (cf. I 1.122, I 1.123).³⁹

The general principle is that whenever a clause constituent other than the verb is placed in initial position it is immediately

followed by the verb.⁴⁰

There is also a certain amount of structural parallelism between SV(0) and Ex clauses. The resumptive clitic pronouns⁴¹ in Ex clauses correspond to the subject agreement morpheme in the verb of SV clauses. In SV clauses the verb agrees fully with the subject, in gender and number, just as the resumptive pronoun in Ex clauses agrees in gender and number with the extraposed nominal. By contrast, when the subject follows the verb (i.e. when the construction is not distributionally equivalent to an Ex clause) there is often no agreement at all between subject and verb. In those cases in which there is agreement in VS clauses it is generally only partial (cf. Reckendorf S.V. 69 ff.).⁴²

On account of the parallelism between SV and Ex clauses, in the following sections these two clause types are treated together as variants of the same basic construction.

2.0 Aspect of verb.

When a verbal clause is introduced by the particles 'inna, 'anna, la^calla, or layta a nominal normally precedes the verb, whether this nominal is extraposed or whether it is the subject of the verb. On the other hand we have seen that there are some environments in which SV or Ex is normally precluded (cf. II 1.0). In constructions which fall outside these two categories - i.e. for the most part in independent clauses - there is a degree of choice in the selection of a nominal-first (SV or Ex) or a verb-first (VS) order. One consideration which has a bearing on this choice is text genre: SV/Ex independent main clauses are attested far more frequently in expository or descriptive texts than in narratives.⁴³ The operative factor behind this phenomenon is the aspect of the verb. SV/Ex is more common in independent main clauses with imperfect verbs, which are characteristic of expository and descriptive texts, than in those with perfect verbs, which express events in a narrative.⁴⁴ Clauses with perfect verbs are 'event-orientated', i.e. they refer to a specific event which happens at a certain point in time. Consequently these clauses typically open with the constituent which expresses the event, viz. the verb, and this sets the perspective for the whole clause. On the other hand, imperfect

verbs predicate some quality or attribute of a referent. In this sense they are semantically akin to verbless clauses, specifically those with classificatory (= indefinite) predicates, e.g. zaydun ḥasanun. The relatively frequent nominal + verb word order in imperfect clauses can, therefore, be explained as an assimilation to the structural pattern of verbless clauses, viz. nominal + predicate.

In consequence of this distribution of SV/Ex clauses the analysis of these constructions in the ensuing sections is chiefly based on examples from non-narrative texts.

3.0 Marking span boundaries.

One of the major discourse functions of Ex clauses and SV clauses is to act as a syntactic marker of the boundaries of discourse spans.⁴⁵ Ex constructions which perform this function are either verbal clauses (i.e. those containing a verb) or one of the following types of verbless clause:- (a) constructions in which the resumptive element is a prepositional complement, e.g. zaydun lahu dirhamun; (b) constructions in which the resumptive element is a noun complement, e.g. zaydun baytuhu kabīrun. In the majority of cases Ex/SV clauses signal the onset of a span, yet occasionally they indicate span closure. On the other hand, all other things being equal, clauses opening with a verb and the corresponding non-extrapositional form of the aforementioned types of verbless Ex clause (viz. lizaydin dirhamun; baytu zaydin kabīrun) are characteristically used to continue a span. The qualification "all other things being equal" is important. Ex/SV is not the only grammatical signal for span onset. Section II 4 enumerates several other grammatical devices which perform this function, e.g. clause initial adverbials, auxiliary kāna, reidentification of the topic referent, etc. If the aforementioned continuity constructions are combined with one of these alternative boundary marking features, their continuity function is generally overridden.

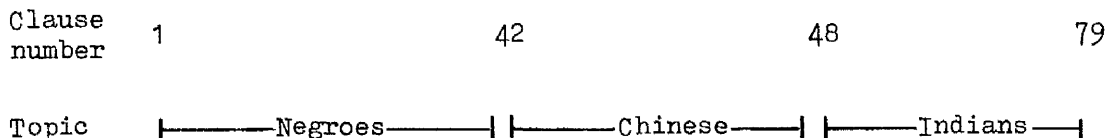
Moreover, Ex/SV clauses can only be exploited to function as span boundary markers if they are optional and not grammatically required. For instance, when verbal clauses are introduced by 'inna or 'anna a nominal must obligatorily precede the verb and so the potential opposition nominal + verb = span boundary versus verb + nominal = span continuity is neutralised. Another construction the word order of which is grammatically fixed is a verbless clause consisting of a noun which is not in construct with another noun + indefinite (i.e. classificatory) predicate nominal (e.g. zaydun 'amīrun). Similarly, the resumptive copula pronoun in a verbless clause with a definite predicate nominal (e.g. zaydun huwa l'amīru)⁴⁶ is the norm and occurs in all contexts. All these clause types are neutral as regards whether they indicate span boundary or span continuity.

3.1 Span onset.

3.12 Topic spans.

Ex/SV are often used as a syntactic device to mark the onset of a topic span, i.e. a point in the discourse where the attention of the hearer/reader is directed to a topic participant which is different from that of the immediately preceding context. The topic is the referent which stands at the front of the Ex/SV clause in the nominative case. This function of Ex/SV clauses is illustrated in the passage from Mas^Cūdī which is given in the appendix to this chapter (= Mas. III 5/10 - 11/9). The Ex clause (42) marks the onset of a stretch of discourse in which the referent "the Chinese" has topic status, viz. clauses (42) - (47). In the discourse preceding clause (42) the referent "the Negroes" is the major topic participant. Clause (48), on the other hand, constitutes the beginning of the topic span of the referent "the Indians", which extends to clause (79). These three referents are explicitly shown to be topics by the frequency with which they are referred to.⁴⁷ The topic span structure of the text may be represented diagrammatically as follows:-

Fig. 1



Ex/SV clauses may also announce a topic at the beginning of a discourse. This may be considered a shift from zero (= silence) to a topic instead of a shift from one topic to another. These constructions are frequently used at the beginning of the fables of Luqmān, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|-------|--|---|
| (150) | 'asadun marratani štadda
C
alayhi ḥarru ššamsi ... | "A lion - once the sun shone
fiercely upon him ...". |
| (151) | 'insānun kāna lahu
ṣanamun | "A man - to him there was (= he had)
an idol". |

- (152) 'asadun marratan wa'insānuni "A lion and a man once
ṣṭahabā^c ala ṭṭarīqi ... accompanied each other on the
road ...".

Similarly at the beginning of anecdotes:-

- (153) mūsā nabiyyu 'isrā'īla sa'ala "Moses, the prophet of Israel,
rabbahu tabāraka wata^cālā asked his Lord - he is blessed
faqāla and exalted - and said".
(Tabarī, Tārīk; in Lyons,
Classical Arabic Reader, p.2).
- (154) allāhu tabāraka wata^cālā "God - he is blessed and exalted -
'awḥā 'ilā mūsā 'annahu revealed to Moses that he would
mutawaffin harūna take up Aaron (in death)".
(ib.).

Also frequently at the beginning of 'numerical' proverbial sayings,⁴⁸
e.g.:-

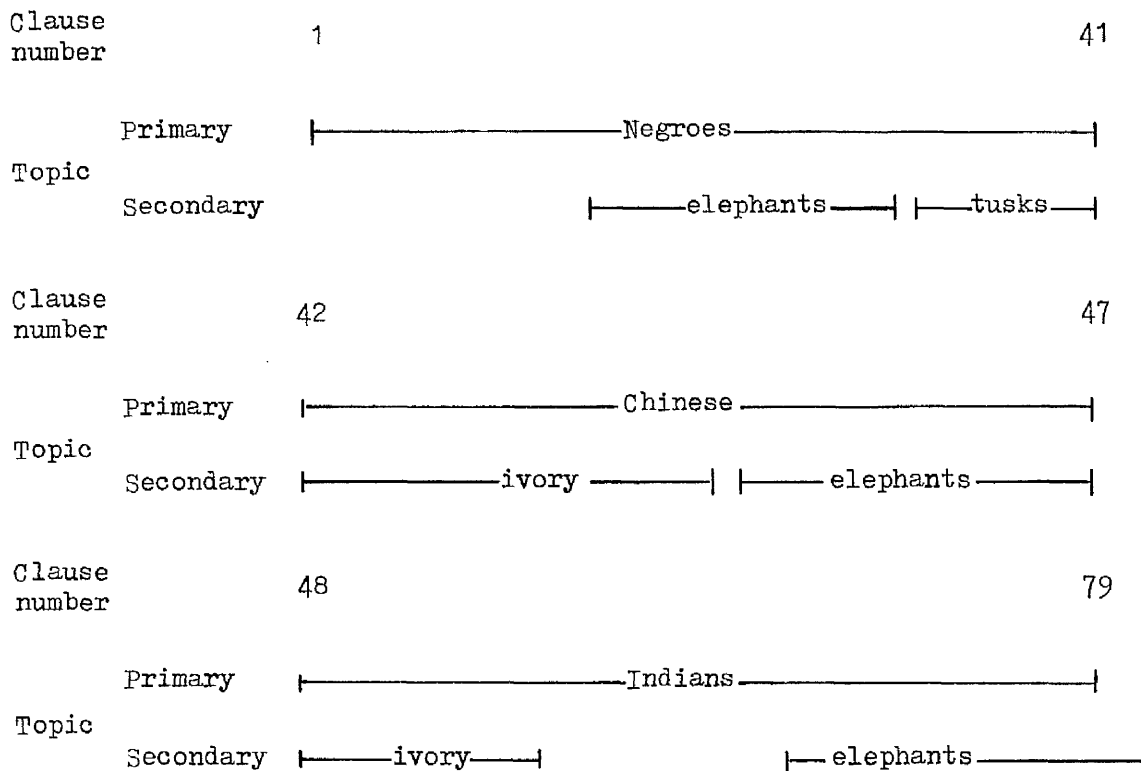
- (155) ṯalāṯun man kunna fīhi "Three properties - whoever
wajada ḥalāwata l'īmāni ... possesses them experiences the
sweetnes of faith ...".
(Buk. 20/20).
- (156) ni^cmatāni maḡbūnun fīhimā "Two fair things - many people
kaṯīrun mina māsī ... are deceived by them ...".
(A.S. 367).
- (157) 'arba^cun man kunna fīhi "Four qualities - whoever
kāna munāfiqan possesses them is a hypocrite ...".
(ib. 540).

3.13 Secondary topic spans.

Returning now to the Mas^cūdī passage which was
discussed above, it can be seen that between clauses (1) and (79) the
three aforementioned topic referents, viz. "the Negroes", "the Chinese"

and "the Indians", are not the only items which are referred to frequently. This feature, which is diagnostic of topic status, is evinced by other referents in certain segments of the text, e.g.:- "elephants" (24) - (36), (46) - (47), and (75) - (87); "ivory" (42) - (45) and (48) - (52); "tusks" (37) - (41). These topic spans fall within the larger topic spans of the three topics "the Negroes", "the Chinese", and "the Indians". Consequently the former may be termed secondary topic spans since they are subordinate to the higher or primary topic spans.⁴⁹ This elaboration of the analysis of the text structure may be represented as follows:-

Fig 2

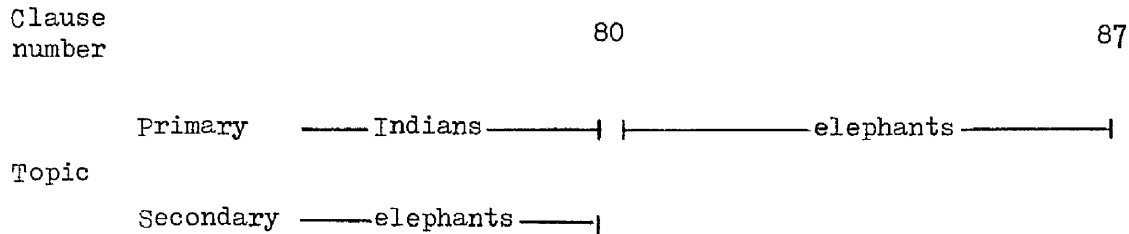


An examination of the syntax at the boundaries of the secondary topic spans which occur within the higher primary topic spans shows that they are often marked by Ex/SV clauses, cf. clauses (46), (75), and (25). The nominal at the front of the construction, however, is in all cases the current primary topic and not the new secondary topic.

3.13 continued.

The SV clause (80) coincides with the shift in status of the referent "elephants" from secondary topic to primary topic. This new primary topic span extends to clause (87):-

Fig. 3



By contrast, VS clauses are employed to continue a topic, whether it be a primary or secondary topic, cf. clauses (28), (29), (39), (45) and (82).

3.14 Theme spans.

The theme of a segment of discourse is the semantic domain of the information which is predicated about the topic referent.⁵⁰ A shift in theme within a topic span is sometimes marked by an Ex/SV clause, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(158) (1) hāḏihi madīnatun fi
lmawḏi^c i lma^c rūfi biljanādili
mina ljibāli wal'ahjāri
(2) wahāḏihi lmadīnatu fī
hāḏihi ljazīrati yuḥīṭu bihā
mā'u nnīli ka'ihāṭati mā'i
lfurāti bilmuduni llatī
biljazā'iri lkā'inati bayna
rahḃati lmaliki bni tuq waḥīt
(3) wahiya tāwsa wa^cāna
walḥadīṭa (4) wafī madīnati
lbulāqi minbarun wakalqun
kaḥīrun mina lmuslimīna
wanakīlun kaḥīrun fi kila</p> | <p>"This (i.e. Bulāq) is a town situated in the place known as the waterfall of mountains and rocks. This town on this island - the water of the Nile surrounds it, as the water of the Euphrates surrounds the towns on the islands between R. and H., i.e. T., A., and H.

In the town of Bulāq there is a pulpit and a large Muslim population; and many palm-trees on both banks. This town - at it</p> |
|---|---|

ššaṭayni (5) wahāḏihi	end up the ships of the Nubians
lmaḏīnātu 'ilayhā tantahī	and the ships of the Muslims
sufunu nnūbati wasufunu	from Egypt and Aswan".
lmuslimīna min bilādi	(Mas. III, 40/9 - 41/2).
miṣra wa'aswāna	

The information which is expressed in this passage may be segmented into four distinct semantic domains or theme spans, viz. (1) - (2) = the general situation of the town; (2) - (4) = notable specific features of the town as a whole; (4) - (5) = notable specific features within the town; (5) ff. = the relations of the town with other lands. This may be represented as follows:-

Fig. 4

Clause number	1	2	3	4	5
Topic	-----The town of Bulāq-----				
Theme	General situation	notable features of town as a whole	Features within town	Relations with other lands	

The Ex clauses (2) and (5) in this passage, therefore, signal a shift in theme. cf. further:-

(159) (1) watanāsala man	"The Greek population of the
biljazīrati mina	island (= Soqotra) increased.
lyūnāniyyīna fiḥā	Alexander passed away, and the
(2) wamaḏā l'iskandaru	Messiah appeared. The inhabitants
(3) waḏahara lmasīḥu	adopted Christianity (which they
(4) fatanaṣṣara man fiḥā	have practised) up to the present
'ilā hāḏa lwaḡti (5)	day. There is not a place in the
walaysa fi ddunyā mawḏi ^c un	world, I think (lit. but God knows
wallāhu 'a ^c lamu fiḥi qawmun	best), in which Greeks have
mina lyūnāniyyīna yaḥfaḏūna	preserved their lineage without
'ansābahun lam yudākīlhum	miscegenation with Romans or

fihā rūmiyyun walā
 ḡayruhum ḡayra 'ahli
 hāḏihi ljazīrati (6) wahum
 fī hāḏa lwaqti ta'wī
 'ilayhim bawāriju lhindi
 llaḏīna yaqṭa^c una^c ala
 lmuslimīna

other races except the people
 of this island. They - at the
 present time the ships of the
 Indians who raid the Muslims
 seek refuge among them".
 (Mas. III, 37/1-6).

The topic referent of this stretch of discourse is "the inhabitants of the island of Soqatra". The Ex clause (6) coincides with a shift in theme from "the genealogy of the population" to "their present relations with the Indian battleships".

3.15 Shift in level of description.

An Ex/SV clause sometimes marks a shift within a topic span from a general perspective to a more specific one. The shift from general to specific description is often found immediately subsequent to a point where a new topic referent is introduced. In such cases, a clause or clause sequence first introduces the new topic in a general fashion and this is then followed by a stretch of text of more specific content which amplifies the initial general statement. An example of such a structure in which the transition from the general to the specific span is signalled by an Ex clause is attested in the Mas^cūdī passage in the Appendix:- Clause (52) introduces the referent "chess" and the stretch of discourse from the subsequent Ex clause (53) to clause (74) gives more specific information about chess among the Indians. cf. also:-

(160) wamu^c zamu 'ašjāri hāḏihi
 ljazā'iri nnārjīlu wahuwa
 min 'aqwātihim ma^c a ssamaki
 waqad taqaddama ḏikruhu
 wa'ašjāru nnārjīli ša'nuhā
^cajībun watu^cmiru nnaklu
 minhā ḡay^c ašara^c iḏqan
 fi ssanati

"Most of the trees of these
 islands are cocoanut palms. They
 furnish their (i.e. the inhabi-
 tants') food in addition to fish.
 They have been alluded to above.
 The cocoanut palm-trees - their
 properties are remarkable. Each
 tree produces twelve clusters of
 fruit every year" (Ibn
 Battuta, in Nicholson (1911),
 76/14-17).

Wright Gram. II, p.330 ff.). Since SV and Ex clauses are distributionally equivalent, Ex clauses perform this function also, e.g.:-

- (163) faqāla lahā lammā ra'a
mā bihā wahuwa yašuuqu
C alayhi mā yarā ...
"He said to her when he saw what
state she was in, he - what he
saw grieving him ...".
(Ṭabarī, Ṭārik I, 587/9).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (164) fayarūh yasrah tūla
māhār wayarji C 'ākira
māhār wahuwa mā ma C ahu
šay'
"He leaves home and works the
whole of the day. At the end of
the day he returns without any-
thing (lit. while he - there is
with him nothing)". (David 245/13).

cf. also Example (5).

An Ex/SV clause may also introduce a segment of discourse which serves as a comment to the material in the immediately preceding text. Such constructions are found chiefly in texts of an expository nature, e.g.:-

- (165) wayantahī ... 'ila l^Cilmi
l'ilāhiyyi llaḏī huwa
'ākīru martabati l^Culūmi
wayaθīqu bihi wayaskunu
'ilayhi wayatma'innu
qalbuha wataḏhabu ḥayratuhu
wayanjali lahu lmaṭlūbu
l'ākīru ḥattā yattaḥida
bihi wahāḏa lkamālu qad
bayyannā ṭṭarīqa 'ilayhi
wa'awḏahnā subulahu fī
kutubin 'ukara
"He eventually attains divine
knowledge which is the ultimate
degree of knowledge and feels
confident and at peace. His
heart is at rest and his confusion
vanishes. The final object of his
quest is revealed to him so that he
might become unified with it.
This perfection - we have explained
the way it is reached and elucidated
the methods of its attainment in
other works". (Misk. 32/19 - 33/2).

3.16 continued.

Example (64) illustrates an analogous construction from narrative in which an Ex clause marks a shift in orientation of the discourse from text (= foreground) to comment (= background).

A further type of background span which may be introduced by an Ex/SV clause is one which recapitulates information that is explicitly given in, or is predictable from, the preceding discourse, e.g. clause (72) in the text which is reproduced in the appendix.

3.17 Onset of turns in dialogue.

In a typical dialogue one speaker opens discussion about a referent and then his interlocutor replies with a response which continues the same topic. In dialogues which are attested in Classical Arabic texts, the response of the second speaker often opens with an Ex/SV clause which has the topic referent at its head, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| (166) | faqltu waylaka mā laka
waljuwārišni wamā ragbatuka
fīhi qāla ju ^c iltu fidāka ...
aljuwārišnu mā 'asna ^c u bihi
..... | "I said: 'You should be ashamed!
What use have you of Juwārišn
(= a digestive), and what need
have you of it?' He said: 'With
respect ... Juwārišn - what would
I do with it?". (Jāh. 46/1-3). |
|-------|---|---|

Here the topic referent juwārišn is continued throughout both turns in the dialogue. The Ex clause marks the onset of the response of the second speaker to the question of the first.

cf. also Example (167) from a Judaeo-Arabic text:-

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (167) | qālū man yut ^c imu hā'ulā'i
lmasākīna llaylata qāla
ba ^c ḍuhum hā'ulā'i yaqūtuhum
<u>kubzun</u> wamilḥun | "They said: 'Who feeds these
wretches at night?' One of them
replied: 'These people - bread
and salt is their food (lit.
feeds them)'" . (Nis. 178/6-7). |
|-------|---|--|

3.18 Shift in illocutionary force.

In Example (167) apart from a change in speaker between two clauses there is also a change in illocutionary force, viz. question to statement.⁵³ Although this shift from question to statement most commonly coincides with the transition between the question of one speaker and the answer of his interlocutor, it is sometimes attested within the turn of a single speaker. In such cases the point of change from one illocutionary force to another is often marked by an Ex/SV clause. This shows that a shift in illocutionary force is sufficient by itself to motivate the use of an Ex/SV construction, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| (168) qālat 'ali ^c illatin
raġibta fīhā famā hiya
wallāhi min ^c indiḥā
jamālun walā laḥā mālun | "She said: 'Do you desire (to marry) her for a reason, for she - by God - she does not possess the quality of beauty, nor does she have wealth'". (Aḡ. ² XX 7/2). |
|---|--|

Here the Ex clause marks a shift from question to assertion.

3.19 Break in expectancy chain.

According to alJurjānī⁵⁴ an SV clause may be used to express an event or state which is not anticipated. One construction in which this nuance may be expressed is that in which a perfect verb follows waw al-ḥāl. Consider the following:-

(169) ji'tuhu wahuwa qad rakiba

(170) ji'tuhu waqad rakiba

Jurjānī claims that (169) implies the speaker had not expected to find that he had ridden away⁵⁵ whereas (170) has a more neutral interpretation.⁵⁶

Further examples discussed by Jurjānī are:- (overpage)

(171) 'atānā waqad ṭala^Cati ššamsu

(172) 'atā waššamsu lam taṭla^C

These two sentences would be used in a situation in which the subject of 'atā was expected to arrive after sunrise. In (171) this expectation was fulfilled but in (172) it was defeated. According to alJurjānī the use of SV order in the hāl clause of (172) implies that the event expressed in this clause is not the one which was anticipated.⁵⁷

Example (173) exhibits a related phenomenon:-

(173)	yaz ^C amu 'annahu šujā ^C un wahuwa yafza ^C u min 'adnā šay'in	"He claims that he is brave, but he is scared of the smallest thing".
-------	--	---

Here it is claimed that the force of the SV clause is to deny a previous claim,⁵⁸ i.e. it expresses something which is inconsistent with the preceding statement and so unanticipated. Note the translation of wa- by the contrastive connective 'but'.

The use of nominal + verb order in Examples (169) - (173) to express an unexpected 'twist' is consistent with the theory that this construction is used principally to indicate some form of boundary or re-orientation in the discourse.

3.110 Verb complement clauses.

The analysis nominal + verb = boundary marker and verb + nominal = continuity marker also explains the distribution of the two complement clause types: 'anna + nominal + verb and 'an + verb + nominal. The former expresses an action or state the realisation of which is not dependent on the action or state expressed in the main verb. Consequently, the nominal + verb order may be interpreted as a syntactic expression of the semantic autonomy and distinctness of the proposition. On the other hand the sequence 'an + verb + nominal is generally used when the realisation of the action or state expressed by the verb is dependent upon the preceding

main verb. In such constructions the verb of the subordinate clause is in the subjunctive and is future to the main verb in point of time (cf. Wright, Gram. II, p.24). The VS order of the subordinate clause may be interpreted as a signal of the close interconnection between the semantic content of the two clauses.⁵⁹

3.2 Span closure.

Ex/SV constructions are occasionally used as a type of clausula to mark the closure of a span of discourse, e.g.:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (174) bal kaḏā faṣna^cū lahum
maḏābihhum fanquḏū
wadikākhum fakassirū
wasawārihum tajda^cū
wafusūlhum fa'ahriqūhā
binnār
"But thus you shall deal with them; you shall destroy their altars, break down their images, cut down their columns, and their idols - burn them down with fire". (Sa^cadiah's translation of Deut. 7/5).
- (175) waḏalika 'anna mab^cē
fa^c ilun wanib^cū maṣpūnāw
allaḏi staṣhada bihi
ṣemū'ēl fahuwa nfi^cālun
"This is because mab^cē is active but (the form of the verb in the phrase) nib^cū maṣpūnāw, which ṣemū'ēl cited is passive".
(Janāh 104/15).

It is a common feature of structurally balanced parallelistic constructions for the second and closing member to be longer than the first (cf. Beeston, 1974b, p.137). An Ex clause is sometimes used in the second member to add 'ballast' by means of the resumptive pronoun, e.g.:-

- (176) walkabaru ṣṣādiqu^c ani
ṣṣay'i lwāḥidi wāḥidun
walkabaru lkāḏibu^c ani
ṣṣay'i lwāḥidi lā yuḥṣā
lahu^c adadun walā yūqafu
minhu^c alā haddin
"There can only be one true report about something, but false reports about something are numberless and unlimited".
(Jāh. 199/5-6).

cf. also Example (137).

4.0 Other syntactic means of indicating boundaries of discourse spans.

4.1 Clause initial adverbials.

A clause initial adverbial often marks the onset of a new topic or theme span, or of a new episode. In narrative discourse it is common for a temporal adverbial to perform this function, e.g.:-

- (177) wafī hāḏihi ssanati "In that year 'Ishāq ibn 'Ibrāhīm
qadima 'ishāqu bnu came to Baḡdād from the mountains".
'ibrāhīma baḡdāda (Ṭabarī, Tārīk, III, 2, p.1166/14).
mina ljabali ...

This clause opens a stretch of discourse in which 'Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm is the topic referent. Clause (37) in the Mas^cudi text in the appendix exhibits the use of a clause initial locative adverbial to signal the onset of a new secondary topic span, viz. that of "elephants' tusks".

4.2 The auxiliary verb kāna.

The occurrence of the auxiliary verb kāna at the front of a clause with a perfect verb does not always shift the tense of the clause to the pluperfect.⁶⁰ An examination of clauses with this apparently 'redundant' kāna within the context in which they occur reveals that the auxiliary serves a definite discourse function, namely it marks a span boundary, usually the onset of an episode, e.g.:-

- (178) waqad kāna maliku "The Nubian king sought the help
mnūbati sta^cdā 'ila of alMa'mūn, when he entered
lma'muni hīna dakāla Egypt, against those people,
miṣra^calā hā'ulā'i through messengers whom he sent
lqawmi biwafdin to Fustāṭ. They stated on his
waffadahum 'ila authority that certain of his
lfustāṭi ḏakarū^c anhu subjects and slaves had sold some
'anna 'unāsan min of their land to their neighbours
mamlakatihī wa^cabīdihi

(continued overpage)

(178) continued:

bā^{-C} ū^{-C} ḍiyā^{-C} an min
ḍiyā^{-C} ihim liman
jāwarahum

(Mas. III, 42/1 ff.).

(179) qultu yā 'amīra
lmu'minīna 'inna
limaslamata fī 'a^C nāqina
minnatan kāna muḥammaduni
bnu^C aliyin marra bihi
fa'a^C ṭāhu 'arba^C ata
'ālāfi dīnārin waqāla
lahu ya bna^C ammī haḍāni
'alfāni lidaynika
wa'alfāni lima^C unatika
fa'iḍā nafidat falā
taḥtašimnā faqāla lammā
haddaḥtuhu lhaddīḥa

"I said: 'O Commander of the Faithful, we are indebted to Maslama for a favour. Muḥammad ibn^C Alī once paid him a visit and he gave him four thousand dinars. He said to him: 'Cousin, here are two thousand to meet your debts and two thousand as a subvention for you; when they are exhausted do not be shy of asking for more'. When I had told him this story he said"
(Ṭabarī, Tārīk; in Beeston, 1977, p.17).⁶¹

4.3 'inna

In a similar manner the particle 'inna sometimes marks the onset of a discourse span, e.g.:-

(180) 'inna lqawma qad 'akḥarū
fī ḍikri ljuḍi
watafḍīlihi

"People have often mentioned the excellence of generosity"
(Jāḥ. 200/12; new theme span).

Ḥumma + 'inna marks the onset of a new episode in narrative, e.g.:-

(181) Ḥumma 'inna bābak wajjaha
rajulan min 'aṣḥābihi

"Then Bābak sent one of his companions"
(Ṭabarī, Tārīk, III, 2, 1172/4).

4.4 qad.

The particle qad sometimes occurs before a verb without modifying in any obvious way its tense or aspect. The use of qad in many such cases coincides with the boundary of a discourse span, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(182) waqad kāna mulūku lfarsi
lfudalā'u lā yurabbūna
'awlādahum bayna ḥašamihim
wakawāṣṣihim kawfan
C alayhim mina l'aḥwāli
llatī ḍakarnāhā wamin
simā^Ci mā ḥuḍḍirta minhu
wakānū yunfiḍūnahum ma^Ca
ḥiqātihim 'ila mawāḥi
lba^Cidati minhūm</p> | <p>"The virtuous kings of Persia
did not bring up their children
among their household and their
nobles lest they be exposed to
the conditions which we have
mentioned above or hear the kind
of things which you have been
warned against. They sent them
with trustworthy men to distant
provinces"
(Misk. 53/12-15).</p> |
|---|---|

Here the construction with qad signals the onset of the topic span of the referent "the kings of Persia". On the other hand the span is continued by an equivalent construction without qad, viz. wakānu yunfiḍūnahum).

The sequence wa + qad + yaf^Calu may mark a shift to background, circumstantial information (= ḥāl) analogously to the construction wa + nominal + verb (cf. Wright, Gram. II, p.330-331), e.g.:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(183) lima tu'ḍūnani waqad
ta^Clamūna 'annī rasūlu
llāhi 'ilaykum</p> | <p>"Why do you harm me, knowing
that I am the apostle of God
to you". (ib. p.331).</p> |
| <p>(184) kaḍabtum wa'antum
ta^Clamūna</p> | <p>"You lied, knowing (that you
did so)". (ib. p.330).</p> |

4.5 Reidentification of topic referent.

A topic referent is often reidentified at the boundary of a discourse span. Consider Example (158); in clause (4), which constitutes a new theme span (cf. II 3.14), the topic referent is fully identified (maḍīnati lbulāqi) whereas in the preceding clauses it is referred to by means of anaphoric deictic expressions (hāḍihi, hāḍihi lmaḍīnātu). The onset of two other theme spans in this passage is signalled syntactically by an Ex construction. In clause (4) the reidentification of the topic referent is employed as an alternative device for marking a span boundary. This choice was doubtless dictated by the desire to achieve a degree of structural variation.

The two span boundary signals Ex/SV and 'reidentification of topic referent' are frequently combined, e.g. clauses (46) and (75) in the text in the Appendix. In these clauses, which coincide with secondary topic span boundaries (cf. II 3.13), the current primary topic is reidentified and placed before the verb at the front of the clause.

Narrative texts, which generally eschew Ex/SV clauses (except after 'inna, 'anna, and auxiliaries and in ḥāls, cf. II 2.0), rely heavily on the device of topic reidentification in order to mark span boundaries, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(185) (1) wamaḍā^c ujayf fī kamsati
'ālāfin 'ilā bardūda (2)
fa'aqāma^c alayhi (3) ḥattā
saddahu (4) wasadda
'anhāran 'ukara kānū yadkulūna
minhā wayakrujūna (5)
faḥṣarahum min kulli wajhin
(6) wakāna mina l'anhāri
llatī saddahā^c ujayf nahrūn
yuqālu lahu l'arūsa (7)
falammā 'akaḍa^c alayhim</p> | <p>"Ujayf went to (the river)
Bardūda with five thousand
men and remained there until
he had blocked it. He also
blocked other rivers which
they (= the Zuṭṭ) frequented
and surrounded them on all
sides. Among the rivers
which^c Ujayf blocked was one
called al'arūs. He attacked
them by night and fought them.</p> |
|---|--|

(continued overpage)

(185) continued:

(8) ʔaraqahum (9) ḥarabahum
 (10) wa'asara minhum kamsami'ati
 rajulin (11) waqatala minhum
 fi lma^crikati ʔalāʔami'ati
 rajulin (12) faḍaraba
 'a^cnāqa l'asrā (13) waba^caʔa
 biru'ūsi jamī^cihim 'ilā bābi
 lmu^ctašimi (14) ʔumma 'aqāma
^cujayf bi'izā'i zzuṭṭi kamsata
^cašara yawman (15) faʔafira
 minhum bikalqin kaʔīrin (16)
 wakāna ra'īsu zzuṭṭi rajulan
 yuqālu lahu muhammaduni bnu
^cuʔmāna (17) wakāna ṣāhibu
 'amrihi walqā'imū bilḥarbi
 samlaq (18) wamakaʔa^cujayf
 yuqātiluhum fīmā qīla tis^cata
 'ašhurin

He took five hundred captives
 and killed three hundred in
 the battle. He beheaded the
 captives and sent all their
 heads to the palace of
 alMu^ctašim. Then ^cUjayf
 confronted the Zuṭṭ for
 fifteen days and captured
 a large number of them. The
 leader of the Zuṭṭ was a man
 called Muḥammad ibn ^cUʔmān.
 His lieutenant and military
 leader was Samlaq. ^cUjayf
 continued to fight them, so
 it is said, for nine months".
 (Ṭabarī, Tārīk, III, 2, 1167/12 -
 1168/3).

The topic referent ^cUjayf is reidentified in clause (14), which begins a new episode. Note also the reidentification in clause (6), which is a 'background' span, i.e. it expresses information which is supplementary to the main narrative.

Of course, a referent may also be reidentified in a context where a pronoun would be potentially ambiguous, irrespective of whether the clause marks a span boundary or not, cf. clause (18) in Example (185) above. Here ^cUjayf is reidentified in order to avoid the risk that one of the participants who were referred to in the previous two clauses (viz. Muḥammad ibn ^cUʔmān and Samlaq) might be taken as subject of the verb. It is important to note that the device of topic reidentification can only be interpreted as a signal of span boundary if this factor of referential ambiguity is not operative, as in clauses (6) and (14).

5.0 The function of 'amma fa

Ex/SV clauses in which the initial nominal is introduced by 'amma and connected to the rest of the clause by fa are restricted to marking a shift in topic. They do not mark boundaries of spans on other dimensions of the discourse.

In general 'amma-clauses constitute a more powerful topic-shifting device than other types of Ex/SV clause and are characteristically used to draw attention to major shifts in topic, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (186) | 'amma nnūbatu faftaraqat
firqatayni fī šarqiyi
nnīli waġarbiyyihi | "As for the Nubians - they
divided into two groups to the
east and the west of the Nile ...".
(Mas. III, 31/8 ff.). |
|-------|---|--|

The chapter from which this example is taken is concerned with the various black races of Upper Egypt and East Africa. It opens with the following words:- "When the offspring of Noah spread over the earth, the sons of Kush, son of Canaan, migrated towards the west and crossed the Nile. Then they divided: one group turned to the right between the east and the west, these were the Nubians, the Bajah, and the Negroes. The others moved further west" The first thirty pages of the chapter are about the Negroes (with occasional digressions). The 'amma- clause in 31/8 (= Example (186)) marks a shift to one of the other major topics of the chapter, viz. the Nubian race. The onset of the segment of discourse about the Bajah is likewise marked by an 'amma-clause:-

- | | | |
|-------|---|--|
| (187) | wa'amma lbajatu fa'innahā
nazalat bayna baḥri lqulzumi
wanīli mišra | "As for the Bajah - they
settled between the sea of
Qulzum and the Nile".
(Mas. III, 32/9 ff.). |
|-------|---|--|

6.0 Extraposition used to achieve rhetorical schemes.

Extraposition is sometimes used in rhetorical schemes in order to achieve the required word order and structural balance:-

6.1 When it is required that a relation of equivalence or antithesis be set up between two items, two clauses or clause sequences which have a noticeable degree of structural balance are sometimes put together, with one of these items at the front of each of the parallel units. If the item which is to stand at the front of such a unit is not the grammatical subject, it is put in extraposition, e.g.:-

- (188) almutatāyī^c u lā yaθnīhi "The rash man - no reproach can
zajrun walaysat lahu turn him from his course, his
ġāyatun dūna ttalafi only goal is destruction. The
walmutakaffī laysa lahu vacillating man - he has no fixed
ma'tan walā jihatun walā point of origin nor certain
lahu ruqyatun walā fīhi direction, no charm or wiles are
ḥīlatun effective against him".
(Jāḥ. 198/15-17).
- (189) almuṣammimu qatluhu "The schemer - his death is by
bil'ijhāzi walmutalawwimu quick despatch, but the vacillator
qatluhu bitta^c ḍībi - his death is by slow torture".
(ib. 199/7).

When only one of the two parallel units is extrapositional, the extrapositional unit is generally placed after the other unit in order to give the construction 'end-weight'. (See II 3.2).⁶²

6.2 If a referent is referred to in two or more co-ordinated clauses which stand in parallel or antithesis to one another, this referent may be placed at the front of the sequence of clauses in extraposition, e.g.:-

- Qur'ān:- "What if a Qur'ān - mountains
were moved by it, the earth was
(190) law 'anna qur'ānan suyyirat "Wh^rrent asunder by it, or the dead
bihi l'jibālu 'aw quṭṭi^c at wer^rwere made to speak by it".
bihi l'arḍu 'aw kullima ren^r(Q13/31).
bihi lmawtā were made to speak by it".
(Q13/31).

The Qur'ān was intended to have an essentially pedagogic function.⁶⁴ In most Near Eastern cultures since antiquity a prominent feature of pedagogic method has been the memorisation of the ipsissima verba of the teacher, the learning of the original words and structure of the message being considered even more important than the assimilation of its content.⁶⁵ The memorisation of the original surface (syntactic) structure of a text is more difficult than the recall of its semantic content.⁶⁶ It is, therefore, reasonable to postulate that the recurrent use of a small number of unvarying syntactic configurations in the Qur'ān may have been motivated by a desire to facilitate the word for word recall of the text.

Alternatively, we may seek an explanation of the structure of the Qur'ān in the method of its composition. The pervasive use of formulaic language may be taken as an indication that it was composed orally,⁶⁷ the repetition of formulae being a prominent feature of texts of this nature.⁶⁸

In this section we shall examine how several of the formulaic patterns of the Qur'ān have given rise to Ex constructions. The relevant patterns are those which have a fixed nominal incipit. If this nominal is not the grammatical subject in the ensuing clause it is left suspended in extraposition. This applies to:-

- (i) Formulae opening with a relative phrase introduced by 'allaḏīna or, occasionally, by other members of the 'allaḏī paradigm.⁶⁹ In this pattern the initial relative phrase describes a set of people and the subsequent clause indicates their fate, e.g.:-

(197) allaḏīna 'ātaynāhum lkitāba "Those to whom we gave the Book
yafraḥūna bimā 'unzila rejoice in what has been revealed
'ilayka (Q13/36).

(198) allaḏīna 'āmanū wa^c amilū "Those who believe and do good
ṣṣāliḥāti tūbā lahum works - for them is joy and a
wahṣnu ma'ābin pleasant end". (Q13/29).

This formulaic pattern may also be used to express propositions of a legislative rather than a hortatory nature, e.g.:-

- (199) allā'ī ya'isna mina lmaḥīdi "Those of your women who despair
min nisā'ikum 'ini rtabtum of menstruation - if you are in
fa^c iddatuhunna ḡalāḡatu doubt, their period of waiting
'ašhurin (before remarriage) shall be
three months". (Q65/4).

cf. Q2/234 and 2/240.

- (ii) Formulae opening with the demonstrative 'ulā'ika. This pattern is used to describe the fate of a set of people which has been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse, e.g.:-

- (200) 'ulā'ika mina ṣṣāliḡina "These are upright people".
(Q3/114).
- (201) 'ulā'ika lahum ^caḡābun "These - for them is a stern
^caḡimun punishment". (Q3/105).

Formulae of this type are sometimes combined with pattern (i), e.g.:-

- (202) allaḡina kafarū wakaḡḡabū "Those who disbelieved and
bi'āyatina 'ulā'ika rejected our signs - these are
'aṣḡabu nnāri the (rightful) owners of the
Fire". (Q3/39).
- (203) allaḡina kafarū wakaḡḡabū "Those who disbelieved and
bi'āyatina fa'ulā'ika lahum rejected our signs - these -
^caḡābun muḡinun for them is a humiliating
punishment". (Q22/57).

Such amalgamations of formulaic units may result in considerable syntactic dislocation, cf. I 1.10 and Footnote 4.

- (iii) Formulae opening with the singular demonstrative ḡālika or ḡālikum. Patterns of this type are generally used to explain an action of God which has been mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse, e.g.:-

- (204) ḡālikum waṣṣākum bihi "This - he has enjoined it upon
la^callakum taḡakkarūna you that you might remember".
(Q6/152).

cf. Q6/153, 39/16.

8.0 Resumptive pronoun functioning as a copula.

When the predicate of a verbless clause is identificatory or locative it is the norm for an independent resumptive pronoun to occur between the subject and the predicate, e.g.:-

- (205) hāḡihi hiya rratabatu "This is the highest degree".
l^culyā (Misk. 34/9).
- (206) wabaḡru zzanji wal'aḡābiṣi "The sea of the Negroes and of
huwa^can yamīni baḡri lhindi the Abyssinians is to the right
of the sea of the Indians".
(Mas. III, 2/10).

It has generally been claimed that the resumptive pronoun in such constructions is employed to separate the subject from the predicate and so prevent the second phrase from being interpreted as an appositive.⁷⁰ The problem with this theory is that the pronoun is also used occasionally in clauses which have an indefinite predicate nominal, e.g.:-

- (207) wal^candbīl huwa ṡā'irun "The ^candbil is a small bird
ṡaḡīrun yakūna bi'arḡi which lives in India and Sind".
lhind wassind (Mas. III, 16/9).
- (208) waḡālika 'anna lḡaraḡa "This is because the objective
walkamāla biḡḡāti humā and self-perfection are one
ṣay'un wāḡidun thing". (Misk. 33/11).
- (209) ya^clamūna 'anna kāliqahum "They know that their creator
..... huwa munazzahun is free from these things".
^can hāḡihi l'aṣya' (ib. 35/19).⁷¹

Even if the pronouns were omitted in these constructions they could only be interpreted as predications.⁷²

Resumptive pronouns of this type may even occur in a clause which is explicitly shown to be a predication by the presence of the verb kāna, e.g.:-

- (210) litakūna lġāyatu l'akīratu "So that the final goal is
hiya ḥuṣūluhā lahu their attainment by him".
(Misk. 35/3).

These resumptive pronouns, therefore, do not function primarily as disambiguating devices but rather as copulas, i.e. elements which express the nexus between a subject and its predicate. The occurrence of such copula pronouns in clauses like (210) can be explained by the fact that the pronouns are functionally equivalent to verbs and occupy the slot which corresponds to that of the main verb in verbal clauses with auxiliary kāna, i.e.:-

kāna Zaydun huwa l'amīra
kāna Zaydun yaḍribu l'amīra

In substandard Middle Arabic the copula pronoun sometimes agrees with the predicate nominal instead of with the subject, e.g.:-

- (211) wannaqamatu θθāniyatu "The second revenge is the
huwa lqawlu verse".
(Blau, Diqdūq, para. 197).⁷³

9.0 Properties of extraposed nominals and pre-verbal subjects.

Sections II 2-3, 5-8 discussed the major conditions under which Ex/SV clauses occur. They were concerned, for the most part, with constructions of this sort which are motivated by discourse factors rather than those which are grammatically fixed such as clauses opening with the particles 'inna, 'anna, la^calla, or layta (cf. p. 64).

In this section we shall examine the characteristic properties of extraposed nominals and pre-verbal subjects, both of those which are free standing in the nominative and of those which are introduced by one of the aforementioned particles. In other words, given the conditions under which an Ex or SV clause occurs, we shall investigate the factors determining which nominal is selected from among the other possible candidates in the same clause to be placed in initial position.

Ex sentences which constitute rhetorical schemes or Qur'^ānic formulae are not considered here, since the determining factors for the selection of the extraposed item in these constructions have already been discussed.

9.1 Assumed familiarity of the referent.

One of the most characteristic features of extraposed items and pre-verbal subjects is their 'assumed familiarity', i.e. the speaker/writer assumes that the hearer/reader is familiar with and is able to identify the referent of the nominal. A nominal is assumed to be familiar by virtue of either (a) being closely related to the immediately preceding discourse (context-bound) or (b) being in the permanent knowledge store of the hearer/reader.⁷⁴

9.11 Context-bound.

A referent which has been explicitly mentioned or 'given' in the prior discourse tends to be selected to open the clause in preference to referents which are 'new'. If the given element in a verbal clause

is the grammatical subject, then the subject is made the nominal which precedes the verb, e.g.:-

- (212) waddābbatu lma^Crūfatu "The animal known as the zabraq
bizzabraq lā ta'wī fī (given in prior context) does not
mawḍi^C in yakūnu fīhi betake itself to places in which
mūšān wahuwa lkarkaddanu the nūšān, i.e. the rhinoceros
(new) is found". (Mas. III 13/8-9).

However, if the given element is other than the subject it stands in extraposition, e.g.:-

- (213) walaysa hāḍa lbāhru mimma "This sea does not share any of
ttaṣala bihi min baḥri the qualities of the adjacent seas,
lhindi waṣṣini waḡayrihi such as the Indian and China seas.
fī šay'in wahuwa biḍḍiddi It stands in stark contrast to
min ḍālika li'anna baḥra these, because the Indian and China
lhindi waṣṣini fī qa^Crihi seas - in their bed are pearls".
llu'lu'u (Mas. III 56/3-5).

Sometimes the referent which is made the initial item in the clause has not been explicitly mentioned in the prior discourse, but the nominal phrase which expresses it nevertheless contains some 'given' element, e.g.:-

- (214) wabawādi lbajati lmālikati "The Bajah nomads who possess
lihāḍa lma^Cdini tattaṣilu this mine - their territory is
diyāruhā bil^Callāqī contiguous with al^CAllāqī".
(Mas. III 50/5-6).

The referent of the head noun of the initial phrase (viz. bawādi lbajati) has not been mentioned in the recent discourse. The phrase hāḍa lma^Cdini, however, refers to something which is familiar by virtue of the fact that it has been discussed in the immediately preceding context. In other words the initial phrase as a whole, although partially new, is nevertheless 'anchored' to given information. On the other hand the other referents in the sentence (viz. diyāruhā, al^CAllāqī) are wholly new.

Sometimes the initial nominal contains nothing which has been explicitly

referred to in the prior discourse. Consider (215):-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(215) fi l^cāmmi l^cmakṣuṣi wahuwa
 mā wuḍi^ca fi l'^caṣli ^cāmma
 Ḡumma kuṣṣa fi l'^cisti māli
 biba^cḍi 'ifrādihi
 waqaḍ ḡakara bnu durayd
 'anna lḡajja 'aṣluhu
 qaṣduka ṡṡay'a watajriḍuka
 lahu Ḡumma kuṣṣa biqaṣdi
 lbayti</p> | <p>"(Chapter) about the particularised
 general word, that is what is
 originally general but then is
 specialised by use in one of its
 component meanings Ibn
 Durayd said that <u>alḡajj</u> - its
 original meaning is 'seeking some-
 thing singlemindedly', then it was
 specialised in the (meaning of)
 seeking the house (i.e. the ka^cbah)".
 (Muzhir 427/5 ff.).</p> |
|---|---|

Here alḡajj has not been referred to before. Nevertheless alḡajj is placed at the front of the clause in preference to the nomen regens 'aṣl, since, unlike 'aṣl, alḡajj is 'inferable' from something in the previous sentence. Specifically alḡajj stands in an element-set relation to the phrase mā wuḍi^ca fi l'^caṣli ^cāmma Ḡumma kuṣṣa fi l'^cisti māli biba^cḍi 'ifrādihi, i.e. alḡajj is one element of the set of items which have such properties. We may therefore consider this noun to be bound to the prior context, although in a somewhat less concrete fashion than the initial referents in Examples (212) - (214).

The foregoing observations may be expressed in the following hierarchy in which > is to be read 'is selected as initial nominal in preference to':-

context-bound	>	new
(= given, anchored to given information, or inferable)		

It was stated in section II 3.12 that in Ex/SV clauses which mark a shift in primary topic the initial referent of the clause refers to the new primary topic. We may now qualify this statement in the light of the foregoing discussion. In conformity with the general principle that the initial nominal in Ex/SV clauses is context-bound, the topic

referent which occurs at the front of a 'topic-shifting' Ex/SV clause is usually directly related to the prior discourse. If this is not the case, a 'given' item which is not the topic of the ensuing discourse is sometimes placed in initial position instead, while the new topic is introduced later in the clause. In such cases the extraposed item or pre-verbal subject acts as a 'bridge' from the prior discourse to the new topic span, e.g.:-

- (216) wahāḏa lbaḥru ttiṣāluhu "This sea (i.e. the Abyssinian
 bilqulzumi wahuwa ^Can yamīni sea) - its connection is with
 baḥri lhindi wa'in kāna lma'u alqulzum, and it is to the
 muttaṣilan walaysa fi lbiḥāri right of the Indian sea,
 wama ḏakarnā mina lkuljāni although the waters are
 mimmā ḥtawā ^Calayhi lbaḥru contiguous. None of the
 lḥabaṣiyyu 'aṣ ^Cabu walā aforementioned seas or gulfs
 'akḏaru ḥiyālan walā 'ashaku which constitute the Abyssinian
 rā'iḥatan walā 'aqḥatu walā sea is more dangerous, more
 'aqallu kayran fi baṭnihi hazardous, more unwholesome,
 waḏahrihi min baḥri lqulzumi ... more barren, more deprived of
 all manner of resources than the
 sea of alqulzum ...".
 (Mas. III 55/7-11).

In Ex/SV clauses marking the boundaries of other types of span the primary topic which is currently being discussed is generally reidentified at the front of the clause, cf. sections II 3.13 - 3.18 and 4.5.

In clauses which begin with a verb (i.e. generally when the verb is perfective in aspect or when the clause continues a span) the same principle of context-boundness determines the position of the subject vis-à-vis the object. In clauses with the order VSO the subject is given and the object is usually new. However, if the object is given and the subject is new then the object generally precedes the subject,⁷⁵ e.g.:-

- (217) ḥumma nahaṣat ^CAmiran "Then a snake bit (the afore-
 ḥayyatun mentioned) ^CAmir". (S.V. p.117).

9.12 Referents assumed to be in the permanent knowledge store of the hearer/reader.

In this category are included 'generic' referents⁷⁶ which frequently occur at the front of Ex/SV clauses, e.g. Examples (96) - (98), (161), (162). Such constructions express 'generic propositions', i.e. generalisations which are true in any situation that can be imagined (cf. section II 3.15). The initial generic nominal often does not directly relate to anything in the prior discourse but nevertheless refers to a class of entities which the speaker/writer assumes the hearer/reader is able to identify if he knows the meaning of the nominal.⁷⁷ Moreover, although the initial generic nominal may not be informationally given, it is nonetheless logically given. Generic propositions such as those in the aforementioned examples have the semantic structure of a logical implication. The datum or antecedent is the generic phrase whereas the rest of the clause is the consequent. For instance, Example (161) may be paraphrased: "Given that something is a moral disposition then it follows that it can be changed". The surface ordering of the clause constituents reflects this deeper logical structure.⁷⁸

9.2 Durability in subsequent discourse.

A nominal which is placed at the head of an Ex/SV clause is occasionally totally new and unpredictable from the prior discourse. When this is the case the clause initial referent is prominent within the subsequent text, i.e. it is referred to frequently. This phenomenon is demonstrated very clearly in the fables of Luqmān in which the protagonist of a story is usually introduced at the head of the opening clause. If the nominal referring to the protagonist is not the grammatical subject, it stands in extraposition, e.g.: (overpage)

- (218) 'insānun kāna lahu ṣanamun "A man - there was to him (= he had)
 fī baytihi ya^C buduhu wakāna an idol in his house which he used
 yaḍbaḥu lahu fī kulli yawmin to worship. He offered a sacrifice
 ḍabiḥatan fa'afnā jamī^C a mā to it every day and he spent all he
 yamlikuhu ^Calā ḍālika ṣṣanami possessed on that idol. Then it
 faṣakaṣa lahu qā'ilan lā appeared to him saying: 'Do not
 tufni mālaka ^Calayya Ḥumma spend your wealth on me and then
 talūmunī fi l'ākirati ... blame me in the Hereafter ...".

cf. also Examples (150) - (157).

Of course context-bound initial nominals may also be durable and referred to frequently in the subsequent text, e.g. azzanju in clause (25) of the text in the Appendix. Nevertheless, the existence, on the one hand of examples such as (218) in which the initial nominal is durable but not context-bound and, on the other, of examples such as (216) in which the initial nominal is context-bound but not durable indicates that durability must be isolated as a distinct factor. This factor may be represented by the hierarchy:-

durable > incidental

Again the sign > is to be read: 'is selected as initial nominal in preference to'.

9.3 Perceptual salience.

Another factor that has a bearing on which item is selected as the initial nominal in an Ex/SV clause is 'perceptual salience'. This is demonstrated by the fact that, all other things being equal, a referent which is high on the 'perceptual salience' or 'animacy' hierarchy⁷⁹ is often selected to open the clause in preference to a referent which is lower on the scale, e.g.:-

- (219) walākinna mnaḥḥiyyīna ṣāra "But the grammarians - this (i.e.
 ḍā^C indahum ṣifatan li'anna the emphatic pronoun) in their view

(continued overpage)

(219) continued;

ḥālahu kaḥālī lwaṣfi
walmawṣūfi

is a qualificative, because its status is that of a qualifier which is linked to a preceding qualified element".

(Sīb. I, 345/5).

In (219) the demonstrative pronoun ḥā refers to a referent which is mentioned frequently in both the preceding and subsequent discourse. The referent of the noun annahwiyyīna, on the other hand, is neither given nor durable in the succeeding text. It is assumed to be familiar by virtue of the fact that it refers to a generic class. Consequently both referents are equivalent in status with regard to their assumed familiarity. The crucial feature, however, which determines the selection of annahwiyyīna as the initial nominal in preference to ḥā is the fact that the former refers to humans whereas the latter refers to an inanimate (viz. 'the emphatic pronoun').

Example (220) is an analogous instance of this phenomenon:-

(220)	wa ^c arafa ma ^c a ḥālika	"He knows also that the pious
	'aydan 'anna lmalā'ikata	angels whom God chose to be
	l'abrāra llaḥīna ṣṭafāhumu	close to him - these pains do
	llāhu biqurbīhi lā	not afflict them".
	talḥaquhum ḥāḍīhi l'alāmu	(Misk. 37/11-12).

1st and 2nd person pronouns, which stand at the head of the perceptual salience hierarchy, are often made the starting point of the clause in preference to other possible candidates, e.g.:-

(221)	wa ^c lam 'annā wa'in kunnā	"Know that we - although we
	nufassiru l'istifhāma fi	interpret interrogation (= given
	miṭli ḥāḍa l'inkāri	concept) in this way, viz. as an
	fa'inna llaḥī huwa maḥḍu	expression of denial, the essential
	lma ^c nā 'annahū liyantabiha	function is to make the hearer
	ssāmi ^c u ḥattā yarji ^c a 'ilā	aware so that he repents and desists
	nafsihi fayakjalu	out of shame".
	wayartadi ^c u	(Jurjānī, Dal. 151/5).

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (222) faka'anni kāna yuḥā
'ilayya waḥyan "It was as if I - it (= this
knowledge) was revealed to me
in a (divine) inspiration".
(Janāḥ 116/13).

Qur'an:-

- (223) qul 'innanī hadāni "Say: 'I - my Lord guided me to
rabbī 'ilā ṣirāṭin a straight path". (Q6/161).
mustaqīmin
- (224) walaqad na^clamu 'annaka "We know that you - your bosom
yaḍīqu ṣadruka bimā is oppressed by what they say".
yaqūlūna (Q15/97).

cf. Q6/157, 19/43, 37/51 (variant 'innahu - Ibn Mas^cūd), 38/41.

To summarise so far:- In Ex/SV clauses the selection of the initial nominal is determined by considerations of assumed familiarity, textual durability, and perceptual salience. In short, the initial nominal is characteristically 'individuated'.⁸⁰ If the selected nominal is the grammatical subject of the clause the result is an SV clause. If the selected nominal, however, is other than the grammatical subject, it stands in extraposition.

9.4 Under certain circumstances extraposition is the norm. For example this is the case when the presence of 'inna or 'anna requires a nominal to stand before the verb and the verb is impersonal, i.e. subjectless, e.g.:-

- (225) li'anna l'alifa jī'a bihā "Because the alif - it was used
listifhāmin min lfi^cli to interrogate the verb".
(Sīrāfī on Sīb., Ch. 29).

Qur'ān:-

- (226) waḡannū 'annahum 'uḡīṭa "They think that they - there is an
 bihim overwhelming of them (= they have
 been overwhelmed)". (Q10/22).

In such 'subjectless' clauses there is no subject available to open the clause. Extraposition is also the norm after 'inna or 'anna when the clause contains a modal such as yajibu 'an, lā budda 'an; cf. Example (107), also:-

Judaeo-Arabic:-

- (227) waḡālika 'anna mēliḡ "This is because mēliḡ must be
 yajibu 'an yakūna min from (the same root as) bammelaḡ
 bammelaḡ timlāḡ timlāḡ". (Janāḡ 109/19).

Note, however, that if sentences such as those illustrated in (225) - (227) do not contain a nominal which is 'worthy', according to the three aforementioned criteria, to be placed in initial position, then a 'dummy' pronominal clitic (ḡamīru šša'ni) may be attached to the 'inna or 'anna, e.g. li'annahu jī'a bi'alifin..... "since an alif was used".

10.0 The occurrence of fa- between the extraposed element and the rest of the sentence.

In many instances the fa- in extrapositional clauses is to be identified with the fa- which joins a protasis to an apodosis. This applies especially to constructions with extraposed generic nominals, cf. I 1.143, Examples (96) - (100).

It has been widely recognised that such clauses which open with generic class terms may usually be paraphrased by conditional sentences.⁸¹ This was also recognised by the Arab grammarians. For instance, Sībawaihi (I, 59/5 ff.) states that the connecting fa- is normal in a sentence like 'allaḡī ya'tīnī falahu dirhamun (i.e. after a generic nominal) whereas a sentence such

as zaydun falahu dirhamāni (i.e. in which fa- follows a nominal with a specific referent) is not admissible.⁸²

Indeed generic phrases introduced by man or mā evince many formal properties of conditional clauses. Sometimes they even contain a conditional particle.⁸³

Similarly the occurrence of fa- after 'ammā is probably due to the fact that a certain parallelism exists between 'ammā-constructions and conditional sentences. This was the explanation of the Arab grammarians.⁸⁴ It is supported by comparison of analogous constructions in other languages in which the particle which is equivalent to 'ammā is clearly related (historically or synchronically) to a conditional element. For example, iōa (< 'iōā) and kān (< 'in kāna) in the Arabic dialect of Saida, wa-hen in Mehri, endāhonā and bihon in Amharic.⁸⁵ Compare also the particle ir in Egyptian which is used both to introduce an extraposed constituent and also before šdm.f verb forms as a conditional particle.⁸⁶ In the Mediaeval Hebrew translations of Arabic works 'ammā fa in the Arabic is often rendered by 'im hinne in the Hebrew. Gottstein maintains that in such circumstances 'im was used to imitate the phonological form of 'ammā.⁸⁷ This notwithstanding, it is reasonable to postulate that the use of 'im also indicates that a degree of equivalence was felt between the function of 'ammā and that of 'im.

In fact, according to the Arab grammarians 'ammā may also be used as a genuine conditional particle, e.g.:-

(228) 'ammā 'anta muntaliqani "If you go I shall go with you".
nṭalaqtu mā^c aka (Sīb. I 123/17).⁸⁸

Elsewhere fa- occurs in Ex clauses which mark pause or closure, cf. II 3.2, Example (175); further:-

Christian Arabic:-

(229) wa'innamā l'abu huwa llāhu "The father is God, the son is
wal'ibnu huwa lkalimatu mina word of God, and the Holy Spirit -
llāhi warūḥu lqudusi fahuwa it is the spirit of God".
rūḥu llāhi (Blau, ChA., p.480).⁸⁹

11.0 The difference between OV-order and Extraposition of the object.

An object is placed before the verb and not subsequently resumed by a pronoun under the following conditions:-

(a) When the object is the focus of contrastive assertion, e.g.:-

- (230) qāla ^Cumarū 'iḍan yaqtuluka "^CUmar said: 'Then God will kill
llāhu qāla bal 'iyyāka you'; he said: 'No, he will kill
yaqtulu you'. (S.V. p.395).

The speaker/writer uses this construction to forestall or correct a misapprehension on the part of the hearer/reader.⁹⁰ For instance in (230) the second speaker is insisting that 'contrary to your belief, the one whom God will kill is you and not me!'

cf. further:-

- (231) wa'innamā yūṣafu biljūdi fi "The one who in reality is
lhaqīqati wayuṣkaru ^Cala worthy of being described as
mnaf^Ci fī ḥujjati l^Caqli generous, and the one who
llaḍī 'in jā'a ^Calayka logically is to be thanked for
falaka jā'a wanaf^Caka 'arāda his charity, is the one who, if
min ḡayri 'an yarji^Ca 'ilayhi he is generous to you, is
jūduhu biṣay'in mina lmanāfi^Ci generous for you (and not for
himself) and desires your
benefit (and not his own),
without expecting to gain any
reward for his generosity.
(Jāh. 202/12 ff.).

- (232) naṣraka 'arjū la "I desire your help not enmity".
l^Cadāwata (A.S. p.133).⁹¹

(b) When the scope of a negator includes the object but not the verb. For example, the clause mā zaydan ḍarabtu expresses the fact that 'I hit somebody but the victim was not Zayd', i.e. only the object is negated. This construction is

analogous to (a) in that it is used to correct or forestall a possible misapprehension on the part of the hearer/reader with regard to the identity of the patient of the action.⁹²

Even when the negator occurs after the fronted object, its scope does not include the verb, e.g.:-

- (233) kullahu lam 'asna^c "I did not do all of it. (i.e. I did some of it)".
(Sīrāfī on Sīb. I 33, 20).⁹³

(c) When the scope of an interrogative particle includes the object but not the verb. For example, a clause like 'azaydan tadribu is appropriately used when the speaker presupposes that the hearer is hitting somebody. He questions whether his is hitting Zayd or someone else. cf. alJurjānī (Dal. p.148), where Q6/144 is adduced as a locus probans:-

- (234) qul 'āōōakarayni ḥarrama "Say: has he (God) forbidden
'ami l'unṭayayni 'amma the two males, or the two females,
štamalat^c alayhi 'arḥāmu or that which the wombs of the
l'unṭayayni two females contain". (i.e. the
speaker presupposes that God has
forbidden something. His concern
is to establish what exactly he
has forbidden).

An interrogative clause like 'azaydan tadribu may also be used rhetorically to deny that Zayd is susceptible of being beaten.⁹⁴

By contrast, interrogative Ex clauses such as 'a^c aballāhi ḍarabtahu and 'azaydan mararta bihi are used, according to Sīrāfī, when the speaker has no doubt about the initial nouns but rather is questioning the verb.⁹⁵

For example:-

- (235) 'aθa^clabata lfawārisa 'aw "Do you consider Ṭuḥayya and
riyāḥan^c adalta bihim Ḵiṣāb equal to Tha^clab, the
ṭuhayyata walkiṣābā horsemen, or to Riyāḥ?"
(Naqā'id 434/7).

Here the focus of interrogation is upon Ṭuḥayya and Ḵiṣāb, i.e. the writer does not question the action of equating Tha^clab and Riyāḥ with other tribes but rather the fact that the addressee has equated them specifically with Ṭuḥayya and Ḵiṣāb, which the writer considers to be particularly inferior tribes (Sīrāfī on Sīb. I, 41/22).

- (d) Akin to the interrogative OV-clauses which are illustrated in (c) are constructions with the specific interrogative words man, mā, and 'ayyu. When these words are the object of the verb they generally stand in clause initial position without subsequent resumption (cf. Reckendorf, S.V. pp.74-5). For example:-

(236) man ra'ayta

(237) mā ra'ayta

(238) 'ayyahum ra'ayta

Analogously to the clause 'azaydan tadribu the verb in (236) - (238) is presupposed, i.e. the speaker assumes that the addressee has seen someone or something.

According to Sībawaihi (I, 37/19 ff.) the specific question words may also be extraposed, e.g.:-

(239) man ra'aytahu

(240) 'ayyuhum ra'aytahu

He states further that an appropriate reply to (239) would be the extrapositional clause (241):-

(241) zaydun ra'aytuhu

Moreover, (242) - with accusative inflection - may be used as a reply to (236)⁹⁶:-

(242) zaydan ra'aytuhu

This suggests that it is possible for the extraposed item to convey new information whilst the rest of the clause is given. However, such constructions are very rarely found in texts. cf. (243):-

(243) fa'in 'aku maẓlūman fa^cabdun "If I am wronged you have wronged
zalamtahu a servant". (Arb. 34/12).

Note that a newly introduced item does not have the same status as one which is contrastively asserted. I have found no examples (either in texts or in the works of the grammarians) of Ex clauses in which the extraposed item is contrastively asserted and the rest of the clause is presupposed (cf. (a)). On the other hand Sībawaihi mentions constructions such as (244) and (245):-

(244) mā laqītu zaydan lākin ^camran
marartu bihi (I, 36/6).

(245) Question:- 'ara'ayta zaydan
Answer:- lā walākin ^camran
 marartu bihi (I, 37/18).

The Ex clauses in (244) and (245) seem to contain two foci of contrastive assertion, one on the initial noun and the other on the verb. In these clauses the speaker assumes that the hearer has in mind an erroneous pairing of a certain action with a certain verb complement, viz. I met/saw X and X = Zayd In the clause amran marartu bihi he asserts which action is to be paired with which

verb complement, i.e. both the verb complement and the verb and contrastively asserted.⁹⁷

- (e) A pronominal object (attached to 'iyyā or to particles such as gayr-, miθl-, or nafs-) is sometimes fronted without being contrastively asserted. Rather it acts as a link with the prior discourse,⁹⁸ e.g.:-

- (246) wahiya 'ummu bani lmuḡīrati "And she is the mother of the
bni ^cabdillāhi bni ^camri bni sons of M. b. A. b. A. b. M.
makzūmin wahum hiṣām hašim and they are H., H., A., and F.
wa'abū rabī^cata walfākihu and a number of others who had
wa^ciddatun ḡayruhum lam no offspring. 'Abu Du'ayb is
yu^cqibū wa'iyyāhum ya^cnī referring to these people in
'abu ḡu'aybin biqawlihi ... the verse ...". (Aḡ. I, 64/5 ff.
Cited in Bloch, 1946).

- (f) OV-clauses are also found when the objects of two consecutive verbs are put together in a relation of equivalence or antithesis and the two verbs have the same subject, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (247) fa'innī lā dīnan fataqtu "I have neither caused a schism
walā daman ḡaraqtu in Islām nor shed blood".
(Bloch ib. p.46).

Qur'ān:-

- (248) farīqan kaḡḡabtum wafarīqan "Some you denied, others you
taqtulūna killed". (Q2/87).

Sometimes the second verb, if identical in meaning to the first, is elided, e.g.:-

Poetry:-

- (249) falā majdī balāḡta wala "You have attained neither my
ftikārī glory nor my pride". (Bloch ib.).

In these constructions the fronted objects are incidental referents. It is the subject which is durable and has topic status. The second of the two OV-clauses continues the topic and orientation of the first. The two clauses together are construed as constituting two closely associated events or states.

Occasionally in poetry constructions are found in which an Ex clause parallels a subsequent clause which has a fronted verb complement (i.e. direct object or prep. phrase) and no resumptive pronoun, e.g.:-

- | | |
|--|---|
| (250) 'alam tara 'annī lā
muḥibbun 'alūmuḥu walā
bibadīlin ba ^c dahum 'anā
qāni ^c u | "Do you not see that I do not criticise a lover, and I am not content with a substitute after they have passed away".
(Aḡ. II, 49/36). |
|--|---|

cf. Examples (71) and (82).

In such constructions the resumptive pronoun is apparently used to fill out the number of syllables in the first hemistich of the verse.

- (g) OV-order is sometimes used when the clause expresses an order or request, e.g.:-

- | | |
|--|---|
| (251) faṣṣamta falzamī | "Keep to silence".
(GVGSS II, p.442). |
| (252) warabbaka fakabbir
waḥiyābaka faṭahhir
warrujza fahjur | "Honour your Lord, purify your garments, shun pollution".
(Q74/3-5). |

In such clauses the fronted object is generally connected to the verb by fa-. This fa- is probably to be identified with the fa- which marks closure or climax (cf. p.101), and so signals that particular attention is to be focused

on the clause.

Alternatively an object which is fronted before an imperative may be resumed by a pronoun. In such cases the fa- is often omitted, e.g.:-

(253) nafsaka 'akrimhā "Honour yourself".
(Ḥātim 25/10).

In a similar manner the resumptive pronoun in these clauses is probably to be associated with the resumptive pronoun which marks climax, i.e. focus of particular attention (cf. p. 78).

A P P E N D I X

- (1) waqad qaddamnā ḍḍikra fi zzunūji wal'ajnāsi mina l'aḥābiši
llaḍīna sārū^c an yamīni nnīli walaḥiqu bi'asāfili lbaḥri lḥabaši
(2) waqeta^cati zzanju dūna sā'iri l'aḥābiši lkālīja lmunfaṣila
min 'a^cla nnīli llaḍī yuṣabbu 'ilā baḥri zzanji (3) fasakanati
zzanju fi ḍālika ṣṣuq^ci (4) wattaṣalat masākinuhum 'ilā bilādi
sufāla (5) wahiya 'aqāṣī bilādi zzanji (6) wa'ilayhā taqṣidu
marākibu l^cumāniyyīna wassīrāfiyyīna (7) wahiya ḡāyatu maqāṣīdihim
fi 'asāfili baḥri zzanji (8) kamā 'anna 'aqāṣiya baḥri ṣṣīni
tattaṣilu bibilādi ssilā (9) waqad taqaddama ḍikruhā fīmā salafa
min hāḍa lkitābi (10) wakaḍālika 'aqāṣī baḥri zzanji hiya bilādu
sufāla wa'aqāṣī bilādi lwāqwāq (11) wahiya 'arḍun kaḥīratu ḍḍahabi
kaḥīratul^cajā'ibi kaṣibatun ḥārratun (12) wattakaḍaha zzanju dāra
mamlakatin (13) wamallakū^c alayhim malikan sammawhu waqlīmī
(14) wahiya tasmiyatun lisā'iri mulūkihim fī sā'iri l'a^cṣāri^c alā
mā qaddamnā 'ānifan (15) wayarkabu waqlīmī (16) wahuwa yamliku
sā'ira mulūki zzunūji (15 cont.) fī ḥalāḥimi'ati 'alfi fārisin
(17) wadawābbuhumu lbaqaru (18) walaysa fī 'arḍihim kaylun walā
biḡālun walā 'ibilun (19) walā ya^crifūnahā (20) wakaḍālika
lā ya^crifūna ḥalja walā lbarada walā ḡayruhum mina l'aḥābiši
(21) wafīhim 'ajnāsun muḥaddadatu l'asnāni ya'kulu ba^cḍuhum ba^cḍan
(22) wamasākinu zzanji min ḥaddi lkālīji lmutaṣa^cibi min 'a^cla
nnīli 'ilā bilādi sufāla walwāqwāq (23) wamiqdāru masāfati
masākinihim wattiṣāli maqāṭinihim fi ṭṭūli wal^carḍi naḥwa sab^cimi'ati
farsakin 'awdiyātun wajibālun warimālun (24) walfīlatu bi'arḍi
zzanji fī nihāyati lkaḥrati waḥṣiyyatun kulluhā ḡayru musta'nisatin

- (25) wazzanju lā tasta^c milu šay'an minhā fī ḥarbin walā ḡayrihā
(26) bal taqtuluhā (27) waḏālika 'annahum yaṭraḥūna lahā naw^c an
min waraḡi ššajari walihā' ihi wa' aḡṣānihi yakūnu bi' arḡihim fi lmā' i
(28) wayaktafī rijālu zzanji (29) fataridu ffīlatu lišurbihā
(30) fa' iḏā šaribat min ḏālika lmā' i (31) ḥarraqahā (32)
wa' askarahā (33) fataqa^c u (34) walā mafāšila liqawā' imihā wa
lā rukaba^c alā ḥasbi mā qaddamnā 'ānifan (35) wayakrujūna ' ilayhā
bi' a^c ḡami mā yakūnu mina lḥirābi (36) fayaqtulūnahā li' akḏi
' anyābihā (37) famin ' arḡihim tujahhazu ' anyābu lfīlati (38) fī
kulli nābin minhā kamsūna wami' atu mannin bal ' akḡaru min ḏālika
(39) fayujahhazu l' akḡaru minhā min bilādi^c umāna ' ilā ' arḡi ṣṣīni
walhindi (40) waḏālika ' annahā tuḥmalu min bilādi zzanji ' ilā
^c umāna wamin^c umāna ' ilā hayḡu mā ḏakarnā (41) walawlā ḏālika
lakāna l^c āju bi' arḡi l' islāmi kaḡīran (42) ' ahlu ṣṣīni yattakiḡu
mulūkuhā waquwwāduhā wa' arākinatuhā l' a^c midata mina l^c āji (43) walā
yadkulu quwwāduhā walā ' aḡadun min kawāṣṣihā^c alā mulūkihā bišay' in
min lḡadīdi bal bitilka l' a^c midati lmuttakaḡati mina l^c āji (44)
waragbatuhum fīma staqāma min ' anyābi lfīlati walā fīmā yataqawwasu
littikāḏi l' a^c midati minhu^c alā mā ḏakarnā (45) wayusta^c malu l^c āju
fī dakni buyūti ' aṣnāmihā wa' abkirati hayākilihā kasti^c māli mnašārā
fi lkanā' isi dduknata lma^c rūfata biduknati maryama waḡayrahā mina
l' abkirati (46) wa' ahlu ṣṣīni lā yattakiḡūna lfīlata fī ' arḡihim
(47) wayataṭayyarūna mina qtinā' ihā walḡarbi^c alayhā likabarin kāna
lahum fī qadīmi zzamāni fī ba^c ḡi ḡurūbihim (48) walhindu kaḡīratu
l' isti^c māli limā yujahhazu ' ilayhim mina l^c āji fi muṣubi lkanājiri
(49) wahiya lḡarārī wāḡiduhā ḡarrī (48 cont.) wafī qawā' imi
suyūfihā (50) wahiya lqarāṭilu wāḡiduhā qarṭalun (51) wahiya
suyūfun mu^c awwajatun (52) wal' aḡlabu fi sti^c māli lhindi lil^c āji

ttikādūhā minhu ššitranja wannarda (53) waššitranju qad šawwarūhu
'aškālan ^Calā šuwari lhayawāni mina nnāṭiqi waḡayrihim (54) kullu
qiṭ^Catin mina ššitranji kaššibri fī ^Carḍi ḍālika bal 'akṯaru
(55) wa'iḍā la^Cibū bihā (56) fa'innamā yaqūmu lwāḥidu minhum
qā'iman (57) fayanquluhā fī buyūtiḥā (58) wal'aḡlabu ^Calayhimi
lqimāru fī lu^Cbihim biššitranji wannardi ^Cala ṯṯiyābi waljawāhiri
(59) warubbamā 'anfada lwāḥidu minhum mā ma^Cahu (60) fayal^Cabu
qiṭa^Ca ^Cuḍwin min 'a^Cḍā'i jismihi (61) wahuwa 'an yaj^Calū
biḥadratihim qidran mina nnuḥāsi ṣaḡīratan ^Calā nāri faḥmin fīhā
duhnun lahum 'aḥmaru (62) fayag^Clī ḍālika dduhnu lmudmilu liljirāḥi
walmāsiku lisayalāni ddami (63) wa'iḍā la^Ciba fī 'isba^Cin min
'aṣābi^Cihi (64) waqumira qaṭ^Caḥā biḍālika lkanjari (65) wahuwa
miṯla nnāri (66) ṯumma ḡamasa yadahu fī ḍālika dduhni (67)
fakawāhā (68) ṯumma ^Cada 'ilā lu^Cbihi (69) fa'in tawajjaha
^Calayhi llū^Cbu (70) 'abāna 'isba^Can ṯāniyatan (71) warubbamā
tawajjaha ^Calayhi llū^Cbu fi qaṭ^Ci l'aṣābi^Ci walkaffi ṯumma ḍōira^Ci
wazzandi wasā'iri l'aṭrāfi (72) wakullu ḍālika yusta^Cmalu fīhi
lkayyu biḍālika dduhni (73) wahuwa duhnun ^Cajībun yu^Cmalu min
'aklaṭin wa^Caqāqīra bi'arḍi lhindi ^Cajību lma^Cnā limā ḍakarnā
(74) wamā ḍakarnāhu ^Canhum famustafīdun min fi^Clihim (75) walhindu
tattakiḍu lfīlata fī bilādiḥā (76) watatanātajū fī 'arḍiḥā
(77) wa laysa fīhā waḥṣiyyatun (78) wa'innamā hiya ḥarbiyyatun
wamusta^Cmalatun kasti^Cmāli lbaqari wal'ibili (79) wa'akṯaruhā
ta'wī 'ila lmurūji walḡiyāḍi kaljawāmīsi fi 'arḍi l'islāmi (80)
walfīlatu taḥrubu mina lmawḍi^Ci llaḍī yakūnu fīhi lkarkaddanu ^Calā
ḥasbi mā qaddamnā (81) falā tar^Ca fī mawḍi^Cin tašummu fīhi
rā'ihatahu (82) wayu^Cammaru lfīlu bi'arḍi zzanji naḥwan min
'arba^Cimi'ati sanatīn (83) kaḍālika taḍkuru zzanju (84) li'annahā

ta^crifu fī diyārihā lfīla l^caẓīma mimmā la yata'attā lahum qatluhu
(85) waminhā l'aswadu wal'abyadu wal'ablaqu wal'aġbaru (86) wafī
'arḍi lhindi minhā mā yu^cammaru lmi'ata sanatīn walmi'atayni
(87) wayada^cu ḥamlahu fī kulli sab^ci sinīna

(Mas. III, 5/10 - 11/9).

F O O T N O T E S

1. 'ammā also introduces:-

(a) Nouns which are the subject of a following predicate, e.g.:-

'ammā 'anna hāḍihi ṣṣinā^Cata hiyya "(As for) the fact that this art is
'afḍalu ṣṣinā^Cāti kullihā the most excellent of arts (it) is
fabayyinun mimmā 'aqūlu clear from what I say".
(Misk. 40/16).

'ammā rrawāqiyūna fazannū 'anna ... "(As for) the Stoics (they)
believed that (Misk. 36/18).

(b) A fronted direct object, e.g.:

Qur'an:-

fa'ammā lyatīma falā taqhar wa'ammā "As for the orphan - do not oppress
ssā'ila falā tanhar (him), and as for the beggar - do
not drive (him) sway". (Q93/9 ff.).

(c) A fronted prepositional phrase which is the direct complement
of the verb, e.g.:-

Qur'an:-

wa'ammā bini^Cmati rabbika faḥaddiθ "About the bounty of your Lord
speak". (Q93/11).

(d) An adverbial, e.g.:-

'ammā l'āna falā 'u^Cīnuka "As for now - I will not help
you". (S.V. 793).

'ammā 'iḍ karihūnī fa'anā "As for if they do not like me
'anṣarifu^C anhum (= adverbial clause) - I shall
leave them". (S.V. 794).

(e) A maṣdar mutlaq, e.g.:-

'ammā qatlan falastu qātilun "As for killing - I am not a
killer". (S.V. 794).

2. Reckendorf cites an example of an 'ammā construction without fa- in which the fa- is precluded on grammatical grounds:-

'ammā law kāna makānaka rajulun	"If there were a man whom I knew in
'a ^c rifuhu mā ṣabara ^c alayhā	your place he would not have
	patience with it (i.e. No one I
	know would have patience with it
	if he were in your place".
	(S.V. 795).

Here he claims that the fa- is absent because the constituent introduced by 'ammā is a law-clause.

3. Two variant forms of 'ammā are:

(i) 'aymā (cf. Muḡnī, p.55), e.g.:-

ra'at rajulan 'aymā 'iḡa ššamsu	"She saw a man who, when the sun
^c āraḡat fayadḡā 'aymā bil ^c ašiyyi	shines, is smitten by its rays and,
fayakṣar	in the evening, is cold".
	(Muḡnī, ib.).

(ii) The Judaeo-Arabic form 'nm' which was probably pronounced 'anmā. This is found chiefly in the works of Jewish writers from Spain (cf. Blau, JAL, p.184, note 38), e.g.:-

wa'anmā 'istiḡāqu smi 'iṣṣā min 'īš	"As for the derivation of the noun
fahuwa mimmā yastadillu ^c alā	'iṣṣā from 'īš - this proves
'anna	that
	(CUL TS NS.310, 5, 1, 7).

wa'anmā naṣbunā maḡābira mawtanā	"As for our placing the tombs of
^c inda 'abwābinā falinatt ^c iḡa	our dead at our doors - (it is) in
bihā	order that we are admonished by
	them". (Hob. 184/20).

Both of these forms seem to have arisen through dissimilation of the double /mm/.

4. In the Qur'ān many similar sentences are found in which relative phrases seem to have been mechanically grafted onto another clause. Among the most obvious are examples such as:-

'inna llaḏīna kafarū wayasuddūna
^can sabīli llāhi walmasjidi
lḥarāmi llaḏī ja^calnāhū linnāsi
sawā'an il^cākifu fīhi walbādī
waman yurid fīhi bi'ilḥādin
biḏulmin nuḏiqhum min ^caḏābin
^cazīmin

"Those who disbelieve and debar others from the path of God and the Sacred Mosque which we made for mankind, equally the dweller therein and the nomad, and whoever purposes wrongful profanity in it - we shall cause him to taste a painful punishment". (Q22/25).

'allaḏī jā'a biṣṣidqi waṣaddaqa
bihi 'ulā'ika humu lmuttaqūna

"Whoever comes with the truth and believes in it - those are the dutiful". (Q39/33)

In these sentences, there is a discrepancy in the concord between the relative phrase and the subsequent clause.

cf. further Q17/19, 46/17.

5. This construction is attested with a full noun subject in translations which slavishly imitate the word order of the Vorlage, e.g. Christian Arabic:-

wahākaḏā wallāhu llaḏīna nāmū
biyasū^c yajlibuhum ma^cahu

"So God will also bring with him those who sleep in Jesus".
(I Thess. iv:14, in Blau, 1977a, p.66).

cf. Greek Vorlage:-

houtō kai theos tous koimēthentas dia tou Iēsou aksei sun autō.

6. This is consistent with Bloch's statement (1946:104) that the occurrence of SV word order in 'iḏā-clauses is largely restricted to poetry. As we shall see in Section II, SV clauses and extrapositional clauses are distributionally equivalent.

7. The subject of the complement clause may also be made the object of the main verb, e.g.:-

mā 'aḥsibu hāḏihi l'āyata nazalat "I do not think that this verse was revealed". (S.V. ib.).

If the 'raised' item is a pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the main verb, it is not attached to nafs, e.g.:-

'innī 'arānī 'a^cṣiru kamran "I see myself (in a dream) pressing wine = I dreamt that I was pressing wine". (Q12/36).

In all other constructions, an object pronoun which is coreferential with the subject of the clause is suffixed to nafs (plural 'anfus), cf. Reck. S.V. p.397. This phenomenon provides confirmatory evidence for the fact that the referent which is the object of the verba cordis in these constructions belongs properly to the complement clause rather than to the main clause.

8.

falaysa lil'ākari sabīlun^c ala "The second verb (i.e. tadrib) has no access to the noun since it is apocopate, i.e. apodosis to the verb". (ib).

l'ismi li'annahu jazmun wahuwa
jawābu lfi^cli l'awwali

9.

li'annahu bimanzilati qawlika "Since it has the same status as (the adverb in the clause): 'Do you hit Abdullah on Friday?'"
'a^cabdallāhi yawma ljum^cati
tadribu (Sīb. I, 55/14).

10. One grammatical signal of the apodosis status of a clause is the tense of the verb, viz. apocopate (jazm) or 'timeless' perfect, e.g.:- (overpage)

10. continued.

- (i) 'innī 'in 'akbartuka bihā "I - if I tell it to you I can
lam 'aṭma'inni 'ilā kubrikum have no confidence about your
C an ta'wīlihā knowledge of its interpretation".
(Sīr. 11/12).
- (ii) fa'innaka 'in fa^Calta "You - if you do that you will
ḍālika sullitta C alayya be given power to kill me".
faqataltani (ib. 34/16).

Another grammatical marker is the presence of a particle linking the first clause with the second, e.g.:-

fa:-

- (iii) faljūdu 'iḍā kāna lillāhi "Generosity - if it is for the
fakāna šukran lahu sake of God, it is gratefulness
to him". (Jāh. 201/18).

la:-

- (iv) fa'inna ramla C ālija law "For the sands of C Ālij - if
'ukiḍa minhu walam yuraddi one took from them without
C alayhi laḍahaba C an replacing (what one took), they
'ākirihi would completely vanish".
(Jāh. 200/11).

In sentences like (i) - (iv), which are clearly protasis-apodosis constructions, the initial noun is syntactically isolated although its referent is the subject of the main verb. However, when there are no overt markers of the apodosis-status of the main clause, the syntactic structure of the clause is ambiguous, i.e. there is no objective indication as to whether the writer/speaker intended the subordinate clause as an adverbial insertion or as a protasis clause.

11. cf. Sīb. (I, 59,5) where it is stated that fa is permissible in (i) (after a generic nominal) but not in (ii) (after a specific nominal):- (overpage)

11. continued.

(i) 'allaḥī ya'tīnī falahu
dirhamun

(ii) zaydun falahu dirhamāni

12. The occurrence of fa in such constructions is by no means as regular as it is in sentences containing an imperative. This is borne out by a statistical investigation of the common Qur'ānic construction in which a generic relative phrase consisting of a pronoun of the allaḥī series is extraposed at the front of the sentence (cf. p. 88). fa always occurs after the extraposed constituent if the following verb is an imperative or jussive; however, out of 157 instances in which there is no imperative verb fa occurs only in 14.

13. Sentences with initial man- and mā- phrases are equivalent to conditional protasis-apodosis constructions. They have the tense structure of conditionals (i.e. timeless perfect or apocopate). Moreover, fa- occurs in man- and mā- phrases under the same circumstances as it occurs after protases, i.e. it is absent only when the subsequent clause begins immediately with a finite verb in one of the conditional 'converted' tenses (cf. Wright Gram. II, p.345 ff.). Indeed there are reasons to believe that man- and mā- phrases in such constructions are not full blooded nominal phrases. For example they are sometimes not resumed within the rest of the sentence, e.g.:-

man qara'a bittā'i fataqdīruhu ...

"Whoever reads (the afore-mentioned Qur'ānic verse) with tā' - then its (i.e. the verse's) underlying form is ...".
(Ibn Ya^ciš 432/8).

faman qara'a bilyā'i fallāḏīna
bimawḏi^c i lfā^c ili

"Whoever reads (it) with yā' -
then 'allaḏīna functions as
agent". (ib. 432/9).

faman nāma^c an ḥaqqihi falam
'anam

"Whoever slept and neglected
his duty - I did not sleep".
(GVGSS II, p.661).

In these examples, the man- phrases seem to express a proposition rather than name a class of individuals. Moreover several examples of man- phrases are attested which contain a conditional particle:-

man 'iḏā 'ašrafat^c alayhi
hāḏihi ldābbatu ta^c allaqa
bi'akbari mā yakūmu min
šajari ssāji

"Anyone - when this animal
approaches him, he climbs the
tallest teak trees".
(Mas. III, 12/13).

man 'in lam yalidhu fihrun
falaysa qurayšan

"If anyone - Fihrun is not his
ancestor, he is not Qurayš".
(GVGSS II, p.661).

cf. Hob. 186/3.

Such sentences are pure protasis-apodosis constructions for the man contained in them cannot be construed as the head of a relative clause.

14. fa- may also occur between a subject and its predicate, e.g.:-

'inna kulla muslimin famuntaḏirun
šafā^c ata llāhi

"Every Muslim expects the
intercession of God".
(GVGSS II, 442).

cf. Mas. III, 55/1, 55/4; Janāḥ 100/15.

15. Resumptive independent subject pronouns which stand before a verb occur relatively infrequently. In addition to (108) several examples may be adduced from the Qur'^{ān}, e.g.:-
Q2/121, 2/174, 2/218, 4/124, 6/12, 9/104, 15/25, 17/71, 35/11.

However, Qur'^{ān}ic constructions of this kind, most of which open with an extraposed relative phrase, show many signs of being formed by a mechanical chaining together of two (or more) segments of formulaic phraseology (see p. 88).

16. See p. 90.

17. Cited by Blau, *Diqdūq* p.206.

18. Also in other types of construction anaphoric reference to a quotation in the same sentence is usually expressed by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

kamā 'annaka 'iḏā qulta: ḍaraba
zaydun fa'asnadta lfi^Cla 'ila
lfā^Cili kāna ḡaraduka min ḏālika
'an

"For instance, if you say: 'Zayd hit' annexing the verb to the agent, your purpose in this (utterance) is"
(Jurj. Dal. 176/8).

19. Analogous Qur'^{ān}ic constructions such as 7/170 and 13/28 must be treated with the caveats which are discussed in Footnote 15.

20. Q7/153 and 2/234 have a similar structure. These constructions, however, seem to constitute the amalgamation of two formulaic units and so must be treated as a different phenomenon - see Footnote 15 and p. 88 . In Q7/153 'inna rabbaka min ba^Cdihā laḡafūrun raḡīmun is clearly a variant of the frequently occurring pausal (rhyme) phrase 'inna llāha/rabbaka ḡafūrun raḡīmun. As for the sequence yatarabbaḡna bi'anfusihinna 'arba^Cata 'aḡhurin, compare the use of the same phraseology in Q2/228.

21. Note that kulluhu stands in the nominative and so must be considered to be in extraposition.
In his commentary on this verse Sīrāfī states that alFarrā' permits the construction kulluhum qarabtu but not zaydun qarabtu (cf. Jahn I/2, p.95).
22. A variant text reads nasītu in place of ^calayya (cf. Jahn I/2, p.95). Another text reads ṭawban nasītu faṭawban 'ajur with the fronted nouns in the accusative (cf. Bloch 1946: p.46).
23. cf. Baiḍāwī, 'Anwār, and Zamakṣarī, alKaššāf ad loc.
24. This is not the place to broach the question of the linguistic authenticity of Arabic case vowels. Many scholars argue that they owe their existence to the artificial prescription of the Arab grammarians, cf. Vollers (1906), Corriente (1971), Ambros (1972), Wansbrough (1977, p.106 ff.), Zwettler (1978, pp.145, 147, 156). For arguments against this view, cf. Nöldeke (1910, p.1 ff.), Blau (1977b, pp.4-7; 1981, pp.216-222).
25. The Ex clauses in (137) - (139) are all balanced, either parallelistically or chiastically, against a second clause which has a direct object in the slot corresponding to that of the extraposed nominal. Consequently, the accusative form of the extraposed nominal may have arisen by attraction to the inflection of its semantic counterpart in the other clause.
26. cf. Sīb. I 32/4.
27. This is the reading of the codices of Ibn ^cAbbas, 'A ^cmaš, and Ibn Abī Ishāq (cf. Jeffery 1937, ad loc.).
28. cf. Abū ^cUbayda, Majāz alqur'an, p.16.
29. cf. Abū ^cUbayda, ib.
30. cf. Abū ^cUbayda, ib.

31. The Baṣran school reads munfisān whereas the Kūfan school reads munfisun, cf. Kizānatu lAdab I, p.153.
32. Corriente (1971).
33. 'iḏā waqa^c a^c ala šay'in min sababihi faka'annahu qad waqa^c a bihi.
34. yunsabu 'awwaluhu li'anna 'ākirahu multabisun bi'awwalihi.
35. cf. Example (139).
36. jā'a bilaqītuḥu ba^c da 'an ja^c alahu ḡayatan
37. cf. Footnote 15.
38. For the notion of distributional equivalence see J. Lyons (1968, p.70).
39. SV and Ex after 'iḏā' and 'in' is attested occasionally in poetry, cf. I 1.122, I 1.123, and Bloch (1946, p.105). According to Rabin (1955, p.30) this is an archaism preserving the demonstrative character of the particles. In Judaeo-Arabic also the subject is sometimes placed before the verb after iḏā and 'in', especially if it is pronominal, cf. Blau (Diqdūq, pp.245, 250).
40. This was recognised by Ewald, Gram. Crit. Ling. Ar. vol. post., para. 667. According to Givon (1979) such a principle is characteristic of the syntax of many VSO languages.
41. Although other types of resumptive element are attested (cf. I 2.23 - I 2.25) clitic pronouns are used for this purpose in the overwhelming majority of cases.

42. In the tradition of the native Arab grammarians Ex verbal clauses and SV clauses are not considered to be distinct constructions. The major opposition in their system is between clauses which begin with a noun (jumlatuni smiyyatun) and clauses which begin with a verb (jumlatun fi^Cliyyatun). The jumlatu l'ismiyyatu embraces both SV and Ex clauses. This is not the place to review in detail the statements of the Arab grammarians on this matter - for a good summary see Ayoub and Bohas (1981). However, the important point is that their treatment of SV and Ex clauses as a unitary type of construction shows that they felt that they were distributionally equivalent.
43. A statistical count was made of occurrences of main clauses in which a nominal is placed before the verb (excluding hāls and clauses introduced by 'inna, 'anna, la^Calla, or layta) in 550 lines of a narrative text. (Ṭabarī, Tārīk, III, 2, pp. 1164-1192) and in an equivalent sample from an expository text. (Mas. III, pp. 1-47). 45 instances were found in the expository text whereas the narrative text did not yield a single example!
44. The association of nominal-first clauses with timeless habitual action was noticed by alJurjāni:- huwa yu^Cṭi ljazīla wahuwa yuḥibbu θθinā'a turīdu 'an tuḥaqqiqa^C ala ssāni^Ci 'anna 'i^Cṭa'a jjazīli waḥubba θθinā'i da'buḥu wa'an tamakkana ḡalika fi nafsīhi; "..... you wish to assert to the hearer that the giving of fine gifts and the love of praise is his custom and that it is an inherent property of his". (Dal. p. 157 ff.). Ewald (Gram. Crit. Ling. Ar. vol. post., para. 670), with characteristic perspicacity, also recognised the association of SV order with (independent main) imperfect clauses which express a state.
- Nöldeke noted a similar distributional pattern in Mandaean word order (Mand. Gram., p. 423). The same phenomenon has also been observed outside the Semitic area in, for instance, Spanish (Myhill, 1982).

45. See Introduction, p. 19.
46. See II 8 below.
47. See Introduction, p. 19.
48. For numerical sayings in Near Eastern wisdom literature
cf. Proverbs 6/16-19, 30/15-31; Ecclesiasticus 25/1-2;
Pirqē 'Abōt 5/1-15.
49. See Introduction, p. 20.
50. See Introduction, p. 20.
51. For the notion of 'possible world' see Allwood et al.
(1977: p.22).
52. See Introduction, p. 21.
53. See Introduction, p. 25.
54. Dal. p.162.
55. 'innamā yaqūlu hāḏa man ḡanna 'annahu yuṣādifuhu fī manzilihi
wa'an yaṣila 'ilayhi min qabli 'an yarkaba - "This is said by
someone who thought that he would find him in his house and
that he would arrive before he rides off".
56. fa'inna ššakka lā yaqwā hīna'iḏin quwatahu fi lwajhi l'awwali -
"For the expectation of the contrary is not so strongly expressed
as it is in the first construction".

57. $k\bar{a}na$ 'aqwā fī waṣfika lahu bil^cajalati walmajī'i qabla lwaqti llaḏī ḡunna 'annahu yajī'u fihi min 'an taqūla: 'atā walam taṭla^c i ššamsu ba^cdu - "It asserts more strongly that he came quickly and before he was expected than the clause ...".
58. ib. p.161.
59. In the Pre-classical Arabic of texts dating from before the second half of the VIIIth century 'an + verb + nominal constructions are found with imperfect verbs in the indicative expressing an action/state which is not dependent on the main verb (cf. Fischer, 1977), e.g. 'a^clamu 'an yanāmu "I know that he is asleep". The semantic independence of the proposition in such constructions is expressed by the /-u/ mood ending. This is in conformity with the fact that the /-u/ inflexional termination in Arabic has the basic function of signalling 'distinctness' or 'salience', cf. Khan, 1984. The later obsolescence of this construction and the reliance on word order rather than on inflexional vowels to express the relevant semantic opposition may be used as an argument in favour of the theory that 'i^crab in Classical Arabic was no longer a living feature of the language.
60. This fact is not mentioned in the standard grammars although it was noted by Bravmann (1953, p.78).
61. This function of kāna is to be distinguished from its use in mediaeval legal documents to mark off segments of the document. In these texts the occurrence of kāna often seems to be no more than a punctuation device, e.g. Grohmann (1934, No. 65).
62. For parallelistic constructions in which fronted direct objects are not resumed by a pronoun, see II 11.0, p. 106.

63. cf. Nöldeke (1910, pp.7-8) and Wansbrough (1977, pp.1-33, 47, 117-8).
64. cf. Wansbrough (ib. pp.99, 103).
65. cf. Gerhardsson (1964), who discusses the influence this pedagogic principle had upon the structure of Jewish Rabbinic texts.
66. cf. the psycholinguistic studies on memory such as Kintsch and Van Dijk (1978) and Clark and Clark (1977, p.188).
67. cf. Wansbrough (ib. p.48).
68. cf. Culley (1967), Monroe (1972), and Zwettler (1978).
69. masc. sing. 'allaḏī:- Q24/11, 39/33, 46/17; fem. sing. 'allatī:- 21/91; masc. dual 'allaḏāni:- 4/16; fem. pl. 'allātī:- 4/15, 4/34; 'alla'ī:- 65/4.
70. Wright Ar. Gr. II, para. 124; Reckendorf S.V. para. 136; more recently Beeston (1970, 68); Eid (1983). This function of 'disambiguation' is the one proposed by the Arab grammarians, cf. Ibn Ya^cīš 431/7:- 'anna lḡaraḏa bihi 'izālatu llabsi bayna anna^cti walkabari - "(that) the purpose of it is to eliminate the confusion between a modifier and a predicate".
71. Note that in all these examples the predicate nominal is specified by a modifier of some sort, cf. Khan (1984).
72. In fact the Arab grammarians recognised that this pronoun, which they called the 'pronoun of separation' (ḏamīru lfasli), may occur when the predicate nominal is not strictly definite, cf. Sīb. I, 347/25 ff.:- wa^clam 'anna huwa la yaḥsunu 'an takūna faṣlan ḥattā yakūna ba^cdaha mu^carrafatun 'aw mā 'ašbaha lmu^carrafata mimma ḥāla naḥwa kayrun minka wamiḥluka - "Know that it is not correct for huwa to act as a separative

unless it is followed by a definite noun or some noun with a long modifier, which is like a definite noun, such as kayrun minka, miθluka!. However, they still held that the essential function of the pronoun was to disambiguate.

73. In some languages the same phenomenon is exhibited by the verbal copula, e.g. Syriac:- haqlā wāt berīktā karkā - "the city (m.) was (f.) a blessed (f.) field (f.)". (Act. Mart. II 512/10).
cf. also Spanish:- el problema eres tu - "the problem is you",
el problema son los militares - "the problem is the soldiers".
(Contreras (1978)).
74. See Introduction p. 23.
75. cf. Reckendorf S.V., pp.117, 261; A.S. para.71/2; Bloch (1946: p.105 ff.); Beeston (1970: p.109).
76. cf. Introduction p. 23.
77. cf. Introduction p. 23.
78. This relation of generic Ex clauses to conditional sentences led Bravmann (1953: pp.17-21) to the mistaken notion that all Ex constructions are conditional in nature. Note that in all the examples which he cites on p.20 the extraposed nominal is generic.
79. See Introduction p. 22.
80. See Introduction p. 22.
81. cf. II 9.12, and also J. Lyons (1977: p.196); Bolinger (1979: p.305); Longacre (1976: p.121).

82. qawluhu 'allaḏī ya'tīnī falahu dirhamun fī ma^Cna ljazā'i
fadakalati lfā'u fī kabarihi kamā tadkulu fī kabari ljazā'i.
cf. also Footnote 11.
83. cf. Footnote 13.
84. cf. Reckendorf, A.S. p.370, Anm. 4.
85. cf. Bravmann (1953: p.19).
86. Gardiner, paras. 149, 150.
87. cf. Gottstein (1951: p.107).
88. Šībawaihi claims that the accusative form munṭaliqan is
governed by an elided verb. cf. also Zamakšarī, Mufaṣṣal,
34/7 ff.
89. The occurrence of fa- sometimes marks closure in other types
of construction, e.g.:-
- | | |
|---|---|
| ta ^C l'arba ^C ina yawman wa'in kānat | "you shall feed the <u>jallāla</u> |
| ṭāhī ^C šātan sab ^C ata 'ayyāmin wa'in | (= an animal which has eaten |
| 'arba ^C ina yawman wa'in kānat | ordure) clean fodder, if it is |
| šātan sab ^C ata 'ayyāmin wa'in | a she-camel for forty days, if |
| kānat dajājatan faḥalāḥata | it is a sheep for seven days, |
| 'ayyāmin | if it is a hen, then for three |
| | days". (Majmū ^C vol. 9, p.28/6 ff.). |
-
- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| sawfa 'in kāna lahu ḥāmilun | "If his wife is pregnant, a son |
| yajī'uhu waladun ḥakarun | will come to him, and if his wife |
| wa'in kāna laysa lahu | is not pregnant, then something |
| ḥāmilun fayajī'uhu šay'un | will come to him which will please |
| yusirru qalbahu | his heart". (Judaeo-Arabic,
Hopkins, 1978: p.71/10 ff.). |
90. cf. Introduction p. 25.

91. cf. Zamakšarī's paraphrase of Q38/84: walḥaqqā 'aḡūlu as walā 'aḡūlu 'illa ḥaqqā (Kaššaf, ad loc.).

92. cf. alJurjānī, Dal. p.156:- fa'iḏā qulta ma ḍarabtu zaydan faqaddamta lfi^cla kāna lma^cnā 'annaka qad nafayta 'an yakūna qad waqa^ca ḍarban minka^c alā zaydin walam ta^criḏ fi 'amri ḡayrihi linafyin walā 'iḏbātin wataraktahu mubhaman muḥtamalan fa'iḏā qulta mā zaydan ḍarabtu faqad qaddamta lmaf^cūla kāna lma^cnā^c alā 'anna ḍarban qad waqa^ca minka^c alā 'insānin waḡunna 'anna ḏālika l'insāna zaydun fanafayta 'an yakūna 'iyyāhu falaka 'an taḡūla fi lwajhi l'awwali mā ḍarabtu zaydan walā 'aḥadan mina nnāsi walaysa laka fi lwajhi ḏḏānī falaw qulta mā zaydan ḍarabtu walā 'aḥadan mina nnāsi kāna fāsīdan alwājibu 'an taḡūla mā zaydan ḍarabtu walākin^c amran

93. law naṣabahu (sc. kullahu) ma^ca taqaddumihi^c alā nāṣibihi la'afāda takṣīṣa nnafyi bilkulli waya^cūdu dalīlan^c alā 'annahu fa^cala ba^cḏa ḏālika

Clauses like (233) remind one of the well-known example which was used by the promoters of Generative Semantics to prove that a change in word order can change meaning, viz:-

(i) Many arrows didn't hit the target

(ii) The target wasn't hit by many arrows

When these two clauses are read in the normal manner, i.e. with the main stress falling on the final word 'target' in (i) and 'arrows' in (ii), they do not mean the same thing. (i) asserts that many arrows failed to hit the target, so that 'many' is outside the scope of 'not'; (ii) on the other hand has 'many' inside the scope of 'not' and so denies that many hit the target, implying that only some did. (cf. Lakoff (1970); MacWhinney (1977: p.153); Huddleston (1976: p.249)).

94. cf. alJurjānī, ib. p.152:- kunta qad 'ankarta 'an yakūna zaydun bimaḏābati 'an yuḍraba 'aw bimawḏi^ci 'an yujarra'a^c alayhi 'aw yustajāza ḏālika fīhi. He cites as an example Q6/14:- (overpage)

'aġayra llāhi 'attakiḍu waliyyan - "Shall I choose as my guardian other than God?", which he explains as follows:-
'ayakūnu ġayru llāhi bimaḥabati 'an yuttakaḍa waliyyan
wa'ayardā ^cāqilun binafsihi 'an yaf^cala ḥālaka

95. li'anna lmustafhima la yaṣukku fi l'ismi wa'innamā ṣakkuhu
fi lfi^cli

96. cf. I 3.2

97. cf. Chafe (1976: pp. 35, 49).

Chapter 2.

B I B L I C A L H E B R E W

I S T R U C T U R E

A EXTRAPOSITION

1.0 Form of extraposed element.

1.1 Pronoun:-

(i) 1st person, e.g.:-

(1) 'ānī hinnē berīti 'ittāk "I - my covenant is with you".
(Gen. 17/4).

Further examples:- Gen. 9/9, 37/30, 48/7; Jud. 5/3; ISam. 12/23;
Is. 59/21; Ezek. 9/10; IChr. 22/7, 28/2.

(ii) 2nd person, e.g.:-

(2) 'attā yōdūkā 'ahēkā "You - your brothers shall praise
you". (Gen. 49/8).

Further examples:- Dt. 18/14; Eeph. 2/12.

(iii) 3rd person, e.g.:-

(3) wehī' mar-lāh "It (= Jerusalem) - it is bitter
for it". (I.am. 1/4).

Further examples:- Ezek. 4/12, 30/18, 33/17.

1.2 Noun or nominal phrase:-

1.21 Definite in status.¹

(i) Referring to a specific referent, e.g.:- (overpage)

- (4) wəhammə^c arā 'āšer bō ləkā
netattihā "And the cave which is in it
(the field) - I gave it to you".
(Gen. 23/11).

Further examples:- passim.

(ii) Generic, e.g.:-

- (5) 'ēwīl bayyōm yiwwāda^c ka^c sō "A fool (= any person belonging
to the class of fools) - his
vexation is known at once".
(Prov. 12/16).

Further examples:- Dt. 14/27; Num. 17/5.

Such constructions with initial generic nominal phrases are mostly
legal precepts or proverbs.²

1.22 Indefinite:-

Such constructions are extremely rare, e.g.:-

- (6) kerem hemer^c annū lāh "A vineyard of wine - sing of it".
(Is. 27/2).

The only other examples which were found are Ezek. 4/12, 5/1.

1.3 Subject of the auxiliary verb hāyā, e.g.:-

- (7) hāyitī bayyōm 'ākalanī hōreb
wəqerah ballaylā "I - dryness consumed me by day
and cold by night". (Gen. 31/40).

Further examples:- Num. 1/20, 5/27. cf. also Gen. 24/15 where the
maqgef would seem to indicate that the sequence wayyehī-hū' was
interpreted, at least by the Masoretes, as a tight subject-predicate
nexus. Similarly a 3rd pers. m.sing. form of hāyā is sometimes linked
to a following extraposed noun by conjunctive accents, e.g. Dt. 12/11,

Dt. 21/3; Jud. 11/31, 19/30; IVg. 18/24; Is. 4/3; Num. 9/6 (cf. the variant reading wayyihyū). The occurrence of conjunctive accents suggests that also in these constructions the Masoretes construed the initial nominal as subject of the preceding hāyā. This may be inferred from their frequent practice of linking verb-subject sequences by conjunctive accents (e.g. passim).

2.0 The extraposed element is sometimes introduced by le-, e.g.:-

- (8) lekol-habbehēmā 'āšer hī' "As for every animal which parts
mapreset parsā wešesa^c the hoof but does not cleave
'ēnennā šōsa^c at wegerā the cleft (= cloven-footed) nor
'ēnennā ma^c ālā tēmē'im brings up (= chews) the cud -
hēm lākem they are unclean to you".
(Lev. 11/26).

Further examples:- Num. 1/22, 1/24, 1/26, 1/28, 1/30, 1/32, 1/34, 1/36, 1/38, 1/40, 18/8;³ Ecc. 9/4. The constructions with le- in IChr. 5/5 and 7/1 are perhaps also to be included under this heading.⁴

3.0 Juncture between the extraposed element and the rest of the clause.

3.1 Masoretic accents:-

In the Masoretic text a disjunctive accent is generally placed at the end of an extraposed element. Short extraposed pronouns, however, are sometimes marked with conjunctive accents, e.g. Gen. 49/8; Ezek. 30/18; Lam. 1/4; occasionally also elsewhere, e.g. Ezek. 5/1.

3.2 An extraposed item may be connected to the rest of the clause by conversive waw:-

(i) Before perfect consecutive:-

(a) When the extraposed nominal is generic, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (9) kol-hā'ādām wəhabbēhēmā "Every man and beast that is
'āšer-yimmāse' baššādē found in the field and is not
welō' yē'āsēp habbaytā brought home - the hail shall
weyārad^c 'ālēhem habbārād come down upon them".
(Ex. 9/19).

cf. Num. 21/8; Jud. 1/12; Is. 56/6; Prov. 9/16; Is. 9/4; IIChr. 13/9.

(b) When the verb expresses an order, prescription, or request, e.g.:-

- (10) habberākā hazzō't 'āšer-hēbī' "This blessing which your hand-
šiphātka la'dōnī wenittēnā maiden has brought to my lord -
lanne^c arīm hammithallekīm let it be given to the young
beragle 'ādōnī men who follow my lord".
(ISam. 25/27).

cf. IIKg. 11/7; IISam. 14/10.

Many constructions in which an extraposed element is followed by conversive waw + perfect are legal prescriptions (see Appendix).

(c) Occurrence of waw motivated by discourse factors.⁵

(ii) Before imperfective consecutive, e.g.:-

- (11) ūbnē haggēdūd 'āšer hēšīb "The men of the army whom Amaziah
'āmašyāhū milleket^c immō sent back, not letting them go
lammilhamā wayyipšetū with him to battle - they fell
be^c arē yehūdā upon the cities of Judah".
(IIChr. 25/13).

The occurrence of conversive waw in constructions of this type is not conditioned by specific formal properties of the sentence. Rather its occurrence is nearly always motivated by discourse factors.⁵ This is to be contrasted with Ex sentences in which the waw conversive is followed by a perfect consecutive. In the latter type of construction the

occurrence of waw is often motivated by the semantic nature of the extraposed element or of the predicate, cf. (i) (a) and (b).

3.3 The extraposed element may be connected to the rest of the clause by hinne⁶ e.g.:-

- (12) wa'ānī hinenī meqīm 'et-bərītī "I - I shall establish my covenant
'ittəkem with you". (Gen. 9/9).

cf. also ISam. 21/10; Gen. 6/17, 17/4; Ruth 3/2; Ecc. 1/16.

3.4. A noun or nominal phrase is sometimes separated from the rest of the clause by a subordinating conjunction:

(i) kī, e.g.:-

- (13) šōṭ šōṭēp kī ya'ābōr wihyītem "The overflowing scourge - when
lō lemirmās it passes through, then you shall
be trodden down by it". (Is. 28/18).
- (14) ḥayil kī-yanūb 'al tašītū "Riches - if they increase, do
lēb not set your heart (upon them)".
(Ps. 62/11).

cf. IKg. 8/37; Mic. 5/4; Ezek. 3/19; 14/9, 13; 18/5, 18, 21; 33/6.

This construction is especially common in the laws of P (cf. Appendix).

Examples like (14) indicate that the sequence initial nominal + kī-clause in such constructions is a closely knit unit. The kī-clause is not an adverbial insertion between a nominal and its predicate.⁷ In Example (14) the noun before the kī cannot be interpreted as belonging to the main clause. Moreover, the main clause is often introduced by waw apodosis demonstrating that the kī-clause is a full protasis, cf. Lev. 12/2:-

(15) 'iššā kī tazrīa^c weyāleḏā
zākār weṭāme'ā šib^c at
yāmin

"A woman - if she conceives and
bears a male child, then she shall
be unclean for seven days".

NOT "A woman, if she conceives and
bears a male child, shall be
unclean ...".

(ii) ṭerem, e.g.:-

(16) 'ānī ṭerem 'ākallē leḏabbēr
'el-libbī wehinna ribqā
yōšet

"I - before I finished speaking
to my heart - Rebekah came out ...".
(Gen. 22/45).

cf. also Gen. 2/2, 24/15; Josh. 2/8; ISam. 3/3, 3/7.

4.0 Form of resumptive element.

4.1 Clitic pronoun:

(i) Object, e.g.:-

(17) wekol-habbe'erōt 'āšer
hāperū^c abde'abiw bīmē
'abrahām 'abiw sittēmūm
pelištīm waymalle'um^c apār

"All the wells which the slaves
of his father had dug in the days
of Abraham his father - the
Philistines blocked them up and
filled them with dust".

(Gen. 26/15).

(ii) Prepositional complement, e.g.:-

(18) waha'iš mīkā lō bet 'ēlohīm

"The man Micah - to him was (= he
had) a shrine". (Jud. 17/5).

(iii) Noun complement, e.g.:-

- (19) šekem bənī ḥašeqā napšō "Shechem, my son, - his heart
bəbittəkem desires your daughter".
(Gen. 34/8).

(iv) Subject morpheme of verb.

(a) After waw, e.g.:-

- (20) wəhəhāmōn 'āšer bəmahānē "The tumult in the camp of the
pəlišṭīm wayyelek halōk Philistines - it continued to
wārāb increase". (ISam. 14/19).

cf. Section 3.2.

(b) After a subordinating conjunction. cf. examples
in Section 3.4.

(v) Complement of 'ēn, e.g.:-

- (21) hayyeled 'ēnennū "The child is no more".
(Gen. 37/30).

cf. Gen. 42/13, 42/32, 42/36; Ecc. 9/5, 9/16 ('ēnām); Neh. 2/2 ('ēnkā).

(vi) Complement of od, e.g.:-

- (22) wə'abrāhām ^cōdennū ^cōmēd "And Abraham was still standing
lipnē yhw̄h before Yahwe". (Gen. 18/22).

cf. Gen. 44/14; Num. 11/33; ISam. 13/7.

4.2 Independent personal pronoun.

(i) In verbal clause, e.g.:-

- (23) birkat₂ yhw hī ta^cāšīr "The blessing of the Lord - it
makes rich". (Prov. 10/22).

cf. Prov. 6/32, 10/24, 13/13, 11/28; Ecc. 3/14; Dt. 1/30; Ps. 37/9;
Neh. 2/20.

(ii) In verbless clause, e.g.:-

- (24) ūben-mešeq bētī hū' "And the heir of my house is
dammešeq 'ēlī^c ezer Eliezer of Damascus". (Gen. 15/2).
- (25) zōbō tāmē hū' "His discharge is unclean".
(Lev. 15/2).
- (26) 'eres mišrayim lepānēkā "The land of Egypt is before you".
hī' (Gen. 47/6).

Independent personal pronouns which resume the subject of a verbless clause as in Examples (24) - (26) generally function as copulas, i.e. they are equivalent to the corresponding form of the verb 'to be' in the English version of the clause. This is shown by the fact that (a) the resumptive pronoun is sometimes used equivalently to a form of the verb hāyā in a parallel clause,⁸ e.g.:-

- (27) ^cattā šenē bānēkā hannōlādīm "Now your two sons who were born
ləkā be'eres mišrayim ... lī to you in the land of Egypt are
hēm 'eprayim ūmenašše ... mine ... Ephraim and Manasseh
yihyū lī shall be mine". (Gen. 48/5).
- (28) ma-ššehāyā kēbār hū' wa'āšer "What has been is now, and what
lihyōt kēbār hāyā is to be has already been".
(Ecc. 3/15).

(b) the resumptive pronoun occasionally agrees with the predicate

rather than with the subject,⁹ e.g.:-

(29) bāttē ^cārē haləwiyyīm hī' "The houses of the cities of the
'āhuzzātām Levites are their possession".
(Lev. 25/33).

(30) huqqōt hā^c ammīm hebel hū' "The customs of the peoples are
vain". (Jer. 10/3).

Copula pronouns occur both when the predicate nominal is definite and also when it is indefinite. The definiteness of the predicate affects the positioning of the pronoun. The general principle is that the copula pronoun precedes a definite predicate nominal (cf. Examples (24), (29)) but follows an indefinite one (cf. Examples (25), (30)). It also generally follows a predicate which is a prepositional phrase (cf. Examples (26), (27)). Andersen (1970) was the first to establish this principle for verbless clauses in the Pentateuch, cf. also Sappan (1981: 92-111) where the data base embraces examples from the entire Old Testament.

In Biblical Hebrew copula pronouns occur only in a minority of verbless clauses (cf. Andersen (ib.) and Sappan (ib.)). Their occurrence is generally motivated by the status of the clause within the discourse (cf. for instance p.154 for Gen. 9/18 and p.156 for Gen. 2/14 and 31/43).

It should also be noted that the use of a copula pronoun in a clause with an indefinite predicate usually entails a change of word order since the normal word order for verbless clauses with indefinite predicates is predicate-subject (Andersen (ib.)), i.e. tōb haddābār (predicate-subject) but haddābār tōb hū' (subject-predicate-copula).

4.3 Demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

(31) 'īš 'āšer yitten-lō "A man to whom God gives wealth,
hā'ēlōhīm ^cōšer unekāsīm possessions, and honour, so that
wekābōd we'ēnennū ḥāsēr he lacks nothing of all that he
lēnapšō mikkōl 'āšer-yit'awwē desires, yet God does not give him
welō-yašlītēnnū ha'ēlōhīm

(continued overpage)

le'ēkōl mimennū kī 'īš
nokrī yōkēlennū zē hebel
wāholī rā^c hū'

power to enjoy them, but a
stranger enjoys them - this is
vanity, it is a sore affliction".
(Ecc. 6/2).

4.4 Locative pro-form (viz. šām, šamma), e.g.:-

- (32) wəhāyā hammāqōm 'āšer-yibḥar "The place in which the Lord your
yhwh 'ēlōhēkem bō lešakkēn God chooses to cause his name to
'et-šəmo šam šammā tabī'ū dwell - thither you shall bring all
'et-kol-'āšer 'anōkī mešawwē that I command you". (Dt. 12/11).
'etkem

cf. Ecc. 11/3.

4.5 Full noun.

- (i) Same lexical item as extraposed element; in such constructions the extraposed element is generally a lengthy nominal phrase. The resumptive element is identical with the head noun of the extraposed phrase and is often qualified by a deictic pronoun,¹⁰ e.g.:-

- (33) hannābī' 'āšer yāzīd lədabbēr "The prophet who presumes to
dābār bišmī 'ēt 'āšer speak a word in my name, which
lō-šiwwītiw lədabbēr wa'āšer I have not commanded him to
yədabbēr bəšēm 'ēlōhīm speak, or who speaks in the name
'āherim ūmēt hannābī' hahū' of other gods - that prophet
shall die". (Dt. 18/20).

cf. Num 14/7; Gen. 46/26; Lev. 23/2; Dt. 21/3; Ex 26/12.

- (ii) Different lexical item from extraposed element, yet nonetheless construed as coreferential with it, e.g.:-

(34) hōdeš wešabbat̄ qerō' miqrā'
lō 'ūkal 'āwen wa^cāsārā
"New moon and Sabbath, the calling
of convocation - I cannot bear evil
and assembly". (Is. 1/13).

(35) hannāwā wehammē^cunnāgā
damit̄i bat-siyyōn
"The comely and the delicately bred
- I will destroy the daughter of
Zion". (Jer. 6/2).

cf. Jer. 13/27.

4.6 Partial resumption, i.e. only a noun which is contained within
the extraposed nominal phrase is resumed, e.g.:-

(36) kol-'āšer tōmar 'ēlēkā
sārā šema^c beqōlāh
"Whatever Sarah says to you -
listen to her voice". (Gen. 21/12).

(37) kol-hōrēg qayin šib^cātayim
yuqqām
"Whoever kills Cain - he (i.e.
Cain) shall be avenged sevenfold".
(Gen. 4/15).

The subject of yuqqām is certainly 'Cain' and not the murderer, cf. v.24,
where Cain is clearly the subject: kī šib^cātayim yuqqam-qayin ("if Cain
is avenged sevenfold ...").

(38) wəkōl-rīb 'āšer-yābō'
ālēkem mē'āhēkem hayyōšēbīm
be^cārēhem ... wehizhartem
'ōtām welō ye'šēmū layhwh
"Any case which comes to you
from your brethren who live in
their cities ... you shall instruct
them, that they may not incur
guilt before the Lord".
(IIChr. 19/10).

cf. Ezek. 10/22; ISam. 20/23; Jer. 44/16; Is. 19/17; Dn. 1/20.

4.7 No explicit resumption, e.g.:-

(39) wehe^carīm 'āšer tittēnū
mē'āhuzzat bēnē-yisrā'el
mē'ēt hārab tarbū ūmē'ēt
hammē^cat tam^citū
"The cities which you shall give
from the possession of the people
of Israel - from the large (tribes)
you shall take many, and from the
(continued overpage)

- (39) (continued)
small (tribes) you shall take few".
(Num. 35/8).
- (40) ubenēhem ḥāsī medabbēr
'ašdōdīt wə'ēnam makkīrīm
ledabbēr yehūdīt
"Their children - half (of them)
speak Ashdodite, and cannot speak
the language of Judah".
(Neh. 13/24).

B. PRONOMINAL AGREEMENT.

In Biblical Hebrew pronominal agreement constructions are always symmetrical, i.e. the 'agreed with' nominal and the agreement pronoun have the same case marker or the same preposition.¹¹
The agreement pronoun may be resumptive or anticipatory.

1.0 Resumptive.

1.1 'et-complement, e.g.:-

- (41) wə'ēt nepeš 'ōyebēkā
yeqalle^c ennā betōk
kap haqqāla^c
"The soul of your enemies - he
shall sling it out (as) from the
hollow of a sling". (ISam. 25/29).

cf. ISam. 9/13; IIKg. 9/27; Is. 8/13; Ezek. 16/58; Num. 17/3;
Dt. 13/1; Jud. 11/24; Gen. 13/15.

1.2 le-complement, e.g.:-

- (42) ūlēmīkal bat-šā'ūl lō
hāyā lāh yāled
"To Mīkal, the daughter of Saul
- no child was to her (= she had
no child)". (IISam. 6/23).

cf. Josh. 17/3; ISam. 9/20; Is. 56/4; Lev. 21/3; Gen. 31/43
(resumptive pronoun demonstrative); Lev. 7/8, 9 ('agreed with' nominal
occurs after the subject of the clause).

1.3 bə-complement, e.g.:-

- (43) bəma^c ālō 'āšer mā^c al
ubəḥattātō 'āšer-ḥātā'
bām yāmūt
- "Through the treachery he has committed and through the sin he has sinned - through them he shall die". (Ezek. 18/24).

cf. Ps. 35/8; Ezek. 33/13.

1.4 ^cal-complement, e.g.:-

- (44) ^cal-hā'āres merātayim
^cālē ^calēhā
- "Against the land of Marātayim - go up against it". (Jer. 50/21).

cf. Ezek. 1/26.

1.5 ^cim-complement, e.g.:-

- (45) ^cim hā'āmāhōt 'āšer 'āmart
^cimmām 'ikkābēd
- "With the handmaids about whom you spoke - with them I shall be honoured". (IISam. 6/22).

1.6 'el-complement, e.g.:-

- (46) 'el melek_k yehūdā haššōlēah
'et_kem lidrōš 'et-yhwh kō
tōmerū 'ēlāw
- "To the king of Judah who sends you to enquire of the Lord - thus you shall say to him". (IIKg. 22/18).

1.7 min-complement, e.g.:-

- (47) umē^c es hadda^c at tōb wārā^c
lō' tōkal mimennū
- "From the tree of knowledge of good and evil - you shall not eat from it". (Gen. 2/17).

cf. Gen. 3/3; Lev. 25/44 ('agreed with' nominal occurs after subject of clause).

1.8 A similar construction is where a nomen rectum which has the periphrastic genitive prefix le is fronted before the nomen regens and resumed on the latter by a suffix pronoun, e.g.:-

(48) hinēnī memallē' "Behold I will fill the
'et-hammēlakīm hayyōšēbīm kings who sit on David's throne
leḏawīd^c al kisse'o with drunkenness".
šikkārōn (Jer. 13/13).

(49) libnē 'ahārōn maḥloqōtām "The divisions of the sons of
Aaron". (IChr. 24/1).

It is possible that the phrases of the form libnē X tōlēdōtām in Num. 1/22-40 have an analogous structure. Yet it is equally plausible that the le in these constructions is an 'introductory' particle (cf. I A 2.0).

2.0 Anticipatory.

2.1 'et-complement, e.g.:-

(50) wattir'ēhū 'et-hayyeled "She saw him - the child".
(Ex. 2/6).

cf. Ex. 35/5; IKg. 21/13; Lev. 13/57; IIKg. 16/15; Jer. 9/14;
Jer. 27/8.

2.2 le-complement, e.g.:-

(51) wayyittēn lāhem mōše "Moses gave to them - to the sons
libnē gād of Gad". (Num. 32/33).

cf. Josh. 1/2; Jud. 21/7; IIChr. 26/14.

2.3 al-complement, e.g.:-

- (52) kī bā ^calēhā ^cal-bābel šōdēd "For a destroyer has come upon
Babylon". (Jer. 51/56).

2.4 im-complement, e.g.:-

- (53) wēnilḥam ^cimmō ^cim melek "He shall fight with the king
hassāpōn of the north". (Dn. 11/11).

2.5 min-complement, e.g.:-

- (54) ūmēhem min-bēnē šim^cōn "Some of the sons of Šim^cōn
hālēkū lehar šē^cīr went to mount Šē^cīr".
(IChr. 4/42).

2.6 Genitive suffix anticipating a nominal which is preceded
by a particle indicating genitive relation, e.g.:-

- (55) miṭṭātō šellišlōmō "The litter of Solomon".
(Cant. 3/7).
- (56) kəṭō^cābōtēhem lakkēnā^cānī "According to the abominations
of the Canaanites". (Ezr. 9/1).

cf. II Chr. 31/18; Num. 1/21-43.

Before a pronoun:- Ezek. 41/22 (miqṣə^cōtāw-lō "its (the altar's)
corners"); IChr. 4/33; IISam. 22/2; Ps. 27/2, 144/2; Cant. 1/6, 8/12.

II FUNCTION

Extrapositional (Ex) sentences and pronominal agreement constructions with resumptive pronouns (PAR) perform the same functions and are in most cases interchangeable. This will be demonstrated in the exposition below, in which these two types of sentence are treated together.

1.0 Signalling the boundaries of spans of discourse.

One of the most widespread functions of Ex or PAR clauses is to mark the boundaries of spans of discourse. They coincide with either the onset or the closure of a span. By contrast, a span is generally continued by clauses of the type waw conversive + VS.

1.1 Span Onset.

1.11 Beginning of speech or poem:-

The most obvious examples of Ex/PAR clauses which mark span onset are those occurring at the beginning of a clearly distinct unit of discourse such as a speech or a poem. Examples:-

(i) Opening of a speech:-

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (57) | wayyōmer 'ēlōhīm 'el-'abrahām
šāray 'išṭekā lō-ṭiqrā' 'et-šēmāh
šārāy kī-šārā šēmāh | "And God said to Abraham:
'Šāray, your wife - you shall
not call her name Šāray, for
'Šārā is her name". (Gen. 17/15). |
|------|---|---|

cf. Gen. 9/9, 17/4, 34/8; Num. 22/11; Is. 21/10; Jer. 44/16,25;
IChr. 22/7. cf. also Gen. 24/27^b (this marks the starting point of the main substance of the speech after an introductory blessing in v.27^a);
Gen. 28/136 (after an initial clause in which Yahweh identifies himself);
IChr. 28/2 (after an imperative which attracts the attention of the hearers:- šēmā^c unī 'ahay).

(ii) Opening of a poem:-

(58) kerem ḥesed^c annū lāh "A vineyard of wine - sing of it".

cf. Jer. 50/21.

The items which are extraposed or fronted in a PAR construction at the head of a speech or poem have at least one of the following properties:-

- (a) 'Durability' in the succeeding discourse, i.e. the referent has topic status (e.g. Gen. 17/15; Num. 22/11; ISam. 21/10; Is. 27/2).
- (b) 'Givenness', i.e. the referent has been mentioned in the prior discourse, e.g. Jer. 44/16 ("the word which you have spoken" refers to the content of the foregoing speech). Sometimes the referent has not been mentioned previously but rather is perceived by the addressee in the environment. Such referents may be classified as 'situationally' given, e.g. Gen. 28/13 (the ground upon which Jacob was lying was readily perceptible by him).
- (c) High rank on the perceptual salience hierarchy:- referents which stand high on this hierarchy are often made the starting point of a speech in preference to other clause constituents. When this referent is not the grammatical subject it is extraposed, e.g.:-

(59) šekem benī hāšeqā napšō "Šekem (human proper noun), my
bēbittēkem son - his soul desires your
daughter". (Gen. 34/8).

In (59) the other determining factors mentioned in (a) and (b) above are not operative.¹² The fact that 1st person is at the head of the perceptual salience hierarchy probably has some bearing on the extraposition of the 1st person pronoun in Gen. 17/4, 24/27; IChr. 28/2, 22/7. The referent of the 1st person pronoun in these examples, however, is also 'situationally' given, i.e. perceptible by the addressee(s) in the environment.

1.12 Ex/PAR clauses also occur within the body of a discourse at a point where a new span is initiated.

1.121 Change of topic.

An Ex/PAR clause may signal a change in topic.

Consider the following passage:-

- (60) (34) 'āz tirsē hā'āres
'et-šabbatōtēhā kōl yamē
hoššammā wə'attem be'eres
'ōyebēkem 'āz tišbat hā'āres
wehirsāt 'et-šabbatōtēhā
(35) kol-yamē hoššamā tišbōt
'ēt 'āšer lō-šabētā
bešabbatōtekem bešibtēkem
cālēhā (36) wehamišš'ārīm
bākem wehēbetī mōrek
bilbābam be'arsōt 'ōyebēhem
werādap 'otām qōl cālē niddāp
wenāsū menūsāt-herēb wənāpēlū
wə'en rōdēp (37) wəkāšēlū
'iš-be'ahīw kəmippənē herēb
werōdēp 'ayin welō tihyē
lākem tēqumā lipnē 'ōyebēkem
(38) wa'ābadtem baggoyīm
wə'ākēlā 'etkem eres
'ōyebēkem
- "Then the land shall enjoy its sabbaths as long as it lies desolate, while you are in your enemies' land; then the land shall rest and enjoy its sabbaths. As long as it lies desolate it shall have rest, the rest which it had not in your sabbaths when you dwelt upon it. And those of you who are left - I will send faintness into their hearts in the land of their enemies; the sound of a driven leaf shall put them to flight, and they shall flee as one flees from the sword, and they shall fall when none pursues. They shall stumble over one another, as if to escape a sword, though none pursues; and you shall have no power to stand before your enemies. And you shall perish among the nations, and the land of your enemies shall eat you up". (Lev. 26/34-38).

In vv. 34 and 35 the topic is "the land". This is indicated by the high frequency with which it is referred to. In v. 36 the Ex clause turns attention to a new topic, viz. "those of you who are left". Likewise the topic status of this referent is demonstrated by the continuing chain of references to it in the succeeding clauses. In other words vv. 34 - 35 is the span of the topic "the land" and v. 36 ff. is the span of the topic "those of you who are left". Note how wa + VS clauses continue the span in vv. 36 - 38.

Compare ISam. 17/23 - 25a: In v. 23 Goliath is the topic constituent. This is indicated by the closely linked chain of references to him within the verse. In v. 24 the Ex clause introduces a new topic - "the men of Israel". This referent is referred to frequently in contiguous clauses down to v. 25a. vv. 24 - 25 is the span of the topic "the men of Israel", the onset of which is marked by the Ex clause. cf. also "the Blessing of Jacob" in Gen. 49: In this passage the topic spans of each of the twelve tribes are clearly discernible. In v. 8 an Ex clause opens the span about Judah which continues to v. 12. Within this span Judah is referred to sixteen times (excluding the initial clause in v. 12). This is a clear indication of the topic status of this referent.

Sometimes a topic span consists only of two clauses, e.g.:-

(61) "I am the seer; go up before me to the high place and you shall eat with me today, and I shall let you go in the morning and shall tell you all that is in your heart.

wela'ātonōt hā'ōbedōt lekā
hayyōm šelōšet hayyamīm
'al-tašem et-libbəkā lāhem
kī nimšā'u ūlēmī kol-ḥemdat
yiśrā'el hālō lekā ūlökōl
bēt 'ābikā

And your she-asses which were
lost to you three days ago - do
not set your mind on them for
they have been found. And for
whom is all the desire of Israel?
Is it not for you and for all
your father's house?"
(ISam. 9/19 - 20).

cf. Gen. 49/19; Dt. 2/23; Num. 14/31.

In all the examples discussed so far the new topic is represented by the clause initial Ex/PAR item itself; viz. "the men of Israel" (ISam. 17/24), "those of you who are left" (Lev. 26/36), "Judah" (Gen. 49/8), "the she-asses" (ISam 9/20), "Gād" (Gen. 49/19), "the ^cAwwīm" (Dt. 2/23). These are 'new' topics in the sense that they have not been explicitly mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse. In cognitive terms, they are not activated in the consciousness of the speaker/reader.¹³ Nevertheless they are all related in some way, directly or indirectly, to the prior context. Some have already been referred to earlier in the discourse: The nominal phrase kol 'iš yiśrā'el (ISam. 17/24 is co-referential with 'eḥāw (v. 22) and

yisra'el (v. 21); (ha)-'ätönöt (ISam. 9/20) has been mentioned in v. 5. Other Ex/PAR nominals stand in a set relation to, and so are inferable from, some previously mentioned referent¹⁴: - hā^cawwīm (Dt. 2/23) stands in an element-element relation to repā'im (v. 20) and hāhōrī (v. 22); i.e. they are all co-elements of the same set (the set of "peoples dispossessed by foreign incursions" or the like). Gād (Gen. 49/19) and 'attā (Gen. 49/8, referring to Judah) are both connected to the previously mentioned tribes in a similar element-element relation. This time the superordinate set is "the Hebrew tribes".

The Ex/PAR item, therefore, generally forms a link with the prior discourse, either by direct co-reference or by indirect inference.

1.122 Ex/PAR nominal acting as a 'bridge'.

Occasionally the Ex/PAR item is related to the prior discourse (explicitly given or inferable) yet does not itself have topic status within the succeeding clauses. Instead the topic is a completely new referent (not given or inferable from prior context), which is introduced within the body of the Ex/PAR clause. The nominal at the front of the Ex/PAR construction acts as a bridge between the prior discourse and the new topic span, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(62) (1) wayhī haggōrāl lemattē
 menašše kī hū bekōr yōsep
 lemākīr bekōr menašše 'ābī
 haggil^cād (2) wayhī
 libnē menašše hannōtarīm
 lemišpāhōtām (3)
 welīelophād ben-heper ben
 gil^cād ben mākīr ben menašše
 lō'hāyū lō bānīm kī 'im ...
 bānōt wē'ellē šemōt benōtaw</p> | <p>"There was a lot for the tribe of Manasseh, for he was the first-born of Joseph; to Mākīr, the first-born of Manassah, the father of Gilead And there was a lot for the rest of the children of Manasseh by their families But to Šelophād the son of Heper the son of Gilead the son of Mākīr the son of Manasseh - there were no sons to him (= he had</p> |
|---|--|

(continued overpage)

maḥlā wənō^cā ḥoglā milkā
wetirsā (4) wattiqrabnā
lipnē 'el^cāzār hakkōhēn
welipnē yəhošūa^c bin-nūn
welipnē hannešī'im lēmōr
yhwh šiwwā et-mōšē
lātet-lānū naḥālā betōk
'ahēnū wayyitten lāhem
'el-pī yhwh naḥālā betōk
'āhē 'ābīhem

no sons) but only daughters; and these are the names of his daughters: Maḥlāh, Nō^cāh, Ḥoglāh, Milkāh, and Tirsāh. They came before El^cāzār the priest, and before Joshua son of Nun, and before the leaders, saying: 'the Lord commanded Moses to give us an inheritance among our brethren'. So, according to the commandment of the Lord he gave them an inheritance among the brethren of their father". (Josh. 17/1 - 4).¹⁵

Here Ṣəlophād is related to Mākīr (v. 1) and benē Mənaššē (v. 2) in that they are all co-elements of the set of 'clans of Mənaššē'. However, the topic of the discourse down to the end of v. 4 is clearly the daughters of Ṣəlophād. This is demonstrated by the high frequency with which they are referred to. The referent Ṣəlophād on the other hand, rapidly falls by the wayside.

1.123 New Episode.

In narrative, a change in topic marked by an Ex/PAR clause often coincides with the onset of a new episode. e.g. Num. 9/6; IISam. 21/16; IKg. 11/26 (v. 26 relates the major event of the episode, whereas vv. 27 - 39 explain the circumstances which led up to it); IIChr. 15/1 (beginning of chapter.

Occasionally an Ex/PAR clause does not turn attention to a new topic but nevertheless marks the onset of a span with some kind of new orientation.

1.124 Change in theme.

Consider Gen. 31/38 ff.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(63) (38) zē^c ešrīm šānā 'ānōkī
 ^cimmāk rēhēlēkā wē^c izzēkā
 lō šikkēlū wē'elē sōnekā lō
 'ākāltī (39) tērepā lō
 hēbetī 'elēkā 'ānōkī
 'āhattēnā miyyādī tēbaqqešennā
 genūbtī yōm ugenūbtī laylā
 (40) hāyītī bayyōm 'ākalanī
 hōreb wēqerah ballāylā
 wattiddar šenātī mē^c enāy</p> | <p>"These twenty years I have
 been with you, your ewes and your
 she-goats have not miscarried,
 and I have not eaten the rams of
 your flock. That which was torn
 by wild beasts I did not bring to
 you; I bore the loss of it myself;
 of my hand you required it, whether
 stolen by day or stolen by night.
 I - by day the heat consumed me
 and the cold by night, and my
 sleep fled from my eyes".</p> |
|---|---|

Jacob, the referent of the 1st person pronominal elements, is clearly the major topic throughout this passage. There is an unbroken chain of references to him. However, the Ex clause in v. 40a coincides with a shift in theme. In vv. 38 - 39 Jacob talks about the loss of animals whereas in v. 40 he relates the misery he endures from the inclemency of the weather. The sequence of clauses in vv. 38 - 39 and the sequence in v. 40 each constitute distinct theme spans.

1.125 Change in level of description.

Sometimes an Ex/PAR clause coincides with a shift from a general perspective to a more specific one or vice versa, e.g.:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(64) wēhinnē sēpīr-hā^c izzīm bā
 min-hamma^c arāb^c al-penē
 kol-hā'ares wē'en nōgeā^c
 bā'ares wēhassāpīr qeren
 hazūt bēn^c enāw</p> | <p>"And behold a he-goat came from
 the west upon the face of the
 whole earth, without touching
 the ground; and the he-goat - a
 conspicuous horn was between his
 eyes". (Dn. 8/5).</p> |
|--|--|

v. 5a relates the event of the he-goat's arrival on the scene. In v. 5b (Ex clause) there is a shift to a more specific perspective as the appearance of the he-goat is described. cf. IIChr. 16/7 - 9:- vv. 7 - 8 refer to specific events whereas v. 9a (Ex clause) is a generic statement.

1.126 Incidental or background information.

An Ex/PAR clause may be used to signal a shift from foreground to background information. In other words the Ex/PAR clause together with clauses which are sequential to this clause (i.e. in the same 'background' span) express an event or circumstance which is incidental to the main thrust of the discourse. Examples:-

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(65) (20) wayyiçen yōsēp
 'et-kol-'admat misrayim
 lēpar^{cō} kī mākerū misrayim
 'iš sādēhū kī-hāzaq^c ālēhem
 hārā^c āb wattedī hā'ares
 lēpar^{cō} (21) we'et-hā^c ām
 he^c ēbīr 'otō le^c arim miqsē
 gēbūl-misrayim we^c ad-qāšēhū
 (22) raq 'admat hakkōhānīm
 lō' qānā kī hōq lakkōhānīm
 mē'et^c par^{cō}</p> | <p>"And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh; for the Egyptians sold every man his field, because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's. And the people - he removed them to the cities from one end of the borders of Egypt to the other end. Only the land of the priests he did not buy; for the priests had a portion from Pharaoh".
 (Gen. 47/20 ff.).</p> |
|--|---|

v. 21 is an event incidental to the main thread of the narrative about the purchase of the land (vv. 20, 22). cf. further:- Jud. 17/5 (this provides a piece of background information which clarifies certain events in the ensuing narrative); IISam. 6/23 (supplementary information tagged on to the end of the chapter); Gen. 48/7 (almost an afterthought); Josh. 11/13, IIKg. 10/29 (both with clause initial raq); Dt. 14/27 (the rule about the Levite is a supplement to the main thread of discourse); IKg. 12/17, Gen. 9/18.

Andersen (1974: 92) recognised this function of the Ex/PAR clause (his 'adjunctive clause'). However he overstates the matter by claiming that it is its major function.

1.2 Span Closure.

Ex/PAR clauses are also used to mark the closure of a span or segment of discourse. Such terminating clauses are often followed by spaces in the text which indicate a pārāšā petūhā or a pārāšā setūmā. In some manuscripts these spaces contain the sigla Ⓜ (= petūhā) or Ⓝ (= setūmā).¹⁶

1.21 End of speech or poem.

An Ex/PAR clause sometimes occurs at the end of a speech or of a poem and thus signals closure.

(i) End of speech, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| (66) watomarnā yeš hinnē lepānekā
mahēr ^c attā kī hayyōm bā
lā ^c ir kī zebah hayyōm lā ^c am
babbāmā wē ^c attā ^c ālū kī
'ōtō kehayyōm timsā'un 'ōtō | "And they (the girls) said: 'He is here, behold before you; make haste now, for he came today to the city; for there is a sacrifice of the people today in the high place Now go up for him - about this time you will find him". (ISam. 9/12 ff.). |
|---|---|

cf. further ISam. 20/23 (setūmā); Gen. 21/13; Ex. 4/9; Ex. 32/1; Num. 16/4; Ezek. 16/58 (setūmā).

(ii) End of poem, e.g.:- Jer. 13/27.

Occasionally the closure of a speech or poem is marked by the occurrence of two Ex/PAR clauses in juxtaposition, e.g.:-

- (67) we^cu^cgat sə^cōrīm tokēlennā "And barley cake - you shall eat
 wehī^c beḡelələ sē'at hā'ādām it, and it - you shall bake it
 tē^cuggennā lē^cēnehem with the excrement of men in
 their sight". (Ezek. 4/12).

The suffix on tokēlennā resumes u^cgat sə^cōrīm and does not refer to the grain and vegetables in v. 9 (RSV translates incorrectly: "You shall eat it as barley cake"). This is shown by the fact that these comestibles are referred to in v. 9a by the plural pronominal suffix 'ōtām. cf. also Ezek. 32/76 + 8a.

1.22 End of thematic span.

An Ex/PAR clause may occur at the end of a sequence of clauses which is semantically cohesive, i.e. a sequence which has a common theme. In such constructions a waw conversive generally connects the clause initial constituent to the rest of the clause, e.g.:-

- (68) (21) wayyigel yehūdā "..... And Judah was taken into
 mē^cal 'admātō (22) wehā^cām exile out of its land. The people
 hanniš'ār bē'eres yehūdā who remained in the land of Judah,
 'āšer hiš'īr nēbūkādnesar whom N. king of B. had left - he
 melek babel wayyapqēd ^cālēhem appointed over them G. son of A.
 'et-gēdalyāhū ben-'āhīqām son of S.". (IIKg. 25/21b - 22).
 ben-šāpān (pētūhā)

vv. 8 - 21 relate the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile. v. 22 rounds off the section. It also anticipates the theme of the following episode. cf. further Gen. 2/14; Gen. 22/24 (waw); Gen. 31/43; Ecc. 1/11 (pētūhā); IIChr. 25/13 (waw, sētūmā); also probably Is. 9/11 (waw). Similarly in Ps. 10/5, 35/8, and 67/5 an Ex/PAR clause marks the close of a poetic period.

1.23 Ex/PAR clauses marking a climax.

A related function of Ex/PAR clauses is to mark a

climactic point or peak which occurs anywhere in the discourse, not just at the closure of a recognisable span. Such a highspot has particular importance, i.e. it is an action or state which has far-reaching consequences and often brings about, or has the potential to bring about, a pivotal change in the course of events. Consider Gen. 13/14 - 17:-

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(69) (14) wayhwh 'āmar 'el-'abram
'aḥārē hippāred-lōt mē^cimmō
śā nā ^cenēkā ūre'ē min-hammāqōm
'āšer-'attā šām sāpōnā wānegbā
wāqēdmā wāyammā (15) kī
'et-kol-hā'āres 'āšer-'attā
rō'ē lekā 'ettenennā ūlezar^cākā
^cad-^colām (16) wəšantī
'et-zar^cākā ka^capar hā'āres ...
(17) qūm hithallēk bā'āres
le'orkāh ūlerohbāh kī lekā
'ettenennā</p> | <p>"And the Lord said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him: 'Lift up your eyes and look from the place where you are northwards, southwards, eastwards, and westwards. For all the land which you see - to you I shall give it and to your seed forever. And I shall make your seed as the dust of the earth ... Arise walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it, for I shall give it to you".</p> |
|--|---|

The announcement expressed by the PAR clause in v. 15 is pivotal. The far-reaching consequences of Yahweh's granting of the land to Abram as an inheritance for his ancestors are obvious. Note the repetition in v. 17b of lekā 'ettenennā, which further underscores the importance of the event.

cf. further, ISam. 14/17 - 20:- Saul, at first uncertain what to do, numbers the people and begins to seek an oracle from God. An increase in the tumult within the Philistine camp jolts him into taking swift action, interrupting the consultation of the oracle (cf. v. 19b). The outburst from the Philistine camp which is instrumental in bringing about this change of events is described in an Ex clause V. 19a. The occurrence of a petūhā after this clause (in mid-verse!) indicated that it was traditionally sensed to be a highspot in the text at which the reader should pause.

IKg. 15/13:- cf. Montgomery, ICC p. 274: "vv. 12 - 15 report the reforms of which the prime step was the removal of the dowager". This peak is expressed in a PAR clause (cf. IIChr. 15/16). Num. 17/3 (high

spot in the speech); Num. 17/20 (climax); Josh. 1/3 (pronouncement with important consequences; further salience is given to this clause by specifying its content in greater detail in v. 4); Ex. 1/22 (v. 22b α (Ex clause) is the most important part of the decree. It has dire consequences. By contrast v. 22b β simply orders the maintenance of the status quo).

1.3 Other devices for marking span boundaries.

1.31 Span Onset.

1.311 SV clauses.

Constructions consisting of waw conversive + VS are generally used to continue spans. SV-clauses on the other hand typically occur at span boundaries:-

(i) Beginning of a speech, e.g.:-

- (70) wayyōmer lāh mōrā lō-^Cālā "And he said to her: 'A razor has
^Cal-rōšī ... not come upon my head ...'".
(Jud. 16/17).

(ii) Shift to new topic constituent, e.g.:-

- (71) "But the Benjaminites would not listen to the voice of their brethren, the people of Israel (14) And the Benjaminites came together (VS) out of the cities to Gib^Cā ... (15) And the Benjaminites mustered out of their cities on that day (VS) twenty-six thousand men ... (16) Among these were seven hundred picked men ... every one could sling a stone at a hair and not miss.

- (17) we'īš yiśrā'ēl hiṭpāqēdū And the men of Israel, apart from
lēbad mibbinyāmīn 'arba^C mē'ōt Benjamin, mustered four hundred
'elep 'īš ... (18) wayyaqūmū thousand men ... and they arose
wayya^Cālū bēt-'ēl wayyiš'ālū and went up to Bēt-'ēl and inquired
bēlōhīm of God". (Jud. 20/13b - 18).

The SV-clause in v. 17 coincides with a shift to a span about 'the men of Israel'.

- (iii) Continuity of topic referent but shift
to new theme or episode, e.g.:-

(72) "(18) And when Ehud had finished presenting the tribute, he sent away the people that carried the tribute. (19) But he himself turned back at the sculptured stones near Gilgal, and said: 'I have a secret message for you, O king'. And he commanded: 'Silence', and all his attendants went out from his presence.

(20) wə'ehūd bā 'elāw	And Ehud came to him as he was
wehū-yōšēb ba ^c āliyyat	sitting alone in his cool roof
hammēqērā 'āšer-lō ləbaddō	chamber. And Ehud said ...".
wayyōmer 'ehūd ...	(Jud. 3/18 - 20).

The SV-clause in v. 20 marks a change of scene.

- (iv) Shift to background information.

SV-clauses are frequently employed in narrative to introduce a piece of background or circumstantial information, e.g. Jud. 16/31b, Jud. 8/11b .

1.312 Re-identification of participant.

In narrative it is common for a stretch of discourse to have a topic referent which is continued as grammatical subject in a chain of consecutive clauses. Within the same thematic or episodic span this topic participant is usually referred to simply by the subject morpheme contained within the verb (wayyōmer, etc.). At the point of transition to a new theme or episode,

however, the protagonist is often re-identified, i.e. referred to by means of a full noun. Consider Gen. 28/16 - 19: At v. 18 a new episode begins - there is a lapse in time from the previous events (cf. habboqer). At this point 'Jacob' is re-identified by means of a full noun.

1.313 Clause initial sentence adverbials.

In narrative texts a new episode is often opened by a clause initial time adverbial. This sets the perspective for the succeeding events and also secures a time link with the foregoing episode. Its function is therefore analogous to the use of an EX/PAR item as a 'bridge', e.g.:-

- (73) 'ahar haddēbārīm ha'ellē "After these things the word of
hāyā debar-yhwh 'el-'abrām the Lord came to Abram".
(Gen. 15/1).

These adverbials are very frequently preceded by wayēhi or wēhāyā, e.g.:-

- (74) wēhāyā babbōqer kizrōah "In the morning when the sun
haššemeš taškīm ūpašattā rises, you shall set out early
al-hā'ir and raid the town". (Jud. 9/33).

They may be separated from the rest of the clause by an intervening waw, e.g.:-

- (75) wayēhī mimmoḥōrat wayyēšē "The next day the people went out
hā'am haššādē into the field". (Jud. 9/42).

This use of wayēhī/wēhāyā is often used re-identify the time reference (i.e. past or future) and is in this sense analogous to the phenomenon of participant re-identification at episode boundaries (cf. II 1.312).

1.314 The auxiliary hāyā.

A form of the verb hāyā is sometimes combined with other constructions to indicate span onset, e.g. Num. 1/20: vv. 20 - 43 relate the results of a census of the fighting men of Israel. Each tribe is dealt with in turn. The topic span of each tribe is opened by an Ex construction (viz. vv. 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 36, 38, 40, 42). The use of wayyihyū in v. 20 signals the opening of the higher level span of the census as a whole. cf. Gen. 31/40.

1.32 Span closure.

1.321 SV-clause.

An SV-clause may announce the closure of an episode, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(76) wayyōsīpū benē yiśrā'ēl
 la^cāšōt hāra^c be^cenē yhw
 wayyimkerēm yhw beyād
 yābīn melek-kenā^c an
 wayyis^cāqū benē yiśrā'ēl
 'el-yhw kī teša^c mē'ōt rekeb-
 barzel lō wehū' lāhas 'et-benē
 yiśrā'ēl behozqā^c 'esrīm šanā
 (setumā)</p> | <p>"And the children of Israel again did evil in the eyes of the Lord and he sold them into the hand of Yabīn king of Canaan; and the children of Israel cried unto the Lord for he had nine hundred chariots of iron; and he oppressed them vehemently for twenty years (SV-clause)".
 (Jud. 4/1 - 3).</p> |
|---|---|

1.322 Reidentification of participant.

Consider Gen. 3/6:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(77) watterē hā'išša kī tōb hā^ces
 lēma'ākāl wēkī ta'āwā-hū'</p> | <p>"And the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was</p> |
|--|--|

(continued overpage)

lā^cēnyim wānehmād hā^cēs
lēhaškīl

pleasant to the eyes, and (that)
the tree was delightful to look
at". (Gen. 3/6).

Three co-ordinated clauses describe how Eve perceives the tree. The first clause of this 'perception' span identifies the tree by means of a full noun (hā^cēs). In the second clause it is simply referred to by means of a pronoun. However the third, and final, clause of this span contains a reidentification of the tree (hā^cēs). The resultant construction forms an inclusio:- hā^cēs - hu' - hā^cēs

2.0 Extraposition used to achieve rhetorical schemes.

2.1 Parallel and chiasmic structures.

2.11 Opposition between two clauses.

The juxtaposition of two clauses in constructions of the form a b + a' b' (parallel) or a b + b' a' (chiasmic) is often coincident with a semantic opposition between the two clauses. In both the parallel and the chiasmic versions of this construction the a's and b's constitute contrasting pairs, e.g.:-

(i) a b + a' b'

(78) hū'yihyē-lēkā lēpē
wə'attā tihye-llō lēlōhīm

"He will be a mouth for you,
and you will be a god for him".
(Ex. 4/16).

(ii) a b + b' a'

(79) lō yō^cīlū 'ōserōt reša^c
usēdāqā tassīl mimmāwet

"Treasures gained by wickedness do
not profit, but righteousness
delivers from death". (Prov. 10/2).

In the parallel construction (a b + a' b') the two a - members are typically nominals which stand in clause initial position. If they are subjects of a verb they are placed before the verb. If the opposition is between two pronominal elements independent pronouns are usually employed (cf. (78)). In the chiasmic formations a nominal stands in clause initial position in at least one of the clauses. Finally it is to be noted that these constructions are common in poetry, in which it is a convention for two halves of a verse to be balanced against each other. They occur very frequently in the Wisdom Literature (especially Proverbs) where it is a common motif to set up 'good' and 'evil' in opposition.

With this brief introductory sketch attention may now be directed to examples of these constructions which contain Ex clauses. The major function of extraposition is to place in clause-initial position an element which is required to be in this position by the parallelistic or chiasmic matrix of the construction. Examples:-

(i) a b + a' b'

(80) nōšer pīw šōmēr napšō
pōšeq šepātaw mehittā-lō

"He who guards his mouth preserves his life, but he who opens wide his lips - ruin is for him".

(Prov. 13/3).

(81) hehākām^c enāw berōšō
wehakesil bahošek hōlēk

"The wise man - his eyes are in his head, but the fool goes in darkness". (Ecc. 2/14).

(82) kī kol-hā'iš 'āšer hālak
'ahāre ba^cal-pe^cor hišmīdō
yhwh 'ēlōhēkā miqqirbēkā
we'attem haddēbeqim bayhwh
'ēlōhēkem hayyim kullekem
hayyom

"For every man who went after Ba^cal of Pe^cor - the Lord your God destroyed him from among you, but you who held fast to the Lord your God - all of you are alive today".

(Dt. 4/3 ff.).

cf. Prov. 14/21; Dt. 18/14.

(ii) a b + b' a'

(83) 'ēwīl bayyōm yiwwāda^c ka^c sō
wəkōsē qālōn ^cārūm "The fool - his vexation is known
at once, but the prudent man
ignores an insult". (Prov. 12/16).

(84) mōnēa^c bār yiqqəbūhū lə'ōm
ūberākā lērōš mašbīr "He who holds back grain - the
people curse him, but a blessing
is on the head of him who sells
it". (Prov. 11/26).

cf. Job 38/19.

2.12 Equivalence between clauses.

Clauses which do not form a contrastive opposition may also be conjoined in a parallelistic or chiastic structure, e.g.:-

(i) a b + a' b'

(85) mayim-gənūbīm yimtāqū
wəlehem sətārīm yin^cām "Stolen waters are sweet, and
bread (eaten) in secret is
pleasant". (Prov. 9/17).

(ii) a b + b' a'

(86) wattəhī lāhem halləbənā lə'āben
wəhahēmar hāyā lāhem lahōmer "And they had brick for stone
and bitumen had they for mortar".
(Gen. 11/3).

In the examples discussed in II 2.11 the balance in structure (whether parallelistic or chiastic) brought into sharp focus the antithesis between the constituents in the two clauses. On the other hand in constructions such as (85) - (86), in which there is no semantic opposition between the co-ordinated clauses, the balanced structure

- (90) 'āhīkem hā'ehād hannīhū 'ittī
wē'et-ra^c ābōn battekem qəhū wālēkū
"One of your brothers leave
with me and (food for) the
famine of your households
take and go your way".
(Gen. 42/33).
- (91) tōb yāpīq rāson meyhwh
wē'iš mezimmōt yaršīa^c
"A good man obtains favour
from the Lord, but a man of
wicked devices he condemns".
(Prov. 12/2).
- (92) hattā'im teraddēp rā^cā
wē'et-saddīqīm yešallem-tōb
"Evil pursues sinners,
but good rewards the righteous".
(Prov. 13/21).
- (93) ya^c an ubeya^c an bemišpātay mā'āsū
wē'et-huqqōtay gā^cālā napšām
"Because, even because they
despised my judgements and
their soul abhorred my
statutes". (Lev. 26/43).
- (ii) a b + b' a'
- (94) wəhārəgū 'ōtī wē'ōtāk yəhayyū
"They will slay me and you
they will allow to live".
(Gen. 12/12).
- (95) lō-yar^c īb yhwē nepeš saddīq
wəhawwat rəšā^c im yehdōp
"The Lord does not let the
righteous go hungry, but the
craving of the wicked he
thwarts". (Prov. 10/3).
- (96) rəson melākīm šiptē sedeq
wədober yešarīm ye'ēhāb
"Righteous lips are the
delight of kings, and he (= a
king) loves him who speaks
what is right". (Prov. 16/13).
- (97) dəbar-šeqer yišnā saddīq
wərašā^c yab'iš wəyahpīr
"Falsehood a righteous man
hates, but a wicked man acts
shamefully and disgracefully".
(Prov. 13/5).

The fronted object is not resumed:

- (a) when the two conjoined clauses have the same subject (e.g. (89), (90), (94), (95)) and also when the continuity of the same subject is only virtual, at a deeper semantic level (e.g. (96) in which at a deep semantic level "the king" or "kings" is the subject/agent in both clauses; (93) "their soul" = "they"; (91));
- (b) when two different subjects are set up as a contrasting or equivalent pair (e.g. (92), (97)).

In (82) and (84), in which a fronted object is resumed by a pronoun, neither of these conditions holds. cf. also Ecc. 10/8.

Prepositional phrases may also be fronted without subsequent resumption when the two clauses fulfil either of the aforementioned conditions, e.g.:-

(i) a b + a' b'

(98) ^cal-gehōnekā tēlēk
we^capār tōkal

"Upon your belly you will walk, and dust you will eat". (Gen. 3/14).
(subject continuity).

(99) 'el-'āšer tēlekī 'ēlēk
ūba'āšer tālīnī 'ālīn

"To that which (whither) you go I will go; and in that which you lodge I will lodge". (Ruth 1/16).
(subject continuity).

(ii) a b + b' a'

(100) wayyiqrā 'ēlohīm lā'or yōm
welahošek qārā lāylā

"And God called the light Day and the darkness he called Night". (Gen. 1/5).
(subject continuity)

Occasionally, however, even when there is no change in grammatical subject the final clause in a pair or sequence of parallel clauses with an initial

object or prepositional phrase is extrapositional or contains a resumptive agreement pronoun. Since the Ex/PAR clause is consistently the last clause in the construction, this phenomenon is to be regarded as a device for signalling pause (cf. II 1.2). Examples:-

(101) qānē rāsūs lō yišbōr "A bruised reed he will not
 ūpišta kēhā lō yekabbennā break and a dimly burning
 wick - he will not quench
 it". (Is. 42/3).

(102) haššādē natattī lak "The field I gave you,
 wəhammē^cārā 'āšer bō lekā netattihā and the cave which is in
 it - I gave it to you".
 (Gen. 23/11).

cf. further Gen. 2/17 (cf. 3/3); Is. 13/17, 51/22 (virtual continuity of subject), 53/4, 59/12b (virtual continuity of subject); Jer. 6/19; Ezek. 5/1 (RSV incorrectly translates "use it as a barber's razor"), 5/6 (also end of speech and followed by the setūmā siglum). Consider also Ex. 9/21 - 22:-

(103) hayyārē 'et-dēbar yhw mē^cabdē "He who feared the word
 par^cō hēnīs 'et-^cābādāw of the Lord among the
 wē'et-miqnēhū 'el-habbāttīm servants of Pharaoh made
 wa'āšer lō-sām libbō 'el-dēbar his servants and his cattle
 yhw wayya^cāzōb 'et-^cabādāw flee into the houses. But
 wē'et-miqnēhū baššādē he who did not regard the
 word of the Lord - he left
 his servants and his cattle
 in the field".

Here the second of two parallel SV-clauses is marked as pausal by separating the subject from the rest of the clause by an intervening waw (see I 3.2 for this structure). Compare the chiastic construction in Jer. 51/58 in which the second of the two chiastically balanced clauses is marked as pausal by the insertion of waw between the subject and verb.¹⁸ Jer. 27/11 is construed as parallel with 27/8 although the correspondence between the structure of the two clauses is not completely regular.¹⁹ Moreover the construction is discontinuous, i.e. the two parallel clauses are separated by intervening material.²⁰ Both v. 8 and

v. 11 are extrapositional; the additional occurrence of the intervening waw in v. 11, however, signals that this verse closes the construction.

2.2 Anaphora.

Two clauses which begin with the same word are sometimes extraposed to achieve the figure of anaphora. This construction may be regarded as a type of parallelism with the characteristic structure a b + a b'. The divine name is often repeated at the front of two clauses in this way. Extraposition is employed, when required, in order to place the noun which is repeated in initial position, e.g.:-

- (104) yhwh yehāttū merībāw ^Cālāw
 baššamayim yar ^Cēm
 yhwh yādīn 'apsē-āres wayitten-^Coz
 lemalkō wayārem qeren mešīḥō
- "The Lord - his adversaries shall be broken to pieces, against them he will thunder in heaven. The Lord will judge the ends of the earth; he will give strength to his king and exalt the power of his anointed". (Isam. 2/10).
- (105) yhwh behēkal qodšō
 yhwh baššamayim kis'ō
- "The Lord is in his holy temple; the Lord - his throne is in heaven". (Ps. 11/4).
- (106) yhwh 'erek 'appayim ugadol-kōah
 wenaqqē lō yenaqqē
 yhwh besūpā ubiś ^Carā darkō
 we ^Cānān 'āḥaq raglāw
- "The Lord is slow to anger and great in power and will not at all acquit; The Lord - his way is in the whirlwind and in the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet". (Nah. 1/3).

cf. also Dt. 32/4:-

- (107) hassūr tāmim po ^Cōlō kī kol-derākāw mišpāt
 'ēl 'ēmūnā we'en ^Cāwel saddīq weyāšār hū;

RSV translates: "The Rock, his work is perfect for all his ways are justice. A God of faithfulness and without iniquity, just and right is he".

However, it is also possible to interpret this verse as an instance of anaphora, with the repetition of a divine appellative at the head of two distichs of parallel structure:-

"The Rock - his work is perfect, for all his ways are just.
El is faithfulness without iniquity, he is just and right".

i.e. v. 4b is a predication corresponding to v. 4 a .

cf. also Job 17/15 where tiqwātī is repeated in chiasmus.

3.0 Contrastive Assertion.

3.1 One focus of contrastive assertion.

A resumptive pronoun in an Ex/PAR clause sometimes signals that the initial nominal phrase, with which it co-refers, is the focus of 'contrastive assertion'. Consider Gen. 15/3 ff:-

(108) (3) wayyōmer 'abram hēn lī lō nāṭattā zāra ^c wəhinne ben-bēṭī yōrēš 'ōṭī (4) wəhinne debar-yhwh 'elāw lēmōr lō yīrāšekā zē kī-'im 'āšer yēsē mimme ^c ekā hu' yīrāšekā	"Abram said: 'behold to me you have given no seed, and behold one born in my house will inherit me'. And behold the word of the Lord (came) to him saying: 'This one shall not inherit you, but the one who comes forth from your loins - he shall inherit you'".
--	--

In v. 4b (= Ex clause) the speaker wishes to convey the fact that 'the one who comes forth from your loins', as opposed to any other possible candidates the hearer may have had in mind, is the 'one who will inherit you'.²¹

Further examples: Gen. 3/12, 44/17; Ex. 12/16; Dt. 1/38, 39; Is. 8/13; Ezek. 44/15; Lev. 17/11; IIChr. 23/6; IKg. 22/13 ('ōtō); IIKg. 17/36 ('ōtō); ISam. 15/9 ('ōtām); Lev. 21/3 (lāh); Lev. 7/7, 8, 9 (lō); Lev. 25/44 (mēhem); Ezek. 18/24 (bām); Ezek. 33/13 (bām); Ecc. 11/3 (the resumptive element is šām - 'there and nowhere else').

Sometimes the initial nominal phrase is preceded by a 'restrictive adverb', e.g.:- Num. 22/35 ('epes - 'and nothing but the word'),
Num. 22/20 ('ak - 'and only the word ...").

In the contrastive assertion sentences which have been discussed so far the resumptive element always precedes the verb. Also the extraposed or 'agreed with' item is never a pronoun, except under the circumstances mentioned below. If a pronoun is the focus of contrastive assertion it is generally placed before the verb without resumption, e.g.:-

(109) 'ōtāh qah-lī "Take her (and no one else you may have in mind) for me (as wife)". (Jud. 14/3).

One exception to these generalisations is found in Ezek. 33/17 where the focus of contrastive assertion is a pronoun:-

(110) we'āmerū benē ^cammekā lō "Your people say: 'the way of the
yittaken derek 'ādonay Lord is not just, but (it is)
wehēmā darkām lō yittaken them (whose) way is not just".

In many languages an element which is the focus of contrastive assertion is pronounced with high stress.²² If we assume that BH also had such contrastive stress we may plausibly explain the motivation for Ex/PAR in the aforementioned constructions. Stress cannot be distributed over many words and so, when the contrasted item is a lengthy phrase, a short resumptive pronoun is employed to carry the stress by proxy. Independent pronouns (including 'et + clitic and prep. + clitic) would be expected to be stressable,²³ cf. (109). On the other hand it is very unlikely that clitic pronouns could carry stress.²⁴ This would explain why an independent (= stressable) pronoun which co-refers

with the genitive suffix -ām is extraposed in (110). For, unlike other pronouns, genitive pronouns have no independent form.

3.2 Two foci of contrastive assertion.

Sometimes an Ex/PAR clause contains two foci of contrastive assertion. Consider Jud. 7/4:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(111) wayyōmer yhw̄h 'el-gid^c on^c o^d
 hā^cām raḅ hōrēd 'ōtām 'el
 hammayim we'esrepenmū lakā
 šām wehāyā āšer 'ōmar 'ēlēkā
 zē yēlēk 'ittak hū' yēlēk ittak
 wekōl 'āšer-'ōmar 'ēlēkā zē
 lō-yēlēk^c immāk hū' lō yēlēk</p> | <p>"And the Lord said to Gideon:
 'The people are still too many;
 take them down to the water and
 I will test them for you there;
 and he of whom I say to you:
 "This man shall go with you" -
 he shall go with you; and every-
 one of whom I say to you: "This
 man shall not go with you"- he
 shall not go".</p> |
|---|--|

In the direct speech in the second half of this verse the speaker (Yahweh) assumes the addressee (Gideon) knows that only some of his men may go with him to battle and that the remainder must stay behind. He has learnt this from the speaker's pronouncement in v. 4a. Moreover the speaker assumes that Gideon is probably entertaining various candidates for going with him and others for returning home, i.e. he is entertaining one or more possible pairings of subjects with predicates (X + 'will go', Y + 'will stay'). v. 4b asserts the pairings which are correct in this situation. In each clause in v. 4b, both the extraposed phrase and the predicate are foci of contrastive assertion. They are asserted to forestall any misapprehensions as to which subject should be paired with which predicate. Note that whereas the resumptive pronoun marks the first focus of contrastive assertion (viz. the nominal phrase), there is no such explicit marker for the predicate. A further example is Jud. 11/24:-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(112) hālō 'et āšer yōrišeka kemoš
 'ēlohēkā 'ōtō tīrāš we'et
 kol- āšer hōriš yhw̄h 'ēlohēmū
 mippanēmū 'ōtō nīrāš</p> | <p>"Surely what Chemosh your god
 gives you to possess - that will
 you possess; and all that the
 Lord our God has dispossessed
 before us - that we will possess".</p> |
|--|--|

The speaker (the messenger of Jephthah) knows that the addressee (the Ammonite king) has claims to a certain territory, i.e. that he is entertaining pairings of 'certain tracts of territory' with 'potential possessors'. In v.24 the Israelite messenger asserts what the correct pairings of candidates are.

cf. IISam. 6/22.

4.0 SV-clauses and Ex/PAR.

In many respects SV-clauses are functionally equivalent to Ex/PAR constructions. Compare (a) their use in parallel/chiastic combinations of clauses (II 2.1) and (b) their function of marking span boundaries (II 1.311, 1.321). The fact that clauses with the structure S + independent resumptive pronoun + V (e.g. par^cō hū' mālak) are not found to perform these two functions can only be explained by the fact that SV-clauses and not these constructions with explicit resumptive subject pronouns were felt to be equivalent to Ex/PAR clauses. SV- and Ex/PAR clauses are also structurally equivalent. Each consists of a clause initial nominal and a subsequent co-referring clitic pronoun. In SV-clauses this co-referring clitic is identifiable with the subject morpheme inherent in the verb (in the 3rd person perfect this is realized as zero). This morpheme has referring force, since a verb may stand alone without its subject being explicitly mentioned in an independent noun or pronoun.

The construction S + independent resumptive pronoun + V is found in the following three environments:-

- (i) When the clause initial subject is a lengthy nominal phrase and is the focus of contrastive assertion (cf. II 3.1).
- (ii) When the clause initial subject is co-ordinated with another noun,²⁵ e.g.:- (overpage)

- (113) wihōnātān ben-geršōm ben-menaššē "And J. son of G. son of M. -
hū' ūbānāw hāyū kōhānīm ləšēbet he and his sons were priests
haddānī of the Danite tribe".
(Jud. 18/30).

(iii) Sometimes, in poetry, apparently to achieve a rhythmical scheme,
e.g.:-

- (114) birkat yhw hī' ta^cāšīr "The blessing of the Lord -
welō-yōsīp^c ešēb^c immāh it makes rich, and he adds
no sorrow with it".
(Prov. 10/22).

The 'stressable' resumptive pronoun in v. 22a makes the first hemistich a four-stress unit. This results in a 4:3 ('echoing') rhythm for the distich and so brings it into unison with the surrounding verses, the rhythm of which is also 4:3. cf. also Prov. 10/24 (4:3), 11/28 (4:3); Ecc. 3/13a (3:3, in unison with v. 3/13a).

5.0 ' point of difference between Ex- and PAR-clauses.

On p. 148 the characteristic properties of the initial nominal of Ex- and PAR-clauses were discussed, viz. close connection with the prior context or perceptibility in the environment of the hearer (= assumed familiarity); durability in subsequent discourse; high rank on perceptual salience hierarchy. In addition an extraposed nominal may be generic (cf. I A 1.21 (ii)), i.e. familiar by virtue of its meaning rather than by its connection to the prior discourse.²⁶ Here we find a point of distinction between Ex- and PAR-clauses, for the initial nominal in the latter type of construction is never generic. This feature may be captured in the statement that the slot at the front of PAR-clauses is restricted to highly individuated nominals whereas the equivalent slot in Ex-clauses admits nominals which are lower on the individuation scale.²⁷

6.0 Anticipatory agreement.

Sixteen occurrences of anticipatory agreement were found in Biblical Hebrew (cf. I B 2.0). In fourteen cases the 'agreed-with' nominal is human (ten of these are proper names). It therefore appears that anticipatory agreement is to be correlated with a high rank on the 'perceptual salience hierarchy'.

In IISam. 22/2 anticipatory agreement signals pause:-

(115) yhwh sal^cī umesūdatī uməpaltī-lī "The Lord is my rock, and
my fortress, and my deliverer".

A P P E N D I X

EXTRAPOSITION IN LEGAL PRECEPTS

Extrapolation occurs particularly frequently in the structure of legal formulae in the Old Testament. This is also the case with regard to post-Biblical law corpora which were composed in Hebrew, e.g. the Qumran text serek hayyahad (The Rules of the Community) and the halakic works of the Tannaim. It is convenient, therefore, to devote a separate section to extrapositional structures which are characteristic of this genre of text, bringing together for the sake of completeness both Biblical and post-Biblical law formulae. Since space does not permit a thorough treatment of this subject, the following survey should be regarded as illustrative rather than exhaustive.

BIBLICAL

1. Casuistic laws in the Priestly document.

A Case

In many of the casuistic laws of P the legal case is expressed in a clause initial generic nominal phrase which either has the status of grammatical subject or stands in extraposition. The following survey concentrates only on extrapositional structures.

The types of nominal phrase which are attested may be classified under the following heads:

(i) Relative phrase (head noun + 'ăšer + qualifying clause).

(a) Head noun 'īš/'išša or hā'īš/hā'iššā, e.g.:-

Lev. 15/18, 17/3, 17/8, 17/10, 17/13, 20/10, 20/11, 20/12,
20/13, 20/16, 22/3, 22/18;

Num. 5/30, 9/13, 19/20;

Ex. 30/33, 30/38.

(b) Head noun nepeš or hannepeš, e.g.:-
Lev. 7/20, 7/27, 17/15, 20/6.

(c) Miscellaneous, e.g. Lev. 11/33 (kol-kəli-hereš),
Lev. 13/45 (hassārūa^c); Gen. 17/14 (^carel zākār).

(ii) Participial phrase (generally introduced by kol), e.g.:-
Lev. 7/25, 11/27, 11/41.

RULING

An extraposed nominal phrase representing the legal case is generally resumed in the body of the clause which expresses the ruling. The ruling clause is often a fixed formula which is attached with little variation in form to a large number of different legal cases. Another characteristic of the ruling clause is that the element which resumes the extraposed relative or participial phrase is frequently a full nominal. Examples:-

A particularly common formulaic ruling clause is wenikrētā hannepeš hahī' mē^c ammehā, e.g. Lev. 7/20, 7/27; Num. 9/13; Gen. 17/14.

Ruling clauses which exhibit a slight variation on this formula are sometimes used, e.g. Lev. 17/8 - 9: wenikrat hā'īš hahū' mē^c ammāw;
Num. 19/20: wenikrētā hannepeš hahī' mittōk haqqāhāl;
Lev. 7/25: wenikrētā hannepeš hā'ōkelet mē^c ammehā;
Lev. 22/3: wenikrētā hannepeš hahī' millepānay; cf. also Lev. 17/10,
20/6.

Sometimes the ruling clause is preceded by a short clause which comments on the legal case, e.g.:-

'īš 'āšer yiqqah 'et- iššā we'et-'immah "A man who takes a wife and her
zimma hī' bā'eš yisrēpū 'ōtō we'ethen mother (also), it is wickedness
- they shall burn both him and
them with fire". (Lev. 20/14).

cf. also Lev. 20/17, 20/21.

These constructions are interesting since the preceding extraposed relative phrase is referred to as if it were a proposition rather than an entity term. This suggests that the semantic structure of casuistic law formulae with initial relative/participial phrases was interpreted to be that of a conditional sentence consisting of protasis clause and apodosis clause.²⁸ Such a hypothesis is supported by the fact that the extraposed phrase is often connected to the rest of the sentence by means of the conjunction wə, which may be equated with the waw apodosis of conditional constructions. It is to be noted that conditional sentences constitute a common alternative type of casuistic law formula in P (cf. Section B below) and, moreover, they are the norm in the law codes in E (i.e. Book of the Covenant) and D.

B

Another common type of casuistic law formula in P which exhibits extraposition is that in which a noun is extraposed before the particle kī of the initial protasis clause, e.g.:-

nepeš kī :- Lev. 2/1, 4/2, 5/1, 5/4, 5/15, 5/21, 7/21.

'ādām kī :- Lev. 1/2, 13/2.

'iš kī :- Lev. 13/40.

'iššā kī :- Lev. 12/2.

'iš 'ō 'iššā kī ...:- Lev. 13/29, 13/38.

cf. further Lev. 13/9, 13/18, 13/24, 13/47.

A variant text sometimes exists which reads 'āšer instead of kī, e.g.:-
Lev. 20/27: 'iš 'ō 'iššā kī ... (Biblia Hebraica³) - 'iš 'ō 'iššā
'āšer ... (Samaritan).

SEREK HAYYAHAD

This text contains the community rules of the Qumran covenanters. Most of the rules are casuistic in form, the case being expressed by an extraposed generic nominal phrase. Their structural features may be classified as follows:-

Case

(i) Relative phrase.

(a) 'āšer ... e.g.:-

w'šr ykhs bmd^cw ... "He who lies knowingly ...".
(1QS VII 3 - 4).

cf. 1QS VI 25 ff., VII 5, VII 8, VII 12, VII 13 - 14, VII 14 - 15.

(b) hā'īš 'āšer ... e.g.:-

h'yš 'šr ylyn^cl yswd "The man who murmurs against the
hyhā ... foundation of the community ...".
(1QS VII 17).

cf. 1QS VII 4 - 5, VII 15 - 16, VII 18 - 19.

(c) 'īš 'āšer ... e.g.:-

'yš 'šr yrwq 'l twk "A man who spits in the middle
mwšb hrbym ... of the session of the many ...".
(1QS VII 13).

(d) kol 'īš 'āšer ... e.g.:-

kwl 'yš 'šr yš 'tw dbr "Any man who has something to say
ldbr lrbym ... to the many ...". (1QS VI 12 - 13).

(e) 'īš mē'anšē hayyahad āšer ... e.g.:-

'yš m'nšy hyhd 'šr
yt^crb ^cmw ...

"A man of the men of the community
who communes with him ...".
(1QS VII 24 - 25).

(ii) Participial phrase.

(a) Definite article + participle, e.g.:-

hnm ^cd šlwš p^cmym
^cl mwšb 'hd ...

"He who dozes up to three times
during one sitting ...".
(1QS VII 11).

cf. 1QS VII 15.

(b) kol + definite article + participle, e.g.:-

kwl hmtndb myšr'l lhwsyp
^cl ^cst hyhd ...

"Any Jew who volunteers to attach
himself to the counsel of the
community ...".
(1QS VI 13 - 14).

RULING

The ruling is generally introduced by wē + perfect consecutive.
In the majority of cases it has the formulaic pattern wn^cnš ("he
shall be punished") + duration of time, e.g.:-

w'šr ytwr lr^chw 'šr
lw' bmšpt wn^cnš ššh
hwdšym

"He who bears a grudge against
his neighbour unjustly - he shall
be punished for six months".
(1QS VII 8).

cf. 1QS VI 25ff; VII 3 - 4; VII 4 - 5; VII 5; VII 11; VII 12;
VII 13; VII 13 - 14; VII 14 - 15; VII 15; VII 18 - 19.

THE MISHNA

The laws of the Mishna are formulated in a remarkably limited number of stereotyped patterns. In two of these formulary patterns extraposition is very common:-

(a) Main case laws.

In main case laws the legal case is generally expressed by a clause initial generic nominal phrase. This phrase is either the grammatical subject to a subsequent verb or else it stands in extraposition. We are only concerned here with extrapositional constructions.³¹

Case.

(i) Relative phrase consisting of head noun + še + clause, e.g.:-

nhtwm šhw' ^c wšh	"A baker who works in
b'twm'h ...	uncleanness ...".
	(Ab. Zār. 4/9).

byt šbn'w mthlh	"A house which he (= an idolater)
l ^c bwdt glwlym ...	constructed from the outset for
	idolatrous worship ...".
	(Ab. Zār. 3/7).

^c bd š ^c š'w rbw	"A slave whom his master has
'pwttyqy l'hrym	pledged as security to others
wšhrrw šwrt hdyn ...	and has (then) set him free
	according to the law ...".
	(Git. 4/4).

(ii) Participial phrase, e.g.:-

hšwkr 't pw ^c l l ^c šwt	"Someone hiring a labourer to
^c mw byyn ...	assist him with libation wine ...".
	(Ab. Zār. 5/1).

(ii) continued:

hmws' šbry 'lyl šl "Someone finding fragments of
cwbā glwlym ... an image belonging to an
idolater ...". (Ab. Zār. 3/2).

If the legal case mentions an action which is sequential to that expressed by the initial participle this subsequent action is expressed by a perfect verb, e.g.:-

hmby' gt b'rs ysr'l "Someone bringing a letter of
whlh ... divorce within the land of
Israel and he became ill ...".
(Git. 3/5).

RULING

(i) Extraposed generic phrase fully resumed within the clause which expresses the ruling, e.g.:-

y'sr'ly šhw' c'wsh btwm'h "An Israelite who works in
l' dwrkyn wl' bwsryn cmw uncleanness - one may not tread
(in the winepress) or cut grapes
with him". (Ab. Zār. 4/9).

(ii) Only a referent which is contained within the extraposed generic phrase resumed, e.g.:-

hšwkr 't hmw'r lhby' "Someone hiring an ass to bring
c'lyh yyn nsk skrh on it libation wine - its (i.e.
'swr the ass's) hire is forbidden".
(Ab. Zār. 5/1).

yyn nsk šnpl c'l gby "Libation wine which has fallen
c'nbyrn ydyhn whn mwtrwt upon grapes - one may rinse them
(i.e. the grapes) and they are
permitted". (Ab. Zār. 5/1).

(ii) continued:

This type of extrapositional sentence is particularly common in the Mishna.

(iii) Extraposited generic phrase not explicitly resumed, e.g.:-

blšt ^c wbdy glwlym	"A reconnoitering troop of
šknsh l ^c yr bš ^c t	heathens which entered a city
šlwm hbywt ptwhwt	in peace time - opened casks
'swrwt stwmwt mtrwt	(of wine) are prohibited, sealed
	ones are permitted". (Ab. Zār. 5/6).

(iv) Very often the extraposited generic phrase is followed by two or more structurally balanced clauses. These two clauses generally express either sub-cases of the major case or else a dispute between authorities, e.g.:-

hbyt šnpthh why' mqlt	"A cask which has been opened and
šl dpnwtyh 'w šnhlqh	can still hold (liquid) in its
kmyn šty ^c rybwt rby	sides or one which has been split
yhwdh mth ^r whkmym mtn'yn	to form the like of two troughs -
	R. Judah declares (it) clean, but
	the Sages declare (it) unclean".
	(Kel. 4/1).

cf. Ab. Zār. 4/3, 4/10.³²

A characteristic feature of Mishnaic case laws which express the case in an extraposited generic phrase is the disjointedness between the extraposited element and the rest of the sentence, cf. (ii) and (iii) in the Ruling section above. The main reason for this is evidently that the redactors of the Mishna adhered to the formulaic pattern of the main case law (viz. case = initial generic nominal phrase) irrespective of the syntactic structure of the rest of the sentence. The adherence to an invariable stereotyped pattern facilitated the memorization of the text of the Mishna, which was originally transmitted orally.³³

Another factor which may have contributed to this syntactic disjointedness is that the extraposed generic phrases were often interpreted as autonomous propositions rather than nominals. This is shown by the form of the parenthetic comment zh hyh m^cšh b ("This was the case in such and such a town") which is sometimes inserted after the extraposed phrase, e.g.:-

^c yr šyš bh ^c bwdt glwlym whyw	"A town in which there is idolatry
bh hnwywt m ^c wtrwt wš'ynn m ^c wtrwt	and in which there are decorated
zh hyh m ^c šh bbyt š'n w'mrw	and undecorated shops - this was
hknyw hm ^c wtrwt 'swrwt wš'ynn	the case in Bethshean - the Sages
m ^c wtrwt mwtrwt	said, Those that are decorated are
	prohibited and those that are not
	decorated are permitted".
	(Ab. Zār. 1/4).

Here the referent of the demonstrative pronoun zh is identified in the following predicate with the case (m^cšh), i.e. what happened in Bethshean. The pronoun, therefore, is clearly referring to the proposition that "a town has in it idolatry, etc. ..." rather than to the entity of the town.³⁴

(b) Lists.

A number of items are sometimes enumerated in the form of a list and followed by a clause of the pattern hry 'lw ... ("behold these are permitted/prohibited, unclean/clean, etc.")³⁵ e.g.:-

hmlqwt šl bqr whhsym šlw	"The dung bag of an ox, and its
whmdp šl dbwrym whmnp hry	muzzle, the bee-fumigator, and
'lw thwryn	the fan - these are clean".
	(Kel. 16/7).

cf. Kel. 16/8.

F O O T N O T E S

1. All nominals which are definite in status are included in this category irrespective of whether they have the definite article. For the notion of 'definite status' see Introduction, p.23.
2. For the grammatical structure of legal precepts see Appendix.
3. The le- in this construction may also be interpreted as an object marker. le- as nota accusativi is attested elsewhere in P, e.g. Num. 32/15, 10/25, 25/18; in the Holiness Code: Lev. 19/18, 19/34.
4. Introductory le- is also found in subject-predicate constructions, e.g. Is. 32/1; Ex. 27/19; IIChr. 7/21.
5. Sentences falling into this category will be dealt with in Section II.
6. hinne may also occur between a subject and its predicate without subsequent resumption of the subject, e.g. wagam-damō hinne nidraš (Gen. 42/22).
7. cf. the English construction: "John, if he comes, will settle the matter", in which the if-clause is inserted between the subject "John" and its predicate "will settle the matter".
8. In fact the pronoun hū' and the verb hayā are probably cognate, cf. Rundgren (1955: 154).
9. cf. p. 127, Footnote 73.
10. A similar but nonetheless distinct construction is where both a noun and a verb are resumed, e.g. Num. 1/45 ff. This occurs when the nominal phrase at the front of the clause is of considerable length.

11. The one exception is Ezek. 20/16:-

bemišpāṭay mā'āsū wə'et-ḥuqqōṭay	"My judgments they despised, my
lō hālēkū bāhem wə'et-šabbetōṭay	statutes - they did not go in
hillēlū	them and my Sabbaths they
	polluted".

Here bāhem agrees 'asymmetrically' with 'et-ḥuqqōṭay. Blau (1954: p. 9) claims that the occurrence of 'et before ḥuqqōṭay is by attraction to the government of the verbs in the contiguous clauses, viz. hillēl and ma'ās (which may take an 'et-complement or a be-complement). He also suggests that an additional reason may have been the desire to avoid the cacophonous repetition of too many /b/'s.

12. It seems very contrived to regard šekem as situationally given, i.e. standing before the audience.
13. cf. Sgall et al. (1973), Chafe (1976).
14. cf. Prince (1981).
15. Josh. 17/3 is duplicated almost verbatim in Num. 26/33. There, however, the construction is extraposition rather than PAR:-
ūsəlophād ... lō' hāyū lō ... This is a good example of the interchangeability of the two constructions.
16. The spaces, though not the sigla, are found in the text of Qumran Bible manuscripts. This orthographic practice, therefore, belongs to an early stage in the transmission of the Old Testament (Oesch: 1979, p.364). A petūhā generally coincides with a major text division and a šetumā with a minor text division (ib. p.361).
17. It is possible to analyse parallelistic constructions as sequences of two or more short topic spans, the onset of which are marked by Ex- or SV-clauses. Since, however, they bear an obvious affinity to other rhetorical schemes which involve structural balance, viz. chiasmus and anaphora (see below) it was deemed convenient to deal with them together.

18. Note also the subsequent setūmā siglum.
19. For degrees of regularity in parallelism cf. Leech (1969, p.64).
20. For such 'discontinuous' constructions cf. Andersen (1974, p.136).
21. It is interesting to note that in the Aramaic legal documents from Elephantine (5th century B.C.E.) and in Aramaic legal formularies contained in the Mishna, clauses which refer to exclusive rights of inheritance sometimes have an extrapositional structure analogous to (108), e.g. 'stwr hw yrtnh (Cowley 15, line 21); bbyn dkryn dy yhwwn lyk myny 'ynwn yrtnw yt ksp ktwbtyk "Male children which you will have by me - they (and no one else) shall inherit your ketubba money" (Mishna, Ketubbot 4/10).
22. cf. Introduction, p.25, and Chafe (1976).
23. Mallinson and Blake (1981, p.43 ff.).
24. ib.
25. In a similar manner when a clause initial object is co-ordinated with another nominal the first nominal is sometimes resumed by an independent object pronoun ('ōtō) before the conjunction, e.g.:-
- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| wešōr 'ō-sē 'ōtō we'et-benō | "A cow or a ewe - you shall |
| lō tišhātū bayōm 'ehād | not kill both her and her |
| | young in one day". |
| | (Lev. 22/28). |
26. cf. Introduction, p.23.
27. cf. Introduction, p.24, where the rank of generic nominals on the individuation scale is discussed.

28. Elsewhere in Biblical Hebrew an extraposed generic nominal phrase which has the function of a conditional clause is sometimes referred to as if it were a proposition, e.g. Ecc. 5/18, 6/2.
29. It should be noted that in the law codes of all sources - E, D, and P - a sub-case of a main case is expressed in a conditional clause introduced by the particle 'im, cf. Eissfeldt, Introd. p. 214.
30. The agreement pronoun mēhem in Lev. 25/44 expresses contrastive assertion, cf. II 3.0.
31. Neusner refers to such extrapositional constructions as 'apocopated sentences' (e.g. 1974: p.219; 1977: p. 220). He classifies apocopated sentences into a number of categories, viz. 'mild', 'extreme', 'genuine', 'idiomatic', 'morphological', 'syntactic'. These categories, however, are based on vague criteria which are not clearly explicated. They, consequently, add nothing to our understanding of the linguistic status of the constructions.
32. Ap. Zār. 4/10 illustrates the two ways in which a sub-case is expressed, viz. an 'im - clause or an asyndetic conditional clause.
33. cf. Arabic II 7.0 for psycholinguistic evidence for the ease of memorizing stereotyped syntactic patterns.
34. A similar phenomenon is attested in Biblical law formulae, cf. p.
35. Alternatively the identifying clause may precede the list, in which case the construction is not extrapositional, e.g. Kel. 2/7.

Chapter 3.

A R A M A I C

Chapter 3a.

B I B L I C A L A R A M A I C

I S T R U C T U R E

A EXTRAPPOSITION

1.0 Form of extraposed element.

1.1 Pronoun, e.g.:-

- (1) wa'ānā lā behokmā dī-'itay "I - not because of any wisdom
bī min-kol-hayyayyā rāzā which I have more than all the
denā gēlī lī living has this mystery been
revealed to me". (Dn. 2/30).

cf. Dn. 2/29, 5/18, 7/28.

1.2 Full nominal.

1.21 With specific referent, e.g.:-

- (2) hū' ṣalmā rešēh dī-dēhab tab "This image - its head was of
fine gold". (Dn. 2/32).

cf. Dn. 3/22, 5/6, 5/11, 6/15.

1.22 Generic, e.g.:-

- (3) kol-'ēnāš dī yehašnē pitgamā "Any one who alters this edict -
denā yitnesah 'a^c min-baytēh a beam shall be pulled out of
uzēqīp yitmeḥē^c ālohī his house and he shall be impaled
upon it". (Ezr. 6/11).

cf. Ezr. 7/26.

2.0 Form of resumptive element.

2.1 Clitic pronoun, e.g.:-

- (4) bēdayin malkā šaggi tē'eb
 ^cālohi
"Then the king - it was very good
to him (= he was very glad)".
(Dn. 6/24).

cf. passim

2.2 Independent pronoun, e.g.:-

- (5) 'ēlāhāk dī 'ant pālāh-lēh
bitdīrā hū' yēšēzēbinnāk
"Your god whom you constantly
worship - he will save you".
(Dn. 6/17).

cf. Dn. 3/22.

2.3 Full nominal, e.g.:-

- (6) ūmalkā nēbūkadnešsar 'ābūk
rab hartummin 'āšēpīn
kašdā'in gāzerīn hēqīmēh
'ābūk malkā
"King Nebuchadnezzar, your father -
your father, the king, made him
chief of the magicians, enchanters,
Chaldeans, and astrologers".
(Dn. 5/11).

2.4 No explicit resumption, e.g.:-

- (7) hēwētā rebī^c ayētā malkū
rebī^c ayā tehēwē bē'ar^cā
dī tišne min-kol-malkōwātā
"The fourth beast - a fourth
kingdom shall be on the earth,
which shall be different from all
kingdoms. (Dn. 7/23).
- (8) weqarnayyā^c 'āšar minnāh
malkūtā^c 'āsrā malkīn
yeqūmūn
"The ten horns - from the kingdom
ten kings shall arise".
(Dn. 7/24).

In Examples (7) and (8) an interpretation is given of a previously mentioned allegorical expression. The item which is being interpreted stands in initial position without any explicit connection to the rest of the sentence. In such constructions the initial nominal has the status of a rubric.

B Pronominal Agreement.

1.0 Verb complement, e.g.:-

- (9) wəlēlāhē dī-nišmātāk bīdēh "The god in whose hand is your
wəkol-'orhātāk lēh lā breath and all your ways - him
həddartā you have not honoured". (Dn. 5/23).

This is how Bauer and Leander (Gram., para. 100y) analyse the syntax of Example (9). Alternatively the lēh may be interpreted as standing within the relative clause, viz. "to whom (= whose) are all your ways".¹

Consider Examples (10) and (11):-

- (10) baytā ḏənā satrēh "This house he destroyed".
(Ezr. 5/12).
- (11) mānayyā hanpēq himmo "The vessels Cyrus brought out".
kōreš (Ezr. 5/14).

In Biblical Aramaic the object marker le- is restricted almost without exception to human objects.² Consequently in constructions such as (10) and (11) it is unclear whether the nominal which is resumed by the pronoun was construed to be inside the case frame of the verb (= PA) or outside it (= Ex).

By contrast, there is little doubt that the initial nominal in Example (12) is to be interpreted as standing in extraposition, since it is human but nevertheless has no object marker:-

- (12) gubrayyā 'illēk qattīl "These men - the flame of the
himmōn šəbībā di nura fire killed them". (Dn. 3/22).

2.0 Phrase level

2.1 Noun complement, e.g.:-

- (13) šəmēh dī-'ēlāhā "The name of God". (Dn. 2/20).

cf. Dn. 3/8, 3/25, 3/26, 3/28, 3/29, 4/23.

2.2 Prepositional complement, e.g.:-

- (14) bēh bədānī'ēl "In Daniel". (Dn. 5/12).

- (15) bēh bələleyā "In that night". (Dn. 5/30).

- (16) dənā paršegen 'iggartā dī "This is the copy of the letter
šəlahū ^cālōhī ^cal-'artaḥšašt which they sent to Artaxerxes,
malkā the king". (Ezr. 4/11).³

In some cases the preposition is not repeated before the nominal, e.g.:-

- (17) minnāh malkūtā "From the kingdom". (Dn. 7/24).

- (18) bah-ša^ctā "At that moment". (Dn. 3/6).

cf. Dn. 3/7, 3/8, 3/15, 4/30, 4/33, 5/5; Ezr. 5/3.⁴

II FUNCTION

A EXTRAPOSITION

1.0 Span boundaries.

1.1 Most of the Ex clauses which are attested in Biblical Aramaic coincide with the onset of a new span. They mark a shift in topic and/or a boundary on some other axis of the discourse:-

Dn. 2/29: v.29 does not develop the exposition. It recapitulates the content of v.28 in the form of a paraphrase and so functions as a supportive statement. Consequently the Ex clause marks a shift from foreground information to background information.

Dn. 2/30: v.30 is an explanatory supplement which provides an explanation for the surrounding exposition.⁵

Dn. 2/32: v.32 coincides with a shift from a general perspective to a more specific one. In v.31 the overall appearance of the image is described, whereas in vv.32-33 the focus is on its component parts.

Dn. 3/22: v.22 is not within the main event line of the narrative. It is essentially elaborative, serving to underscore the intensity of the heat of the furnace.⁶

Dn. 5/6: v.6 coincides with a definite transition point in the narrative. vv.1-5 constitute what may be called the 'complication' segment of the plot structure.⁷ More specifically, v.1 sets the scene, vv.2-4 relate events which form the 'build up' to the peak event, and v.5 expresses this fulcral 'complicating' event. v.6 begins the 'resolution segment of the narrative which describes

the reaction of the king to the complication and the measures he took to deal with them.

Dn. 5/18: v.18 is the beginning of the exposition proper. v.17 contains preliminary remarks in which Daniel states his intention and appeals against any material remuneration for his efforts.

Dn. 6/15: v.15 marks the onset of the resolution to the complication which is reported in the preceding discourse. The resolution segment extends to v.23. The Ex clause also coincides with a shift in topic from 'the king's officials' to 'the king'.

Dn. 6/24: vv.24-25 constitute a coda to the preceding narrative. It is also of relevance that v.24 coincides with a reversal in fortune from bad to good. This peripeteia is given particular prominence by the use of a clause which is structurally parallel to the one introducing the section of the narrative in which the king was in grief (6/15), viz.

'ēdayin malkē ... śaggī be'eš^c 'ālōhī - bēdayin
malkā śaggī ta'eḇ^c 'ālōhī

Finally the Ex clause in v.24 also coincides with a shift in topic from 'Daniel' to 'the king'.

Dn. 7/12: The Ex clause marks a shift in topic from 'the fourth beast' to 'the other beasts'.

Dn. 7/28: The sequence 'ānā Dānī'ēl ... miltā belibbī nitrēt is a comment which is appended to the narrative.

Ezr. 6/11, 7/24, 7/26: These constructions have the status of independent decrees and so constitute autonomous units within the discourse.

1.2 The Ex clause in Dn. 5/11, which has a full nominal as a resumptive element, apparently marks span closure rather than span onset. The queen's speech (vv. 10-12) may be

divided into four distinct segments, each having a different illocutionary force:-

1. Opening formula (malkā lā^c ālemīn hēyī: v.10).
2. Appeal for the king not to worry (v.10).
3. Informing the king of the existence of Daniel and a description of his powers (v.11).
4. A request that Daniel be summoned (v.12).

The Ex clause in v.11 signals the terminus of segment 3.

1.3 The onset of clearly discernible spans of discourse is also marked by clauses with initial subject nominals, e.g.:

Dn. 3/1: The series of clauses in v.1, which opens with an SV-clause, provide preliminary background information for the ensuing narrative.

Dn. 3/2: v.2 coincides with the onset of the main narrative. The beginning of Chapter 5 has a similar structure. 5/1 and 5/2 both open with an SV-clause; v.1 describes the setting and the main narrative commences in v.2.

Dn. 3/13, 3/19, 4/16, 6/11:

These SV-clauses initiate a section which reports the reaction of a participant to a preceding crisis or complication. Consequently these constructions coincide with a boundary in the narrative structure between a complication and its resolution (or attempted resolution). Moreover they also mark a shift in topic.

Dn. 3/30: v.30 is a coda to the narrative.

Dn. 5/10: In v.10 the attention shifts from the king and his officials to the queen.

However, the functional overlap between subject initial clauses and Ex clauses does not seem to be complete. Subject initial clauses sometimes also occur when there is no clear reorientation in the discourse. We shall return to this point below.

An important feature of the aforementioned Ex clauses and subject initial clauses which mark span boundaries is that in both constructions the initial nominal is a prominent participant. This prominence arises through the intersection of a number of factors:-

- (i) The referent of the nominal is always familiar to the reader/hearer either by virtue of the fact that it has been mentioned before or that it is in his permanent knowledge store (this applies to generics such as Ezr. 6/11, 7/26).
- (ii) In most cases the nominal has a human referent, i.e. one which is high in perceptual salience.
- (iii) The referent of the nominal is generally durable and is the central participant or primary topic of the subsequent span, i.e. it is not dominated by a topic of a higher segment of discourse.

1.4 The general principle which is to be deduced from this is that a span boundary is marked by the clustering of two features:-

- (a) The occurrence of a prominent participant at the front of the clause in the casus rectus - by casus rectus I refer to nominals which are not directly governed by a verb or a preposition.
- (b) The resumption of the initial nominal by an anaphoric pronoun within the body of the clause. In the case of subject initial clauses this anaphoric element is to be identified with the subject morpheme of the verb. In the case of 3rd person singular subjects this is realized as zero.

Extraposition may be seen as a means of adapting the syntax of the clause to accommodate this discourse principle. In other words whenever the relevant prominent participant is not the grammatical subject it stands in extraposition.

In contradistinction to Ex clauses, constructions in which an object or a prepositional phrase stand in initial position before the verb without being resumed by a subsequent pronoun usually continue a primary topic span and do not coincide with a significant shift on any other level of the discourse structure, e.g.:- Dn. 2/17, 2/19, 3/20, 4/4, 4/5, 4/14, 4/31.

As was mentioned above, several instances of SV-clauses do not occur at any distinct span boundaries. Such clauses are often used in a parallel fashion to OV-clauses. Consider for instance Dn. 6/23, 4/31, 5/21. The most conspicuous feature which distinguishes such span continuing SV-clauses from those which mark span boundaries is that the subjects of the former type of clause are subsidiary referents within the discourse (usually inanimates or components or attributes of a major participant, e.g. mande^Ci, Dn. 4/31) whereas the latter type have prominent participants as subjects (predominantly humans). When it is desired that a clause with a prominent subject be connected in close sequence to the preceding discourse this is sometimes signalled syntactically by placing the subject after the verb,⁸ e.g. Dn. 6/18, 6/24, 5/7. VS-clauses of this type are sometimes introduced by a linking particle such as 'ēdayin or kə^Can, e.g. Dn 3/26, 5/8, 6/19. The decision to concatenate events in a single span rather than break the sequence up into smaller units is, in many cases, a result of the way the writer/speaker wishes to 'stage-manage' the action of the text. Concatenation of events generally coincides with a peak in the narrative, cf. p. 203.

- 1.5 The segmentation of the discourse into 'spans' elucidates several features of the Biblical Aramaic tense/aspect system.

Many scholars have recognized that the Biblical Aramaic prefix conjugation and the participle are often used to narrate past events, especially in the Book of Daniel, e.g. Bauer (1910: p.45), Brockelmann (GVGSS II, pp. 152, 163), Bauer-Leander (Gram. pp. 280, 295), Rosen (1961). Such instances of the prefix conjugation are regarded by Bauer (ib.) as historical presents, whereas Brockelmann (ib. p.152) and Bauer-Leander (ib. pp. 280, 283) consider that they express an event which is circumstantial to a preceding, or occasionally a subsequent, main event, the main event being expressed by a suffix conjugation verb. With regard to participles, both Brockelmann and Bauer-Leander recognize that they are frequently used to express main, non-circumstantial events in the past. Brockelmann states (ib. p.163) that they occur after a suffix conjugation verb and express an action which continues that of the suffix conjugation verb, e.g. ḥānō wē'amerīn "They answered and said ..." (Dn. 2/7). He points out the existence of a parallel usage which is found frequently in Mandaean (cf. Nöldeke, Mand. Gram. p.375) and also in Syriac. Bauer-Leander believe (ib. p.294) that participles with past time reference are a type of historical present tense.

Rosen (1961) claims that in the Aramaic of Daniel the prefix conjugation and the participle both narrate main events in the past. He states that the distribution of these verb forms is not indiscriminate. Some verbs are consistently used with the prefix conjugation and other with the participle. On this basis Biblical Aramaic verbs may be divided into two distinct groups. On the other hand the suffix conjugation, according to Rosen's theory, does not serve as a main narrative tense. Instead it is employed with the function of:

- (i) A resultative - as I understand it, he means by this a tense form which may be paraphrased by: 'I was in a state of having done something'.
- (ii) Pluperfect.
- (iii) Perfect, i.e. 'I have done something'.
- (iv) A general subordinative form, e.g. after the subordinating particle dī or when the verb is semantically subordinate despite the absence of any syntactic signal of this status. The latter category includes (a) constructions with 'virtual' relative clauses, e.g. Dn. 4/15; (b) cleft sentences, in which the suffix conjugation is used in the non-predicative

(i.e. the presupposed) segment,⁹ e.g. Dn. 3/24; (c) 'virtual' adverbial clauses, e.g. after adverbs such as 'šdayin, kol-qōbēl dānā, bah-ša^c ātā, bēh-zimnā, kə^can, e.g. Dn. 3/26 - bēdayin qarēb nēbūkādnessar anēh wə'amar (virtually "Then, when N. approached he answered and said").

Several of the points which are made by the aforementioned scholars provide a satisfactory explanation of the data. However, one general criticism which must be made is that none of them have recognized that main (foreground) events in the narrative may be expressed by any one of three tense forms, viz. the suffix conjugation, the prefix conjugation, and the active participle. Rosen demonstrates the use of the prefix conjugation and the participle in this function. On the other hand many of his interpretations of the suffix conjugation as a non-narrative tense are contrived. This especially applies to his 'virtually' subordinate clauses - his interpretation of Dn. 2/29-30 and 3/22 as cleft sentences which express an antithesis has already been shown to be incorrect (cf. Footnotes 5 and 6). Many clauses with a suffix conjugation verb clearly relate foreground past events, i.e. those which form the skeletal outline of the narrative, e.g. Dn. 3/2, 3/13, 5/2.

In my view it can be shown that the distribution of the suffix conjugation, the prefix conjugation, and the participle correlates by and large with the span structure of the discourse. The suffix conjugation characteristically occurs at span boundaries whereas the prefix conjugation and the participles generally continue a span. (I accept Rosen's explanation for the distribution of the prefix conjugation vis-à-vis the participles, see above). Such an analysis was adumbrated by Brockelmann with regard to the participle (ib. p.163); however he did not recognize the functional equivalence between the participle and the prefix conjugation.

Examples:-

- Dn. 3/2-7 (šəlah - miṭkannəšīn - qāyēmīn - qarē - sāgədīn);
4/2 (həzēt - wīdahālinnānī - yəbahālunnānī);
4/30 (təriḏ - yēkūl - yistabba^c);
4/31 (nitlēt - yetūb);

Examples (continued):-

- Dn. 5/5 (nəpāqā - kātəbān - hāzē);
6/7 (hargišū - 'āmerīn);
6/13 (qərībū - 'āmerīn);
7/15 ('etkəriyyat - yəbahāllunnānī);
7/16 (qirbēt - 'eb^{cē}).

A participle always follows a suffix conjugation verb in the sequence ^cānō wə'āmerīn ("They answered and said"), except Dn. 3/24 where the construction is ^cānayin wə'āmerīn. In the singular, however, the first verb is always vocalized as a participle, viz. ^cānē wə'amar.¹⁰

Occasionally the suffix conjugation marks the closure of a sequence of prefix conjugation verbs, e.g. Dn. 7/28 (yəbahāllunnānī - yištannōn - nitrēt); 4/33 (yətūb - yətūb - yəbā^cōn - hotqenat); 6/20 (yəqūm - 'āzal).

The prefix conjugation/participle is not used as a continuity form within all spans. Sometimes the suffix conjugation is used throughout, e.g. Dn. 5/29 ('āmar - halbīšū - hakrīzū); 5/3 (haytīw - 'ištīw). The continuity function of the prefix conjugation/participle is often exploited to link a chain of events into a cohesive unit at some high point in the narrative. The effect is to speed up the action, which is a common signal of peak in narrative (cf. Longacre, 1976: p. 219), e.g. Dn 5/6 - 5/9:- Note also the VS-order at the beginning of v.7, which is an additional cohesive device, cf. p. 200.

Dn. 3/26-27: The VS-clause at the beginning of v.26 is a signal of close connection with the previous discourse. In fact vv.24-29 may be interpreted as an extended peak in the narrative which is 'staged' in the form of a close concatenation of events. vv.26-27, in which the narrative is continued by participles, constitutes a particularly fulcral point.¹¹

Ex clauses and SV-clauses with pronominal subjects nearly always have suffix conjugation verbs if they are narrating past events. This is consistent with the hypothesis which is being advanced here, viz. that the suffix conjugation is characteristic of span boundaries in past tense narrative. The only Ex clause which breaks this rule is Dn. 7/28.¹²

Occasionally le + infinitive serves as a continuity verb form, e.g.:- Dn. 2/16, 2/18, 5/15.

1.6 It has already been shown that a span boundary may be signalled by the occurrence of a prominent participant in the casus rectus at the front of the clause. It is important to note that in such cases the relevant participant is generally referred to by a full nominal. This applies even if the referent has been mentioned in the immediately preceding clause and so the use of a pronoun would not have given rise to ambiguity, e.g. Dn. 2/32, 5/6, 2/19.

1.7 The various span boundary and span continuity features in the narrative of Daniel may be summarized as follows:-

SPAN BOUNDARY

SPAN CONTINUITY

1. Prominent participant in casus rectus at the front of the clause and resumed by pronoun within the body of the clause.

Prominent subject occurs after verb.

2. Suffix conjugation.

Prefix conjugation.
Participle.
(le + infinitive).

SPAN BOUNDARY

SPAN CONTINUITY

- | | |
|--|--|
| 3. Prominent participant identified by full nominal. | Prominent participant referred to by clitic pronoun or subject morpheme of verb. |
|--|--|

Span boundary or span continuity is signalled by a cluster of these grammatical features. However occasionally they **do not all occur** simultaneously. For instance, a continuity verb form may co-occur with a clause initial (prominent) subject, e.g. Dn. 5/9, or a VS-clause with a prominent subject may contain a suffix conjugation verb, e.g. Dan. 3/26. Such constructions would be predicted to coincide with less significant boundaries in the discourse, constituting, as it were, the fine brush strokes of the text producer.

2.0 Other instances of Extraposition.

Dn. 6/17: This may be interpreted as an instance of contrastive assertion, i.e. "YOUR GOD is able to save you, but not anybody else, not even myself". The function of the resumptive independent pronoun hu' would then be to carry the contrastive stress by proxy.

Dn. 2/33: The word denoting a part of the body is kept in initial position in order to create a structure which is parallel to the preceding clauses. Note also that this Ex construction closes the sequence of clauses which describe the parts of the image.

B Pronominal Agreement.

1.0 Most instances of PA in Biblical Aramaic are motivated by the status of the 'agreed with' nominal rather than by the status of the clause within the discourse.

1.1 Agreement pronoun with verb complement.

The direct object agreement pronouns which are attested in Ezz. 5/12 (= Example (10)) and Ezz. 5/14 (= Example (11)) both co-occur with definite nominals the referents of which are salient within the discourse.¹³ The prominence of the 'temple' is demonstrated by the fact that it is referred to eight times within the segment of direct speech in which the PA construction 5/12 occurs, and twelve times within the chapter as a whole.¹⁴ With regard to 5/14, the 'vessels' are referred to three times in the immediately subsequent discourse.¹⁵ It is probable that the divine vessels were also conceived as being in some way inherently salient. This is supported by the fact that the object marker is used with nominals referring to divine vessels in Biblical Aramaic (Dn. 5/2, 5/23) and also in Moabite ('t.kly.yhwh, Meša^c stele, 17-18). Elsewhere in Biblical Aramaic and Moabite the object marker particle (viz. la- and 't respectively) is almost completely restricted to nominals with human referents,¹⁶ i.e. nominals with a high degree of perceptual salience. These grammatical facts probably reflect the prominence which the ritual vessels of a god had within Ancient Near Eastern culture.

1.2 Phrase level.

1.21 Noun complements.

Anticipatory genitive pronominal suffixes occur only with definite nominals which have human referents,

e.g.:-

- Dn. 2/20 (šēmēh dī-'ēlāhā),
2/44 (yōmēhōn dī malkayyā 'innūn),
3/8 (çarsēhōn dī yehūdāyē),
3/25 (rēwēh dī rebī^cāyā),
3/26 (^cabdōhī dī-'ēlāhā),
3/28 ('ēlāhāhōn dī-šadrak mēšak wa^cābēd nēgō),
3/29 (id.),
Ezr. 5/11 (^cabdōhī dī-'ēlāh šemayyā).

The only exception is Dn. 4/23 in which the 'agreed with' nominal is inanimate (šoršōhī dī 'ilānā). However the occurrence of the genitive suffix on šoršōhī is probably a mechanical repetition of the suffix on this word in Dn. 4/12. This is particularly likely since 4/23 is a recapitulation of 4/12.

1.22 Prepositional complement.

Agreement pronouns in this category are used with time adverbials and serve the function of a deictic, forging a close link with the immediately preceding discourse, e.g.:-

- Dn. 3/6 (bah-ša^ctā "at that very moment"),
5/30 (bēh belēleyā "on that very night").

In Dn. 3/7 the deixis is cataphoric (pointing forward) (bēh zimnā kēdi ... "at that time (namely) when ...").

The agreement pronoun in Dn. 7/24 is also deictic in function (minnāh malkūtā "from the aforementioned kingdom). Dn. 5/12 is difficult to

interpret in this way since the queen has not made any explicit reference to Daniel earlier in her speech. Perhaps the phrase hištəkahat bēh is repeated mechanically from v.11.

For Ezer. 4/11 see I 2.2.

F O O T N O T E S

1. The tiphā on lēh indicates that the Masoretes construed it with the preceding relative clause. Theodotion, however, interpreted it as an object pronoun which resumes lēlāhā:
kai ton theon hou hē pnoē sou en tē keiri autou kai pasai hai hodoi sou auton ouk edoxasas.

2. cf. M. Lambert (1893).

3. It is possible, however, that ^cal-'artaḥšašt is the beginning of the text of the letter, viz. "This is the copy of the letter which they sent to him: 'To Artaxerxes, the king,'".

4. In Galilean Aramaic the genitive particle is sometimes omitted in noun complement pronominal agreement constructions, e.g.: Ginsburger, Fragmententhargum, p.25, Gen. 49/9 ^csqyh dyn'. Similar constructions are attested in Biblical Hebrew, e.g.: Prov. 13/4 napšō ^casēl "the soul of the sluggard", also in Old Canaanite (e.g. at Gezer) and in Old Phoenician (e.g. at Karatepe), cf. Polzin (1976: p.39).

5. According to Rosen (1961: p.189) the sequence Dn. 2/29-30 expresses a contrastive opposition between the two constituents 'ant and 'ānā. This is incorrect. When two items belonging to different sentences are set in opposition, in addition to these focal items forming a contrasting pair there is also some type of polar opposition between the rest of the content of the

two juxtaposed sentences, or some part thereof, e.g.:-

	John	likes	peas	
but	Peter	hates	them	contrastive

	John	likes	peas	
and	Peter	knows	it	non-contrastive

There is no obvious polar opposition between the content of vv. 29 and 30 and so the sequence cannot be interpreted as forming a contrastive opposition between the two initial constituents 'ant and 'ānā.

6. Contra Rosen (1961: p.189), who claims that the referent "those men who took up Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego " is contrastively asserted, i.e. they were killed and not Shadrach and the others. Such an interpretation is undesirable on two counts. Firstly it implies that Shadrach and his companions were not killed, thus breaking the suspense of the subsequent narrative. Secondly, and more crucially, it ignores the fact that the Ex clause is describing an incidental effect of the situation which is expressed in the preceding half of the verse, viz. "Since the king's order was strict and the furnace was very hot". It is not asserting a foregrounded event of the narrative.
7. cf. Van Dijk (1977: p.154).
8. This is not the only environment in which VS occurs. Several other motivating factors may be identified. In the Aramaic of Daniel most other instances of VS fall under at least one of

six heads:-

- (1) clauses with initial adverbials
- (2) clauses with 'heavy' subjects
- (3) clauses the subjects of which are new in informational terms
- (4) subordinate clauses
- (5) fixed formulae
- (6) chiasitic structures.

It must be pointed out that these categories are not totally discrete, for certain VS clauses are classifiable under more than one head. Note also that participles are treated here as verbal forms.

- (1) Clauses with initial adverbials.

Examples: Dn.2/44, 3/8, 4/5, 4/22, 5/5, 5/24, 5/30.

- (2) Clauses with 'heavy' subjects.

Examples: Dn. 2/35, 3/3, 3/7, 3/20, 3/27, 5/2, 5/3, 6/8.

The phenomenon whereby heavy constituents are placed after lighter ones is attested in many languages. One is reminded immediately of Behagel's "Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder" (1909). This was one of the famous laws which he formulated for Germanic word order. Several scholars have pointed out the occurrence of similar 'end weighting' in Semitic languages, e.g. Ehelolf (1916) for Akkadian, Beeston (1970: p.110) for Arabic, S. Friedman (1971) for Hebrew.

- (3) Clauses with new subjects.

Examples: Dn. 6/18, 7/18, 2/34 (also subordinate clause), 5/5 (also after initial adverbial), 2/39 (initial adverbial), 2/45 (initial adverbial).

It is a common phenomenon in many languages which have a predominantly subject initial word order for subjects which are being introduced into the discourse to occur after the verb (cf. Hetzron 1971). According to the Prague school (e.g. Firbas 1964; Daneš 1968) this is because such newly introduced subjects are of high information content (or in their terms they are high in 'communicative dynamism'), it being a common principle in language for given information

to linearly precede new information. For the operation of this principle elsewhere in Semitic syntax, see pp. 92, 95, 148, 330, 372.

(4) Subordinate clauses.

Examples: Dn. 3/32 (*dī hāqēm nebūkādnessar*) = 3/3 and 3/5; 3/7, 3/27, 4/14, 4/18 (also after initial adverbial), 5/20, 6/3, 6/25.

The occurrence of VS in these clauses probably reflects the widely attested phenomenon whereby subordinate clauses are more resistant to linguistic change than main clauses, cf. Vennemann (1975). In other words, subordinate clauses often preserve vestiges of an older word order type long after the word order of the main clauses has undergone innovation. With regard to Biblical Aramaic the surviving word order is the predominantly VS syntax of Old Aramaic.

(5) Fixed formulae.

The verb ^cnh in the phrase "X answered and said" always stands before its subject, e.g.: Dn. 3/16, 5/7, 5/13, 5/17, 6/13, 6/17, 6/25.

Such constructions are ossified formulae for introducing direct speech. This is demonstrated by the fact that they occur even when the speaker is initiating a dialogue or when his words are not in direct response to a former utterance of his interlocutor, e.g. Dn. 2/20, 7/2. It is reasonable to suppose that these formulaic phrases have preserved in a 'frozen' form the VS syntax of Old Aramaic. A parallel phenomenon is attested in the legal documents from Elephantine. In these texts SV word order is frequent within the body of the document. However, the opening and closing clauses, viz. 'mr X and ktb X, are always VS (cf. Baumgartner 1927: p.129). This is apparently a fossilized survival of the Old Aramaic legal formulary.

(6) Chiastic structures.

Examples: Dn. 5/10, 7/15, 5/20 (also subordinate clause), 7/22 (also subordinate clause).

9. Here Rosen construes the suffix conjugation as a 'second' tense in imitation of Polotsky's analysis of Coptic tenses, cf. Polotsky (1944).

10. The phenomenon whereby a verb which has past time reference is expressed in a present tense form even when it is not preceded by a past tense verb is exhibited by verbs of 'saying' in several other Aramaic dialects, cf. Bauer-Leander, p.296; Brockelmann, GVGSS II, p.165. It is also attested with verbs of 'saying' in Akkadian, e.g. Gilg. XI/8; E.e. I/30, 35. Also in many Indo-European languages verbs of this meaning are prone to be expressed in a present tense form when referring to the past, cf. Kiparsky (1968: p.32 n.3). These linguistic parallels would seem to support the Masorettes' reading of ^cnh as a participle. Nöldeke (1884), however, believes that this consonantal skeleton should be vocalized as a past tense form, viz. ^cānā, and so bring the phrase ^cnh w'mr into syntactic conformity with the plural sequence ^cnw w'mryn.

11. An analogous distinction between boundary tense forms and continuity tense forms is, of course, also attested in Biblical Hebrew, viz. the non-conversive vs. the conversive tenses. A similar phenomenon is also attested in early Indo-European, in which a sequence of conjoined clauses which have past time reference often consist of a past tense verb + verb(s) with a present tense form, cf. Kiparsky (1968).

12. A possible explanation for this is that the phrase ra^cyōnāy yēbahālunnani has the status of a fixed formula in the narrative of Daniel, cf. Dn. 4/16, 5/6, 5/10. cf. also II B 1.21 for the anomalous use of a genitive agreement pronoun arising due to a similar type of mechanical repetition.

13. The classification of these two constructions as PA is somewhat arbitrary. There is no external indication as to whether the nominal which is resumed by the pronoun stands inside or outside

the direct government of the verb (cf. I B 1.0). It was decided to treat them as PA constructions on the grounds that they share with phrase level PA constructions (see below) the feature that the motivation for the occurrence of the co-referential pronoun is only attributable to the status of the nominal and not to the status of the clause within the discourse.

14. cf. Introduction, p.24.

15. Contrast Ezr. 6/5 where an agreement pronoun is omitted after the same referent in a similar context. A possible explanation is that there was a certain degree of indeterminacy in Biblical Aramaic as to the grammatical subject of verbs which are formally 3rd person impersonal plurals. Compare Dn. 2/18 where the absence of the object marker le- suggests that Dānī'ēl wəhabrōhī was construed as subject and not object.

16. cf. Lambert (1893); Bauer-Leander, p.340; Khan (1984).

Chapter 3b.

S Y R I A C

I S T R U C T U R E

A EXTRAPOSITION

1.0 Form of extraposed element.

1.1 Pronoun, e.g.:-

- (1) 'āp 'enā bā^cūtā 'it̄ lī
lēwātāk "I also - to me is (= I have)
a request of you".
(Brock. Chr. 36/1).
- (2) 'enā hādē 'it̄ lī lemīmar "I - to me (= I have) this to
say". (Aph. 486/5).

1.2 Full nominal

1.21 With specific referent, e.g.:-

- (3) behaw zabnā 'orhāy sōgāh "At this time Edessa - its
hanpē wāt population was heathen".
(Brock. Chr. 28/25).
- (4) mekīl dekrā qarnāteh "Now the ram - its horns are
mettabran ennēn broken". (Aph. 83/20).

1.22 Generic

Most of the nominals in this category are relative phrases which are introduced by the universal quantifier kul and/or the generic pronouns man, meddem, or 'aynā, e.g.:- (overpage)

- (5) kul melta^c da^c layhōn metamrā
haymānūtā māšyā meqabbela
leh "Every word which is spoken
concerning them - faith is able
to accept it". (Phil. 32/20).
- (6) 'aynā dab^ctaksā sābē
ləmetqarrābū le^cdūbbarā
detalmīduteh damšihā
zādeq leh daqdam kul
meddem haymānūtā šarirtā
nehōd begaw napšeh "Whoever wishes to draw near in
systematic order to the conduct
of the discipleship of Christ -
it behoves him before all things
that he should lay hold upon sure
faith within himself".
(Phil. 26/4).
- (7) man delā bāhet metassē
šūhneh "Whoever is not ashamed - his
wound is healed". (Aph. 136/3).
- (8) meddem gēr de^c aynā de^cpagrā
hāzyā leh wēkulhōn regšē
pagrayē beh mestaklīn
haymānūtan 'āk dalmeddem
hrīn mestaklā "What the eye of the body sees,
and all the bodily senses perceive
- our faith understands it to be
something else". (Phil. 37/9).

Extraposited generic relative phrases which are not introduced by these 'generalizing' words are occasionally also found, e.g. in proverbs:-

- (9) kalbā dašbaq māreh wetā
bātrāk bekīpē mehīw "A dog which has left its master
and come after you - pelt it with
stones". (Aḥiq. 43/21).

Extraposited generic simple nouns are attested in conditional clauses which express the legal case in casuistic legal prescriptions, e.g.:-

- (10) 'en nāš nēmūt 'ahū "If a man - his brother dies".
(Luke 20/28).

2.0 The extraposed nominal is occasionally introduced by an introductory particle:-

(i) le-, e.g.:-

- (11) lem̄meh məbarraktā šəqal kul "As for his blessed mother - he
deqanya wat carried off all that she owned".
(Brock. Chr. 75/17).
- (12) le^cammā dēn də^cebrānē "As for the Hebrew people - their
'etyahbat ki^t wetparšat care was assigned to the angel
qāyūmūtā da^clayhōn ləmikā'el Michael".
mal'akā (B.O. i, 77b).

(ii) sēd, especially before long nominal phrases, e.g.:-

- (13) sēd^c awdayē dēn wəzadduqayē "As for the followers of Audius
heretiqu dapraš napšhōn and the heretic Sadducees who had
hultānā də^cittā 'ak mahremē separated themselves from the
men šerārā wə'awled laqnomhōn community of the church like men
kāhnūtā šaqqartā ba^cmūtā banned from the truth and had
dəšarrirtā kad šāgen batar created for themselves a false
bedyā degelyonē wasmēn men priesthood resembling the true one,
quštā bedak hālēn 'ethaššah erring after pretended revelations
lewathōn hānā rā^cya šarrirā and blind to the truth - with such
šeqil ta^cnā demar^citeh things in connection with them this
true pastor who cared for his flock
was familiar".
(Brock. Chr. 89/12 ff.).

3.0 Occasionally an Ex structure occurs within the nucleus of the clause¹ - i.e. the extraposed element stands before the verb but after the clause subject, e.g.:-

- (14) haymānūtā gēr ləmeddem delā "Faith looks upon something which
'itaw 'ak haw dī^taw hayrā does not exist as something which
beh wəmeddem dī^taw 'ak delā does exist, and that which exists

(continued overpage)

'Īṭaw hāšbā leh

it considers something which
does not exist". (Phil. 38/15).

4.0 Boundary between extraposed item and the rest of the clause.

I have found only one example in which the conjunction *we*
connects the extraposed item to the rest of the clause:-

- (15) *ṣēd keyānē dēn mērakkebē* "Concerning the compacted bodily
dalqublā dēhālēn meštahkīn natures which have been discovered
dabmenātā hēdā šāma^c to be the opposites of these
wabhērītā hāzē ... wēluqbal (= spiritual beings), which hear
rukkābā dēhaddāmaw mēpallegā with one member and see with
mettezi^c anūtā dēhaššaw another ... according to the
constitution of their members the
movement of their passions divides".
(Phil. 33/21).

The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that this construction
is an anacoluthon.²

5.0 Resumptive element.

5.1 Grammatical relation of resumptive element.

5.11 Subject, e.g.:-

- (16) *wēkulhōn dētammān ... hennōn* "All those who were there ...
hezaw watmah they saw and were amazed".
(Brock. Chr. 74/17).
- (17) *wenā lā meškah nā lamhaymānū* "I - I cannot believe".
(Goldenberg, 1983: p.103).

5.12 Object, e.g.:-

- (18) wəkul 'ayl̄ēn damhaymēn̄in "All those who believed in the
waw bamšīha meqabbel wā Messiah - Adday received them".
lēhōn 'adday (Brock. Chr. 19/9).

5.13 Prepositional complement, e.g.:-

- (19) malkūtā tehōd̄ bah "The kingdom - you shall seize
it". (Aḥiq. 49/16).

5.14 Noun complement, e.g.:-

- (20) hābēl ger ... 'etqabbal "For Abel - his offering was
qurbāneh accepted". (Aph. 63/17).

5.2 Form of resumptive element.

5.21 Clitic pronoun, see above passim.

5.22 Subject morpheme of verb.

This occurs when a subject nominal is separated from
its verb by an intervening clause, e.g.:-

- (21) haymānūtā mēhappet̄ dētēhwē
ban "Faith - he urges that it should
be in us". (Phil. 37/15).
- (22) hānā dēn berāk̄ yāda^c nā
dērādōpā dallāhē^c ētīd̄
dēnehwē "This son of yours - I know that
he will become a persecutor of
the gods". (Brock. Chr. 24/18).

5.23 Independent pronoun, e.g.:-

- (23) berāk haw dərabbīt hū "Your son whom you brought up -
həṭā bāk he sinned against you".
(Ahiq. 57/11).

cf. Example (16).

5.24 Demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

- (24) ^cerbā debād men kulleh "The sheep which has been lost
gəzārā ^cal hawū beṭīl out of all the flock - about this
leh ləra^c yā the shepherd has anxiety".
(Aph. 142/10).
- (25) ^cammē gēr dəhaymen "The nations who believe in
bamšihā hanōn ennōn Christ - these are consecrated".
metmašhīn (Aph. 63/15).

5.25 Full nominal, e.g.:-

- (26) tərūnā dən mettul də ... "The tyrant, since ... in this
lēhānā pursā 'ahmī manner the tyrant neglected ...".
tərūnā ... (Jul. 44/1).

5.26 Partial resumption, i.e. only a noun which is contained within the extraposed nominal phrase is resumed. This occurs sometimes when the extraposed nominal is a relative phrase, e.g.:-

- (27) kul 'aynā dənūrā dərəhmaṭ "Anyone in whose heart has darted
'allāhā rehtaṭ bəlebbeh the fire of the mercy of God -
kul rəgīgān ^cam kul ya^c rīn all desires together with all the
daḥtītā metharrekīn bāh thickets of sin are consumed in
wəyāqdīn it (= the fire)".
(Brock. Chr. 73/13).

5.27 No explicit resumption, e.g.:-

- (28) $\text{tərayhōn hānōn had 'ezdahhī}$ "These two - one shone and one
 wəhad 'et^c allī was exalted". (Brock. Gram. 117).

6.0 Extraposition is very rarely found in subordinate clauses.
An example is (10) above.

7.0 The extraposed nominal may stand before a complex sentence.
In such cases it is resumed either in both the main and the
subordinate clause or in only one of the constituent clauses:-

7.1 Resumed in both main and subordinate clause, e.g.:-

- (29) $\text{dahnan mettul dal^c el}$ "We - since we stand on the
 bərawmā məšabbəhā glorious height of the priest-
 $\text{dəkahnūtā qāymīn nan}$ hood, the whole people look to
 $\text{bānū hā'ar wameddabbar}$ us and let themselves be guided
 ^cammā kulleh by us". (Ov. 173/11 ff.).

7.2 Resumed only in the subordinate clause, e.g.:-

- (30) $\text{qaddīšā dēn mār 'eša^c yā}$ "The holy E. - on the hill where
 $\text{^cal geb tellōltā dəbāh}$ he lived there was a town".
 $\text{yātēb wā 'it wā qerītā}$ (GVGSS II, p.668).
 hədə

8.0 The extraposed item may be resumed in the second of two
co-ordinated clauses. This typically occurs when two verbs
which are linked together paratactically form a tightly knit
unit, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (31) mānāy sīmā dēn saggī'ē
daltešmeštā dēpātōrē
^cesrā daqlēriqū bašqāl
ta^cnā hešīlīn waw pēqad
mehdā wezdabban
"The many vessels of silver which
ten of the clergy had carefully
forged for the service of the
altars - he immediately ordered
them to be sold (literally: he
ordered immediately and they were
sold). (Brock. Chr. 82/11).
- (32) hānōn dīt lēbar bēquryā
walīsin waw bēkapnā
'aytī 'agges ennōn
"Those who were outside in the
villages and were afflicted with
hunger - he allowed them to come
and settle (sc. in the town).
(Brock. Chr. 42/25).

B Pronominal agreement.

1.0 Anticipatory

1.1 Direct object.

- (i) When an agreement pronoun occurs with an object nominal
the latter is often introduced by the object marker
participle lē, e.g.:-

- (33) weškəḥeh lamšīhā
"He found the Messiah".
(Brock. Chr. 14/5).
- (34) kad qabbēlāh wā yešū^c
leggartā
"When Jesus received the letter ...".
(Brock. Chr. 14/20).

If the verb is a participle the object marker is attached also to
the agreement pronoun, since participles do not take clitic object
suffixes, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (35) nahrā 'aynā d̄emetq̄erā "The river which is called
daysān 'aynā d̄ehādar Daysan, which surrounds the
lah lamdittā town". (Brock. Chr. 28/12).

On the other hand, when le is attached to an agreement pronoun in a clause with a finite verb it generally has the meaning of the preposition le; see B 1.21 (i) below.

(ii) Occasionally the object nominal has no object marker, e.g.:-

- (36) kad̄ t̄enāy hānā pet̄gāmā "When he uttered this word".
(Aph. 420/18).

1.2 Prepositional complement.

1.21 Preposition repeated.

This occurs only when the preposition is monosyllabic, e.g.:-

(i) le:-

- (37) 'emar leh 'abgar ladday "Abgar said to Adday".
(Brock. Chr. 16/13).

(ii) be:-

- (38) beh bama^clanā "At the entrance".
(Brock. Chr. 16/8).

(iii) al:-

- (39) ^celēh ^cal kīpā "On the stone". (Aph. 6/19).

1.22 Nominal introduced by de.

This construction is used with a wider range of prepositions³ including disyllabic ones. In many cases it is employed in preference to constructions of the type illustrated in the previous section in order to avoid repeating a long preposition. However the fact that it occurs also with several monosyllabic prepositions shows that this is not the only motivation for its use.

Examples:-

- (40) qedamaw demalkā "Before the king". (Aḥiq. 56/15).
- (41) ^celaw deqaddīšā mār
'aprēm "About the holy Ephraem".
(Brock. Chr. 29/15).
- (42) menneh demār ya^cqob "From Jacob". (Brock. Chr. 26/14).

1.3 Periphrastic genitive constructions.

1.31 A genitive pronominal suffix may anticipate a nomen rectum which is introduced by de, e.g.:-

- (43) bīdeh dehannān "By the hand of Hannan".
(Brock. Chr. 14/2).
- (44) parsopeh dadday "The face of Adday".
(Brock. Chr. 16/9).

1.32 The anticipatory suffix is sometimes duplicated on the independent genitive particle dīl-, e.g.:-

- (45) had men hīraw dīleh dabgar "One of the nobles of Abgar".

1.4 ku

An agreement pronominal suffix regularly anticipates the complement of the quantifier ku when the complement is definite, e.g.:-

- (46) kullāh ^cittā "The whole church".
(Brock. Chr. 26/7).
- (47) kullāh ba^c rirūtā deretiqū "All the brutality of the
heretics". (Brock. Chr. 24/3).

Since the erstwhile definitizing suffix -ā is dysfunctional in Classical Syriac the regular co-occurrence of an agreement pronoun with a definite complement of ku serves as a device to explicitly distinguish the two construction types ku + definite complement and ku + indefinite complement. It is necessary for these to be kept separate since there is an important semantic difference between the two, viz. kullāh mēdittā = the whole town/all the town, ku mēdittā = every town.

1.5 An independent pronoun precedes a subject nominal, e.g.:-

- (48) hū 'adday (Brock. Chr. 17/7).
- (49) hū qaddīša mār aprēm (Brock. Chr. 32/22).

Occasionally an independent pronoun co-occurs with an object nominal. In such cases the object is generally also modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

- (50) ^cittā hū hānā menyānā lēbikā "The church holds fast to this
number". (Nöldeke, Gram. para. 227).

2.0 Resumptive.

In constructions in which the agreement pronoun is resumptive the 'agreed with' nominal generally stands at the front of the nuclear clause.

2.1 Direct Object.

Only constructions in which the initial object nominal is marked by the object marker particle lə can be classified as PA with certainty, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (51) | ləkulleh qəyāmā dəneššē
məzahhar wā ləhēn | "The whole order of women he admonished".
(Brock. Chr. 85/17). |
| (52) | ləhālēn kulhēn haymānūtā
gāmra ləhēn | "All these faith perfects".
(Phil. 38/7). |

If the verb is a participle the object marker is also prefixed to the agreement pronoun, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (53) | walpūqdānā šītā dəbar nāšā
^c ābdā leh pūqdānā šəmī ^c a
dallāhā | "The despicable order of man it (= faith) makes into the audible command of God".
(Phil. 38/14). |
|------|--|---|

If the object nominal has no object marker the construction is structurally ambiguous, i.e. there is no explicit indication as to whether the initial nominal was construed as standing inside (= PA) or outside (= Ex) the case frame of the verb.

2.2 Prepositional complement.

When a prepositional complement is resumed by a pronoun the preposition is always repeated. No constructions are attested corresponding to those described in B 1.22 in which the nominal is introduced by the particle də.

Examples:-

(i) lə:-

- (54) lehaymānūtā gēr layt lāh "For to faith there are no
hūšābē šārēn had ləhad thoughts which dissolve each
other (= for faith has no
thoughts). (Phil. 43/2).

(ii) ^cal:-

- (55) ^cal yešū^c tūb hākannā "About Joshua, moreover, thus
ketīb^c elaw is it written". (Aph. 112/9).

2.3 Noun complement.

A fronted nomen rectum which is preceded by the particle də is occasionally resumed by a clitic genitive pronoun on the nomen regens, e.g.:-

- (56) dətaqnē gēr hubbēhōn "The love of the good".
(Spic. 44/4).

II FUNCTION

Extrapositional (Ex) sentences and pronominal agreement constructions with resumptive pronouns (PAR) were found to be by and large functionally equivalent. Consequently in the following discussion they are treated together as structural variants of the same basic construction. Indeed sometimes there is no explicit structural indication as to whether one is dealing with Ex or PAR (see I B 2.1).

1.0 Span boundaries.

Ex/PAR clauses characteristically occur at some kind of boundary or reorientation in the discourse.

1.1 Span onset.

1.11 Change of topic.

Ex/PAR constructions are often used to signal a shift in topic, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(57) walhālēn demethazyān haymānūtā
 meṭba^cyā mettul dahzātā dē^caynā
 hāzyā lehēn pagrānyātā ger
 'ītayhēn wēpagrānā'īt ha'ar
 behēn bar nāšā^c ālmā dēn
 kulleh dēruh haymānūtā margēšā
 beh wāk haw den layt haymānūtā
 lā 'ītaw haw^c ālmā</p> | <p>"For those things which are visible faith is unnecessary, since the vision of the eye sees them; they are corporeal and man looks upon them corporeally. However the whole world of the spirit - faith perceives it, so that if there is no faith that world does not exist".
 (Phil. 35/7-11).</p> |
|---|--|

The Ex clause in this Example turns the attention of the reader/hearer to "the world of the spirit" after a stretch of discourse

about "visible corporeal nature".

An Ex/PAR clause also occurs in situations in which a new secondary topic is introduced while the primary topic constituent is continued, e.g.:-

(58) (1) zūhāraw dēn 'ammīnē
dalwāt qeyāmā nakpā dēgabre
mannū meškah lometnā (2)
bekulhēn ger šenay hayyaw
dahwā bekahnūta^c esrīn
warba^c šenīn men martēyānūtā
hādē lā šelā (3) wālā
sāpqīnan dēneršom wēnag^c el
šeqāl ta^c nā rabbā dezūhāraw
dekulyawm deyawm beyawmeh
(4) dēnetnakrōn ger
le^c enyānā dēneššē gemīrā'īt
'ap lēhōn mēsaḥhed wā
wemetlahham (5) wadlā
neklūn besrā 'aw neshōn kad
hēlīmīn lēhōn mēpaqqed wā
wamzahhar (6) wadlā
nethanqūn bētēgūrtā de^c almā
lēhōn mālek wā wemappīs
(7) wēdabrebbītā 'aw baqsāsā
kespā lā nawzēpūn lēhōn
mētaḥhem wā (8) wamgarreg
wā lēhōn bēmelteḥ bassīmtā
dēnahhēbūn lahdādē (9)
wemālek wā lēhōn den meškēhā
ne^c mar hadhad menhōn^c am
habreh (10) wemartē wā
lēhōn wēbā^c ē menhōn dēnehwōn
^c enīn besawmā wammīnīn
baslōtā (11) wamhappet wā
lēhōn dabkulmeddem nehawwōn
napšhōn ba^c badē wabmelle
detalmīdē ennōn damšīhā

"(1) Who can recount his (i.e. Rabbulā) constant admonishments of the chaste order of men? (2) During the twenty-four years of his life in which he was in the priesthood he did not allow himself any respite from this instruction. (3) We cannot express or convey the assiduity of his daily admonishments. (4) He exhorted them to have absolutely no contact with women. (5) He commanded that they should not eat meat nor bathe while healthy. (6) He advised them not to be stifled by the affairs of the world. (7) He instructed them not to lend money for a commission or interest. (8) He urged them gently to love one another. (9) He advised that each one of them should, if possible, live with his fellow. (10) He admonished them and required them to be assiduous in fasting and constant in prayer. (11) He encouraged them to show at all times, by word and by deed, that they were the disciples of Christ.

(continued overpage)

(58) continued:

(12) kad mēpaqqed bemelteh
 'ap mettul lēbušā wesūnā
 wesuppar sa^c rā derišā delā
 zallilā'it nethēzōn (13)
 walkulleh qeyamā dāneššē
 mezahhar wā lēhēn tūb
 bekulzēban (14) delagmār
 'appay kalteh damšihā
 bel^c ad men tahpītā dēnakpūtā
 lē^c aynay nāšā bešūqā lā
 nethazyān (15) wātā
 dezallilūtā behād men
 'eskīmīn lā nehawweyān sāk
 (16) wahdā menhēn lēkenšā
 'aw lēbet wālītā bel^c ad men
 neppā desaggi'ātā lā tīzal
 sāk (17) wesābe wā dekulhēn
 benātah dekul mešammešanītā
 ammah na^c merān bantīrūtā
 wabqaddišūtā wabnakpūtā

"(12) He also gave stipulations concerning dress, footwear, and haircuts, lest they appear unchaste. (13) The whole order of women - he likewise admonished them all the time; (14) that the face of the bride of Christ should never be seen by the eyes of men in the street without a chaste covering; (15) that they should never show a sign of any kind of unchastity; (16) and that one of them should never go to an assembly or a privy without numerous companions. (17) He also wished all the daughters of each deaconess to live with her in temperance, holiness, and chastity".

(Brock. Chr. 84/18-86/3).

Throughout this passage the major topic constituent is Rabbūlā. This is indicated by the fact that he is the subject of most of the main clause verbs. On the other hand at the PAR construction in sentence (13) there is a shift in secondary or 'lower level' topic, viz. "the order of men" → "the order of women". The topic span structure of this extract may be represented as follows:-

Sentence number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Primary topic	_____ Rabbūlā _____																
Secondary topic	----- Order of men -----							----- Order of women -----									

In addition to changing the topic within the discourse Ex/PAR clauses may also establish a topic at its onset, e.g.:-

- (59) $t\bar{u}b\ ta\check{s}\ \overset{c}{i}t\bar{a}\ d\bar{e}k\bar{a}r\bar{k}\bar{a}$ "The story of the town of
 $d\bar{e}b\bar{e}t\bar{s}\bar{e}l\bar{o}k$; $h\bar{a}n\bar{a}\ k\bar{a}r\bar{k}\bar{a}$ Betselok: This great town -
 $r\bar{a}b\bar{b}\bar{a}\ s\bar{a}m\ \check{s}e\bar{t}\bar{e}saw\ m\bar{a}l\bar{k}\bar{a}$ the king of Assyria laid its
 $d\bar{a}t\bar{u}r\ \dots\dots$ foundations".
(Moes. vol. II, p.63).

Consider also Example (60):-

- (60) $'e\check{s}t\bar{u}n\bar{a}\ h\bar{a}d\ 'i\check{t}\ \overset{c}{a}l\ r\bar{i}\check{s}eh$ "A pillar - on its head there
 $t\bar{e}r\bar{e}\ \overset{c}{s}ar\ 'ar\check{z}\bar{e}\ b\bar{e}k\bar{u}l\ 'ar\check{z}\bar{a}$ are twelve cedars; in every
 $t\bar{e}l\bar{a}t\bar{i}n\ g\bar{i}g\bar{l}\bar{e}\ w\bar{a}b\bar{k}ul\ g\bar{i}g\bar{l}\bar{a}$ cedar there are thirty wheels,
 $t\bar{e}r\bar{e}n\ h\bar{a}b\bar{l}i\check{n}\ h\bar{a}d\ h\bar{e}w\bar{w}\bar{a}r\bar{a}$ and in every wheel two cables,
 $w\bar{e}h\bar{a}d\ 'u\check{k}\bar{k}\bar{a}m\bar{a}$ one white and one black".
(Aḥiq. 64/8-10).

The Ex clause here introduces the topic of a riddle. This riddle has the status of an independent discourse which is embedded in the rest of the text.

Ex/PAR clauses also occur at boundaries on other dimensions in the discourse. These boundaries may or may not coincide with a change in topic.

1.12 Shift in theme, e.g.:-

- (61) (1) $w\bar{e}t\bar{a}\ w\bar{e}\ \overset{c}{a}l\ l\bar{a}m\bar{d}\bar{i}t\bar{t}\bar{a}$ "(1) He (i.e. Ephraem) came and
(2) $w\bar{e}s\bar{a}m\ b\bar{e}h\bar{u}\check{s}\bar{a}b\bar{e}h\ d\bar{a}n\bar{e}p\bar{l}\bar{o}h$ entered the town. (2)(3) He
 $b\bar{a}g\bar{r}\bar{a}\ (3)\ w\bar{e}n\bar{e}k\bar{o}l\ l\bar{a}h\bar{m}\bar{a}$ determined to make his living by
(4) $m\bar{e}t\bar{t}\bar{u}l\ d\bar{u}m\bar{a}n\bar{u}t\bar{a}\ l\bar{a}\ y\bar{a}d\bar{a}\ \overset{c}$ working as a hired labourer (4)
 $w\bar{a}\ (5)\ w\bar{e}z\bar{a}l\ l\bar{e}w\bar{a}t$ since he did not have a skill.
 $b\bar{a}l\bar{l}\bar{a}n\bar{a}y\bar{a}\ h\bar{a}d\ (6)\ w\bar{a}p\bar{l}\bar{a}h$ (5) He entered into the employ
 \overset{c} ammeh (7) $b\bar{e}h\bar{a}w\ z\bar{a}b\bar{n}\bar{a}$ of a bath attendant (6) and
 $'o\check{r}h\bar{a}y\ s\bar{o}g\bar{a}h\ h\bar{a}n\bar{p}\bar{e}\ w\bar{a}$ worked with him. (7) At that time
Edessa - its population was heathen.

(61) continued:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(8) wemartē wā (9) wēdāreš
wā^c amhōn men ketābē kul
'emat dehāwya wāt leh
sepīqūtā</p> | <p>"(8) He would admonish them (9)
and dispute with them about the
scriptures whenever he could".
(Brock. Chr. 28/23-29/2).</p> |
|--|---|

The sequence (1) - (6) constitutes a thematic unit about Ephraem's finding work in the town. The Ex construction in sentence (7) marks the onset of a new theme span about his relations with the local population.

1.13 Shift from foreground to background, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(62) waqim ya^c qōb tammān qāyemta
dekīpē lesāhdūtā wansak
mešhā berīšāh wāp hādē berāzā
qaddem^c abdah 'abun ya^c qōb</p> | <p>"Jacob made a heap of stones to
bear witness and poured oil upon
it. This also - our father Jacob
did it as a symbol".
(Aph. 63/12-14).</p> |
|---|--|

Here the Ex clause conveys information which is evaluative of the preceding statement.

1.14 Break in expectancy chain.

Consider (63):-

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>(63) (1) waqrābā^c am ba^c lāh
denetpenē lēdehleṭeh
damšihā 'ammīnā'it^c abda
wāt (2) wehayl sebyāneh
tərūnā detapniw lewāt
šerārā lā 'etmasyat (3)
wegargerāh 'āp hū
lamhaymantā bekol 'eskēmā
(4) wehayl herūtāh dabyešū^c
danša^c bed lahtitā lā sepaq</p> | <p>"(1) She constantly waged a
battle against her husband that
he might be converted to the
fear of the Messiah, (2) but she
could not turn the strength of his
tyrannical will to the truth.
(3) He also urged the believing
woman in every way, (4) but he
could not enslave her freedom in
Jesus to sin".
(Brock. Chr. 69/10 - 70/3).</p> |
|--|--|

The use of the resumptive pronoun in Sentence (2) indicates that the writer felt that there was some kind of disjuncture between this and the preceding sentence. It is probable that the relevant disjuncture is a break in 'the expectancy chain'. In other words Sentence (2) was construed as an unanticipated event - in the eyes of the writer it was natural that the Christian faith would prevail. On the other hand Sentence (4) contains no resumptive pronoun since it was conceived to be in natural sequence to Sentence (3) and an expected outcome.

1.15 In essence Ex/PAR clauses express a proposition which has a degree of independence from the immediately preceding discourse. This is illustrated very clearly by comparing list-like concatenations of OV clauses with similar sequences of Ex/PAR or SV clauses:-⁴

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(64) hānōn dēlā 'appīs ennōn
 hubbeh bassīmā'īt ša^c bēdat
 ennōn dehlēteh qetīrā'īt
 lērāmē ger dabhōn qappah
 kīnā'īt dēnetwōn walmakkikē
 dabhōn yaqqar pārūšā'īt
 dēnetbayyē'ūn wal'aylēn
 dambasserānā'īt mehallelkīn
 waw wē^c al habrayhōn
 meštaqqelīn waw 'asgī šāt
 wemakkek dēnehhešūn
 wal'aylēn dabhaššā dēsebyānā
 'aw demeskinūtā hayyayhōn
 bēkullāh taqnūtā basyā'īt
 mēdabberīn waw 'arīm 'awreb
 'āp 'ahheb</p> | <p>"Those whom affection for him (= Rabbūlā) did not persuade gently - the fear of him subdued by force. To the haughty he gave an appropriate slap so that they would repent; the humble he prudently honoured so that they would be comforted; those who went about contemptuously and were arrogant towards others on account of their wealth he repeatedly despised and humiliated so that they would suffer; those who were afflicted by the pains of want or poverty but (nevertheless) conducted their lives in complete probity he exalted and made great and also loved". (Brock. Chr. 83/6-14).</p> |
|---|---|

- (65) 'ak dēliya bēhurbā^C amar wā
 hākanna 'ap yōhannān rūheh
 dallāhā dēbarteh wabhurbā
 wabtūrē wabmē^C arre^C amar wā
 'ēliya parahtā tarsayteh
 wēyōhannān qamsē dēpārhin
 'ākel wā 'ēliya qamra
 dēmeškā 'asir wā behassaw
 wēyōhannān^C eraqtā dēmeškā
 'asir wā behassaw lēliya
 rēdaptēh 'izbel walyōhannān
 rēdaptēh herōdiya
- "As Elijah lived in the wilderness,
 so also John - the spirit of God
 led him and he lived in the
 wilderness, in mountains, and in
 caves. Elijah - birds were his
 food, and John ate flying locusts.
 Elijah - a leathern strap was girt
 about his loins, and John - a
 leathern belt was girt about his
 loins. Elijah - Jezebel persecuted
 him, and John - Herodias persecuted
 him". (Aph. 123/13-19).
- (66) bē^C eldebābūtā mappēqin
 wēšādēn lāh mettul dabnay
 šaynā emnōn hētirūtā
 mappēqin wēšādēn lāh men
 baynāthōn dē'akpīn^C al
 šemhōn tabā^C esyānā lā
 yād^C in leh dērāhmin
 pēšitūtā wēkinūtā
- "Hostility - they reject and banish
 it, for they are men of peace.
 Pride - they reject and banish it,
 for they are solicitous for their
 good name. Stubbornness - they do
 not know it, for they love
 simplicity and honesty".
 (Aph. 177/18-21).

The OV clauses in sequences such as (64) share the same topic. This topic is continued in the subject slot of each verb. They also cohere closely together and are to be interpreted as expressing details of a single global event. This interpretation is demonstrated in (64) by the fact that this global event is first expressed in a single sentence (hānōn dēlā 'appīs qəṭīrā'it) and then its constituent parts are recounted in a series of OV clauses.

On the other hand each nominal at the front of the Ex/PAR or SV clauses in sequences such as (65) and (66) constitutes a new topic. Each Ex/PAR or SV clause initiates a fresh unit which has a greater degree of autonomy than the OV clauses in (64). The choice to use a 'cohesive' OV clause or an 'autonomous' Ex/PAR or SV construction is often rhetorical, i.e. a matter of 'stage management'. Examples such as (66) show that subject continuity

is not always a necessary condition for cohesive OV clauses. The writer of (66) used resumptive pronouns to give autonomy and hence prominence to each proposition.

Consider also Example (14), which also illustrates how Ex/PAR clauses may be exploited to give particular prominence to a statement. The subject is the same in each clause (viz. haymānūtā) yet the resumption of the fronted verb complements imparts autonomy and distinctness to each clause and so renders the antithetical opposition more effective.

Ex/PAR clauses are also employed in other contexts to give salience to a proposition, e.g.:-

- (67) wamehdā 'appis lekahnē watnā "At once he persuaded the priests,
qədāmayhōn haymānūtā wemašhū confessing (his) faith before
wa^c medū wamehdā dasleq men them, and they anointed him and
mayyā haw kettānā de^c al pagreh baptized him. As soon as he came
kerik wa 'ak^c eyadā dehatnē up from the water, the linen
ruhānē damšihā 'eṭhezi bekulleh garment which was wound about his
kad mazleg men kulhen penyāteh body, according to the custom of
sammā ihidayā dadmeh damšihā the spiritual brethren of Christ, -
berušmā daslibē there was seen in all of it,
shining from every part of it, the
singular colour of the blood of
Christ in the sign of crosses".
(Brock. Chr. 74/11-17).

Here the Ex clause expresses a miraculous event which is a high point in the narrative.

- (68) wəkad 'etā nadan ber lā bēt "And when Nadan, my son, came he
bakē^c ebad lī wapla me^c had did not make a funeral feast for
ahdan 'ellā kanneš leh našā me nor any remembrance at all; but
seriqē wəpahzē wasmek ennon he gathered vain and lewd folk and
al paturā dil bazmārā set them down at my table with
wabhadūtā rabbētā wal^c abday singing and with great joy; and my

(continued overpage)

(68) continued:-

wəlemāhāt habbībē mešallah	beloved servants and handmaidens
wā lehōn wannagged wā lehōn	he stripped and flogged without
delā hawsān	mercy". (Ahiq. 54/11-16).

The resumptive pronoun gives greater autonomy and so enhanced force and prominence to the description of the shameful treatment of the slaves and slavegirls by Nadan. This event is also highlighted by a shift from a punctual to a durative aspect.⁵

A generic statement which subsumes the content of a preceding or subsequent series of clauses is often expressed by an Ex/PAR clause. The intention is to give salience to the generic proposition since it conveys in concentrated form the essential import of the contiguous discourse, e.g. the first sentence in (64) above. Such generic Ex/PAR clauses are frequently found in expository discourse where they are employed to express major points or conclusions, e.g.:-

(69) hālēn kulhōn dakyūthōn hewāt	"All these - their purity was to
lehōn sawmā gemīrā	them a complete fast".
	(Aph. 45/17-18).

This clause serves as a general summary.

(70) wāk dabpəsīqātā 'imār kul	"In short I say: Every thing
meddem dərūhā hū wə ^c āl mā	which is of the spirit and the
kulleh dərūhānē haymānūtā	whole world of spiritual beings -
hāzyā leh wəhaymānūtā	faith sees it and faith perceives
margešā beh	it". (Phil. 35/3-5).

The generic statement expressed by the Ex clause subsumes the specific points which have been made in the preceding discourse. Note the introductory phrase 'āk dabpəsīqātā ("in short").

1.2 Span closure.

An Ex/PAR clause occasionally marks the closure of a discourse unit, e.g.:-

- (71) kad 'eggartā hādē temtē
lewātāk qūm tā lūra^c
lepāq^c at nešrīn dəyātba
betaymenā leyawm hamša
^cesrīn be'ab yarha wenā
a^{cc}elāk ləninwē dəlā qərābā
wəmal^ckūtā tehōd bāh
- "When this letter reaches you,
arise and come to meet me at
Eagles' dale, which lies to the
south, on the 25th day of the
month of Ab. I will bring you
into Nineveh without war and the
kingdom - you shall seize it".
(Ahiq. 49/10 - 50/1).

The Ex clause here coincides with the end of the letter.

- (72) 'emret hēbalek hekmat
dapkehek nadan ber wemellay
hakkimātā 'aštī ennēn
- "I said: Alas for you, my wisdom,
for my son Nadan has made you
insipid, and my wise sayings - he
has despised them". (Ahiq. 49/8-9).

The Ex clause marks the end of the speech.

- (73) dəmeddem dəlā methəzē nehzē
wəmeddem dəlā 'etīda^c nedda^c
wəmeddem dəla metrəgeš nargeš
wəmeddem dadlā sāk mab^cad
ləhānā hāzyā nehwē wəqarribā
- "For whatever is invisible it
(= faith) sees, and whatever is
not known it knows, and whatever
is not felt it feels, and whatever
is illimitably far off - this it
sees and draws near to it".
(Phil. 41/4-7).

The use of the resumptive ləhānā signals the end of the list.

The act of cutting off the water supply of Nisibis is a peak event in the narrative from which this extract is taken. This peak is also marked by the adverbial leharta (finally).

(76) hāyden 'etmēliw pīlē
wanhīrē wednē dērakšā
wadhaywātā herānyātā
dē^c amneh hānōn dēkad lā
'eškah lamqām lūqbal hayleh
damsām berēšā hānā passeq
pegūdayhōn wašdaw
lērakkābayhōn wēbalbelūy
lētēksehōn wašbaq lēmašrītā
wa^c raq tēkībā'īt

"Then the elephants were covered (with gnats) and also the nostrils and ears of the horses and of the other animals which were with him, which, when they could not tolerate the intensity of this torment, broke their bridles, unseated their riders, and confounded the order of their battle line; they left the camp and fled at a rapid pace".
(Brock. Chr. 26/23 - 27/3).

balbelūy lētēksehōn is perceived as the pivotal event in this episode. The two subsequent clauses (viz. wašbaq tēkībā'īt) constitute the post-peak 'denouement' segment of the episode, the major function of which is to take the actors off the stage.

(77) wēkad hēzaw dēstanna^c
ēlayhōn dēkad nātrīn
šabbētā (i) tūb naqrēbūn
cammehōn ahhēlūh
lēšabbētā (ii) wa^c bad
bah qerābā wazkaw
lab^c eldešābayhōn wēlā
'etrešīw dašraw šabbētā (iii)
wēlā hālēn balhūd šeraw
šabbētā (iv) 'ellā 'āp
kāhnē behaykēlā mahhēlīn
lāh lēšabbētā (v)

"When they saw that they were plotting against them to do battle with them while they were keeping the Sabbath, they profaned the Sabbath and engaged in battle during it; they were victorious over their enemies and were not reprimanded for profaning the Sabbath. Not only these men have profaned the Sabbath but also priests in the temple profane the Sabbath". (Aph. 242/14-18).

Nöldeke (Gram. para. 288B) cites this passage to illustrate the 'arbitrariness' of the occurrence of anticipatory pronouns.

It can be shown, however, that šabbetā (ii) and šabbetā (v), which are anticipated by agreement pronouns, occur in peak clauses. Both clauses are of high information value and express content which is central to the theme of the discourse, viz. 'the observance of the Sabbath'. By contrast, agreement pronouns are omitted before šabbetā (i), (iii), and (iv) since the clauses in which they occur are in the background of the discourse. Those containing šabbetā (iii) and šabbetā (iv) both express something which is already known from the prior context. Syntactically also they occupy non-prominent positions in the sentence; the former is an embedded clause and the latter is the first clause in the construction 'not only (lā balhūd) ... but also ('ellā 'āp)' - in such a configuration the main focus of attention is on the final clause. In fact in both cases the clauses play an essentially supportive role, constituting the background on to which new information is added. In a similar manner the clause containing šabbetā (i) has subordinate syntactic status. In kad-clauses, as in many other subordinate clauses, the speaker/writer does not make an assertion but rather presupposes that what he says is true.⁷ Consequently this too is a non-assertive, non-salient clause.

4.0 Other devices for marking boundaries and peaks in the discourse.

4.1 SV word order.

The use of SV order to mark a point of reorientation in the discourse is particularly clear in narrative. In this genre of text VS order tends to be used to continue spans on various dimensions of the discourse, especially topic or theme/episodic spans, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (78) | (1) weqām bassillīos | "Basil stood up and bowed his |
| | (2) warken rišeh qeḏāmaw | head before him and said to |
| | (3) wemar leh..... | him |
| | (4) wanpal qeḏāmaw 'āp hū | He (= Basil) also fell to the |

(continued overpage)

^cal 'ar^cā (5) haydēn
qām (6) wayab šelāmā
lahdādē (7) wemar leh
qaddīšā bassīllīos
..... (8) hū dēn tūbānā
mār 'aprem 'aggībeh
petgāmā (9) wemar leh
kulhēn dahmīlān way
belebbeh

ground before him. Then they
arose and wished each other
well. The holy Basil said to
him The blessed
Ephraem replied and communicated
to him all the things which were
pent up in his heart".
(Brock. Chr. 35/5-14).

The SV clause (8) coincides with a shift in topic (viz. Basil → Ephraem).

SV order is avoided in subordinate clauses. Consequently if a complex sentence with the clause order subordinate-main occurs at a span boundary it is rare for the initial subordinate clause to contain SV order. Instead the subordinate clause is usually inserted between an initial subject nominal and the rest of the sentence, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (79) | haw den mettul damrahēmānā
wa šelah lāhōn dāneppēqūn | "He, since he was compassionate,
allowed them to leave".
(Brock. Chr. 40/16-17). |
| (80) | hānon kad šema ^c 'etmelak
wemar leh ... | "They, when they heard, consulted
one another and said to him ...".
(Brock. Chr. 42/16). |

4.2 'Heavy' clauses.

The boundaries of a span of discourse may be indicated by clauses which are physically heavier than those in the interior of the span, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (81) | 'estūnā demart li 'iṭeh šattā
tāre ^c sar 'arzē tāre ^c sar yarhē
dešattā telātīn gīglē telātīn | "The pillar which you spoke of to
me is the year. The twelve cedars
are the twelve months of the year.
The thirty wheels are the thirty |
|------|---|--|

(81) continued:

yawmīn dayarhā tērēn hablē
had hewwārē wehad 'ukkāmā
'itayhōn 'imamā wəlīlyā

days of the month. The two
cables, one white and one black,
are the day and the night".

(Aḥiq. 64/13-16).

In this example the boundary clauses are given weight by the use of 'heavy' allomorphs of the verb 'to be' (= 'it + pronoun) in contrast to the 'light' allomorphs (= zero) in the rest of the sequence.

(82) bamnātā hēdā šāma^c wabhērētā
hāzē wabhērētā tā^c em
wabhērētā mēriḥ wabhērētā
margeš wabmenātā hērētā
methaššab

"With one part it hears, with
another it sees, with another
it tastes, with another it smells,
with another it feels, and with
another part it thinks".

(Phil. 33/22).

menātā is repeated to give ballast to the final clause of the span.

A climax which occurs within the body of the discourse may also be given particular force by expressing it in a long sentence, e.g.:-

(83) men bātar telātā yawmīn
hērānīn dašma^c wā weqabbel
sāhdūtā demalpānūtā
dekārozūteh men benay
tešmešteh qēdām hīrē kulhōn
nēpaq wā leh men 'ālmā hānā

"After another three days in
which he heard and received the
testimony of the teaching of his
preaching from his fellow
ministers before all the nobles
he departed from this world".

(Brock. Chr. 20/6-9).

This sentence, which relates the death of the protagonist in the narrative, is given weight by filling it out with construct chains and adverbial phrases.

4.3 (hə)wā

A span boundary or peak in narrative discourse is sometimes signalled by the use of the auxiliary (hə)wā with a perfect verb. In such constructions the auxiliary does not alter the time reference of the verb, e.g.:-

- (84) wahzā 'elpā də ālā ləmesrēn':
wīteb bāh wardā amhōn
bəyamma wə al wā ləmesrēn 1
lamdittā dəmetqaryā 'antīnū
bəyamma wə al wā ləmesrēn
lamdittā dəmetqaryā 'antīnū
- "He found a ship which was going to Egypt. He boarded it and sailed with them. He entered Egypt at a town called Antīnū (= Antinooupolis)".
(Brock. Chr. 32/11-13).

(ii) Peak:

- (85) wəkad al lətamman 'eškah
bāh teša 'erresīs wəbhayleh
dəmāran ləkulhēn šappel wā
- "When they entered that place they found in it nine heresies. With the strength of Our Lord he crushed them all".
(Brock. Chr. 37/24-25).

5.0 Copulas.

An enclitic subject resumptive pronoun in a verbless clause functions as a copula, e.g.:-

- (86) šemšā šerāgan-ū
"The sun is our lamp".
(Goldenberg 1983: p.103).
- (87) mettul dətaybut ammāk-ī
"Because my grace is with you".
(Goldenberg 1983: p.103).

- (88) dəyešū^c māran 'allāhā-w "that Jesus our Lord is a god,
bar 'allāhā the son of a god".
(Goldenberg 1983: p.103).

The enclitic resumptive pronoun in such constructions is distributionally equivalent to the verbal copula hewā, cf. kulleh pagrāk nahhīr-ū ... kulleh pagrāk heššōkā nehwe "Your whole body is light ... your whole body is darkness". (Matthew 6/22-23).

Occasionally it agrees with the predicate nominal instead of with the subject⁸ e.g.:-

- (89) deḥhaw dallāhā ruḥā-y "The sacrifices of God are a
makkīktā humble spirit". (Ps. 51/19).

The copula pronoun always follows the predicate whatever the status of the latter, cf. Examples (86) - (88) in which the predicate is a definite nominal, a prepositional phrase, and an indefinite nominal respectively.

The nexus between subject and predicate may also be expressed by it + enclitic resumptive pronoun, e.g.:-

- (90) kullaṅ ger itayn ḥad^c amma "For all of us are one renowned
məšammehā people".
(Goldenberg 1983: p.127).

For a detailed study of the means of expressing predication in verbless clauses see Goldenberg (1983); cf. also Muraoka (1975 and 1977).

6.0 Status of the extraposed or 'agreed with' nominal.

All extraposed or 'agreed with' nominals are in some way individuated.

6.1 Ex and PAR constructions.

6.11 Assumed familiarity.

6.111 Given in prior discourse, e.g. Example (69).

6.112 Sometimes the referent of the nominal has not been explicitly mentioned but is nevertheless inferable from the prior discourse, e.g.:-

- (91) lā wā ger 'abā dā'en lənāš "The Father judges no one, but
'ellā kulleh dīnā yahbeh labrā all judgment he has given to
dekulnāš nəyaqqar labrā 'āk the Son, that every man may
damyāqqar labā honour the Son, as he honours
the Father".
(John, 5/22-23).

Here the noun dīnā is inferable from the cognate participial form dā'en.

cf. also Example (67). The existence of the linen garment as an article of clothing of the individual concerned is assumed by the writer to be inferable from the previously mentioned fact that he has become a religious ascetic (74/1-3). In other words, this referent is a typical and predictable component of the situation which has been evoked in the immediately prior discourse.

6.113 Generic.

Generic nominals are frequently extraposed but rarely occur at the front of PAR constructions. e.g. Examples (5) - (10). Examples (5) - (8),

in which the initial nominal is a generic participial or relative phrase are semantically equivalent to conditional sentences. It is interesting to note that a variant text of (5) (= Phil. 32/20) reads kad instead of kul, which indicates that the generic phrase was felt to be a clause rather than a nominal.

6.12 Durability.

Extraposed nominals or nominals at the front of PAR constructions often dominate the immediately succeeding discourse, i.e. they are referred to in, or at least set the frame for, subsequently co-ordinated clauses. This applies particularly to Ex/PAR constructions which mark a shift in topic, durability being a characteristic feature of topics, cf. Examples (57) and (58). Example (61) illustrates a less explicit kind of dominance: the extraposed nominal 'orhay' sets the spatial frame for the subsequently mentioned events.⁹

6.13 Perceptual salience.

In texts which involve human participants (especially narratives) the extraposed nominals or the nominals at the front of PAR constructions frequently have human referents. For instance, in the narrative about the teaching of Adday in Brockelmann's chrestomathy (12-21) all such nominals refer to human beings.

The effect of extraposing a nomen rectum before its regens is generally to place a nominal referring to the whole of an entity before one referring to a part or appurtenance thereof. This is a further manifestation of the tendency for Ex constructions to open

with a perceptually salient referent where possible, since it is normal to perceive a whole object before its parts (cf. Van Dijk 1977: p.106-7), e.g. Examples (4) and (10). In these examples the regens and the rectum are equivalent in terms of assumed familiarity, and so this factor is not operative, viz. in (4) they are both given in the prior discourse and in (10) they are both generic.

6.2 PA constructions with anticipatory pronouns.

Nominals which are anticipated by an agreement pronoun are usually highly individuated. They generally have human referents or inanimate referents which are salient by virtue of having been referred to in the immediately preceding discourse. Anticipatory agreement pronouns are especially common with human proper nouns, which are particularly high in individuation.¹⁰ On the other hand they are systematically avoided with generics and reflexive verb complements,¹¹ which are both of relatively low individuation.

Examples:-

(i) Direct object.

Human:

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|--|
| (92) | həza'ū waw lamšīhā | "They saw the Messiah".
(Brock. Chr. 13/6). |
| (93) | dabreh wā ladday | "He led Adday".
(Brock. Chr. 16/5). |

Textually salient inanimates:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (94) | kaḏ qabbelāh wā yešū ^c
leggartā | "When Jesus received the letter".
(Brock. Chr. 14/20 ff. - 'eggartā
is referred to in line 6). |
|------|---|--|

- (95) weškəheh dəyāteb wəkāteb
pūšāqā dēseprā qadmāyā
dēmūšē kaḏ den
šakleleh ləseprā qadmāyā ...
- "He found him sitting writing
a commentary on the First Book
of Moses When he had
finished the first book ...".
(Brock. Chr. 29/22 ff.).

Sometimes a direct object with an anticipatory agreement pronoun refers back to the prior discourse in a broader sense, e.g.:-

- (96) kaḏ šəma^c wā 'abgar henēn
hālēn
- "When Abgar heard these things".
(Brock. Chr. 15/22 ff.).

(ii) Prepositional complement.

Human:

- (97) 'emar leh ləhannān
- "He said to Hannan".
(Brock. Chr. 14/21).

Textually salient inanimates:

- (98) beh bekarkā hānā
- "In this town".
(Brock. Chr. 20/12).

In a similar manner to Example (96) an anticipatory pronoun may be used with a nominal which refers back to the prior context in a broad sense. This is particularly common with temporal or locative adverbials, e.g.:-

- (99) beh behaw zabnā
- "At that time".
(Brock. Chr. 27/12).
- (100) wabhōn beyawmāteh
- "And in his days".
(Brock. Chr. 27/14).

(iii) Periphrastic genitive constructions.

Human:

- (101) mētīteh damšihā "The coming of the Messiah".
(Brock. Chr. 17/15).
- (102) mallepānūteh dadday "The teaching of Adday".
(Brock. Chr. 18/1).

Textually salient inanimates:

- (103) metā lenahrā 'aynā "He came to the river which is
demetqerē daysān he stood
qām ^c al septeh dēnahrā on the bank of the river".
(Brock. Chr. 28/12 ff.).

(iv) Independent anticipatory pronouns with subject nominals.

These are largely restricted to human proper nouns, cf. I B 1.5.

(v) An inanimate nominal may also take an anticipatory pronoun if it is made salient by being forcefully asserted in some way, e.g.:-

- (104) wamšanneqē bāh bemeltāk "You cure men suffering from
massē att the plague by your word alone".
(Brock. Chr. 14/12).
- (105) bāh bēša ^c tā dahzā wā 'abgar "At the very moment that Abgar
hezwā haw saw this vision".
(Brock. Chr. 16/9).

- (106) wabnā wā lešūrā ... wəkālē
wā wəmarheq laylēn
dometqarrēbīn waw leh wəhālēn
sā^car wā kad lā qereb leh
lešūrā 'ellā beh behaykēlā
'allāhāyā ləmārē kūl
metkaššap wā
- "He fortified the wall, checking
and repulsing those who
approached it. He did these
things without going near the
wall but he prayed to the Lord
of all in the divine temple".
(Brock. Chr. 26/9 ff. - con-
trastive, i.e. in the temple
not on the wall).

The majority of instances of anticipatory pronouns are motivated only by the salient individuated nature of the nominal and bear no relation to the status of the clause within the discourse. Examples such as (75), (76), and (77), which are used to mark a peak, are relatively rare.

F O O T N O T E S

1. The nucleus of a clause is the obligatory nexus of subject and predicate as opposed to extranuclear adjuncts such as sentence adverbials, cf. J. Lyons (1968: p.334). Whereas it is unusual for extraposed items to stand after nuclear constituents they are frequently preceded by adverbial adjuncts, cf. Example (3); further:- bašnay sarhaddōm 'abūk sebwātē dak hālēn 'ahīqar sāprā šārē wā lēhēn "In the time of Esarhaddon your father, such matters as these - Ahīqar the scribe would solve them". (Aḥiq. 56/5).
2. Constructions are attested in which wē connects a subject to its predicate, e.g. hadūtā wē erqat (Mart. I, 12/ult., ap. Nöldeke, Gram. para. 316).
3. It is attested for ^cal, lēwāt, sēd, men, ^cam, bātār, mettul, qēdām/quḏmay, hēdār, baynay, hēlāp, 'akwāt, tēhōt; cf. Nöldeke, Gram. para. 222.2a.
4. As in Biblical Aramaic, many instances of SV are functionally equivalent with Ex/PAR constructions; see below, II 4.1.
5. This method of marking a discourse peak is attested in many languages, cf. Longacre (1976: p.219). A further example of this phenomenon in Syriac is:- wēkad šarrī metqattēlīn māgūšā had nāpeq wā men medittā wē ^cabar wā burhā "And when they began to be put to death a magician came from the city and passed by on the road". (Mart. I, 94/14).

6. Note the presence of the clitic pronoun after the independent resumptive pronoun in Example (24). Such clitics may be used to give salience to clause constituents (both nominals and verbs), cf. Nöldeke, Gram. para. 221 and Khan (1984). They often, but not always, coincide with a focus of contrastive assertion, e.g. ləkōnū ihīb "to you it has been given (not to them). (Matthew, 13/11).
7. cf. Hooper and Thompson (1973) for the presuppositional nature of subordinate clauses.
8. cf. Chapter 1, Footnote 73.
9. The temporal frame is set by the initial sentence adverbial behaw zabnā.
10. See Introduction, p. 22.
11. For the avoidance of anticipatory pronouns with reflexive verb complements, cf. Nöldeke, Gram. para. 288B.

Chapter 4.

A K K A D I A N

I S T R U C T U R E

A EXTRAPOSITION

1.0 Extraposed constituent

1.1 Form of extraposed constituent:-

1.11 Pronoun, e.g.:-

- (1) šu-ú hur-ba-šú tāhāzī "He - the terror of my battle
eli-šú im-qut-ma fell upon him".
(Sen. III/55).

cf. Sarg. I/84; ARM II, 53, 20; IV, 70, 17; E.e. 1/120.

1.12 Full noun or nominal phrase.

1.121 Referring to a specific referent, e.g.:-

- (2) ilī-ia ana a-šar "My god - his face is turned
ša-nim-ma suh-hu-ru elsewhere". (STC 232/77).
pa-nu-šu

1.122 Generic, e.g.:-

- (3) ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭir "Whoever destroys (this)
šumī-ia ib-ba-tu ... memorial inscribed with my
ilāni rabūti ša šamê name ... may the great gods
u eršetim ag-giš of heaven and earth curse him
li-ru-ru-šu in wrath".
(Ash. VIII/91 ff.).

Extraposéd generic phrases are frequently found in:-

(i) Proverbial sayings, e.g.:-

- (4) gi-iš qar-ba-tim "The gorer who has trampled
ir-hi-su i-tar-šu down the fields - the arrow
mul-mul (of the hunter) will turn
against him". (BWL 74/60).

cf. BWL 74/63-64, 84/240, 104/129-130, 119/4, 277/13-14,
132/112-114, 134/124.

(ii) Edicts, e.g.

- (5) awīlu ak-ka-du-ú ù "An Akkadian man or an Amorite
awīlu a-mu-ur-ru-ú ša man who has borrowed grain,
še'am kaspam ù bi-ša-am silver, or goods for a purchase,
a-na ši-m(i)-im a-na for a trade journey, for a
harrānim a-na tappûtim partnership or for mutual
ù ta-ad-mi-iq-tim advantage - his tablet shall not
il-q(ú)-ú tup-pa-šu be broken. He shall repay (his
ú-ul ih-he-ep-pi a-na debt) according to his contract".
pi-i ri-ik-sa-ti-šu (Ammišad. para. 6/1).
i-na-ad-di-in

cf. Ammišad. para. 2/1. Also AASOR 16, 37, Text 51/2.

(iii) The Neo-Babylonian laws:-

In these laws the resumptive element is often a full nominal (cf. 5, 6, 10, 13, 15). Moreover there is sometimes a considerable amount of syntactic dislocation between the extraposéd phrase (which expresses the legal case) and the subsequent clause(s) (which express(es) the ruling), e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (6) amēlu šā a-me-lu-ut-ti "A man who has sold (female)
a-na kaspi id-di-nu-ma slaves and a claim has arisen
pa-qa-ru ina muh-hi in respect to (them) when they
ib-šu-ma ab-ka-ti have been taken away (by the
na-di-na-nu kaspu ki-i claimant) - the seller shall
pi-i ū-īl-tim i-na give (back) the money to the
qaqqadi-šu a-na purchaser in its full amount
ma-hi-ra-nu i-nam-din according to the bond".
(para. 6).

cf. para. 13, para. 15.

For extraposed generic nouns in šumma-clauses, see 6.0.

1.2 The extraposed item is sometimes preceded by an introductory particle:-

1.21 aššum:- This particle often introduces the topic of a letter after the opening formalities. In such cases the nominal phrase which expresses the topic generally stands in extraposition. However, it is frequently left without any explicit resumption within the subsequent clause. If it is resumed, the resumptive element is often a full nominal phrase (cf. 2.23), e.g.:-

- (7) aš-šum ^{lū}habbātīm šā "Concerning the 'robber' about
ta-aš-pur-ra-am whom you wrote to me - have the
^{lū}habbātām ka-ni-ka-tim 'robber' make out sealed documents
šu-^{lū}habbātām for me".
(Ab.B.IX, 46/7 ff.).

cf. Ab.B.IX, 3/5 ff.; 11/4; 25/5; 41/7; 49/4; 139/5; at the beginning of a new paragraph: 48/16; 41/17.

The extraposed nominal which is introduced by aššum at the beginning of a letter is sometimes connected to the subsequent clause by anumma (now), e.g.:-

- (8) aš-šum PN₁ ša it-ti "Concerning PN₁, who has made
PN₂ ... eqlam bi-it-qú- a claim against PN₂ for a field,
ru-nim ša aš-pu-ra-am about which I wrote (to you) -
a-nu-um-ma now
(Let.Ham. 4/4 ff.).

An extraposed nominal introduced by aššum is occasionally connected to the rest of the clause by umma, e.g. (9) below, which is from a prayer addressed to Ishtar by Ashurbanipal:-

- (9) aš-šu ^ITe-um-man šār "Concerning T., king of Elam
Elamti ša ... um-ma who ... - O thou heroine among
at-ti qa-rit-ti ilāni the gods, like a bundle rip him
kīma bilti ina qa-bal open in the midst of battle".
tam-ha-ri pu-ut-ti-ru- (Ash. V/41 ff.).
šu-ma

Such a usage of umma probably developed from constructions such as (10):-

- (10) aš-šum a-wa-a-tim ša "Concerning the case about which
um-mi PN in-hu-ru-ú-ka the mother of PN applied to you -
um-ma ši-i-ma she spoke thus".
(Ab.B. IX 49/4 ff.).

In (10) umma signals the onset of direct speech. However, it also coincides with the transition point between the extraposed nominal and the rest of the clause. On the basis of such a syntactic pattern (which is common in letters) umma may have been reinterpreted as having the function of a connective in addition to that of introducing direct speech.

1.22 ana:- Frequently in Omen texts, e.g.:-

- (11) áš-ti a-we-lim zi-ka-ra-am "The wife of the man will
ul-la-ad a-na mar-si-im give birth to a son; as for
i-ba-al-lu-uṭ the sick man, he will recover".
(LSS 1/1, 38, 4 - O.B.
leconomancy text).

cf. ib. 3, 41, 48, 50; Pettinato Ölwehr, I, 37; Labat TDP
6/7-12; 10/46, 47; 12/52; 14/63-77; 16/82, 83; Goetze JCS
11, p.96.

In Neo-Babylonian letters ana occasionally introduces the topic
of the letter, which stands in extraposition, e.g.:-

- (12) a-na qēmi šá bēlu "Concerning the flour about
iš-pu-ra 40 kurru qēmu which (my) lord wrote - I have
ina 42 šaq-qa-a-ta put 40 kur of flour in 42
at-ta-da ... sacks ...". (CT XXII 2/6 ff.).

When the nominal which is the complement of ana has the case
function of direct object within the clause, it is often
unclear whether the nominal is standing in extraposition or
whether ana is to be interpreted as an object marker, e.g.:-

- (13) a-na ^INi-ku-u ultu "As for N. amongst them - I
bi-ri-šú-nu re-e-mu took pity on him". (sic.
ar-ši-šú-ma Borger, BAL III/116) or:-
"N. amongst them I pitied".
(i.e. ana = object marker).
(Ash. II/8 - BAL II/83).
- (14) a-na ša-a-šu i-na "(As for) him with the point
zi-qi-it ma-al-ma-li of an arrow, I chased (him)
a-di ša-la-mu ^dSamši to the setting of the sun".
lu at-ta-ra-su (Altorient. Bib. Bd I, 118, 30).

- (15) šum-ma nap-ti-ri-ša "If she does not give you her
 la ta-ad-di-nak-kám-ma pledge, (as for) her, bring her
 a-na šá-šá-ma ter-ra-ši back; (as for) Dumuzi, the
 a-na ^dDumu-zi ha-mir consort of her youth, bathe with
 se-eh-ru-ti-ša mē pure water".
 el-lu-ti ra-am-mi-ik (Išt. 126 ff.).

Sometimes, however, ana in such constructions can only be interpreted as an object marker, e.g.:-

- (16) šum-ma i-na nāri "If he declines the (ordeal by)
 it-tu-ra ki-i mu-ut river, they shall treat him as
 aššas-su e-pu-šu-ú-ni the woman's husband has treated
 a-na šu-a-šu his wife". (KAV I, III, 10 ff.).
 e-ep-pu-ú-šu-uš

Here ana šuāšu occurs within the clause and so it is difficult to interpret it as standing in extraposition (contra GAG, para. 114e); in such a case it is better to take ana as an object marker (cf. Lewy, V.A.G. 80/11).

1.23 ina:- e.g.:-

- (17) i-na te-er-tim "As for the omen - the 'station'
 mazzāzum du-un-nu-un-ma was strengthened, but grew
 ik-ta-ri short". (Goetze, JCS 11, p.104).

1.24 ana/ina muhhi often introduces the topics of Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian letters, e.g.:-

- (18) i-na muhhi šá šarru "Concerning that which the king
 be-lí iš-pur-an-ni my lord has written saying: 'I
 ma-a PN us-sa-rik have provided PN to assist you.
 is-si-ka i-za-az Look upon this as a kindness'.
 ma-a ta-ab-ti a-mur - I regard it as a kindness".
 an-ni-tu ma-a ši-i (Waterman 6/Rev. 10 ff.).
 ta-ab-tu a-ta-mar

- (19) a-na mu^hhi u^ttati u
karāni ša a-na pa-ni
PN ša bēlu
iš-pur-ru-an-ni karānu
ina pa-na-tu-ū-a
ša-hi-it u u^ttatu
a-na kaspi nadnat
- "Concerning the barley and the
wine which is at the disposal of
PN about which (my) lord has
written to me - the wine was
pressed in my presence and
barley has been sold".
(CT XXII 38/7 ff.).

1.25 ša:- e.g.:-

- (20) ša a-na-ku ū-mi-ša
i-na mu-uh-hi-ia
ša-mu-ū i-za-nu-nu
- "As for me - the heavens rain
upon me every day".
(Ab.B. VI, 93, 22 ff.).

In Omen texts, e.g.:-

- (21) ša marsi itebbi
- "As for a man who is ill - he
will get up". (TDP 16/81).

cf. TDP 16/80.

Law texts:-

- (22) ša-a āli eqla ū
bēta i-laq-qi-ū-ni
ha-zi-a-nu 3 rabūtu
ša āli iz-za-zu
- "As for (another) city in
which possession of a field
and house is to be taken -
the mayor and 3 elders of the
city shall sit in session".
(MAL para. 6/33 ff.).

2.0 Resumptive element.

2.1 Grammatical relation of resumptive element.

2.11 Subject, e.g.:-

- (23) ũ ilū šá tāhāzi "And the gods of battle - they
ú-šá-'a-lu šu-nu sharpened their weapons".
kakke-šú-un (E.e. IV/92).

cf. CH XI/1 ff.; Ash. V/29 ff.; Esarh. III/20 ff.;
E.e. IV/8.

In Neo-Assyrian and Late Babylonian (Spätbabylonische) a resumptive subject pronoun in verbless clauses often serves as a copula. This is probably a calque on Aramaic usage (cf. GAG para. 126f, 127a), e.g.:-

- (24) abi-šu šá šarri "The father of the king my
be-li-ia sa-lam lord is the very image of
Bēl šú-u Bēl". (Waterman 6/Obv. 18).

2.12 Object, e.g.:-

- (25) šu-ú ^IHa-za-qi-a-ú "Hezekiah - the terror of my
pul-hi me-lam-me awesome Lordship overcame him".
be-lu-ti-ia (Sen. III/37 ff.).
is-hu-pu-šu-ma

cf. Sen. V/82 ff.; Ash. II/93 ff.

2.13 Complement of a preposition, e.g.:-

- (26) I^vSu-zu-bu l^uKal-dà-a-a ... "Š. the Chaldaean - about him
l^uA-ra-me hal-qu gathered the fugitive Aramaean,
mun-nab-tú a-mir da-me the runaway, the murderer (and)
hab-bi-lu se-ru-uš-šú the robber".
ip-hu-ru-ma (Sen. V/20 ff.).

Complement of preposition expression,¹ e.g.:-

- (27) ša-qu-te dIš-tar a-zi-iz "Exalted Ištar - I stood before
a-na tar-si-ša her". (Ash. V/26 ff.).

cf. Esarh. IV/59 ff.

2.14 Complement of a noun, e.g.:-

- (28) si-it-tu-te-šú-nu "The rest of them - I ordered
uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi their release".
(Sen. III/12 ff.).

cf. Ash. IV/54 ff., VIII/39 ff., VIII/68 ff., Esarh. II/65 ff.,
Esarh. IV/10 ff., Sen. III/18.

2.2 Form of resumptive element.

2.21 Clitic pronoun, e.g.:-

- (29) ù ilu šá lim-né-e-ti "The god who has espoused evil -
i-hu-zu tu-bu-uk pour out his life".
nap-šat-su

2.22 Independent pronoun, e.g.:-

- (30) PN₁ PN₂ ša-a-šu-nu "PN₁ and PN₂ I carried
a-di nišē-šu-nu sīsê them off to Assyria, together
ru-ku-bi-šu-nu alpī with their people, their riding
se-e-ni u-du-ri horses, cattle, flocks, (and)
šal-lat-sun ka-bit-tu Bactrian camels, their valuable
aš-lu-la ana qī-rib booty". (Esarh. IV/49 ff.).
kur_{Aššur}

cf. Esarh. III/20 ff.; Ash. v/29; E.e. IV/92.

2.23 Full noun or nominal phrase.

- (i) Resumptive nominal co-referential with
extraposed nominal, e.g.:-

- (31) ^IAn-da-ri-a qaqqad "A the head of A. they
^IAn-da-ri-e cut off".
ik-ki-su-nim-ma (Ash. IV/9 ff.).

cf. Ash. III/71 ff., IV/27, VI/70 ff.

After aššum: -

- (32) aš-šum bīt aš-lu-ka-ti "Concerning the storehouse of
ša aššat PN ša be-lī the wife of PN that my lord
iš-pur-ra-am bīt wrote about - she has roofed
aš-lu-ka-ta-am the storehouse".
ú-sa-al-li-il-ma (Ab.B IX, 82, 5 ff.).

cf. 1.31 above.

- (ii) Resumptive nominal stands in element-set
relation to extraposed nominal, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (33) šá ru-qat kim-ta-šú "He whose family is remote,
né-su-ú ālu-šú (ina) whose city is distant - the
šu-ru-bat sēri re-'-ú shepherd (amid) the terror of
i-mah-har-ka ka-par-ri the steppe confronts you, the
ina te-še-e na-qī-du herdsman in warfare, the keeper
ina nakri of sheep among enemies".
(BWL 134/135 ff.).

2.24 No explicit resumption.

- (i) When the extraposed referent has the case function of direct object within the clause. Constructions of this type are common in legal contracts, e.g.:-

- (34) giš^s ru-ug-bu-um itti "A loft A. has rented from I."
Ib-qá-tum^d Adad-i-šu ... (Old Babylonian, VAB v, 140/1-6).
... ú-še-si
- (35) lītu an-ni-tu i-da-an "This cow he shall give".
(Middle Assyrian, KAJ 95/9-10).
- (36) še'u an-ni-ú a-na "This corn he shall take as a
pu-he il-qe substitute". (ib. 91/12-13).

- (ii) In the later language, when the extraposed referent is the complement of a prepositional expression within the clause, e.g.:-

- (37) uru^B. uru^S. ... (+ 14 "B., S., the people
other cities) ... nišē captured by my bow, of mountain
hu-bu-ut giš^s qaštī-ia and sea, of the rising sun
ša šadê u tam-tim I caused to dwell therein".
si-it^d Samši ina (Esarh. III/1 ff.).
lib-bi u-še-šib-ma

This phenomenon is consonant with the fact that, in the later

language, third person pronominal suffixes were often omitted after prepositional expressions such as ina libbi, ina/ana muhhi, and ina bēri (cf. GAG para. 141 C and AHW a.1.).

(iii) When the extraposed item is a generic relative or participial phrase:-

Such constructions are found principally in laws, edicts, and proverbial sayings, e.g.:-

- (38) la ma-hîr ta-'-ti "As for him who declines a
sa-bi-tú a-bu-ti en-še present, but nevertheless takes
ta-a-bi eli ^dSamaš the part of the weak - it is
balāta ut-tar pleasing to Samaš, and he will
prolong his life".
(BWL 132/99 ff.).

cf. BWL 132/105 ff., 118 ff., 134/125.

Occasionally only a noun which is contained within the extraposed generic phrase is resumed, e.g.:-

- (39) s̄abīt na-we-e ša "The alewife of the land who pays
kaspan še' s̄abīm a-na silver (and) grain of the liquor
ekallim i-ša-aq-qá-lu vendor to the palace - since the
aš-šum šar-rum mi-ša-ra-am king has established justice in
a-na ma-tim iš-ku-nu a-na the land, the tax collector will
ribbātī-šu-nu ^{lú}mu-ša-ad- not demand the arrears thereof
di-nu ú-ul i-ša-ás-si (i.e. of the silver and grain)".
(Ammišad. para. 14/1).

cf. Neo-Bab. laws, para. 5.

(iv) Of a slightly different nature are cases in which an isolated noun serves as a rubric for a subsequent stretch of text, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (40) te-er-tum mazzāzam i-šu "Omen: it (the liver) had a
padānam i-šu ... 'station'; it had a 'path' ...".
(Goetze JCS 11, 96, 3 ff.).

cf. ib. pp. 98, 99, 100; Esarh. 4/46, 4/53-6.

In letters many of the extraposed nominals which stand at the head of the letter or at the beginning of a paragraph (usually introduced by a particle such as aššum, ina muhhi, etc.) and are not subsequently resumed also have the nature of 'rubrics', e.g.:-

- (41) aš-šum šābīm ša "Concerning the workmen about
ta-aš-pur-am u₄-um whom you wrote - on the day
tup-pa-ka a-mu-ru PN that I saw your tablet I made
as-mi-da-am-ma mu-ši-tam PN ready and he set out on the
a-la-kam i-te-ep-ša-am journey at night".
(Ab.B.IX, 78, 5 ff.).

cf. Ab.B.IX 78/11 ff.; 184/4 ff. See also 1.21 above.

3.0 Double extraposition, e.g.:-

- (42) PN₁ PN₂ mārē PN₃ ... "PN₁ and PN₂, sons of PN₃ ...
esmāte PN₃ ša ul-tu the bones of PN₃ which they
qī-rib kur_{Gam-bu-li} brought from Gambula to Assyria -
il-qu-u-ni a-na kur_{Aš-šur} these bones I had his sons crush
esmāte ša-a-te-na mi-ih-rit before the gate in the middle of
abulli qabal uru_{Ninua} Nineveh".
ú-šah-ši-la mare-šu (Ash. VI/93 ff.).
- (43) aš-šum PN₁ PN₂ ša "Concerning PN₁ - PN₂ who
eqlam ib-qú-ru-ú-šu claimed a field from him - how
ki-i qá-as-sú is his 'hand'?"
(Ab.B.IX, 199, 5 ff.).

4.0 Extraposed nominal stands before a conditional sentence, e.g.:-

- (44) še'-um ù sibas-sú ša "The barley and its interest,
a-di i-na-an-na i-pa-ri- which they still withhold from
ku-nu-in-ni la i-na-ad- me (and) do not give - if you
di-mu šum-ma še-a-am ù do not give the barley and its
si-ba-as-sú la ta-na-ad- interest, I will speak to my
di-na a-na be-lí-ia lord ...".
a-qâ-ab-bi-ma ... (Ab.B.IX, 19, 31 ff.).

cf. Ab.B.IX, 196, 3 ff.

5.0 When an infinitive is the complement of the preposition ina its subject often stands extraposed and is subsequently resumed by a pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (45) ka-al-ba-tum i-na "When the bitch searched for
šu-te-pu-ri-ša hu-up- fodder she gave birth to
pu-du-tim ú-li-id crippled pups".
(ARM I, 17, 42-43).
- (46) ^dIštar a-na bāb "When Ištar arrived at the door
KUR.NU.GI₄.A ina of the Underworld, she addressed
ka-šá-di-šá a-na the door-keeper".
lú_uatu ba-a-bi a-ma-tum (Išt. 12 ff.).
iz-zak-kar
- (47) Tiamat an-ni-ta i-na "When Tiamat heard this, she
še-me-e-ša i-zu-uz-ma became angry and cried to her
il-ta-si e-lu har-me-ša spouse". (E.e. 1/41).

Infinitival clauses with the pattern X_i annītu/a ina šemê-šu_i/ša_i (cf. (47)) are common in epic and myth texts, cf. E.e. 4/87; Išt. 100; Gilg. VIII V/43; Gilg. XI/271; SMT I/28, II/21; Irra I/167.

Constructions are attested in which an adverbial phrase which governs the infinitive stands before the extraposed subject nominal, e.g.:-

- (48) ina šat-ti DN bēlti "In the year in which DN, my
sir-ti a-na a-ki-ti exalted mistress, entered the
'E-ša-ku_g-me e-re-bi-šá akītu-house E."
(Royal Inscrip. BIN II 31,
14 ff., in Aro, Inf. p.243).

Also attested are blend constructions in which a clause initial subordinating conjunction occurs redundantly, e.g.:-

- (49) e-nu-ma at-ta ina "When you blow, the banks
za-qi-i-ka i-sa-bu-'a (of the world) surge".
kib-ra-a-ti (Afo XVII 358, D 13).

According to the data presented by Aro (Inf.), the extraposition of the subject of an infinitive is restricted to infinitive constructions with ina. Note, however, that a subject which precedes an infinitive with ina is not always resumed by a suffix pronoun, e.g.:-

- (50) PN i-na a-la-ki-im "When PN comes ...".
(YOS II, 72, 9 ff.).

6.0 Extraposition in šumma clause, e.g.:-

- (51) šum-ma at-ta-ma a-na "If you come up (literally: if
Bābili^{ki} ina you ... your coming up will be)
ba-la-ti-im e-lu-ú-ka to Babylon in good health, (then)
i-ba-aš-ši-i ar-hi-iš make haste (and) come up here
ud-di-dam a-li-a-am-ma quickly". (Ab.B.IX, 175/21 ff.).

6.1 Extraposition is very common in the šumma clauses of omens:-

6.11 Extispicy:

- (52) šum-ma mar-tum i-ši-is-sà "If the gall-bladder - its
ši-ra-a-am ka-ti-im bottom is covered with flesh ...".
(YOS 10, 31, iv, 25-27).
- (53) šum-ma mar-tum pu-da-ša₄ "If the gall-bladder - its
tu-ku-pa-a shoulders are speckled ...".
(YOS 10, 31, ix, 7-9).

6.12 Medical Omens (enūma ana bīt marši
āšipu illiku):-

- (54) šumma marsu ēn "If the patient - his right eye
imittī-šu ikkal-šū gives him pain ...". (TDP p.44/A).
- (55) šumma marsu kišās-su "If the patient - his neck turns
ana imitti issanahhur incessantly to the right ...".
(ib. p.80/1).

6.13 Teratomancy (šumma izbu):-

- (56) šumma iz-bu ina "If an anomaly - an egg is
lib-bi-šū pī-lu-um within it ...".
(Leichty VI, 41).
- (57) šumma iz-bu issū-šu "If an anomaly - its lower
šaplû iš-tu mišli jaw is split in half ...".
ka-as-sa (ib. VII, 47').

6.14 Leconomancy:-

- (58) šumma šamnum li-ib-ba-šu "If the oil - its middle stays
e-li-ma at the top ...".
(Pettinato ["]Olwahr. I, 39).
- (59) šumma šamnum i-mi-it-tam "If the oil - to the right and
ù šumēlam qa-ar-na-šu to the left its 'horns' are
ha-as-ra broken off ...". (ib. I, 16).

6.2 Extraposition is also frequent in the šumma clauses of Medical texts. The format of Medical texts is generally similar to that of Omen texts; the ailment is described in a protasis clause and the prescribed treatment is expressed in the subsequent apodosis, e.g.:-

- (60) šumma amīlu libbī-šu "If a man - his entrails
ka-si-šu seize him ...". (Kuchler, 6/10).
- (61) šumma amīlu libbī-šu "If a man - his entrails
maris are ill ...". (ib. 14/1).

6.3 Extraposition is also found in the šumma clauses of Laws, e.g.:-

- (62) šum-ma a-wi-lum "If a man - a debt has come
hu-bu-ul-lum e-li-šu upon him ...". (CH XIII/71 ff.).

(63) šum-ma s̄ab̄itum
s̄a-ar-ru-tum i-na
b̄it̄i-ša it-tat-ka-
s̄u-ma

"If an alewife - felons have
gathered in her house".
(CH XXV/26 ff.).

cf. CH X/30 ff.

Sub-law:-

(64) šum-ma a-wi-lum šu-ú
ši-bu-šu la qer-bu

"If that man - his witnesses
are not present ...".
(CH VIII/14 ff.).

B. Pronominal Agreement.

With the exception of genitive agreement (see below) most agreement pronouns are pronominal suffixes on verbs. Also, since the dominant word order in Akkadian is verb final, agreement pronouns are more commonly resumptive than anticipatory.

1.0 Resumptive.

1.1 Accusative object + accusative pronominal suffix.

(65) da-a-a-nam šu-a-ti i-na "They shall convict that judge
di-in i-di-nu e-ne-em of changing the judgment he has
ú-ka-an-nu-šu-ma made". (CH VI/14 ff.).

(66) s̄ab̄itam šu-a-ti "They shall convict that alewife".
ú-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (CH XXV/22 ff.).

cf. CH V/46 ff.; XXV/43 ff.; XXVI/6 ff.; XXVI/54 ff.

(67) awīlam ša-a-ti "Release that man".
wa-aš-še-ra-aš-šu (ARM I, 78/11 ff.).

cf. ARM I, 134/12.

(68) s̄u-ha-ra-am šu-a-ti "They will search for that
i-sa-ḥu-ru-ni-iš-šu-ma employee". (Ab.B.IX, 18/5 ff.).

Independent pronoun:-

(69) ša-a-šu a-di s̄ab̄ē "I caused him to go up into it
giš₃qaštī-šu ina lib-bi (= the city) together with his
u-še-li-šu-ma bowmen". (Esarh. III/82).

- (70) áš-riš DN DN₂ ka-a-ta "I shall send you to DN and
lu-uš-pur-ka DN₂". (E.e. III/4).
- (71) i-a-ti ina GN e-zi-ba-ni "He left me in GN".
(TCL 20 105/11).

In all these examples the 'agreed-with' nominal is distinctly marked for accusative case, either by inflection or by morphological form. Moreover, the nominal is spelled out syllabically or if it is written logographically it is accompanied by a modifier written syllabically which explicitly indicates its case (cf. (66)). However, it is often impossible to determine whether a nominal which is resumed by an object suffix stands within the case frame of the verb (i.e. in the accusative) or whether it is in extraposition. This applies to:

- (i) Nominals which are written logographically and are not accompanied by a syllabically written modifier which is inflected for case, e.g.:-

- (72) re'útum/im (SIPAD.MES) ša "The herdsmen who have held
i-na la-bi-ri-iš eqlī fields for a long time you
sa-ab-tu i-na eqlī-šu-nu shall not oust from their
la tu-na-aš-ša-šu-nu-ti fields". (Ab.B.IX,195/12 ff.).

- (ii) Proper names, which are generally either without inflection or else use the nominative ending for all cases (cf. GAG, para. 63 ff.), e.g.:-

- (73) ^IBêl-iqīša ... hat-tu "Bêl-iqīša - fear for himself
ra-ma-ni-šu im-has-su-ma smote (him)". (Esarh. III/71 ff.).

- (iii) The later language in which the case morpheme -u is used for both the nominative and the accusative (cf. Deller 1965:40).

However, if such a nominal, the case function of which is not indicated by its written form, does not occur at the front of

the clause, it is very unlikely that it is outside the case frame of the verb, e.g.:-

- (74) a-nu-um-ma a-na se-ri-ka "Now I have despatched to you
^{Id} Samaš-ḥa-zi-ir ^v Samaš-ḥāzir, Sin-mālik, and
^{Id} Sin-ma-lik ū Bītum-ra-bi Bītum-rabi".
 ... at-ta-ar-da-ku-šu-nu-ti (Ab.B.IX 9/10 ff.).

1.2 ana X + accusative pronoun.

In such constructions the preposition ana serves as an object marker, e.g.:-

- (75) a-na-ku a-na DN₁ DN₂ "I addressed (in prayer) DN₁
 DN₃ DN₄ DN₅ DN₆ DN₇ DN₂ DN₃ DN₄ DN₅ DN₆ DN₇
 DN₈ ilāni ti-ik-li-ia DN₈, the gods in whom I trust,
 a-na ka-šá-di lú_{nakri} in order to conquer the mighty
 dan-ni am-hur-šú-nu-ti-ma foe". (Sen. V/62 ff.).

In many instances of constructions of this type, however, it is unclear whether the ana is an object marker, or whether it is an introductory particle (see p.259 above).

1.3 ana X + dative pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (76) i-nu Anum ... ^dEllil ... "When Anum ... (and) Ellil ...
 a-na ^dMarduk mārīm allotted the divine lordship
 re-eš-ti-im ša ^dEa of the multitude of the people
^dEllilu-ut kiššat to Marduk the first-born son
 ni-ši i-ši-mu-šum of Ea ...". (CH I/1 ff.).

- (77) a-na ša tup-pī
ub-la-ak-ki-im amtam
id-ni-iš-šum "Give the slave girl to the
one who has brought you my
letter". (Ab.B.I, 51/15 ff.).
- (78) a-na PN awīl Eš-nun-na^{ki}
ša iš-tu GN illikam "I spoke to PN the Eshmunaeen,
ki-a-am aq-bi-šum who had come from GN, in the
following terms ...".
(ARM II, 128/17 ff.).
- (79) ana Ti-amat el-li-tam-ma
i-zak-kar-ši "He said to Tiamat in a loud
voice ...". (E.e. I/36).²

Independent pronoun:-

- (80) a-na ka-a-šum
a-na-ad-di-na-ak-kum "Shall I give (the slave girl)
to you?" (Ab.B.I, 51/35 ff.).
- (81) a-na ka-šum-ma ša
aq-bu-ku la ta-ma-ši "What I say to you do not
forget". (Ab.B.I, 94/5 ff.).

1.4 ana sēri X + dative pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (82) a-na se-ri-ka a-tà-ar-
ra-da-ak-ku-úš-šu-ma "I shall send him to you".
(ARM I, 62/15).

1.5 ina qabli X + pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (83) giš^{sikkāt} mē ina
qablī-ša lu-u am-has-si "I drove into it (the ship)
water plugs".
(Gilg. XI/63).

1.6 ina bēri X + pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (84) anumma ^dSamšu šarru "Now thus has the Sun God, the
rabû ri-kîl-ta i-na Great King, established a
be-ri mārī ^{uru}U-ra regulation between the merchants
awīlī tamkārī ù i-na of Ur and the people of Ugarit".
be-ri mārī ^{kur}U-ga-ri-it (Gordon 1963: p.81).
a-kán-na ir-ku-us-šu-nu-ti

1.7 eli X + pronominal suffix, e.g.:-

- (85) eli ka-a-šû-nu "Upon you he will rain down
ú-šá-az-na-nak-ku-nu-ši plenty". (Gilg. XI/43).
nu-uh-šam-ma

1.8 eli X + šēruššu, e.g.:-

- (86) e-li PN sīsê rabûti "Upon PN I imposed annual
ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma tribute of great horses".
ú-kin šēru-uš-šu (Ash. II/80 ff.).³

cf. Ash. BAL I/57 ff.

Whereas a nominal which is in extraposition generally stands at the front of the clause, a nominal which is resumed by an agreement pronoun has greater freedom of position, cf. (76). Further examples of 'agreed with' nominals in non-initial position:-

- (87) be-el ši-bu-ul-tim "The owner of the consignment
a-wi-lam šu-a-ti i-na shall convict that man of not
mi-im-ma ša šu-bu-lu-ma having delivered what was
la id-di-nu ú-ka-an-(nu)- consigned to him".
šu-ma (CH XXV/64 ff.).

cf. CH XXVIII/54 ff.

- (88) eqlam ki-ma eqlim "Give PN a field for (that)
a-na PN a-me-er-ta-šu field of his choosing".
id-na-šum (Ab.B.IX, 195/38 ff.).

1.9 Genitive agreement.

The term 'genitive agreement' refers to constructions in which a nomen rectum is marked for genitive relation and co-occurs with a co-referential genitive suffix pronoun on the nomen regens. In this section we are concerned only with cases in which the genitive agreement pronoun is resumptive, i.e. the sequence of the two components of the genitive construction is rectum-regens:-

(i) Nomen rectum marked by ša, e.g.:-

- (89) ša PN ... áš-ta-kan "I established the defeat of
dabdâ-šu PN". (Sen. I/20 ff.).
- (90) ša PN ... suh-hur-ta-šu "The routing of PN ...".
(Sarg. I/56).
- (91) ša PN ... ma-da-ta-šú "The tribute of PN ...".
(Sarg. I/38).
- (92) ša PN₁ ... ša PN₂ PN₃ "The heads of PN₁, PN₂, PN₃,
PN₄ qaqqadē-šu-nu and PN₄ they cut off".
ik-ki-su-nim-ma (Ash. VII/32 ff.).

(ii) Nomen rectum is a pronoun.

(a) Pronoun attached to attu-, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (93) at-tu-ni a-šá-ba-ni "What are our dwellings (i.e.
mi-i-nu what will become of us)?"
(BAL I/122).

(b) Independent oblique pronoun, e.g.:-

- (94) ka-tu qibīt-ka la "Your word shall not be
in-nin-na-a changed". (E.e. I/158).

cf. E.e. II/44.

- (95) ša la ip-tal-la-hu "... who did not fear my
abbē-ia ù ia-a-ši la ancestors and did not catch
iṣ-ba-tu šēpā hold of my royal feet".
šarru-ti-ia (Ash. II/99).⁴
- (96) i-a-ti i-na a-lá-ki-a "When I come ...".
(TCL XIX 49, 25 ff.).

The sequence rectum_i - regens + pro_i often forms a tightly knit unit which is treated as a cohesive nominal phrase and moved about the clause without separating its components, e.g.:-

- (97) dal-hu-nim-ma šá "They disturbed the inner parts
Ti-amat ka-ras-sa of Tiamat". (E.e. I/23).
- (98) la ni-i-đu ni-i-ni "We do not understand the
šá Ti-amat e-piš-taš action of Tiamat". (E.e. IV/129).
- (100) im-šu-úh-ma be-lum šá "Bēl measured the dimensions of
apsî bi-nu-tuš-šu the Apsû". (E.e. IV/143).

2.0 Anticipatory.

2.1 Apart from genitive agreement, anticipatory agreement pronouns are largely restricted to cases in which the verb complement is an independent pronoun, e.g.:-

- (101) ũ-ša-an-na-a ia-a-ti "He recounted to me".
(Ash. V/52).
- (102) u-ma-'i-ru-in-ni ia-a-ši "They gave me command".
(Esarh. II/29).
- (103) u-rab-bu-ka ka-a-ša "They will make you great".
(Gilg. VIII i/5).

An exception to this general rule is constituted by the epic formula which is used to introduce direct speech:
ana šâšu-ma i(z)zak(k)aram ana X (Gilgameš), or
ana šâšu-ma ana X izzakar-šu (Etana Myth),⁵ e.g.:-

- (104) ^IUt-napištim ana šâ-šu-ma "Utnapištim says to him - to
izakkara a-na ^dGilgameš Gilgameš ...". (Gilg. XI/8).

2.2 A genitive suffix pronoun not infrequently anticipates a subsequent nomen rectum which is preceded by ša, e.g.:-

- (105) a-ha-ti-šu ša a-wi-lim "The sister of the honourable
PN šakkanakkim PN, the governor".
(Ab.B.IX 38/14 ff.).
- (106) i-na zi-kir-šu rabi-i "By the mighty word of Aššur".
šâ ^dA-šur (Sarg. I/68).
- (107) si-it-ti ahhe-šu ša PN "The remaining brothers of PN".
(Ash. VI/90)
- (108) a-na ma-hi-ra-ti-šu-nu "Up to the value of his money
ša kaspi-šu ũ si-ib-ti-šu and the interest thereon".
(CH XIV/60 ff.).

II F U N C T I O N

In general terms no distinction can be discerned between the function of extrapositional clauses and that of pronominal agreement constructions which have the 'agreed-with' noun in clause-initial position.⁶ Consequently, in most of the ensuing discussion (Sections 1.0 - 8.0), these two constructions are treated together as variants of the same basic phenomenon. However, occasionally, PA constructions do have a status which is distinct from that of Ex clauses. This applies especially to pronominal agreement with a nominal which occurs within the body of the clause (cf. Examples (76), (87), (88)). Such constructions merit independent treatment and are dealt with in Section 9.0.

1.0 Marking boundaries of discourse spans.

1.1 Span Onset.

1.11 Topic Spans.

Ex and PA constructions often signal the onset of a topic span. The new topic is announced at the front of the construction either in extraposition or within the case frame of the clause with subsequent resumption by an agreement pronoun.

1.111 Historical texts.

In historical texts an Ex/PA construction often marks the shift to a different primary topic. Consider the following passage:-

(overpage)

(109)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>62. aš-lul ^{kur}Bit-^IDak-ku-ri
ša qī-rib ^{kur}Kal-di
a-a-ab Bābili^{ki}</p> | <p>62. I despoiled Bit-Dakkuri
which is in Kaldi, the
foe of Babylon,</p> |
| <p>63. ak-mu ^{Id}Ša-maš-ib-ni
šarri-šu is-hap-pu
hab-bi-lum</p> | <p>63. I captured Šamaš-ibni,
its king, a corrupt
scoundrel,</p> |
| <p>64. la pa-li-ḥu zik-ri bēl
bēlē ša eqlē mārē
Bāb-ilāni</p> | <p>64. without fear of the
command of the lord of
lords, who the fields of
the children of Babylon</p> |
| <p>65. u Bar-sab^{ki} ina
pa-rik-te it-ba-lu-u-ma</p> | <p>65. and Borsippa by force
seized and</p> |
| <p>66. u-tir-ru ra-ma-nu-uš
aš-šu ana-ku pu-luh-ti
^dBēl u ^dNabû</p> | <p>66. took to himself: (but)
because I know</p> |
| <p>67. i-du-u eqlē ša-ti-na
u-tir-ma</p> | <p>67. the fear of Bēl and Nabû,
those fields I again</p> |
| <p>68. pa-an mārē Bābili^{ki} u
Bar-sab^{ki} u-šad-gil</p> | <p>68. entrusted to the children
of Babylon and Borsippa</p> |
| <p>69. ^{Id}Nabu-šal-lim mār
^IBa-la-si</p> | <p>69. Nabu-šallim, son of
Balasi,</p> |
| <p>70. ina ^{giš}kussî-šu u-še-
šib-ma i-ša-ta ap-ša-
a-ni</p> | <p>70. on his throne I seated,
and he bore my yoke.</p> |
| <p>71. ^IBēl-iqīša mār ^IBu-na-ni
^{lu}Gam-bu-la-a-a</p> | <p>71. Bēl-iqīša, the son of
Bunanu, of the Gambulaî,</p> |
| <p>72. ša ina 12 bēre
qaq-qa-ru ina mē</p> | <p>72. whose abode was situated
amid twelve double-hours</p> |

(continued overpage)

(109) continued:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 73. u buginni šit-ku-nu
šu-ub-tu | 73. of land in the water
and reeds, |
| 74. ina qi-bit ^d Aššur
bēlī-ia hat-tu ra-ma-
ni-šu im-has-su-ma | 74. by the command of Ashur,
my lord, fear smote him
and |
| 75. ki-i te-me-šu-ma
bil-tu u man-da-at-tu | 75. of his own accord (as)
tribute and tax |
| 76. gu-mah-hi šuk-lu-lu-ti
sa-ma-da-ni ^{imer} parê
pesûti | 76. great bulls, entire, a
yoke of white mules |
| 77. ul-tu ^{kur} E-lam-ti
il-qa-am-ma a-na
Ninua ^{ki} | 77. from Elam brought and
to Nineveh |
| 78. a-di mah-ri-ia il-lik-
am-ma u-na-aš-šiq
šepā-ia | 78. to my presence came and
kissed my feet.
(Esarh. III/62-78). |

At Line 71 Bēl-iqīša replaces the first person referent (= Esarhaddon) as the primary topic of the discourse.

A shift in the primary topic usually coincides with a reorientation on the spatio-temporal axis of the discourse. In the passage under consideration, for example Lines 72-3 (ša ina 12 bēre qaqqaru ... šitkunu šubtu) alludes to a change of location. Consequently, Line 71 (Ex clause) coincides with the boundary of at least two identifiable discourse 'spans'. This may be represented graphically as follows:-

(overpage)

topic; consider the following passage:-

(111)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 27. ša-a-šu kīma
issur̄ qu-up-pi | 27. Himself (i.e.
Hezekiah), like a
caged bird |
| 28. qī-rib ^{uru} Ur-sa-li-im-mu
āl šarru-ti-šu | 28. I shut up in Jerusalem
his royal city. |
| 29. e-sir-šu ^{uru} halsī
elī-šu ū-rak-kis-ma | 29. Siegeworks I threw up
against him, |
| 30. a-se-e abul ālī-šu
ū-tir-ra ik-ki-bu-uš
ālānī-šu | 30. The exit from the gate
of his city I turned
into a horror for him. |
| 31. šá áš-lu-la ul-tu
qī-rib māti-šu
ab-tuq-ma | 31. The cities of his, which
I had despoiled, I cut
off from his land and |
| 32. a-na ^I Mi-ti-in-ti šar
^{uru} As-du-di | 32. to Mitinti, king of
Ashdod, |
| 33. ^I Pa-di-i šar ^{uru} Am-qar-
ru-na ū ^I Šilli-bēl | 33. Padi, king of Ekron, and
Šilli-bēl |
| 34. šar ^{uru} Ha-zi-ti
ad-din-ma ū-sa-ah-hir
mās-su | 34. king of Gaza, I gave. And
(thus) I diminished his
land. |
| 35. e-li bilti mah-ri-ti
na-dan šat-ti-šu-un | 35. I added to the former
tribute, |
| 36. man-da-at-tu kât-re-e
be-lu-ti-ia ū-rad-di-ma | 36. and laid upon him an
annual impost - a gift
for my majesty. |
| 37. ū-kin se-ru-uš-šu
^I Ha-za-qi-a-u | 37. Hezekiah - |

(continued overpage)

(111) continued:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>38. pul-hi me-lam-me be-lu-
ti-ia is-hu-pu-šú-ma</p> | <p>38. the terrifying splendour
of my majesty overcame
him, and</p> |
| <p>39. ^{lu}Ur-bi ù ^{lu}sābī-šú
damqūti ša a-na
dun-nun</p> | <p>39. the Urbi and his select
troops which he had
brought in to strengthen</p> |
| <p>40. ^{uru}Ur-sa-li-im-mu āl
šarru-ti-šu ú-še-ri-bu-ma</p> | <p>40. Jerusalem, his royal city</p> |
| <p>41. ir-šú-ú baṭ-la-a-ti
it-ti 30 bilat hurāsi</p> | <p>41. deserted him (lit. took
leave). In addition to
the 30 talents of gold and</p> |
| <p>42. 800 bilat kaspi
ni-siq-ti gu-uh-li</p> | <p>42. 800 talents of silver,
choice antimony,</p> |
| <p>43. ták-kàs-si ^{na}4AN.GUG.ME
rabūte gišeršī šinni</p> | <p>43. large blocks of AN.GUG.ME
stone, couches of ivory,</p> |
| <p>44. giškussī né-me-di
šinni mašak pīri
šin pīri</p> | <p>44. sedan-chairs of ivory,
elephant hide, ivory
(literally: elephant's
'teeth')</p> |
| <p>45. gišušī gištaskarinni
mimma šum-šu ni-sir-tu
ka-bit-tu</p> | <p>45. ebony, boxwood (?), all
kinds of valuable (heavy)
treasures,</p> |
| <p>46. ù mārātī-šu
MI. UKU.MES.É.GAL-šu
^{lu}nārī</p> | <p>46. as well as his daughters,
his harem, his male and
female</p> |
| <p>47. nārāti a-na qī-rib
Ninua^{ki} āl be-lu-ti-ia</p> | <p>47. musicians, he had brought
after me</p> |

(continued overpage)

(111) continued:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 48. arkī-ia ū-še-bi-lam-ma
a-na na-dan man-da-
at-te | 48. to Nineveh, my royal city.
to pay tribute |
| 49. ū e-peš ardu-ū-ti
iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šu | 49. and to accept (literally:
do) servitude, he
despatched his messengers.
(Sen. III/27-49). |

Down to Line 37 of this passage the primary topic is the first person referent (= Sennacherib), which occupies the subject slot. Hezekiah, on the other hand, is referred to frequently but in non-subject position, and so in relation to the first person referent this referent has a subordinate topic status. The Ex clause in Line 37 ff. establishes Hezekiah as the major topic; this is shown by the fact that he is the agent of the verbs in Lines 48 and 49. Note that arkī-ia (Line 48) indicates that there is also a spatio-temporal shift.

An Ex/PA clause may introduce a new secondary topic; consider the following passage:-

(112)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 40. nišī ^{kur} _{Bīt-Ia-kin₇}
a-di ilānī-šū-nu ū
nišī | 40. The people of Bīt-Yakin,
together with their gods,
and the people |
| 41. šá šar ^{kur} _{Elamti^{ki}}
áš-lu-lam-ma la
e-zi-ba | 41. of the king of Elam, I
carried off - I did not
allow |
| 42. mul-tah-tu qī-rib
giš ^u _{eleppēti} ū-šar-
kib-ma | 42. anyone to escape. I had
them embarked in vessels, |

(continued overpage)

(112) continued:

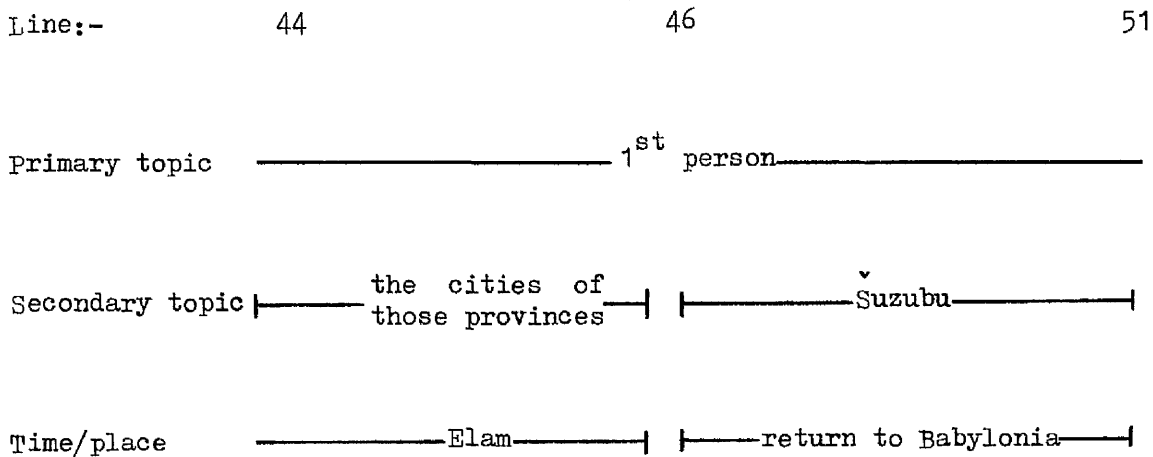
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>43. a-na a-ha-an-na-a
 ū-še-bi-ra-ma ū-ša-
 as-bi-ta</p> | <p>43. brought over to this
 side, and started on
 the way</p> |
| <p>44. har-ra-an kur^{ki}_{Aššur}
 ālāni šá qī-rib
 na-ge-e</p> | <p>44. to Assyria. The cities
 which were in those</p> |
| <p>45. ša-tu-nu ap-pul aq-qur
 i-na^d Gira aq-mu a-na
 tilli ū kar-me</p> | <p>45. provinces I destroyed,
 I devastated, I burned
 with fire. To tells and
 ruins</p> |
| <p>46. ū-tir i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia
 I^v_{Su-zu-bu}</p> | <p>46. I turned (them). On my
 return, Shuzubu,</p> |
| <p>47. mār Bābili^{ki} ša i-na
 e-ši-ti ma-a-te be-lu-tu</p> | <p>47. the Babylonian, who during
 an uprising in the land</p> |
| <p>48. kur^v_{Sumeri} u Akkadī^{ki}
 ra-ma-nu-uš ū-tir-ru</p> | <p>48. had turned to himself the
 rule of Sumer and Akkad,</p> |
| <p>49. i-na tāhāz šēri dabdâ-šu
 aš-kun bal-tu-su i-na
 qātī</p> | <p>49. I accomplished his defeat
 in a battle of the plain
 (open battle).</p> |
| <p>50. aš-bat-su šum-man-nu
 ū bi-re-tu parzilli
 ad-di-šu-ma</p> | <p>50. I seized him alive with
 my (own) hands, I threw
 him into bonds and fetters
 of iron and</p> |
| <p>51. a-na kur^{ki}_{Aš-šur}
 ū-ra-āš-šu</p> | <p>51. brought him to Assyria.

 (Sen. IV/40-51).</p> |

In the discourse before and after Line 46 the first person referent (= Sennacherib) is the primary topic (note that it is mentioned frequently and in subject/agent position). However, the referent

^v
 Suzubu, which is introduced in the Ex sentence in Line 46, is also mentioned frequently between Lines 46 and 51 and so partakes of a certain topic status. In relation to the first person referent it has the status of a subordinate or secondary topic. Line 46 also coincides with the beginning of a new spatio-temporal span (cf. *ina tayyartī-ia*). Figure 2 illustrates this analysis of the passage in graphic form:-

Fig. 2



Earlier in this passage other secondary topic spans may be identified, e.g.: Lines 40-44 (nišī Bīt-Iakin adi ilānī-šunu), Lines 44-46 (ālāni ša ...). Note that after the initial identification of these items they are subsequently referred to only implicitly (= zero anaphora) and not by pronouns. The important point is that the onset of these spans is not marked by an Ex/PA construction. The apparent explanation is that in each case the onset of these secondary topic spans does not coincide with a significant spatio-temporal reorientation, viz:-

Fig. 3 (overpage)

(113) lú¹ sēkirū ša a-na
ši-ip-ri-im e-pe-ši-im
is-hu-ni-ik-ku mi-im-ma
ku-dur-ra-am la tu-še-
ep-pī-is-sú-nu-ti šu-pu-
šu-um-ma li-še-pī-šu u
i-na ša lú¹ mu-še-
pī-ši-šu-nu u-šu-uh-šu-
nu-ti

"The dam builders who have refused to do the work for you - do not make them do any forced labour. They are to do the work but keep them away from the of their supervisors".
(King, LIH, 147/4-12).

(114) tup-pī an-ni-a-am i-na
a-ma-ri-im PN₁ rakbu
PN₂ PN₃ PN₄ aḫū-šu
PN₅ mār PN₆ PN₇ mār
PN₈ u PN₉ a-na
Bābili^{ki} tū-ur-da-aš-šu-
nu-ti it-ti-ia li-in-
nam-ru u i-na tā-ra-di-ka
mi-it-ha-ri-iš la ta-tar-
ra-da-aš-šu-nu-ti a-me-lam
a-na ra-ma-ni-šu tū-ur-dam

"When you see this tablet, PN₁ the courier, PN₂, PN₃, PN₄, his brother, PN₅ son of PN₆, PN₇ son of PN₈, and PN₉ - send them to Babylon, let them be seen in my presence. When you send them do not send them together, send (each) man separately".
(ib. 70/4 - 71/19).

Ex/PA clauses are also used to focus attention on a new topic which is introduced within the body of the letter, e.g.:-

(115) ù a-nu-um-ma I¹na-bi-i-
lī-šu a-na la-a ši-na-ti
pa-nu-šu ša-ak-nu-ú
I¹a-pil-Sîn a-wi-lam e-da-
ma-am i-na bi-it^d en-lil
i-na-as-sà-ah šum-ma
kīn qī-bi-šum-ma ta-az-
zi-im-tam la-a i-sà-ah-
hu-ur ù k-ma a-pil-Sîn^d
nu-ú-um ú-ul ti-de-e a-na
an-ni-tim a-ah-ka la-a
ta-na-an-di

"And now Nabi-ilišu - his intentions are prone to unseemly things in that he wants to oust the honourable Apil-Sîn from the temple of Enlil. If this is correct, tell him that he must not seek out complaints. But do you not know that Apil-Sîn is ours? Do not be negligent about this!" (Ab.B.IX 1/27-36).

The spans of topics which are introduced in this way are often quite short. One subsequent mention in subject/agent position is sometimes sufficient to endow the referent with topic status, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(116) ^{lú}kal-lum ša a-wa-tim
i-na pi-i-im i-sa-ba-tu
wu-e-ra-aš-šu a-na se-
ri-ia tú-ur-da-aš-šu-ú-ma
a-wa-tim ši-na-ti ma-ah-
ri-ia li-iš-ku-un</p> | <p>"An officer who is articulate -
give him instructions and send
him to me in order that he
might report these matters to
me".
(ARM I, 76/27).</p> |
|---|---|

It was stated in I A 1.21 that a referent which is the main object of concern of a letter or of a segment of a letter often stands in extraposition preceded by an introductory word or phrase such as aššum or ina/ana muhhi. Although these referents are intuitively topics, they are rather anomalous in that they do not usually possess the features characteristic of topics. Sometimes, after their initial identification, they are not subsequently referred to in the text. In such cases they have the status of rubrics (see I A 2.24 (iv)). If they are subsequently mentioned, they are often referred to by full nouns rather than by pronouns, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(117) a-na
qí-bí-ma um-ma
lu-mur-ša-^dmarduk-ma
^dSamaš li-ba-al-li-it-
ku-nu-ti aš-šum še-e-im
ša ša-má-lah^{ki}₄ a-di
iš-tu i-na-an-na U₄.2.
KAM ^{giš}eleppum i-sa-an-
ni-qá-am a-na še-e-im
šu-a-ti la te-e-gi-a
pí-ha-at še-e-im
šu-a-ti e-li-ku-nu-ú
ú ki-ma aq-bu-ku-nu-ši-im
a-wi-le-e e-es-ha-a-nim</p> | <p>"Speak to
Thus says Lūmur-sā-Marduk.
May Samaš keep you in good
health! Concerning the
barley of Ša-malāhi, the
boat will arrive within two
days from now. Do not be
careless about the barley;
the responsibility for that
barley is on you. And, as
I have told you, assign me
(the) men!
(Ab.B.IX, 3).</p> |
|---|--|

For a possible explanation of this latter feature, see p. 315 ff.

1.12 Other types of span.

An Ex/PA clause is sometimes used when the topic of the immediately preceding discourse is continued. In such cases the Ex/PA construction signals a reorientation on some other axis of the discourse.

1.121 Shift in level of description.

Consider the following passage:-

(118)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 52. i-na
me-ti-iq gir-ri-ia | 52. In the course
of my campaign |
| 53. šá I ^v Sú-zu-bi lú ^u Kal-
dâ-ai a-šib qí-rib
id ^d a-gam-me | 53. I accomplished the over-
throw of Shuzubu the
Chaldean, who dwelt in
the midst of the swamps, |
| 54. i-na uru ^u Bi-it-tu-ú-tu
âš-ta-kan dabdâ-šú | 54. at Bitûtu. |
| 55. šú-ú hur-ba-šú
tāhāzī-ia elī-šú
im-qut-ma | 55. He - the terror of my
battle fell upon him, and |
| 56. it-ru-ku lib-bu-šu
ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš
ip-par-šid-ma | 56. his heart pounded; like a
marsh cat he fled alone,
and |
| 57. ul in-na-mir
a-šar-šu | 57. his place was seen no
more. |

(Sen. III/52-57).

Here Lines 53-54 and 55-57 both refer to the same basic event, viz. the defeat of Shuzubu. The segment 53-54 is a general description whereas Lines 55-57 relate the event in more specific detail. The

Ex clause in Line 55 therefore coincides with the onset of a span of a different level of description.

1.222 Shift in illocutionary force.

An Ex/PA clause sometimes coincides with a significant shift in illocutionary force. Consider the following passage:-

(119)

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. a-na ^d Sin-i-din-nam | "Say to Sin-idinnam, thus |
| 2. qī-bi-ma | says Hammurapi: I am |
| 3. um-ma Ḥa-am-mu-ra-pi-ma | writing concerning Ibni- |
| 4. aš-šum Ib-ni- ^d Mar-tu akil | Martu, overseer of the |
| nuhatimmī | bakers of Emutbalum, who |
| 5. ša E-mu-ut-ba-lum | has given me a report |
| 6. ša aš-šum 4 nuhatimmī | about four bakers. You |
| u-lam-mi-da-an-ni | have said: 'He assigned |
| 7. aš-pur-ak-ku-ma | to me these four bakers |
| 8. um-ma at-ta-a-ma | according to the authority |
| 9. 4 nuhatimmī šu-nu-ti | of his seal and I have |
| 10. i-na pi-i ka-an-ki-šu | sent Gimillum from among |
| u-ša-aš-ti-ra-an-ni | them to my lord". Thus |
| 11. u i-na li-bi-šu-nu | you have written. |
| 12. ^I Gi-mil-lum | Gimillum, whom you sent - |
| 13. a-na ma-har be-li-ia- | they have brought him |
| at-tar-dam | into my presence. |
| 14. ša ta-aš-pur-am | I have examined his case. |
| 15. ^I Gi-mil-lum ša ta-at-ru- | This Gimillum must remain |
| da-aš-šu | a baker (literally: his |
| 16. a-na ma-ah-ri-ia u-še- | duration is (the position of) |
| ri-bu-ni-iš-šu | a baker). |
| 17. a-wa-ti-šu a-mu-ur-ma | |
| 18. ^I Gi-mil-lum šu-u du- | (King, LIH 1/1 - 2/18). |
| ur-šu nuhatimmum | |

The Ex clause in Line 18 marks the transition from statement to command. On the other hand the Ex clause in Line 15 coincides with a shift from report or quotation to statement, cf. ARM V, 7:- the Ex clause in Line 11 coincides with a shift from statement to question; ARM I, 134/12:- statement to command; ARM IV, 1/23:- statement to command; ARM IV, 70/20:- statement to wish.

In letters, a shift from statement to command, wish, or question generally corresponds to the boundary between introductory exposition and the main 'point' or peak of the communication.

1.123 Shift in theme.

Sometimes an Ex/PA clause occurs when there is a significant shift in the theme of the discourse, although the topic is continued. Consider the following passage:-

(120)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>79. ultu ^{uru}Pa-an-zi-iš
at-tu-muš ^{id}Iš-tar-a-
ú-ra-a nár-tum e-te-bir
a-na ^{kur}A-ú-ka-ni-e
na-gi-i šá ^{kur}Zi-kir-te
aq-ti-rib</p> | <p>79. I left Panziš. I
crossed the River
Ištaraurâ and approached
Aukanê, province of
Zikartu.</p> |
| <p>80. ^IMe-ta-at-ta-ti ^{kur}Zi-
kir-ta-a-a šá ni-ir
is-lu-ma še-tu-tu ^IUl-
lu-su-nu šarri be-li-šu
il-qu-ú i-mi-šú ardús-sú</p> | <p>80. Mettati, the Zikirtean,
who had thrown off the
yoke (of Aššur), who
had shown contempt
towards Ullusunu the king
his lord and disdained
his service,</p> |
| <p>81. a-na ^IUr-sa-a ^{kur}Ur-ar-
ta-a-a šá ki-i ša-šú-ma
ta-šim-tu la i-du-ú ni-
ra-ri la e-tir napišti-šu
it-ta-kil-ma</p> | <p>81. put his trust in Ursâ
the Urartean, who, like
him, knew no rule - an
ally incapable of saving
him.</p> |

(120) continued:

82. eli ^{kur'}U-aš-di-rik-ka 82. He fearfully climbed up
šadi-i mar-ši pal-hiš Uašdirikka, a steep
e-li-ma ma-lak gir-ri- mountain. He saw the
ia a-na ru-ge-e-te approach of my force from
it-tul-ma ir-ru-tu a distance and his skin
šire-šu trembled.
83. kul-lat nišē māti-šu 83. He gathered together all
ú-pah-hir-ma a-na the people of his land.
šade-e ru-qu-ú-te He forced them to climb
nam-ra-ši-iš ú-še-li-ma distant mountains and
la in-na-mir a-šar- they were never seen again.
šú-un
84. ù šú-ú ^{uru}Pa-ar-da 84. He - parda his royal city
ā^l šarrū-ti-šu pa-mu- did not have any value in
uš-šú la i-qir-ma his eyes. He abandoned
bu-še-e ekallī-šu the possessions of his
e-zib-ma ú-si ka-ma- palace and left for the
ti-iš open country.

(Sarg. I/79 ff.).

In Line 84 Mettati remains the topic constituent. The three clauses in Line 84, however, clearly cohere together in a semantic unit distinct from that which is formed by the clauses in Line 83. The content which they express belongs to a different semantic domain, i.e. Line 84 coincides with the onset of a new theme span. It is this reorientation on the thematic axis which motivates the occurrence of the Ex clause.

1.124 Change in grounding.

An Ex/PA construction may signal a shift in grounding, e.g.:-

(overpage)

(121)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 64. ina ūmē-šu-ma
ekal ma-šār-ti ša
qī-rib Ninua | 64. At that time the storehouse-
palace which is in Nineveh, |
| 65. ša ^{Id} Sîn-ahhē-
irība šār ^{Kur} aš-
šur ^{ki} àb-abi
bānī-ia | 65. which Sennacherib, king of
Assyria, father of the
father who begat me, |
| 66. e-pu-šu la-ba-riš
il-lik-am-ma tim-me-
en-šu ir-bu-ub-ma | 66. had erected, had grown old
and its base had become
shaky, so that |
| 67. i-qu-pa igārātē-šu | 67. its wall were about to
collapse. |
| 68. ekal ma-šār-ti
šu-a-tu ša la-ba-
riš il-la-ku | 68. That storehouse-palace
which had grown old, |
| 69. e-na-hu uššī-šu
mi-qit-ta-šu ad-qī | 69. whose foundation was
delapidated - I cleared
away its ruined parts, |
| 70. ak-šu-da a-sur-
ru-šu ultu uššī-šu | 70. I found its retaining walls.
From its foundation |
| 71. a-di gaba-dib-be-e-šu
ar-sip ū-šak-lil | 71. to its cornice I built it
completely. |

(Ash VIII/64-71).

The segment from Line 68 onwards narrates the major event of this passage (= foreground). Lines 64-67 are preparatory to this event, explaining why Ashurbanipal performed the act of rebuilding, i.e. it is background information. The Ex clause in Line 68, therefore, coincides with a shift from background to foreground. The topic (i.e. ekal mašarti) is continued throughout.

1.13 Ex/PA clause acting as a 'bridge'.

Sometimes a referent which has topic status within the immediately preceding discourse is mentioned at the front of an Ex/PA clause at the beginning of a new episode, but then is removed from the scene. The function of this construction is to form a linkage or 'bridge' between two episodes. The fronted referent often 'ushers in' a new topic constituent which is in some way related to it, e.g.:-

(122)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 6. I _{Ha} -za-il šar lú _A -ri-bi
it-ti ta-mar-ti-šu
ka-bit-tu | 6. Hazail, king of the
Arabians, with his
costly gift |
| 7. a-na Ninua ^{ki} āl
be-lu-ti-ia | 7. to Nineveh, the city
of my lordship, |
| 8. il-lik-am-ma u-na-aš-
ši-iq šepā-ia | 8. came and kissed my feet. |
| 9. aš-šu na-dan ilānī-šu
u-sal-la-an-ni-ma re-
e-mu ar-ši-šu-ma | 9. For the return of his
gods he implored me and
I showed him favour and |
| 10. ^d A-tar-sa-ma-a-a-in
^d Da-a-a ^d Nu-ha-a-a | 10. the gods Atarsamâin, Daf,
Nuhâi |
| 11. ^d Ru-ul-da-a-a-u
^d A-bi-ri-il-lu | 11. Ruldafu, Abirillu, |
| 12. ^d A-tar-qu-ru-ma-a
ilāni ša lú _A -ri-bi | 12. Atarqurumâ, the gods of
the Arabians, |
| 13. an-hu-su-mu ud-diš-ma
da-na-an ^d Aššur
bēlī-ia | 13. their ruin I restored
and the might of Ashur,
my lord, |

(continued overpage)

(122) continued:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 14. u ši-tir šumī-ia
eli-šu-nu aš-tur-ma
u-tir-ma ad-din-šu | 14. and the writing of my name
upon them I wrote and gave
them back to him. |
| 15. Ta-bu-u-a tar-bit
ekal abī-ia a-na
šarru-u-ti | 15. The lady Tabûa, reared in
my father's palace, to the
royalty |
| 16. eli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma
it-ti ilānī-ša a-na
mātī-ša u-tir-ši | 16. over them I appointed and
with her gods restored her
to her country. |
| 17. 65 ^{imer} gammalē
10 mūrē eli ma-da-ti | 17. Sixty-five camels, ten foals,
above the former tribute |
| 18. mah-ri-ti u-rad-di-ma
u-kin se-ru-uš-šu | 18. I assessed additionally
upon him: |
| 19. ^I Ha-za-il šim-tu
u-bil-šu-ma ^I Ia-ta-'
mārī-šu | 19. Hazail (then) met his fate
(literally: his fate carried
him off), and I sat Iata',
his son, |
| 20. ina ^{giš} kussī-šu
u-še-šib-ma 10 ma-na
hurāsī 1,000 abnē
bi-ru-ti | 20. on his throne and ten mana
of gold, a thousand
biruti-stones, |
| 21. 50 ^{imer} gammalē 100
kun-zi riqqe | 21. fifty camels, a hundred
boxes of gums, |
| 22. eli man-da-at-ti
abī-šu u-rad-di-ma
e-mid-sú | 22. more than the tribute of
his father I assessed
additionally upon him. |

(Esarh. IV/6-22).

The extraposed nominal in Line 19, Hazail, has topic status in the prior discourse. The Ex clause removes him from the scene and attention is subsequently switched to his son Iata'.

1.14 Functional equivalence of SXV order and Ex/PA.
Clauses opening with a subject nominal which has topic status sometimes mark reorientations in the discourse in the same way as Ex/PA constructions, e.g.:-

(123)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 19. ka-ra-ši ú-ša-ás-kin-ma
a-na-ku i-na ^{giš} kussê
né-me-di | 19. I had my camp pitched,
and I, on a sedan-chair, |
| 20. it-ti ^{lú} sābī ta-ha-
zi-ia ^{gīt} ma-lu-ti | 20. together with my seasoned
warriors, |
| 21. i-na ne-re-bi-šu-un
pi-qu-ti ^{šú} nu-hi-iš | 21. made my wearisome way
through their narrow
passes |
| 22. e-ru-um-ma mar-si-iš
e-te-el-la-a ^{ubānāt}
šadî | 22. and with great difficulty
climbed to the highest
peak of the mountains |
| 23. pa-áš-qa-a-te šu-ú
^I Ma-ni-ia-e tur-bu-u' | 23. Maniae saw the clouds
of dust raised by the
feet of my armies, |
| 24. šēpī ummānātī-ia
e-mur-ma ^{uru} Uk-ku āl
šarru-ti-šú | 24. abandoned Ukku, his
royal city, |
| 25. e-zib-ma a-na ru-qé-
e-ti in-na-bit | 25. and fled to distant parts. |

(Sen. IV/19-25).

The SOV clause in Lines 23-24 coincides with a shift to a new topic (viz. Maniae).

1.2 Closure.

Sometimes an Ex/PA clause signals the closure of a distinct segment of discourse, e.g.:-

(124)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| 47. | ak-bu-us ki-ša-di nišē
kur _u Ĥi-lak-ki | 47. | I trampled on the necks
of the people of Cilicia |
| 48. | kur _u Du-u-a a-ši-bu-te
hur-ša-a-ni pa-aš-qu-
u-ti | 48. | (and) Dġa, dwelling in
difficult mountains, |
| 49. | ša te-ĥi kur _u Ta-ba-la
kur _u Ĥat-te-e lim-nu-u-ti | 49. | over against Tabala,
wicked Hittites, |
| 50. | ša eli šadānī-šu-nu
dan-nu-u-ti tak-lu-u-ma | 50. | who trusted to their
strong hills, and |
| 51. | ul-tu ūme pa-ni la
kit-nu-šu a-na ni-i-ri | 51. | from days of old were
not submissive to my
yoke; |
| 52. | 21 ālānī-šu-nu dan-
nu-ti u ālāni seĥrūti
ša li-me-ti-šu-nu | 52. | their twenty-one strong
cities, and small villages
near them, |
| 53. | al-me akšud aš-lu-la
šal-lat-sun ap-pul
aq-qur ina ^d Gira aq-mu | 53. | I besieged, captured,
(and) carried off their
spoil, I pulled down, I
destroyed, I burnt with
fire. |
| 54. | si-it-tu-te-šu-nu ša
ĥi-iṭ-ṭu u gul-lul-tu
la i-šu-u | 54. | The remainder of them who
had no sin nor crime, |
| 55. | kab-tu ni-ir be-lu-ti-
ia e-mid-su-nu-u-ti | 55. | the heavy yoke of my rule
I laid upon them. |

(Esarh. III/47-55).

On the prism a line is drawn after the Ex clause in Lines 54-55.
This confirms that the scribe felt that there was some form of
boundary in the discourse.

(125)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 71. ^I Tam-ma-ri-tu a-na
e-peš ardu-ti-ia ra-
man-šu im-nu-ma | 71. Tamaritu counted himself
to the number of my
servants and |
| 72. ana kat-a-ri-šu ú-
sal-la-a bêlu-u-ti | 72. besought my lordship to
deal kindly with him. |
| 73. šu-ut ana bêl šu-ut-
rešî-ia Ašur ^d Sîn
^d Samaš ^d Bêl ^d Nabû | 73. Himself Ashur, Sîn, Šamaš,
Bêl, Nabû, |
| 74. ilāni tik-li-ia
ana pāna-a-a ri-bi-ia
i-ri-bu-u-ni | 74. the gods, my strength, to
the master of my officers
..... before me. |
| 75. ^I Tam-ma-ri-tu nišē
ma-la it-ti-šu | 75. Tamaritu (and) the people,
as many as (were) with
him - |
| 76. qī-rib ekallī-ia ul-zi-
is-su-nu-ti | 76. I stationed them in my
palace. |

(Ash. VII/71-76).

The Ex clause here marks the end of the episode about Tamaritu.

(126)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 59. ^I Bêl-iqîša
lú kur _{gam-bu-la-a-a} | 59. Bêliqîša, the Gambulean, |
| 60. ša is-lu-u ^{giš} nîr
bêlu-u-ti-ia | 60. who cast off the yoke of
my dominion, |
| 61. ina ni-sik humšîri
iš-ta-kan na-piš-tu | 61. lost his life through the
bite of a boar |

(126) continued:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 62. ^{Id} Nabû-šuma-ēreš
^{lu} gû-en-na la na-sir
a-de-e | 62. Nabûšumereš the guenna who
did not keep his oath - |
| 63. iš-ši a-ga-là-til-
la-a mē malûti | 63. dropsy carried off. |
| 64. ^{Id} Marduk-šuma-ibni
^{lu} šu-ut-rešī-šu mu-
šad-bi-ib-šu | 64. Mardukšumibni, his officer,
who had misled him, |
| 65. ša lemuttu ū-šak-
pi-du a-na
^I Ur-ta-ki | 65. who had brought evil upon
Urtaku - |
| 66. e-me-e-su ^d Marduk
šār ilāni še-er-
ta-šu rabîtu | 66. Marduk, king of the gods,
laid a heavy penalty upon
him. |

(Ash. IV/59-66).

In this passage the Ex clause signals the end of a section which enumerates the fate of three of Ashurbanipal's minor opponents.

- | | |
|--|---|
| (127) ^s ābīm a-hi-a-tim ša
i-ba-aš-šu-ú li-il-
qû-ú-ma awīlī GN ū-ul
a-na-di-iš-šu-mu-ti | "Let them take the various
workmen that are, but I will
not give the men of GN".
(Ab.B.IX, 92/20 ff.). |
|--|---|

The Ex clause in Example (127) also coincides with the end of a piece of direct speech.

Sometimes both the onset and the closure of a discourse segment are marked by an Ex/PA clause. Such a construction has the form of an inclusio, e.g.: (overpage)

(128) a-na A-pil-^dSamaš
 utullim BUR...IKU
 eqlum li-ib-bu eqel
 Si-iš-ša wakil amurrîm
 a-na eqel kurummu-ti-šu
 ka-ni-kum ik-ka-ni-ik-ma
 in-na-di-iš-šum eqlam
 šu-a-ti a-na A-pil-
^dSamaš la ta-na-ad-di-na
 a-na mārî ši-iš-ši-ma
 te-er-ra-šu a-na pî
 ka-ni-ki-im šà A-pil-
^dSamaš utullim ũ-ka-al-
 la-mu-ku-nu-ti eqlam
 ki-ma eqlim a-na A-pil-
^dSamaš a-me-er-ta-šu
 id-na-šum

"... bur of field in the field
 of Sišša, the general, has been
 given with a sealed document
 to Apil-Samaš, the chief herds-
 man, as his subsistence field.
 You shall not give that field to
 Apil-Samaš; return it to the
 sons of Sišša. Give Apil-Samaš
 a field for (that) field, of his
 choosing, according to the
 wording of the sealed document
 that Apil-Samaš, the chief herds-
 man, will show you.
 (Ab.B.IX, 195/29-39).

1.3 Other devices for marking boundaries of discourse
 segments.

1.31 Reidentification of referent.

When the same topic referent is continued but
 there is some kind of reorientation on another
 axis, in addition to the occurrence of an Ex/PA
 clause the topic referent is often reidentified,
 i.e. it is referred to by a full nominal even if
 the use of a pronoun would not have been
 ambiguous, e.g.:-

(129)

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|--|
| 5. | aš-šum sehertim ša
é-kál-lim | Concerning the young girl
of the palace |
| 6. | ša i-na še-eh-tim | who was abducted |
| 7. | il-qú-ši | in a raid, |

(continued overpage)

(129) continued:

8. ta-aš-pu-ra-am you have written to me
9. um-ma-a-mi it-ti the following: "She is
10. ^ITappi-Il i-ba-aš-ši with Tappî-Il".
11. seh_uhertum ši-i iš-tu This young girl - from
a-ia-nu-um where
12. il-qû-ši ma-an-nu-um was she taken (literally:
from where did they take her),
who
13. il-qé-ši ù ma-an-nu-um took her, and who
14. an-ni-iš ub-la-aš-šu(!) brought her here?

(ARM V 7/5-14).

The Ex clause in Line 11 ff. coincides with a shift in illocutionary force from statement to question.

cf. also Ash. VIII/68 (= Example (121)); Esarh. IV/19 (= Example (122)).

A full nominal is sometimes used to resume a long extraposed phrase for the sake of clarity (cf. I A 2.23 (i)), e.g.:-

(130)

71. ^{uru}Bi-ir-ru-u-a 71. Birrûa, ^vSarru-iqbi,
^{uru}Sarru-iq-bi
72. ^{uru}Gu-su-ni-e ālāni 72. Gusunê, former cities
mah-ru-u-te
73. ša mi-sir ^{kur}Aš- 73. of the Assyrian frontier,
šur^{ki}

(130) continued:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 74. ša ina tir-si
šarrāni abbē-ia | 74. which in the time of my
royal ancestors |
| 75. e-ki-mu kur ^{kur} man-na-
a-a | 75. Mannayya had seized - |
| 76. da-ād-me ša-a-tu-nu
ak-šu-ud | 76. these settlements I
conquered, |
| 77. kur ^{kur} man-na-a-a ul-tu
lîb-bi as-suh | 77. drove the Mannean out
of them.
(Ash. III/71-77). |

(131)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 27. lû ^{Elama} ki-a-a ša te-
bu-us-su it-ti lîb-bi-
ia la da-ab-ba-ku | 27. The Elamite, an attack by
whom I had never considered
with my heart, |
| 28. la ha-as-sa-ku si-
lit-su I ^{Bêl} iqîša
kur ^{kur} Gam-bu-la-a-a | 28. of whose enmity I had not
even thought - Bêliqîša,
the Gambulean, |
| 29. Id ^{Id} Nabû-šuma-ēreš
lû ^{lû} gû-en-na ardāni
da-gil pa-ni-ia | 29. Nabûšumereš, the guenna,
servants subject to me, |
| 30. Id ^{Id} Marduk-šuma-ibni
lû ^{lû} šu-ut-reši ša
I ^I Ur-ta-ki ša | 30. Mardukšumibni, a general
of Urtaku who |
| 31. it-ti-šu-nu iš-ku-nu
pi-i-šu a-na mit-
hu-si māt Sumeri ^{ki}
u Akkadī ^{ki} | 31. had made common cause with
them, to war with the land
of the Sumerian and the
Akkadian |
| 32. ina pi-ir-sa-a-te
id-ku-u-ni I ^I Ur-ta-ki
šār kur ^{kur} elamti ^{ki} | 32. they incited Urtaku, king
of Elam, with lies.
(Ash. IV/27-32). |

These long and bulky Ex sentences are sometimes used as boundary markers for a discourse segment. Consider the following example:-

(132)

VI

- | | |
|--|---|
| 70. I ^v Suma-a-a mār Id ^d Nabû-
sa-lim mār-mār Id ^d Mar-
duk-apla-iddin | 70. Sumayya, the son of
Nabûsalim, the grandson
of Merodachbaladan, |
| 71. ša la-pa-an àb-abi
ba-ni-ia | 71. whose father before (the
time of) the father of the
father who begat me |
| 72. abu-šu in-nab-tu a-na
kur _{Elamti} ki | 72. had fled to Elam - |
| 73. ul-tu I ^l Um-man-i-gaš
qī-rib kur _{Elamti} ki áš-
ku-nu a-na šarru-u-ti | 73. after I had established
Ummanigaš as king in
Elam, |
| 74. I ^v Suma-a-a mār Id ^d Nabû-
sa-lim | 74. he took Sumayya, the son
of Nabûsalim, |
| 75. is-bat ú-še-bi-la a-di
mah-ri-ia | 75. sent him into my presence. |
| 76. I ^l Du-na-nu I ^l Sa-am-gu-nu | 76. Dunanu (and) Samgunu, |
| 77. mārē Id ^d Bēliqīša
kur _{Gam-bu-la-a-a} | 77. sons of Bēliqīša the
Gambulean, |
| 78. ša abbē-šu-un a-na
šarrāni abbē-ia | 78. whose forefathers had
made trouble for my
royal ancestors, |
| 79. ú-dal-li-bu-ma ù
šu-nu | 79. and who themselves |

(continued overpage)

(132) VI continued:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 80. ú-nar-ri-ta e-peš
šarru-ti-ia | 80. had made difficult the
exercise of my sovereignty |
| 81. qí-rib Ašur ^{ki} ù
uru _{Arba-ilu} ^{ki} | 81. to Ashur and Arbela
(respectively) |
| 82. a-na da-lál ah-ra-
a-te ú-bil-šu-nu-ti | 82. I brought them for future
obedience. |
| 83. ša I ^I Man-nu-ki-ahhē
lú _{šanû} I ^I Du-na-nu | 83. The tongues of Manmukiahhē
the lieutenant of Dunanu, |
| 84. ù I ^d Nabû-ú-sal-li
amēlu ša eli āl
kur _{Gam-bu-li} | 84. and Nabûsalli, a man who was
over a city of Gambulu, |
| 85. ša eli ilānī-ia
iq-bu-u šil-la-tu
rabītu | 85. who had spoken most
disrespectfully of my
gods, |
| 86. qí-rib uru _{Arba-ilu}
lišān-šu-un áš-lu-up | 86. I tore out in Arbela
(and) |
| 87. áš-hu-ta mašak-šu-un
I ^I Du-na-nu qí-rib
uru _{Ni-na-a} | 87. flayed them. In
Nineveh |
| 88. eli giš ^{giš} ma-ka-a-si
id-du-šum-ma | 88. they threw Dunanu on a
skinning-table and |
| 89. it-bu-hu-uš az-liš | 89. slaughtered him like a
lamb. |
| 90. si-it-ti ahhē-šu ša
I ^I Du-na-nu | 90. The other brothers of
Dunanu |

(continued overpage)

(132) VI continued:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 91. ù ^I Suma-a-a a-ni-ir
šēre-šu-nu | 91. and Sumayya I killed,
their flesh |
| 92. ú-še-bil a-na ta-mar-
ti ma-ti-tan | 92. I sent to be gazed at
throughout the land. |
| 93. Id ^d Nabû-na'id Id ^d Bēl-
etir | 93. Nabûna'id (and) Bēletir, |
| 94. mare Id ^d Nabû-šuma-ēreš
lú ^g gú-en-na | 94. sons of Nabûšumereš
the guenna, |
| 95. ša abu ba-nu-šu-un
I ^U Ur-ta-ki id-ka-a | 95. whose father had incited
Urtaku |
| 96. a-na mit-hu-si
kur ^{Akkadi} ki | 96. to fight against Assyria - |
| 97. esmāte Id ^d Nabû-šuma-
ēreš ša ul-tu qī-rib
kur ^{Gam-bu-li} | 97. the bones of Nabûšumereš,
which they had brought
from Gambuli |
| 98. il-qu-u-ni a-na
kur ^{Aš-šur} ki | 98. to Assyria - |
| 99. esmāte ša-a-te-na | 99. these bones |

VII

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. mi-ih-rit abulli
qabal ^{uru} Ninua ^{ki} | 1. before the gate in the
middle of Nineveh |
| 2. ú-šah-ši-la māre-šu | 2. I had his sons crush. |

(Ash. VI/70 - VII/2).

This passage forms a cohesive unit relating how Ashurbanipal dispossesses a number of people who have been disloyal to him. It opens and closes with an Ex construction which has a full noun as a resumptive element. In fact the last sentence exhibits double extraposition (cf. I A 3.0). This is to impart additional end weight or 'ballast', thus clearly marking the climax of the segment.

1.32 Post-verbal position of verb complement.

In historical narratives the order complement - verb is used to continue a segment whereas the order verb - complement generally signals closure, e.g.:-

(133)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| 39. | ^{uru} Ar-za-a ša pa-a-ti
na-hal ^{kur} Mu-šur-ri | 39. | The city Arzâ which is
the boundary of the Brook
of Egypt |
| 40. | aš-lu-lam-ma ^I A-su- <u>hi</u> -li
šarri-šu bi-ri-tu
ad-di-ma | 40. | I spoiled and Asuhili,
its king, into fetters
I threw and |
| 41. | a-na ^{kur} Aššur ^{ki} u-ra-a
ina te-hi abulli qabal
āli ša ^{uru} Mi-na-a | 41. | sent to Assyria; in front
of the great gate of the
middle of Nineveh |
| 42. | it-ti a-si kalbi u
šahî u-še-šib-šu-nu-ti
ka-me-eš | 42. | with bears, dogs and swine
I made him live as a
captive. |

(Esarh. III/39-42).

(134)

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|
| 63. | ešten ūme 2 ūme ul
uq-qi pa-an ummanātī-
ia ul ad-gul | 63. | One day, two days I waited
not, the van of my army I
did not inspect, |
|-----|---|-----|---|

(continued overpage)

(134) continued:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 64. ar-ka-a ul a-mur
pi-qit-ti imer sisê
si-mit-ti giš niri | 64. nor saw the rearguard; nor
did I consider the trappings
of the horses, the
harnessing of the yokes, |
| 65. u u-nu-ut tāhazī-ia
ul a-šu-ur si-di-it
gir-ri-ia ul aš-pu-uk | 65. nor the furniture of battle,
nor issue provisions for my
campaign |
| 66. šal-gu ku-us-su
iti Sabatti dan-na-at
kussi ul a-dur | 66. I feared not the snow (or)
cold of Sabattu, the
rigorous frost, |
| 67. ki-ma mušen(?) -ri-
in-ni mu-up-pa-ar-ši | 67. Like the flying ... (?) |
| 68. a-na sa-kap za-'i-ri-
ia ap-ta-a i-da-a-a | 68. to overwhelm my enemies I
spread my forces.
(Esarh. I/63-68). |

(135)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 53. a-na-ku Id Aššur-aḫi-
iddin ša ina tu-kul-
ti ilāni rabūti
bēlē-šu | 53. I, Esarhaddon, who by the
help of the great gods,
his lords, |
| 54. ina qī-rib ta-ha-zi
la i-ni-i'-u i-rat-sú | 54. has not turned his back in
the midst of battle, |
| 55. ep-še-e-ti-šu-nu lem-
ne-e-ti ur-ru-ḫi-iš
aš-me-e-ma | 55. soon heard of their wicked
doings, and, |
| 56. 'u-a aq-bi-ma su-bat
ru-bu-ti-ia u-šar-riṭ-
ma | 56. crying "Woe!" rent my
princely robe and |

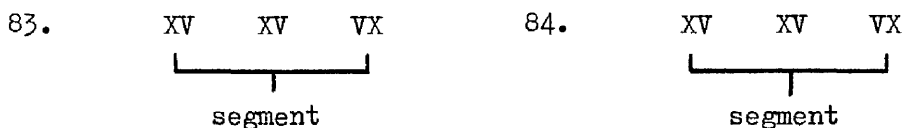
(continued overpage)

(135) continued:

57. u-ša-aš-ri-ha si-pit-tu	57. uttered lamentation.
--------------------------------------	-----------------------------------

(Esarh. I/53-57).

The clauses in such segments form some kind of cohesive unity. There is generally no significant reorientation of the discourse within them. The closure of the segment often coincides with some kind of span boundary, e.g. Sarg. I/83-84 (= Example (120)), viz.:



where V = verb and X = any verb complement.

Here each segment corresponds to a separate theme span (cf. II 1.123).

Sometimes the segment consists of only two clauses, in which case it is chiasitic in structure, e.g.:-

(136)

38. lú _v šu-ut-rešī-ia ša áš-bu i-na uru _v man- gi-si ik-la-ma	38. My officer who dwelt in Mangisi he restrained, and
39. la ú-tir-ra tur-ti a-mat-ia	39. he did not return an answer to my words.

A segment may even consist of a single sentence with the order VX. The event or state described in such sentences has a degree of autonomy from the surrounding discourse, e.g.:-

(137)

43. u I _v Te-uš-pa-a lú _v Gi- mir-ra-a-a	43. And Teušpâ, of the Gimirrai,
---	-------------------------------------

(continued overpage)

(137) continued:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 44. ummanāti-man-da ša
a-šar-šú ru-u-qu | 44. the Umman-Manda whose
home is remote |
| 45. ina er-se-et kur ^{ku} Hu-
tu-uš-na a-di gi-mir
ummanāti-šú | 45. in the land of Hubušna,
besides the whole of his
army |
| 46. u-ra-as-si-ib ina
giš ^š kakki | 46. I destroyed with the
sword |

(Esarh. III/43-46).

This sentence constitutes a distinct episode.

(138)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 28. sābē tāhāzi-ia it-ti-
šu-un im-dah-ha-su | 28. The soldiers of my battle
array fought with them, |
| 29. iš-ku-nu abikta-šu-un | 29. accomplished their defeat. |
| 30. ma-lak 3 bēri eqli
šal-ma-ti-šu-nu ú-mal-
lu-u šēru rap-šu | 30. (Over) an area three
double-hours in length,
they filled the wide plain
with their corpses.
(Ash. III/28-30). |

Line 30 is elaborative to Lines 28-29, i.e. it conveys background information.

The post-verbal complement which marks segment closure is generally short (cf. Esarh. III/42 = ka-me-iš - Example (133)); Esarh. I/68 = i-da-a-a - Example (134); Esarh. I/57 = ka-bat-ti - Example (135).

If we now examine in greater detail the discourse unit Ash. VI/70 - VII/2 (Example (132)) we may distinguish six segments: the two 'heavy' boundary segments (VI/70-75, VI/93 - VII/2, cf. p. 307) and four segments within the body of the unit, viz. VI/76-82, VI/83-87,

VI/87-89, VI/90-92. It is interesting to compare the various ways in which the closure of these latter four segments is expressed: in VI/76-82 closure is signalled by a resumptive pronoun (ú-bil-šu-nu-ti) whereas the other three close with a post verbal complement (áš-hu-ta mašak-šu-un; it-bu-hu-uš az-liš; u-še-bil a-na ta-mar-ti ma-ti-tan).

- 1.4 Sometimes the aforementioned devices for expressing span or segment boundaries - i.e. Ex/PA or SXV, reidentification of referent, and post verbal complement - are exploited in a more subjective manner in order to give a clause or sequence of clauses the semblance of autonomy and hence salience and distinctness, e.g.:-

(139)

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 22. | šum-ma la-hu-un-
d
Da-gan | If Lahun-Dagan |
| 23. | la i-il-la-ak ú-lu
ne-da-ak-šu | does not go we shall
either kill him |
| 24. | ú-lu šu-ma i-na
giš _{Kussê} -šu | or he - we shall drive
him |
| 25. | nu-da-ap-pa-ar-šu | from his throne. |

(ARM II 53/22-25).

The Ex clause in Line 24 gives prominence to the threat of expulsion from the throne.

(140)

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|---|
| 63. | a-kan-na | 63. | "Here thou |
| 64. | lu-u áš-ba-ta a-šar
maš-kán-i-ka | 64. | shalt stay, where thou
art dwelling. |

(continued overpage)

(140) continued:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 65. a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti
ku-ru-un-nu | 65. Eat food, drink wine, |
| 66. nin-gu-tu šu-kun
nu-'i-id ilū-ti | 66. provide music, revere
my divinity". |

(Ash. V/63-66).

The placement of the object after the verb in these imperative clauses gives autonomy and hence greater force to each command.

(141)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 52. lū ₁ šu-ut rēšī-ia lū ₁ pi-
hāti ša pa-a-ti
mātī-šu | 52. My officers, the governors
of the boundary of this
land, |
| 53. u-ma-'i-ir se-ru-uš-šu
u šu-u ^{Id} Nabû-zir-
kitti-lišir | 53. I sent against him, and
Nabû-zir-kitti-lišir, |
| 54. ba-ra-mu-u na-bal-kat-
ta-nu a-lak um-
mānātē-ia iš-me-e-ma | 54. the seditious rebel,
heard of the march of my
troops and |
| 55. a-na kur _{Elamti} ki še-
la-biš in-na-bit | 55. to Elam like a fox fled
away. |

(Esarh. II/52-55).

Nabû-zir-kitti-lišir is reidentified in an SXV clause although there is no significant reorientation in the discourse. The intention seems to be to give salience to this clause, which expresses the ignominious flight of Esarhaddon's foe.

It was noted on p. 292 that the topic referent of a letter is often referred to redundantly within the body of the letter by means of full nouns rather than pronouns. The motive behind this continual

reidentification of the topic referent is to give distinctness to each clause. This is especially applicable where the illocutionary force of the clause is of an emotive nature, e.g. a command, wish, promise, assurance, etc. To make the clause more distinct or salient would therefore enhance the communicative effectiveness.

2.0 Infinitive constructions.

It was noted in I A 5.0 that the subject of an infinitive with ina sometimes stands in extraposition with subsequent resumption by a clitic genitive pronoun. If we now re-examine these constructions it will be seen that the occurrence of the extraposition may be explained according to the theory of discourse spans.

The important features of extraposed subjects of infinitives are:

- (i) they are generally referred to in the immediately succeeding clauses, and
- (ii) as a rule they subsequently occupy the subject slot of verbs.

In other words they have topic status in the following discourse, e.g.:-

- (142) ^dEreš-ki-gal an-ni-ta "When Ereškigal heard this
ina še-mi-šá tam-ha-as she beat her breast and bit
pen-šá taš-šu-ka ú-ba- her finger".
an-šá (Išt. 100 ff.).

cf. also Examples (45) - (47).

When the subject does not have topic status in the following discourse, it either stands before the infinitive without a subsequent resumptive pronoun or it is annexed to the infinitive as a *nomen rectum*, e.g.:- (overpage)

With ina:-

(143) mu-ú i-na ma-qá-tim "When the water falls let him
a-na na-aš-pa-ki-šu return (the grain) to his silo".
li-te-e-er (BIN VII 28/9-11).

(144) mim-mu-ú še-e-ri ina "When dawn began to break a
na-ma-ri i-lam-ma black cloud arose from the
iš-tu i-šid šamê horizon".
ur-pa-tum sa-lim-tum (Gilg. XI/96 ff.).

cf. Gilg. XI/129 ff.

(145) i-na ša-la-am harrānim "When the journey is completed
kaspam išaqqal he will pay the silver".
(TCL I 113/7-8).

With other prepositions:-

(146) iš-tu mu-šu me-še-li "Since midnight ...".
(BE 47/5).

(147) a-di ša-me-e la-pa-ti "Until the sky is being
touched (= until dawn) ...".
(BE 47/9).

3.0 The use of extraposition in various rhetorical schemes.

3.1 Parallelism.

Extraposition is sometimes employed in order to achieve a parallelism in structure between two or more clauses or clause sequences. The effect is to set up a

relationship of equivalence or contrast between two
or more elements, e.g.:-

- (148) be-lum šá tak-lu-ka "Lord, he who puts his trust
na-piš-ta-šu gi-mil-ma in you - preserve his life,
ù ilu šá lim-né-e-ti but the god who has espoused
i-hu-zu tu-bu-uk evil - pour out his life".
nap-šat-su (E.e. IV/17-18).
- (149) qa-di-il-tu ša mu-tu "A qadištu-woman whom a
ih-zu-ši-ni i-na ri-be husband has already married
e-te pa-su-na-at-ma will remain veiled in the
ša-a mu-tu la-a ih-zu streets, but one whom a
ši-i-ni i-na ri-be-te husband has not married - her
qaqqas-sa pa-at-tu head will remain uncovered
in the streets".
(MAL A, 40/61 ff.).
- (150) mārī āli e-piš "The inhabitants of the city
an-ni ù gīl-la-ti a-na who were guilty of evil crimes
šal-la-ti am-nu si-it- I counted as spoil. The others
tu-te-šú-nu la ba-bil who had committed no sin or
hi-ti-ti ù gul-lul-ti evil and who were innocent of
ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la any crime - I gave orders for
ib-šú-ú uš-šur-šú-un their release".
aq-bi (Sen. III/10 ff.).
- (151) ^IPa-di-i šarra-šú-nu "Padi, their king, I brought
ul-tu qī-rib ^{uru}Ur-sa out of Jerusalem and set him
li-im-mu ú-še-sa-am-ma over them on the throne of
i-na ^{giš}kussê be-lu-ti lordship ... but Hezekiah -
elī-šú-un ú-še-šib-ma ... 46 of his fortified towns I
ù ^IHa-za-qi-a-ú ^{kur}Ia surrounded and captured".
ú-da-a-a ... 46 ālānī-šu (Sen. III/14 ff.).
dan-nu-ti ... al-me akšud

The important point to be noted is that extraposition is only used to place a noun complement (nomen rectum) in initial position. When the parallelistic scheme requires a subject or verb complement to be at the front no extraposition is needed; indeed clause initial position is often the normal position for these items.⁷

In a similar manner the same item may be placed at the front of two juxtaposed clauses in anaphora, e.g.:-

(152)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 91. šá u ₄ -mi at-ta-ṭal
bu-na-šu | 91. Of the weather - I looked
at its state, |
| 92. u ₄ -mu a-na i-tap-
lu-si pu-luh-ta i-ši | 92. the weather was frightening
to contemplate.
(Gilg. XI/91-92). |

The fronted nomen rectum in the first clause (= v. 91) requires the resumptive pronoun. The purpose of repeating the noun umu in v. 92 is to give salience to the content of the clause. Consider further Gilg. XI/98-105 in which there is discontinuous anaphora:-

(153)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 98. ^d Adad ina lib-bi-ša
ir-tam-ma-am-ma | 98. Adad incessantly thundered
in it (= the cloud). |
| 99. ^d Sullat u ^d Haniš
il-la-ku ina mah-ri | 99. Šullat and Haniš marched
in front. |
| 100. il-la-ku guzalê šadû
u ma-a-tum | 100. The throne bearers marched
over mountain and plain. |
| 101. tar-kul-li ^d Er-ra-gal | 101. Nergal tore up the posts. |
| 102. il-lak ^d Nin-urta
mi-ih-ra ú-šêr-de | 102. Nimurta marched and caused
the flood to flow. |

(153) continued:

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|--|
| 103. | ^d A-nun-na-ki iš-šu-ú
di-pa-ra-a-ti | 103. | The Amunnaki took up
torches, |
| 104. | ina nam-ri-ir-ri-šú-nu
ú-ha-am-ma-tu ma-a-tum | 104. | burning the land with
their glow. |
| 105. | ša ^d Adad šu-har-ra-
as-su i-ba-a' šamê | 105. | Of Adad - his terrifying
silence overspread the
sky.
(Gilg. XI/98-105). |

vv. 98 and 105, in both of which the proper noun Adad is in initial position, are separated from one another by intervening material. In v. 105 Adad is a nomen rectum and requires a resumptive pronoun. One function of this discontinuous anaphora is to form an inclusio marking the boundaries of the stretch of text which relates the activities of the gods.

3.2 Chiasmus.

Extrapolation is sometimes used to achieve a chiasmic arrangement of two nominals which are contrasted or construed as equivalent, e.g.:-

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (154) | ša la ip-tal-la-hu abbē-
ia ù ia-a-ši la iš-ba-tu
šēpā šarrū-ti-ia | "(The Cimmerian ...) who had
not feared my ancestors and
me - had not caught hold of
my royal feet".
(Ash. II/99). |
|-------|--|--|

3.3 A further type of structural balance.

Sometimes a nominal which is referred to in each of two or more contiguous clauses is extraposed at the front of the clause sequence in order to impart a measure of structural balance. The purpose of this balance is again to express equivalence or contrast between the clauses, e.g.:-

- (155) ša-qu-te ^dIš-tar a-zi-iz "Exalted Ištar - I stood before
a-na tar-si-ša ak-me-es her, I bowed at her feet".
ša-pal-ša (Ash. V/26).
- (156) li-it-tu bu-ur-šu riš- "A cow - her first calf is lowly
tu-ú šá-pil-ma li-gi-mu- but her later offspring is equal
šá ar-ku-ú ma-si šit- to twice his (viz. the first-
tin-šu born's) size". (BWL 84/260-1).
- (157) ^{giš}eleppu šá ta-ban-nu- "The boat which you will build -
ši at-ta lu-ú mīn-du-da let its dimensions be measured,
mi-na-tu-šá lu-ú mit-hur let its breadth and its length
ru-pu-us-sa ù mu-rak-šá be equal". (Gilg. XI/28-30).
- (158) šam-mu šu-u ki-ma it-ti- "This plant - like the buck-
it-ti šur-šu-šu si-hi-il- thorn is its root, its thorn is
šu kima a-mur-din-nim-ma like the rose and will prick
u-sah-hal qatē-ka your hands". (Gilg. XI/268-9).

In such constructions the balance between the clauses is achieved by ensuring that the item which is referred to in each clause is referred to in each case by a form with the same strength of identification. In other words all the references are by means of clitic pronouns. If in one clause the item were referred to by a full noun but in the other(s) by a pronoun, the clauses would not be balanced.

3.4 Juxtaposition.

Extraposition is sometimes used to keep two items in juxtaposition, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (159) sābē bēl hi-ti ša "The rebel troops who had
a-na e-peš šarrū-ti plotted evil to secure the
kur^{Aššur}ki a-na ahhē- sovereignty of Assyria for
ia u-šak-pi-du le-mut- my brothers - the whole of
tu pu-hur-šu-nu ki-ma them I regarded as one ...".
iš-ten a-hi-it-ma (Esarh. II/8 ff.).

Here puhur and ištēn are juxtaposed for maximum effect.

- (160) uru^vsa-pi-i-d^dBēl āl "Sapi-Bēl his strong city -
dan-nu-ti-šu dan-na-as- its strength I made (still)
su u-dan-nin-ma stronger". (Esarh. III/80).

Here the noun dannatu is placed alongside the cognate verb udannin. This type of juxtaposition is reminiscent of paranomastic infinitive constructions (cf. GAG para. 150a).

Note that, analogously to the constructions discussed in 3.1 - 3.3, the extraposed item in both (159) and (160) is a *nomen rectum*.

4.0 Formulaic patterns.

The protasis-apodosis constructions of many omen texts and law codes are pervaded by formulaic patterns. In a sequence of omens or laws often all the protases open with an invariant formula consisting of šumma + nominal (e.g. šumma awīlum ..., šumma marsum ..., šumma izbu ..., etc.)⁸ irrespective of the case rôle of the nominal within the clause. The rest of the protasis clause is built around this formulaic incipit. If the initial nominal is not the grammatical subject of the clause it generally stands in extraposition, cf. Examples (52) - (64). If it is the direct object it often stands in the accusative and is subsequently resumed by an agreement pronoun,⁹ e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (161) šum-ma a-wi-lam e-hi-il- "If a debt seizes a man ...".
tum is-ba-sú-ma ... (CH XXVI/74 ff.).

In many omen lists the apodosis is also constructed according to a formulaic pattern, the same nominal standing invariably at the beginning of the apodosis clause. If the nominal is not the grammatical subject it stands in extraposition, e.g.:-

- (162) mar-šum mu-ru-us-sú "A man who is ill - his illness
i-na-pu-su-ma will be relieved".
(Pettinato, "Ölwahr. I/63).
- (163) mar-šum i-na mu-ur- "A man who is ill - in the
ši-šu mu-ut-ta-tu-šu course of his illness his
i-ba-la 'halves' will dry up".
(ib. II/7).

The composition of omen lists and law codes on the template of regular formulaic patterns was undoubtedly for pedagogic purposes. It is widely believed that most omen compendia and law codes did not have any immediate practical application but were rather 'handbooks' which were used in the schools (cf. Kraus, 1960; Bottéro, 1974; Eichler, 1982). Their main purpose was to provide paradigms of omen interpretations or legal rulings in order to inculcate the general principles and methods on which these were based - "pour rendre (l'étudiant) capable de saisir et résoudre dans le même esprit tous les problèmes qui pourraient se poser" (Bottéro, ib. p.173).¹⁰

Formulaic patterns are occasionally responsible for generating Ex clauses in other text genres. For instance, cf. Examples (164) and (165) below, from the 'Preceptive Hymns' (Wisdom Literature) in which the oft-repeated refrains tāb eli šamaš balāta uttar ("it is pleasing to Šamaš, and he will prolong his life") and šakin ina mahrika ("his case is before you") are mechanically linked to an initial nominal phrase. The resultant structure is to be analysed as extraposition without explicit resumption (cf. I A 2.24):-

- (164) la ma-hír ta-a'-ti "He who declines a present and
 sa-bi-tú a-bu-ti takes the part of the weak -
 en-še ta-a-bi eli it is pleasing to Šamaš, and he
 d^vŠamaš balāta ut- will prolong his life".
 tar (BWL 132/99 ff.).

cf. BWL 132/105 ff., 118 ff.

- (165) šu-ut ul-la pi-i-šú- "Those whose mouth says 'No' -
 nu šá-kin ina their case is before you".
 mah-ri-ka (BWL 134/125).

5.0 Length of nominal phrase.

In some cases a long unwieldy nominal phrase stands in extraposition apparently in order to render the clause easier to process. A long nominal phrase within the body of the clause would demand the retention of a considerable amount of material in the memory until the whole clause is read or heard. Therefore the recapitulation of the long phrase by some shorter element makes for greater perspicuity.

This is particularly clear in the introductory formulae of many Royal inscriptions in which the name of the king is qualified ad nauseam by a string of appositional or relative phrases, e.g.:-

- (166) e-nu-ma ^dNabû-ku-dur- "When Nebuchadnezzar, the exalted
 ri-usur rubû na-a-du and noble prince, the offspring of
 na-as-qu si-it Bābili^{ki} Babylon, the ruler of kings
 e-tíl šarrāni na-siq (+ numerous additional appositives)
 šarrāni rubû na-ra-am ... the appointer of kings, the
^dMarduk u-ta-'i-ir-šu-ma prince beloved of Marduk - the king
 šar ilāni ^dMarduk a-na of the gods, Marduk, sent him forth,
 tur-ri gi-mil-li he raised his weapons to avenge

Akkad.

(continued overpage)

(166) continued:

kur^{Akkadi}ki u-šat-ba-a (BBSt. p.31/1 ff., cf. GAG,
kakkē-šu para. 183c).

Similarly Example (167) - the opening of an address to Ištar:-

(167) a-na-ku I^{Aš-šur-bāni-} "I, Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria
apli šār aš-šur (+ numerous qualifying relatives)
a-na-ku áš-re-e-ki - I have sought out your sanctuary".
áš-te-ni-'i-i (Ash. V/29 ff.).

Other examples of extraposition which are probably motivated by the bulkiness of one of the clause constituents include:-

(i) Extraposition of a long nomen rectum, e.g.:-

(168)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>3. ina ūmē-šu-ma
I^{Bi-ri-is-ha-at-ri}
lú^{hazānu} ša Mad-a-a</p> | <p>3. At that time Birishatri, a
chieftain of the Medes,</p> |
| <p>4. I^{Sar-a-ti} I^{Pa-ri-hi}
2 mārē-šu I^{Ga-a-gi}</p> | <p>4. Šarati (and) Parihi, his two
sons, Gagi,</p> |
| <p>5. lú^{hazān} kur^{Sa-hi} ša
is-lu-u-a giš^{nīr}
bēlu-u-ti-ia</p> | <p>5. chieftain of the Šahi, who
had thrown off the yoke of
my dominion -</p> |
| <p>6. 75 ālānī-šu-nu dan-
nu-ti ak-šu-ud áš-
lu-la šal-lat-su-un</p> | <p>6. seventy-five of their strong
cities I conquered and carried
off their spoil.
(Ash. IV/3-6).</p> |

(ii) Extraposition of a long complement of a prepositional expression, e.g.:-

(overpage)

(169)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 59. na-gu-u šu-a-tu ša
ul-tu ūmē ul-lu-ti | 59. That district to which of
old |
| 60. la il-li-ku šarru
pa-ni mah-ri-ia | 60. no former king before me
had come |
| 61. ina qi-bit ^d Aššur
bēlī-ia ina qī-rib-
e-šu šal-ta-niš
at-ta-lak | 61. by the command of Ashur,
my lord, I marched therein
victoriously.
(Esarh. IV/59-61). |

In (168) the nexus of nomen regens + rectum constitutes the direct object of the verb. By extraposing the long nomen rectum, which has the status of qualifier, the head noun, i.e. the nomen regens, is kept close to the verb. This renders the clause easier to process.¹¹

In a similar manner the extraposition in Example (169) keeps the prepositional expression close to the verb. Since the prepositional expression indicates the grammatical relation of its complement within the clause, its placement next to the verb makes the clause easier to process.¹²

In some instances, it is possible that the length of the nominal is not the cause of extraposition but rather its effect. In other words, the nominal is not extraposed primarily because it is long but for some other reason. The relatively free extraposed position is then taken advantage of secondarily to expand the bulk of the nominal.¹³ This probably applies to Example (168) which marks the onset of a new episode (cf. II 1.121).

6.0 Contrastive Assertion.

Extrapolation is sometimes used to facilitate the application of contrastive stress. Consider Example (170):-

- (170) "If a rēdūm or a bā'irum has abandoned his field, his orchard, or his house on account of the ilku service, and another man has subsequently taken over his field, his orchard, or his house and has performed its ilku service, if he returns and demands his field, his orchard, or his house it shall not be given to him,

ša is-ša-ab-tu-ma i-li-	the one who has taken over
ik-šu it-ta-al-ku šu-ma	(the property) and has
i-il-la-ak	performed its <u>ilku</u> service
	- he shall do <u>ilku</u> service".
	(CH 30 = X/51 - XI/4).

The Ex clause asserts forcefully, forestalling any misapprehension on the part of the hearer/reader, that the one who is to do ilku service is "the one who has taken over (the property) and performed its ilku service" and not the original tenant. Stress cannot be distributed over many words, so in XI/1 ff., a short resumptive independent pronoun (šu) is employed to carry the stress 'by proxy'.¹⁴ The long nominal phrase ša issabtu-ma ilik-šu ittalku, therefore, stands in extraposition.

Another case in which extraposition is used to assist the application of contrastive stress is where the contrastively asserted item is a clitic pronoun. Clitic pronouns are not amenable to being stressed (cf. Malinson and Blake, 1980), so a co-referential independent pronoun, usually standing in extraposition, is employed to carry the stress, e.g. (51) - the context shows that the pronoun attā is contrastively asserted,¹⁴ i.e. "if you yourself come ...".

7.0 Co-ordination of nominals.

A nominal phrase is sometimes resumed by an independent pronoun when it is co-ordinated with another nominal, e.g.:

- (171) ^ISa-an-du-ar-ri šar "S., king of Kundi and of
uru_{Kun-di} u uru_{Si-is-} Sissû, an insolent foe
su-u nakru aq-su he (and) A., the king of
šu-u ^IAb-di-mil-ki-ut-ti Sidon, determined to help
šar uru_{Si-du-un-ni} a-na each other".
re-su-ti a-ha-miš iš-šak- (Esarh. III/20-25).
nu-u-ma
- (172) ^ISi-dir-pa-ar-na ^IE-pa- "S. (and) E., powerful chiefs,
ar-na hazānī dan-nu-ti unsubmissive to my yoke - them,
ša la kit-nu-šu a-na together with their people,
ni-i-ri ša-a-šu-nu a-di their riding horses, cattle,
nišē-šu-nu sisê ru-ku- flocks (and) Bactrian camels -
bi-šu-nu alpī se-e-ni their valuable booty - I
u-du-ri šal-lat-sun carried off to Assyria".
ka-bit-tu aš-lu-la ana (Esarh. IV/49-52).
qī-rib kur_{Aššur}

8.0 Extraposition employed for the sake of rhythm and other poetic conventions.

An independent resumptive pronoun is sometimes used in poetry apparently to carry one of the stress beats of the verse, e.g. E.e. IV/92:-

(overpage)

(173)	/	/	/	/
89.	issi ⁻ ma	Tiamat	šitmuriš	eli ⁻ ta
90.	šuršiš	malmališ	itrurā	išdā ⁻ šu
91.	imannī	šipta	ittanamdī	tā ⁻ šu
92.	u ilū ša tāhāzi	uša''ilū	šunu	kakke ⁻ šun
93.	innendū ⁻ ma	Tiamat	apkal ilāni	Marduk

cf. also E.e. IV/8:-

(174)	/	/	/	/
5.	Marduk	kabtāta	ina ili rabūte	
6.	šimat-ka	al šanān	siqar-ka	Anum
7.	ištu imim ⁻ ma	la inninnā	qibit-ka	
8.	šušqū	u šušpulu	ši	lū qāt ⁻ ka

Extrapolation may also be used to adjust the ordering of a clause for the sake of an alliterative scheme such as that found in the Babylonian 'Theodicy'. In this poem there is a convention that each of the eleven lines of the stanzas begins with the same sign, e.g. Line 238, in which the nomen rectum šagašu is extraposed before the regens kakka so that the line begins with ša:-

(175)			
237.	ša la ili is- <u>hap</u> -pu ra-ši ma-ak-ku-ra	237.	The godless cheat who has wealth,
238.	ša-ga-šu kak-ka-šu i-rid-di-šu	238.	a murderer - his weapon (i.e. a murderer's weapon) pursues him (i.e. the cheat).

(continued overpage)

(175) continued:

239. ša la tu-ba-a'-ú	239. Unless you seek the will of
ṭè-em ili mi-nu-ú	the god, what luck have you?"
ku-šir-ka	(BWL p.84).

9.0 Status of the extraposed/'agreed with' nominal.

All extraposed and 'agreed with' nominals are in some way individuated.

9.1 Assumed familiarity.

9.11 Closely related to previously mentioned nominal.

9.111 Given in prior discourse:-

e.g. Sen. III/37 (= Example (111)) - Hezekiah has been mentioned in III/18; Ash. VIII/68 (= Example (121)) - the storehouse-palace has been mentioned in VIII/64.

9.112 Sometimes the nominal as a whole has not been given in the preceding context yet it nevertheless contains within it some element which has been previously referred to, e.g.:- Ash. IV/64 (= Example (126)) - Urtaku has been referred to earlier in IV/54; Ash. VI/83-84 (=Example (132)) - Dunanu is given in VI/76 and Gambulu in VI/53.

9.12 In the permanent knowledge store of the hearer/reader.

9.121 Proper nouns which name a person or place which is assumed to be known by the hearer/reader, e.g. Ab.B.IX, 1/27 (= Example (115)) - Nabi-ilišu is, apparently, a mutual acquaintance of the writer and the addressee.

9.122 Generic nominals, e.g. Examples (62) and (63). Further examples are:-

- (176) ša-di-id ni-ir ili "He who bears his god's yoke -
lu-ú ba-hi sa-di-ir his food is regularly provided,
a-kal-šú though it be sparse".
(BWL 84/240).
- (177) šá a-kil kar-si qa-bu-ú "He who utters libel and speaks
le-mut-ti i-na ri-ba- evil - men will waylay him with
a-ti šá ^dSamaš ú-qa- his debit account to Šamaš".
'u-ú rēs-su (BWL 104/129 ff.).

Clause initial generic nominals such as those in Examples (176) and (177) have the status of a protasis in a conditional proposition; cf. the equivalent use of šumma awīlum ... and awīlum ša ... in the protasis of casuistic law codes (cf. I A 1.122 (iii)).

9.2 Perceptual salience.

It is a characteristic feature of extraposed and 'agreed with' nominals that they tend to rank high on the perceptual salience hierarchy. This is demonstrated by a text count of full nominals which are extraposed or have an agreement pronoun in Sen. I - VI, Ash. II - VIII, and Esarh. I - IV:-

(overpage)

	Named Human	Unnamed Human	Inanimate
Number of instances	50	8	3

It must be noted that the relative frequency of occurrence of humans and inanimates depends on the discourse genre. For instance one would expect to encounter more human participants in a historical narrative than in a mathematical text. Nevertheless, the principle seems to be that whenever human referents are present in a discourse they tend to be extraposed or to take an agreement pronoun more frequently than inanimates.

9.3 Durability.

Another characteristic feature of extraposed and 'agreed with' nominals is that they tend to be durable within the discourse. They are not incidental referents but generally have the status of topics.

9.4 Some PA clauses do not perform any of the functions which are discussed in sections 1 - 8. In such constructions it seems that the individuation of the nominal is the only conditioning factor for the occurrence of the agreement pronoun. This applies especially to instances where the 'agreed with' nominal occurs within the body of the clause, e.g. Example (87) - human and previously referred to; Example (75) - human (= anthropomorphic gods) proper nouns; ARM I, 60/14 ff. - human and previously mentioned. Genitive agreement within the body of the clause is particularly frequent in E.e., e.g. Example (97) - human proper noun and previously mentioned; Example (98) - id.; Example (99) - id.; E.e. IV/33 - id.; Example (100) - inanimate mentioned in previous verse.

9.4 continued:

Sometimes the specificity of a nominal is a crucial motivating factor for the occurrence of an agreement pronoun; consider Examples (178) and (179) below:-

- (178) šum-ma a-wi-lum aš-ša-tam "If a man has married a
i-ḥu-uz-ma ... woman ...". (CH XXVIII/35 ff.).
- (179) šum-ma a-wi-lum aš-ša-at "If a man has gagged the wife
a-wi-lim ša zi-ka-ra-am of a man who has not known a
la i-du-ū-ma i-na bīt man and is dwelling in her
a-bi-ša wa-aš-ba-at ū- father's house ...".
kap-pil-ši-ma ... (CH XXVIII/54 ff.).

The object nominals in both of these Examples are human generics. Only that in (179), however, is resumed by an agreement pronoun. The apparent explanation is that the object in (179) is specified by an attributive phrase and so is more individuated¹⁵ than the object in (178), which is not so specified.

I have found no instances of an agreement pronoun occurring with the reflexive object noun ramān-. This is predictable from the fact that such objects are of low individuation.¹⁵

In many examples of PA in which the 'agreed with' nominal is in initial position, the crucial conditioning factor for the occurrence of the agreement pronoun seems also to be the individuation of the nominal, e.g.:-

- (180) a-na ^{Id}Nin-gal-iddina "He surrounded Ningal-iddina".
... il-me-šu-ma (Esarh. II/43-44 : named human).
- (181) ^dIštar mē balāti "Sprinkle Ištar with the waters
su-luh-ši-ma of life". (Išt. 114 : named
human and referred to in prior
discourse).
- (182) s̄abītam šu-a-ti "They shall convict that alewife".
ū-ka-an-nu-ši-ma (CH XXV/22-23 : human and
previously mentioned).

cf. CH VI/14 ff., XXV/43 ff., XXVI/6 ff.

The independent pronouns are particularly susceptible to taking agreement clitic pronouns on the verb, especially when the pronoun is 1st or 2nd person, cf. Examples (69) - (71), (80), (81). This phenomenon may be explained by the fact that the 1st and 2nd person pronouns are at the top of the perceptual salience hierarchy. Moreover, 3rd person independent pronouns are also of high salience on account of the fact that (a) they generally have a human referent, and (b) they usually refer to a referent which has been given in the immediately preceding discourse.

F O O T N O T E S

1. Prepositional expressions (Präpositionale Ausdrücke) are nouns with an adverbial ending, or phrases consisting of a preposition + noun, which function as a preposition (cf. GAG, para. 115a).

2. ana X i(z)za(k)kar-šu is a common formula for introducing direct speech in epic texts. cf. Sonnek (1940: p.227).

3. The construction type which is illustrated in (i) below may also be a kind of pronominal agreement:

(i) šá PN šarri be-li-šú-nu "I had a table of honour
paššur tak-bit-ti ma-har- laid before PN, the king
šú ar-ku-su-ma their lord". (Sarg. I/62).

i.e. the 'agreed with' nominal is the complement of ša and the agreement pronoun is the complement of a preposition. If this analysis is correct then the construction would be analogous to the Syriac usage prep.-pronoun_i + de-noun_i, e.g.:-

met'amrā dēn^c el-aw "A story was told about
de-qaddīšā mār Aprēm the Holy Ephrem".
taš^c itā (Brock. Chr. 29/14 ff.).

Alternatively, however, the ša may be interpreted as an introductory particle (see A 1.25 above).

4. at-tu-u-a is a variant reading for ia-a-ši. cf. Piepkorn ad loc.

5. cf. Sonnek (1940: p.228).

6. Indeed, sometimes, due to the writing system or the lack of distinction between nominative and accusative in the case system, it is unclear whether the construction is to be classified as Extraposition or Pronominal Agreement, cf. I B 1.1.

7. Note, however, that an accusative resumptive pronoun sometimes occurs to mark the closure of a sequence of parallel clauses, e.g. Ash. IV/64 ff. (= Example (126)).

8. Sometimes the lexical content of the nominal in such formulaic patterns may vary according to certain fixed parameters. For instance, in CH the dominant formula is šumma + human participant, e.g. š. awīlum, š. rēdūm, š. bā'irum, š. sābītum, š. nādītum, etc.

9. This, of course, can only be discerned when the nominal is spelled out syllabically, a practice which is quite rare in the omen texts. Incidentally, the parallel usage of pronominal agreement in Example (161) and extraposition in Examples (62) and (63) is a clear demonstration of the functional equivalence of the two constructions.

10. Formulaic phraseology of this type is clearly analogous to that which is found in the Qur'ān and the Mishna; see Chapters 1 and 2.

11. This need to extrapose a long nomen rectum in order to keep the regens close to the verb arises on account of the position of the verb after the direct object at the end of the clause. It is interesting to note that in many SOV languages this problem is precluded by always placing the nomen rectum before the regens (cf. Greenberg, 1966; Lehmann, 1973).

12. In many SOV languages, relational words are regularly placed after the nominal, i.e. they are post- not pre-positions.

13. See Green (1980) who puts forward a similar argument to explain some aspects of English word order.

14. Note also the enclitic -ma. This particle is often attached to items which are contrastively asserted (cf. Rainey, 1976).

15. See Introduction, p. 22.

Chapter 5.

A M H A R I C

I S T R U C T U R E

A EXTRAPOSITION

1.0 Form of extraposed constituent

1.1 Pronoun, e.g.:-

- (1) enem zāwāter assabe bāggo "And I - my thoughts are always
nāgār nāw of good deeds".
(Men. 69/31).

1.2 Full nominal.

1.21 Definite.

1.211 With specific referent, e.g.:-

- (2) yeh fārās əgru tāsābrwal "This horse - its leg is broken".
(Cohen, Traité, p.93).

1.212 Generic, e.g.:-

- (3) mannaččāyту hēzb qwāterwa "Any people - its number is
bāwnāt yəttawwāqal accurately known".
(Praetorius, Amh. Spr., p.418).

1.22 Indefinite.

The vast majority of extraposed nominals are definite. I have only found a few examples of indefinite extraposed nominals, i.e. nominals whose referents are not identifiable,¹ e.g.:- (overpage)

- (4) set zəngəro balwa motəbbat "A she-monkey - her husband died to her sorrow (= had the misfortune to lose her husband)". (Cohen, Traité, p.393).
- (5) and səw ləgu motəbbat "A man - his son died to his sorrow (= had the misfortune to lose his son)". (Cohen, Traité, p.93).

Both of these examples occur at the beginning of a fable.

2.0 Extraposition in subordinate clauses, e.g.:-

- (6) yāityopya həzb yədərrəsəbbat "To make known to the civilized
səqay lāsəlāttənaw aləm world the torment which has
ləmāstawəq afflicted the Ethiopian people".
(HS. 255/30 ff.).
- (7) and nəgusə nəgəst "With the grief which has
bədərrəsəbbat hazən madrəg afflicted an Emperor I have
yammiggəbbawən serawən come to you in Geneva to perform
ləməfəssəm ġeneb wədə a duty which must be done".
ənnantə mətəččalləhu (HS. 264/19 ff.).

Both (6) and (7) are examples of extrapositional relative clauses.²

3.0 An extraposed nominal often stands at the front of a complex sentence, e.g.:-

- (8) saw yāhəyātu tarik "A man - the fact that his life
 yāmmiggallātaw lətəwlədd story is revealed depends on the
 tətot bahedaw sera nāw work which he has left to
 enḡi bann^wan^waru aydāllām posterity and not on his way of
 life".
 (Amh. Chr. 27/9 ff.).

In many cases it is unclear whether a nominal standing at the front of a complex sentence is to be interpreted as forming a unit with a following subordinate clause, or whether the subordinate clause is nested between the extraposed item and following main clause,³ or finally whether the initial nominal stands outside the whole sentence, without forming a unit with either the subordinate or the main clause. Consider the following example:-

- (9) ambawen yəṭābbəq yānābbārāw yase tewodros šum gəba blāw biləkubbət
 nāftāññawen gašāññawenem yəzo gāba

The structure of this sentence may be interpreted in any one of the following ways:-⁴

- (i) "When Ase Tewodros' chief who had guarded the amba - they sent to him saying: 'Submit', he submitted together with his riflemen and his footsoldiers".
- (ii) "Ase Tewodros' chief who had guarded the amba, when they sent to him saying: 'Submit', submitted together with his riflemen and his footsoldiers".
- (iii) "Ase Tewodros' chief who had guarded the amba - when they sent to him saying: 'Submit', he submitted together with his riflemen and his footsoldiers".

4.0 An extraposed nominal may stand at the front of two co-ordinated clauses, e.g.:-

- (10) qal kidan yammikkäbbärebbätenna "The pact - that respect is
wagaw yammiggämmätëbbät shown to it and that value is
attached to it".
(HS. 262/20 ff.).

5.0 The subject of an infinitive normally stands in extraposition and is resumed by a genitive pronoun, e.g.:-

- (11) mənilek məmtatu "Mənilek's coming".
(Mən. 58/3).

Such infinitival clauses may be:-

(i) Subject, e.g.:-

- (12) italya ṭäb endinnässa "Italy's wish that the quarrel
məfällägwa gəlṭ nābbär should take place was obvious".
(HS. 257/12).

(ii) Object, e.g.:-

- (13) yäguba'ewem presidan "The president of the assembly
italyanočč bābəzu māngəstat seeing that the Italians acted
əndərasewočč fit yābelgənnə indecently in front of many
səra məsrataččāwən ayto international representatives ...".
(HS. 253/21 ff.).

Occasionally the extraposed subject of an object infinitival clause is marked with the object morpheme -n, e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (14) balābetwon bādāhna "If they ask me whether your
māgalagalaččāwn bitāyyēquññ wife has successfully given
birth ...".
(Kapeliuk, 1972: p.212).

(iii) Prepositional/Postpositional complement, e.g.:-

- (15) țōrēnnat kähēgg yāwātța "Its (= Italy's) signing the
nāgār lāmāhonu bāparis treaty of Paris to outlaw war
lay yatādārrāgāwēn wēl (literally: so that war be a
māfārrāmu thing which is outside the law)".
(HS. 257/4 ff.).

6.0 Praetorius (Amh. Spr. p.384) cites examples of constructions in which a nominal occurring after the grammatical subject is suspended in the casus rectus and subsequently resumed by an object suffix on the verb. Such instances of extraposition within the nucleus of the clause are very unusual and should perhaps be regarded as anacolutha:-

- (16) ərsūm yəh hullu nāgār "He experienced all this from
kāmānfās qəddūs zānd the Holy Spirit".
agəñtotalēna
- (17) tēmbaho mātatāt sāv "Smoking tobacco defiles a
yarāksāwal man (generic)".

7.0 Form of resumptive element.

7.1 Clitic pronoun, see above passim.

7.2 Independent personal pronoun, e.g.:-

- (18) bāzzihum ʔorənnāt
yāmmekkālakkālāw yātallaq
māngəstočč gorābet yāhōnu
tənnəš māngəstočč hullu
bāhayl agāraččāwən lāmāwsād
əndayčəl yānnārsun gudday
čəmmər nāw
- "What I am defending in this war
in addition is the cause of all
small nations which are neighbours
of powerful states, so that it
(= the powerful state) cannot take
their country by force. (literally:
What I am defending, all small
nations which are neighbours of
powerful states, so that it
cannot take their country by force -
of them the cause is)".
(HS. 259/21 ff.).

7.3 Demonstrative pronoun, e.g.:-

- (19) yāmāngəstočč təkəkkələnnāt
yātāmāsārrātābbāt māsarāt
yəhen lāmāsnat wayem
əndā honā lāmāfrād nāw
- "(This matter) is to assess
whether one is to confirm the
principle upon which the equality
of nations is based or
(literally: whether the
principle upon which the equality
of nations is based - one should
confirm this or)".
(HS. 262/21 ff.).

7.4 No explicit resumption.

This construction is found when the verb already has a
suffix pronoun,⁵ e.g.:- (overpage)

- (20) bəyyäsaw yatəbattanaw "Your money which is dispersed
gänzäbeh bisäbässebelləh among everyone - if he gathers
(it) for you".
(Kapeliuk, 1972: p.188).

It is also attested in sentences in which a resumptive pronoun is not precluded by the presence of another pronoun on the verb, e.g.:-

- (21) tolo bləw satənu bikəftu "When they quickly opened the
box". (Kapeliuk, 1972: p.188).

B Pronominal Agreement.

1.0 Since the verb regularly occurs at the end of the sentence in Amharic, most instances of PA have resumptive agreement pronouns.⁶ The nominal which is resumed either stands at the front of the clause (preceded optionally by a sentence adverbial) or immediately after the subject.

Examples:-

(i) At the front of the clause.

- (22) lənəgus məret yəkkəffətəllätal "The land, let alone men's
sənk^w an yəsaw məstir secrets, is opened up to the
king". (Mən. 65/12).
- (23) bənəgusum yəgzi'abəher "They were convinced that the
mənfəs əndaddərəbbəwo spirit of God was in the king".
təradđut (Mən. 62/20).

- (24) yəhənnən səw tawqutalaččəhuna "Do you know this man?"
(Mən. 63/26).

(ii) After the subject:-

- (25) nəgusum šumun ləbəččaw "The king interrogated the
təyyəqut chief by himself".
(Mən. 61/18).
- (26) nəgər gən əse tewodros "However Ase Tewodros had
mərd azmač haylə mika'elən imprisoned Mərd-Azmač-Haylə-
mərha bete kambaw asrəwət Mikael in the amba at Mərha-
nəbbər Bete". (Mən. 67/5).

In (24), (25), and (26) a direct object, marked by the morpheme -n, is resumed by an object clitic pronoun. In (23) the verb complement preceded by the preposition bə is resumed by a clitic pronoun which is the complement of bə (B series).

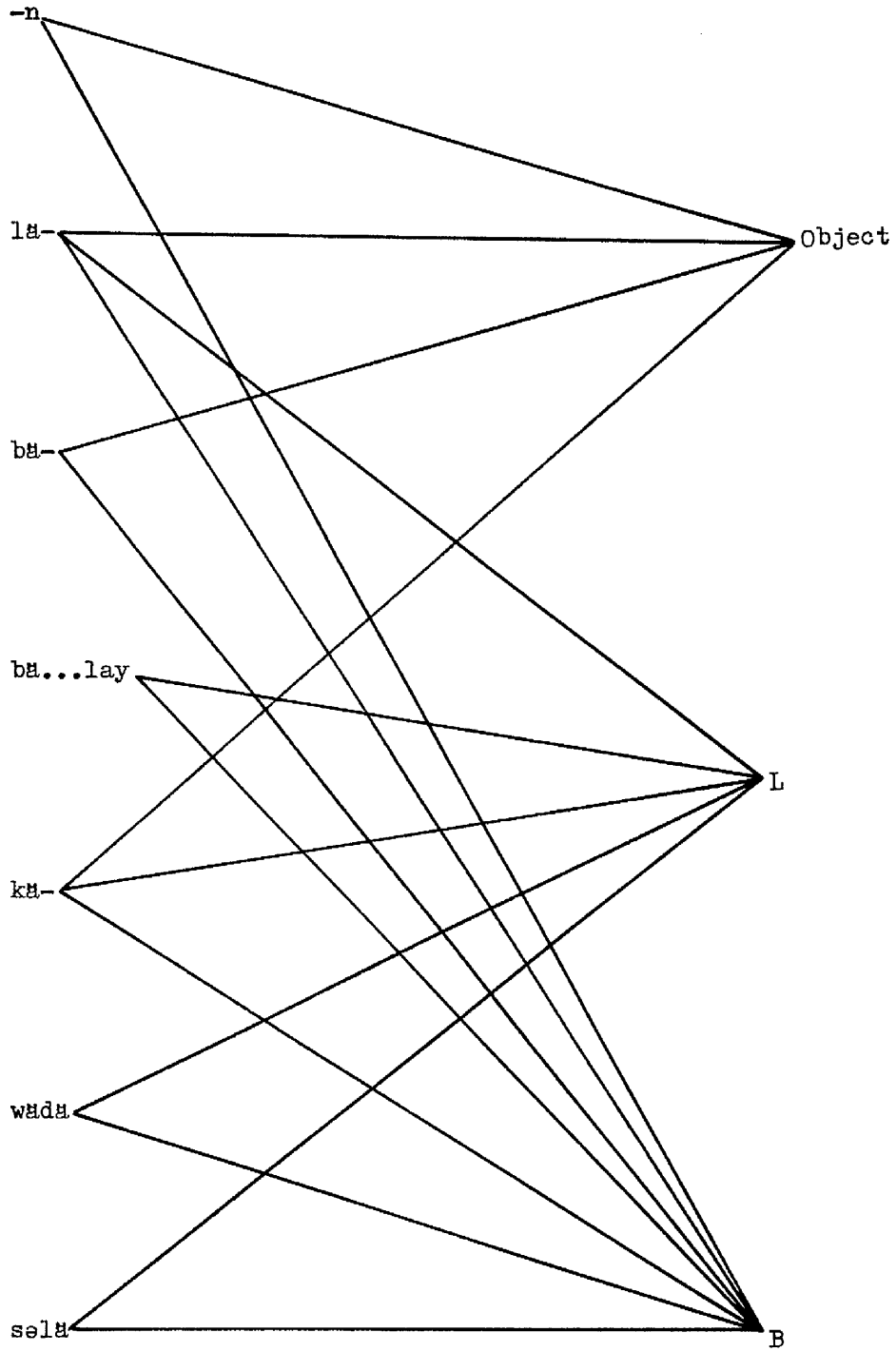
In (22) a verb complement preceded by the preposition lə is resumed by a clitic pronoun which is the complement of lə (L series). Note also how in (23) the entire subordinate clause is resumed by an object clitic pronoun on the main verb. Infinitival clauses may also be resumed in this way, e.g.:-

- (27) dəbdabbew mahtəm baləmənoru "He knew that the letter was
hassət məhonun awqəwetal a forgery by the fact that
there was no seal".
(Mən. 61/17).

There are only three sets of clitic pronouns, viz. object, and B and L series. Full nominals, however, in addition to being the direct object, or complement of bə or lə, may be the complement of other prepositions which have no 'adnominal' correspondents, e.g. bə...lay, bə...west, kə, kə...gar(a), wədə, sələ. When an agreement pronoun is required to recall a noun which is the complement of one of these prepositions, one of the three available clitics is selected. This gives rise

NOMINAL

PRONOMINAL



2.0 Genitive agreement.

A nomen rectum in a genitive construction is sometimes resumed by a genitive pronoun which is suffixed to the subsequent nomen regens, e.g.:-

- (30) yǝǝnglizozččǝn rǝhruhǝnnatǝččǝwǝn "The tenderness of the British".
(HS. 250/13).
- (31) yǝityopya mǝtfo ǝddǝlwa "The ill fortune of Ethiopia".
(HS. 257/17).

When the nomen rectum is masculine singular the status of a suffix of the form -u or -w on the following nomen regens is ambiguous. It may be either a resumptive pronoun or simply the definite article (cf. Cohen, Nouvelles Etudes: p.117), e.g.:-

- (32) yǝkristos ǝwnatǝǝǝ lesamu "The true tongue of Christ".
(ib.).

However it is easier to interpret the suffix as an agreement pronoun since the article is usually affixed to the nomen rectum.

A similar ambiguity sometimes exists with regard to the interpretation of a suffix attached to the verb in a nominalized relative clause, e.g.:-

- (33) yǝhǝnǝm yǝwǝdadǝǝnnǝt wǝl "The fact that it (Italy)
yǝfǝrrǝmǝw assabun lǝmǝšǝffǝǝǝ signed this treaty of friend-
ǝndiyǝǝlǝǝǝǝlǝw norwal ship was in order that it
(the treaty) would serve it as
a means of concealing its
intentions". (HS. 256/34).

Here the -w on yǝfǝrrǝmǝw may be either an object agreement pronoun or a form of the definite article.

II F U N C T I O N

A EXTRAPOSITION

Ex constructions may be divided into those which are motivated by the nature of the clause predicate and those which perform a function within the discourse as a whole. In the first category extraposition is the normal means of expression while in the second category it belongs to the set of strategies which a writer/speaker employs to 'stage' a text.

1.0 Extraposition motivated by nature of clause predicate.

1.1 In Section I A 5.0 above we saw how the subject of an infinitive is extraposed at the front of the clause. The function of extraposition in such constructions is undoubtedly to make the infinitival clause parallel in structure with the corresponding finite verbal clause. In both the subject is in the casus rectus and the verb is at the end:-⁷

italya ṭāb ʿendinnāssa māfallāgwa : infinitival

italya ṭāb ʿendinnāssa fallāgāč : finite

This also applies to Ex constructions which contain other kinds of nominalized verb, e.g.:-

(34) wəlun yāfārrāmūt bāmulu "Those who have signed the
yātāsafāwen qal lāmātābbāq covenant - if it is not their
fāqadaččāw kalhonā will to observe its provisions
in full ... ". (HS. 263/33).

cf. also HS. 263/27.

1.2 Extraposition is frequent in sentences the verb of which is impersonal (subjectless).⁸ This is the case with verbs like ammāma (to pain), rabā (be hungry), tamma (be thirsty). When a full nominal is used to express the person who is in pain, hungry, or thirsty, it generally stands in extraposition,⁹ (cf. Hetzron 1970: 321), e.g.:-

- (35) kabbada rasun yammawal "Kabbada has a headache (lit. Kabbada - it hurts him in the head).
- (36) kabbada rabaw "Kabbada is hungry".
- (37) kabbada tammaw "Kabbada is thirsty".

In Amharic, the dominant word order of which is SOV, the natural starting point and centre of attention of a sentence is the grammatical subject. Sentences with impersonal verbs have no grammatical subjects. Consequently the subject slot at the beginning of the sentence has to be filled by some non-subject referent, unless the centre of attention is presupposed to be known from the prior discourse or the extratextual situation. A natural candidate for initial position is some human participant in the event or state expressed by the verb. This is because human beings have a clear tendency to focus more attention on other humans than on inanimate objects.¹⁰ If there is a human participant in the proposition which is being made, it is generally preferred to look upon the event/state of the verb from the point of view of the human referent and to make it the starting point. For instance, in English, when one wishes to talk about an event in which a bee stung a man, it is more natural to use a passive and so make the human referent the subject of the sentence (cf. J. Lyons 1977: p.511):-

(overpage)

"A man was stung by a bee in the High Street today",

rather than:

"A bee stung a man in the High Street today".

This discourse phenomenon is reflected in Amharic subjectless sentences like (35) - (37), in which the human participant cannot be made the grammatical subject but is nevertheless endowed with the structural properties of subjects by means of extraposition, viz. clause initial position, non-oblique case inflection, and co-referential resumptive element on the verb.^{10a}

- 1.3 In possessive constructions in which the verb allä is used, the possessor, if expressed by a full nominal, is normally extraposed at the front of the clause and resumed by a clitic pronoun on the verb.¹¹ The thing which is 'possessed' is the grammatical subject of allä (cf. Hetzron 1970: p.307), e.g.:-

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| (38) | yeh säw məshaf alläw | "This man has a book (literally: This man - there is a book to him)". |
| (39) | yeh säw məshafočč allut | "This man has (some) books". |
| (40) | ənnəzzih säwočč məshaf
allaččəw | "These men have a book". |
| (41) | ənnəzzih säwočč məshafočč
alluwaččəw | "These men have (some) books". |

In expressions of possession the possessor is in the vast majority of cases human whereas the possessed is generally an inanimate object. As we have seen, humans naturally take

priority over inanimates with regard to the referent which occupies the initial subject slot of the sentence. Moreover the thing 'possessed' is usually indefinite and introduces a new referent into the discourse. This renders it even more unsuitable for being the grammatical subject of the sentence, for this topic is usually a nominal whose referent is given in the prior context or at least one whose referent is identifiable, i.e. definite. In possessive constructions with allā, however, the possessor cannot be made the grammatical subject. This 'tension' is adjusted by placing the possessor constituent in extraposition, which endows it with the characteristic properties of subject (see above).

- 1.4 Other constructions in which extraposition is the normal form of expression are those in which a pronominal suffix of the B-series has the sense of "to the detriment of" and those in which an L-series pronoun has the meaning of "to the advantage of". When these pronouns are used in this way they have no nominal counterpart. If one requires to mention the referent of these pronouns explicitly in the same sentence it is not admissible to prefix the preposition bā- or lā to a co-referential full nominal. The full nominal must stand in extraposition, cf. Hetzron (1970: p.304) and Getatchew (1970: p.104), e.g.:-

- (42) almaz əta wāttabbat "A lot was drawn (literally:
came out) against Almaz".
(Getatchew ib.).
- (43) almaz əta wāttallat "A lot was drawn for Almaz".
(ib.).

1.5 Similarly in construction where a suffix B-pronoun expresses necessity, the person or object under obligation may only appear in extraposition (Hetzron ib: p.308), e.g.:-

- (44) yəh səw məhed alləbbət "This man has to go".
- (45) ennəzzih səwočč məhed "These men have to go".
alləbbaččəw

1.6 Consider now extrapositional sentences containing the impersonal verb təgəbba (to behave, be right for), e.g.:-

- (46) yəhəm gudday lə'aləm "This matter is (the fact) that
səttəta əndihon mənğəstat governments must help one another
ləmərrədaddat yammiggəbbaččəw in order for there to be security
in the world".
(HS. 262/16).
- (47) yə'aləm mangəstočč "The trust which it is suitable
lətəwawalut wəl məstət for nations of the world to repose
yəmmiggəbbaččəw əmnət in treaties which they have made".
(HS. 262/19).

In these constructions the object of the verb təgəbba is extraposed in clause initial position. In each case the extraposed nominal is, semantically, the subject (agent) participant of an infinitive. The infinitive contains the major semantic content of the clause, the verb təgəbba is simply a modal auxiliary. There seems to be a degree of fluidity in the status of the infinitive. Sometimes it is construed as the grammatical subject of təgəbba (Example (47)), other times it appears to be its complement (Example (46), where the infinitive is preceded by lə- and təgəbba is evidently interpreted as being impersonal). The first type is probably the original construction, in which the agent of the major

content verb is placed in clause-initial 'subject' position, since it is the centre of attention of the clause. It is extraposed in front of the infinitive, which functions as grammatical subject, yet which, as an abstract inanimate, is less 'subject worthy'. In constructions such as Example (46) the syntactic status of the infinitive has been adjusted to the semantic or logical structure of the clause.¹² cf. Praetorius (Amh. Spr. p.417) for analogous constructions with other auxiliary verbs:-

- (48) yā'əsra'el ləğočč yāmusen "So that the children of Israel
fit mayyät əskissanaččaw could not see the face of Moses".
dəras (ib.).
- (49) mannəm lə'əgzī'abəher "Nobody can sanctify it for the
yəqəddəsət zənd Lord". (ib.).
ayyəččaləwəm

2.0 Extraposition performing discourse function.

2.1 Marking span boundaries.

An Ex construction opening with a referent which is prominent (i.e. has topic status) within the preceding and/or subsequent discourse sometimes marks the onset of a new span of discourse.

2.11 Shift in topic, e.g.:- (overpage)

- (50) kaḡebuti eskä addis abäba "The Jibuti to Addis Ababa
yallaw yämäder babur railway - when it was required
läityopya yämihon mässariya that equipment intended for
ändittälalläfebbätenna Ethiopia be transported by it
läityopya mängäst and that it served the Ethiopian
endiyagäläggäl bätätäyyäqä government, many difficulties
gize mässariyaw bäzziya bakkul were made to prevent the
endaygäba bezu čegger tädärrägä equipment from entering by that
lahunu sä'at gen bäityopya west route. Yet at present this is
yalaggäbab lägäbbaw läitalya the principal route of trans-
särawit wanna yäsənqenna portation of supplies and arms
yamässariya mammälaläša honwal for the Italian army which has
entered Ethiopia illicitly".
(HS. 261/29 ff.).

With the Ex construction at the beginning of this passage attention is shifted to the topic "the Jibuti to Addis Ababa railway". This referent is prominent in the subsequent clauses.

Extrapolation frequently occurs in the first clause of fables in which the protagonist of the fable is introduced, e.g.:-

- (51) set zənḡäro balwa motäbbat "A she-monkey - her husband
lela dägmo agabbač died to her grief. She married
another ...".
(Cohen, Traité, p.393).

2.12 Shift in temporal axis, e.g.:-

- (52) "The Emperor Menilek was accidentally seized by an illness. He then collected the bishop and priests, and the officers and army and made known to us his son, the Heir-Apparent. He gave us his sincere and important advice that we should not quarrel among ourselves".

getaččen ase menilek hämämaččaw "Our master the Emperor Menilek -
bärteto ebet hämäwalaččaw aznän his illness having become more

(continued overpage)

(52) continued:

salān errāñña yālellaččāw
bāgočč endanbāttān yalga
wāraš lēgaččāwēn lēg iyasun
bāmastataččāw əgğəg dās alān

severe, whilst we were grieving
at his being confined to his
house, we were very pleased at
his giving us the heir to the
throne, his son Lēg Iyasu, so that
we might not be scattered like
sheep without a shepherd".
(Eadie, Reader, 167/6 ff.).

"The Emperor Mēnilək" has topic status throughout this passage.
The Ex construction marks an advance along the temporal axis.

A clause opening with a topic constituent which is the grammatical subject of the verb sometimes also marks span boundaries, both on the dimension of topic and on other axes, e.g.: Mēn. 61/1 (shift in topic), Mēn. 60/22 (shift to background information).

2.2 Occasionally the extraposition of a nominal is motivated solely by its prominent status within the discourse, for instance Example (6). The referent "the Ethiopian people" plays a central rôle within the discourse, yet the Ex construction as a whole does not coincide with any significant span boundary.

2.3 Extraposition is sometimes used to achieve structural balance between two clauses. Consider Example (10). In this example a nominal is extraposed before two closely parallel co-ordinate clauses, both of which contain an element referring to it. Extraposition of this referent has the effect of rendering both clauses equal in 'weight'. This structural parallelism between the two clauses underscores their semantic equivalence.

B Pronominal Agreement.

In certain syntactic constructions the occurrence or non-occurrence of agreement pronouns is fixed by an invariable grammatical rule. These constructions must be distinguished from those in which agreement pronouns are optional.

1.0 Resumption of a verb complement is obligatory when the adnominal case marker lä is employed as a correspondent to the adpronominal B, and when the adnominal bä...lay corresponds to the adpronominal L, e.g.:-

- (53) yeh sera läzzih säw bezu "This work took this man a
 gize wässädabbät long time".
 (Hetzron 1970: p.307).

but not

yeh sera läzzih säw bezu
 gize wässädä

- (54) ahun gen bännantä lay "... but now, as God had
 leločč addisočč čäwa commanded us, we have sent new
 əgzi'abəher əndazzəzən dignitaries for you".
 lekänellačhual (Hetzron 1966: p.92).

Omission of the resumptive L clitic in (54) would give a different meaning to the preposition bä...lay, viz. one of 'imposing'. If this preposition is used with the sense of 'putting something at someone's disposal', then the noun to which it is affixed must be resumed by an L pronoun. Also when a noun has two objects, one being the (alienable or unalienable) owner of the other, the owner is obligatorily recalled by a resumptive pronoun (Hetzron 1970, p.344), e.g.:-

- (55) sántiw almazen əgğwan qorrätat "The penknife cut Almaz (on)
 her hand". (Getatchew 1970: p.104).

and not

sántiw almazen əgğwan qorrätä

- (56) leḅaw almazən gānzāḅ sārriqat "The thief stole money (from)
Almaz". (ib.).¹³
and not

leḅaw almazən gānzāḅ sārriqā

The resumption of the verb complement is also obligatory when the case marker -n is used as a correspondent to the adpronominal B,¹⁴ e.g.:-

- (57) mākinawən tātāqqāmkuḅbat "I used the car".
(Hetzron 1970: p.309).
and not

mākinawən tātāqqāmku

On the other hand the resumption either of the agent of a passive verb which is preceded by bā- or kā- or of the complement of the preposition kā...gar(a)¹⁵ is impossible (Hetzron 1966, p.86).

Furthermore no more than one clitic pronoun can be attached to a verb, the B and L clitics taking precedence over the object pronoun and an object suffix corresponding to a verb complement which is other than a direct object having priority over an object suffix which corresponds symmetrically to a direct object nominal (Hetzron 1966: p.96 ; Polotsky 1960: p.120).

Consequently the possibility of the resumption of a direct object is precluded when the verb already carries a pronoun of the B or L series or an object suffix which does not correspond to a direct object complement. This applies to such cases as Examples (58) and (59):-

- (58) əserun amṭulleñ "Bring me the prisoner".
(Mən. 61/22).

- (59) yəhan dāḅḅabbe man sātṭāḅ "Who gave you this letter?".
(Mən. 61/23).

- (ii) A fiú ír egy levelet The boy writes a letter-Acc.
(SVO)
"The boy is writing a (specific)
letter".
- (iii) A fiú levelet ír The boy letter-Acc writes.
(SOV)
"The boy is writing a letter",
i.e. is busy letter-writing.

Hetzron (ib. 90) holds that the object in (i) and (ii) occurs at the end of the clause since it is being 'presented' for use in the subsequent discourse, whereas the object in (iii) is employed simply to "narrow down the specificity of the action performed by the boy".

This theory of the 'presentative function' of Amharic pronominal agreement is valid for many examples of the construction. Consider the following cases where the noun phrase which is resumed by a pronoun is referred to in the subsequent discourse:-

- (60) bāzziyan gize nəgusu ənnāzziyan "Then the king ordered that
səwoččə əndiyasməttwəččəw azzazu those men be brought in. When
bəməttum gize ləyyəbeččəččəw they came he seated them each
asqəmməttwəččəw on their own". (Men. 63/16).
- (61) tōrənnət endə təğəmmərə bə1928 "At the beginning of the war in
a.m. yəitalya ayroplanoččə bətor 1928 A.M., Italian aeroplanes
sərawitoččə lay gaz lakrimožen launched tear-gas bombs upon my
yalləbbət bomb təlubbaččəw armies. These bombs did not
yəhəm bomb əğğəg algwəddaččəwəm harm them very greatly".
nəbbər (HS. 254/32).

A noun phrase which is resumed is also often contrasted with something which follows (cf. p. 360), e.g.:-

(overpage)

- (62) kazzihem bāhwala hassätāññawen "After this he ordered that they
määl'ektāñña yögärfut zänd flog the lying messenger. But
azzazu aläqa kidana wälden gen Aläqa Kidana Wäld, after he
enāwari egzē'tena maryamen (Mēnilək) had established (the
täklāw yāšāwan liqā kahenatennät church) of Our Lady of Enāwari,
čämmerāw akberaw šomut he (M.) honoured (him (A.K.W.))
and appointed him (over the
church) adding the position of
the chief priesthood of Shoa".
(Mēn. 63/34 ff.).

However, just as many examples can be found in which the resumed noun phrase is neither referred to in the subsequent discourse nor contrasted with anything else, e.g.:-

- (63) mäqdäla tasrāw yānābbäruten "The nobles and Imams of Wallo
yāwällonēna yāwārāhimānon and of Wārāhimāno, who had been
yemamawen mä^wanentunem imprisoned at Mäqdäla, having
ägğäččāwen egräččāwen cut off their hands and feet,
əyyäqorräṭu gadal he threw them over the cliff".
säddädu'äččāw (Mēn. 55/24) - end of paragraph,
no subsequent mention of 'the
nobles and the Imams of Wallo and
of Wārāhimāno.

- (64) färäsunem bäläqqäqut gize "When they abandoned (each his
and ən^wk a aškar sayyamält own) horse, he (Imam Abba Waṭāw)
kānnāsārāwitu tāyazza was captured with his army
kazzih bah^w al yemamu abba without even one soldier escaping.
waṭāwən asrāw näftun After this, having imprisoned Imam
asäbsəbāw bəyāḡu äğğäč Abba Waṭāw, having gathered up his
walen yabbatun agar šomaw rifles, having appointed Dəjjac
tāmällesāw wārāyēlu Wale to his father's land in Yāju,
əkätāmawo gäbtaw kārrāmu having returned, he (Mēnilək) spent
the rainy season in his town at
Wārāyēlu". (Mēn. 69/7 ff.) - end
of paragraph, no further mention of
the horses.

It might be argued that the pronominal agreement constructions in these examples can be accommodated into Hetzron's scheme on the grounds that "what is going to be said later is, in some manner, relevant" to the referents which are recalled by a pronoun (cf. p.9). However such an argument would be vacuous because it is a fundamental maxim of discourse that every sentence should be "in some manner relevant" to what precedes it (Grice 1975).

Several other pieces of evidence can be adduced against the claim that pronominal agreement is presentative.

When two items are put together for the sake of contrast, the presentative theory would only require that the first item of the pair be resumed by a pronoun, since the second item is not contrasted with anything in the subsequent discourse. However in such contrasted pairs very often the second item is also resumed, e.g.:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| (65) nāgar gen yəhən fərd
mäsafaččən bəmāngəstwo
māḡamməriya seld honā
safnāw enḡi kəzzih
bāh ^w ala əskahun
yātāfərrādāwən fərd
hullu lenəsəfāw
annečələm | "However, as for our writing this judgment down, we wrote it down because it happened at the beginning of his reign. But all the judgments which were passed after this up to the present we cannot write down".
(Mən. 66/28 ff.). |
|---|---|

If the occurrence of an agreement pronoun was determined solely by the fact that a referent was being presented for use in the following discourse, then the 'presentative' resumptive pronoun should co-occur with both definite and indefinite nominals. Indeed in the Hungarian construction, which is adduced by Hetzron as a parallel phenomenon, the postulated 'presentative movement' is applied to both definite and indefinite nominals. In reality, however, pronominal agreement in Amharic is almost completely restricted to definite nominals.¹⁷ Resumptive pronouns are systematically avoided after indefinite nominals, even when they are referred to in the subsequent discourse, e.g.:-

(overpage)

(66) bašeftənnāte bārāha lābārāha
səhed mənəkuse agaññahu yam
mənəkuse tenəgsallāh nəgār
gən yasaddəghaw səw kəbetəh
yāwātta elāt mənəgestəh
yatral blo nəggārāññ

"As I was going from wilderness
to wilderness in my banditry, I
came across a monk. This monk
told me: 'You will be king, but
from the day that the man whom
you have brought up leaves your
house, your reign will be short'".
(Men. 56/12 ff.).

Getatchew (1970) states that a verb complement which stands at the beginning of the sentence and is resumed by an agreement pronoun has a status similar to that of an element which is the focus of contrastive stress in English. Contrastive stress is essentially a corrective device whereby the speaker insists that one particular element and not any other element which he presupposes the hearer has in mind is to be selected for the rôle in question.¹⁸ This definition hardly seems applicable to the majority of cases of pronominal agreement.

Getatchew then introduces the term 'topic', declaring that a clause initial nominal which is recalled by a pronoun is the topic of the sentence (ib. 105). He maintains that this is proved by the fact that if a referent which is not the subject of the clause is mentioned in a following clause, then this referent must be made the topic of the first clause, i.e. by fronting and pronominal agreement. If I understand aright, Getatchew makes no statement about the status of an 'agreed-with' verb complement which stands after the subject, i.e. not in clause initial position. He restricts himself to constructions in which the verb complement is fronted before the subject. However, text counts indicate that this type of pronominal agreement construction is far less frequent than those in which the verb complement is not shifted from its normal position after the subject or those which contain no subject nominal. In the following table X represents any verb complement (object or prepositional phrase) and x_i is a co-referential resumptive pronoun:-

(table overpage)

	XSVx _i	SXVx _i or XVx _i
Men. 55-71		
No. of instances	4	27
%	12.9	87.09
HS. 250-264		
No. of instances	12	28
%	30	70
Total no. of instances	16	55
Total %	22.5	77.5

Moreover it has been shown that by no means all nominals which are resumed by an agreement pronoun are referred to in the subsequent discourse. Consequently to invoke this as a defining feature of the construction is unsatisfactory.

2.2 It can be shown that Amharic agreement pronouns exhibit a pattern of occurrence which is analogous to that of agreement pronouns in other Semitic languages. There are two major factors which are operative, viz. (i) the status of the nominal, and (ii) the status of the clause as a whole within the discourse.

2.21 Status of the nominal.

Agreement pronouns characteristically occur with nominals which are highly individuated.

2.21 continued:

The first argument which may be advanced in support of this statement is that agreement pronouns are by and large restricted to nominals which have definite status (see above). Moreover a text count shows that in both Mən. and HS. there is a marked preponderance of 'agreed-with' human referents over 'agreed-with' inanimates.¹⁹

Mən. 55-71

	HUMAN	INANIMATE
No. of instances	24	8
%	75	25

HS. 250-264

	HUMAN	NATION	INANIMATE
No. of instances	20	10	8
		30	
%	52.6	26.3	21
		78.9	

Nominals referring to nations were considered to be essentially human in nature. In HS. most of the instances of 'agreed-with' nations are constituted by the noun *Ityopia*, e.g.:-

(67) bāityopya yādarrasabbat
əddəl əndaydärsebbacčaw

"So that the fate which has
overtaken Ethiopia does not
overcome them".

(HS. 264/15).

- (71) bārasu yāmmidārsēbbātən
yāmmitābbēqāwən yəhən
əddəl masāb yəggābbawal
"It is proper for it (Europe)
to consider this fate which
awaits it and which is bound
to come upon it".
(HS. 255/35).
- (72) bārasu əndātādārrāgəbbāt
" ... that it was waged against
itself". (HS. 260/26).

In this point Amharic differs from other Semitic languages in which agreement pronouns are avoided with reflexive verb complements. Evidently the humanness of the nominal dominates the non-individuated nature of the reflexive.²¹

In all the examples I found in which an independent first person pronoun is the complement of a verb, the pronoun is resumed by an agreement clitic:-

- (73) bāhedār wār 1927 a.m.
yātādārrāgəw yāwəlwal tēb
lāne bādəngət kāsəmay
əndā wārrādā mābrāq qutta
hono tāsammaññ
"The Walwal conflict which
occurred in Hedar 1927 A.M.
was felt (lit. heard) by me
like a flash of lightning
which suddenly falls from
the sky".
(HS. 257/11).
- (74) ənnantəm lāne əngədəyen
məšəññət attasaferuññ
"And you, do not make me
ashamed to accompany my
guest". (Mən. 69/33).
- (75) bē'ərun lāñña sētan
"Give us the pen".
(Hartmann, Am. Gram. p.378).
- (76) ərsu lāne māšhaf yəsātāññal
"He gives me the book". (ib.).
- (77) lāne nəgārāññ
"Tell me!" (ib.).

cf. also the examples adduced by Praetorius from the Amharic Bible (Amh. Spr. p.279).

This situation is not surprising since the first person pronoun is at the head of the perceptual salience hierarchy.

Agreement pronouns also regularly occur with second person independent pronominal complements, e.g.:-

- (78) lállanta sággá yehunellaččehu "For you let there be grace".
(Praetorius, Amh. Spr. p.279).

As for inanimate nominals which are resumed by an agreement pronoun, in most cases they can be shown to be in some way textually prominent:-

- (79) yázare səmmənt wār amsa "It is I who have followed the
huləttu māngəstočč policy which the fifty-two
yətəkəttəluten polətika nations pursued these last
enemm təkəttəyye nəwənnə eight months and I would remind
yehənnənu polətikaččəwn them not to forget this policy
əndayzanəggut asasəballəhu of theirs".
(HS. 259/29 - polətika is given
in the first clause).
- (80) yehənənəmm məl'əkt səfo "He wrote this message and gave
land səw sətəw endih sil it to a man saying as follows:
kəwəldə amānuəl bet gəbtəh 'Having entered wəldə-Amanuel's
yehənən dəbdabbe kəəqaw house, put this letter for me
wəst anurəlləññ šumun amongst his belongings' ... The
wəldə amānuələn əğgun yəzo chief having arrested wəldə-
betun asqəsqəsqəw yaččəmm Amanuel, he had his house
yətənkol dəbdabbe kəbetu ransacked. That deceptive letter
təgəññəčč was found in his house".
(Men. 61/9 ff. - the referent of
betun figures prominently
within the paragraph; it is
mentioned three times).
- (81) bəzziyān gize nəgusumm "Then when the king compared the
kətabunənnə dəbdabbəwn amulet and the letter, the pen and
biyastəyayyut bə'əru səhfətu the writing were the same form".
and məlk honə (ib. 62/10 - the amulet and the

(continued overpage)

- (81) continued: letter play a central rôle in the anecdote from which this example is taken. This is explicitly demonstrated by their frequent mention).
- (82) bəzzihumm mekneyat
batadarrəgaw təfat
ityopyanna aləm hullu
eḡḡeg təkəggərubbət
"For this reason Ethiopia and the whole world have experienced great difficulties over the calamity which took place".
(HS. 257/23 - batadarrəgaw təfat refers to the Walwal conflict, which has topic status in this section of the discourse).
- (83) bərəqiq məngəd məbbəlallət
wanawen nəgər liləwwetaw
wayem yəkərəkərun məngəd
bəlela bəkkul liməraw
ayyeggəbbam
"It is not right to change the main issue or lead the discussion in another direction by subtle comparisons".
(HS. 262/28 - the phrases 'the main issue' and 'the direction of the discussion', as is indicated by their meaning, refer to the central theme of the discourse).
- In a similar manner genitive agreement pronouns occur with nomina recta which are highly individuated. They are frequently used with human proper nouns (cf. Praetorius, Amh. Spr. p.308; Cohen, Nouvelles Etudes, p.117), e.g. Examples (30) - (32) and further:-
- (84) polisočču gen yəšəmälləsən
liqənnətun enḡi aləmabədun
arrəgagtaw
"The police having been convinced of the learning of Šəmälləs and that he was not mad".
(Kapeliuk 1972: p.205).
- (85) yələḡ kasam egerwo
"The foot of the young Kasa".
(Praetorius ib.).

The following are examples of XSVx₁ clauses in which the subject conveys new information:-

- (91) bähulättum hassatāññočč
bäsəhafiwem basafəwem
yəmot fərd təfərrədəbbaččəw "Upon both the liars, both the scribe and the man who had made him write, a sentence of death was pronounced". (Mən. 62/22 ff.).
- (92) bəityopya yətor sərəwit
lay epirit yalləbbət
bərmel wəddəqəbbaččəw "Casks containing yperite fell upon the Ethiopian army". (HS. 255/2).
- (93) yəhen sərə ənk^wənəs
krəstiyān əhzabəm
ayyadərgəw "Let alone Christians, pagans do not do this sort of thing". (Eadie, Reader 169/3).

This rule is sometimes broken when, for the sake of clarity, a long verb complement is placed at the beginning of the clause, e.g.:-

- (94) bəwəttaddəroččəččən
bəsetoččəna bəleğəčč
bəkəbtoččəna bəfəsəš
wənzəčč bəkuriwoččəna
bəkəbt məssəməriyawəčč
botawəčč lay sayyaq^warret
mot yəmmiyaməta yeh zənab
zənnəbəbbaččəw "This death-dealing rain descended uninterruptedly upon our soldiers, upon women, children, cattle, streams, stagnant water, and pastures". (HS. 255/15).

Here the verb complement is fronted to prevent the subject from being separated from its verb by a long distance.

F O O T N O T E S

1. See Introduction, p. 24.
2. This is only possible if the qualified head noun is subject of the qualifying relative clause, for no more than one pronominal suffix can be attached to the verb.
3. In fact this only applies to constructions in which the initial nominal can be construed as the grammatical subject of the main clause.
4. Cohen (Traité, p.344) alludes to this ambiguity of structure. It can only be resolved by studying the intonational contour of such sentences when they are spoken.
5. No more than one clitic pronoun can be suffixed to the verb. Moreover, in the case of coincidence L or B pronouns are given priority over object pronouns.
6. Anticipatory agreement pronouns are occasionally attested. They occur chiefly in imperative constructions, in which the verb complement is sometimes placed after the verb; cf. Cohen, Traité p.350.
7. Kapeliuk (1972: p.211) cites examples of constructions in which the subject is subordinated to the infinitive by means of yā- .

8. cf. Cohen, *Traité*, p.94; *Nouvelles Études*, p.113.
9. Extraposition is not absolutely obligatory. The patient of the state or process may be placed in the object case (-n) and subsequently resumed on the verb by an agreement pronoun, e.g.:-
rasehen yəbārdāw əgrəhən yəmuqāw "Your head is cold, your feet
are hot". (Eadie, *Reader*, p.23).
cf. also Getatchew (1970), examples 26-28.
10. cf. Zubin 1979 and Introduction, p. 22.
- 10a. Similar impersonal verbs existed in Middle English, e.g. hine hungreð. The human participant was the direct object of the verb. In later English the human participant was construed as the grammatical subject and the erstwhile impersonal verb as its predicate, viz. he hungers, cf. van der Gaaf (1904), Butler (1977). In other words, English achieved by diachronic reanalysis what Amharic has achieved by synchronic syntactic adjustment.
11. In spoken Amharic the possessor nominal is sometimes preceded by yä-, e.g. yänem assər qāfo allän "I have ten beehives". (Goldenberg 1981: p.45).
12. For similar adjustments in Amharic syntax to reflect logical structure, cf. Kapeliuk (1972: p.184).
13. If the owner in this sentence is preceded by the preposition kä- instead of being the direct object of the verb, then resumption is not obligatory (cf. Hetzron, *ib.* p.312):- lebaw käalmaz gänzəb särräqä.
14. According to Hetzron (*ib.*) a nominal marked with -n can only be used as the adnominal counterpart to the adpronominal B if it is an 'organic' complement of the verb. In Example (57) the verb tätäqqämä implies the presence of an instrument. However, in
(i) bāmākinaw mättaččəbbät "She came with the car"
the verb 'come' does not necessarily imply that an instrument

is involved, i.e. bāmākinaw is 'incidental to the verb and so cannot alternate with mākinawən'. This statement is contradicted by Fulas (1972: p.119), who accepts examples such as (ii) and (iii):-

(ii) Almaz mākinawən māttaččəbbət

(iii) Almaz mākinawən hedəččəbbət

15. In the case of the complement of kā...gar(a), although it cannot be resumed by a clitic pronoun on the main verb, it may be recalled by an object clitic on the gerund of the auxiliary verb abbāra (for persons) or yaza (for things), e.g.:-

kāne gara abroññess yāmmihed "The one who goes with me".
(Mən. 65/25).

16. It is unnecessary to do more than mention the glib statement of Dawkins (1960: para. 202) that Amharic agreement pronouns are "... quite redundant, adding nothing to the sense ...".

17. For exceptions see Footnote 19.

18. See Introduction, p. 25.

19. In the few sporadic cases in which an agreement pronoun resumes an indefinite nominal the referent is usually human and is moreover individuated in some additional way. For instance,

(i) the nominal consists of a noun + restrictive modifier

(see Introduction, p. 22), e.g.:-

dāgmo bāməsraq bākkul andun "Also towards the east he
aškārun gulaš yāmmibbaləwen had sent one of his servants
yāčəfra aləqa səddot nəbbər the troop leader called Gulaš".
(Mən. 57/27).

(continued overpage)

or

(ii) the nominal stands in some form of opposition to another nominal, e.g.:-

nəgər gen bandu səm andun tərrow "But he called one by the name
of (another) one".
(Men. 63/30).

20. See Introduction, p. 22.

21. cf. the remarks of Hyman and Zimmer (1976: p.204) on the French reflexive pronoun.

22. This is only a predominant tendency. Agreement pronouns are sporadically found with gerunds, e.g.:-

tabotə səyonən yəzənat "With the Ark of the Covenant
in our possession".
(Men. 19/21).

andun səw and səw gədlot "One man having killed another
man". (A.L. 68/24).

23. This of course only applies to sentences which contain a full subject.

C O M P A R A T I V E

S E M I T I C

S Y N T A X

COMPARATIVE SEMITIC SYNTAX

The major aim of this thesis has been to develop a method of analysis for explaining the function of certain syntactic constructions in Semitic languages on a synchronic basis. By way of a concluding synthesis I shall now discuss briefly the rôle of syntax in comparative Semitic linguistics.

A group of languages can be considered to be historically related if they exhibit a systematic correspondence of sounds in their morphology. Such an inference may be justified on two grounds. Firstly, in the morphology of a language the connection between form and meaning is fundamentally arbitrary.¹ Given the vast potential for variation in the combination of phonological elements into grammatical forms, it is highly unlikely that a systematic correspondence between sound and meaning across two or more languages could be the result of pure chance. Secondly, morphology, especially inflectional morphology, is relatively resistant to radical linguistic change, either through internal diachronic development or by contact with other languages.² The morphology of each of a number of related languages may undergo a certain degree of change through phonetic or analogical processes, yet this is rarely sufficient to obliterate all features which could be used to establish a genetic connection between them.

A correspondence between syntactic constructions across two or more languages, however, cannot be used to establish their genetic relationship with any degree of certainty. Syntax lacks both the

aforementioned features of morphology which qualify it to be employed to identify cross-linguistic historical connections.

The number of logically possible structural variations which may occur within a given parameter of syntax is usually very low. Sometimes the option for variation is no more than binary as in, for instance, the linear sequence of a modifier and its head. Consequently it is extremely probable, if not inevitable, that a certain type of syntactic construction could occur in two or more languages by chance. In fact the potential for variation in syntax is sometimes restricted further by the fact that, unlike the connection between morphological form and meaning, the relation between syntactic structure and meaning is not always arbitrary. This point is illustrated by the distribution of word order types in the recorded languages of the world. The three nuclear clause constituents S, O, and V can be arranged linearly in six logically possible ways: (a) SOV, (b) SVO, (c) VSO, (d) VOS, (e) OVS, (f) OSV. The vast majority of the world's languages, however, belong to one of types (a) - (c), in which the subject precedes the object.³ Types (d) - (f) have very few representatives.⁴ It is likely that the predominance of word orders in which the subject preceded the object has a psychological basis. Specifically the subject of a clause is typically more perceptually salient than the object and so is the more natural cognitive point of departure.⁵ In so far as syntax may correlate with an extra-linguistic phenomenon which is amenable to independent testing such as perceptual salience, it is to be considered iconic, i.e. directly symbolic, rather than arbitrary in structure.⁶

Syntax, moreover, unlike morphology, can undergo radical change either through internal diachronic development or by contact with another language. In the historically documented periods of English

and Greek, for instance, a shift from SOV to SVO syntax has occurred by internal linguistic processes.⁷ The rigidly verb-final word order of Amharic, on the other hand, as well as other aspects of syntax which are alien to classical Ethiopic are generally thought to be the result of contact with the Cushitic languages.⁸ In view of the very low potential for variation in constituent sequence, shifts such as these are major changes in syntax.

It is not viable, therefore, to posit a historical connection between two or more languages on the basis of their syntax. Similarly, given two or more languages which are shown to be genetically related by regular sound correspondences in their morphology, it is not feasible to make historical judgements as to whether a certain language exhibits conservative or innovatory syntax. This can only be established if they are amply documented in all periods down to the time of their divergence.⁹ If, on the other hand, extensive bilingualism can be shown to have existed between two languages which have been in geographical contact at a certain point in history, it is reasonable to postulate that a convergence of syntactic features is the result of areal diffusion.

In the Semitic language group we clearly have no linguistic documentation which records the division and formation of the major subgroups. Comparative Semitic syntax, therefore, cannot be diachronic. It must be restricted to a synchronic typological classification. Since, however, we have a considerable amount of evidence for bilingualism, or sometimes even trilingualism, in certain areas, and usually have records of both the substrate and the superstrate languages which are involved, typological parallelism may sometimes be explained as the result of cross-linguistic areal diffusion.¹⁰

Taking account of the foregoing methodological points, Ex and PA constructions in Semitic languages may be arranged in the following three-way classification schema:-

1. Construction types the existence of which is dependent upon some other syntactic feature of the language.
2. Construction types which occur in a language under the influence of another language with which it is, or has been, in contact.
3. Construction types which occur independently of other syntactic features and which are not the result of areal diffusion.

I shall now illustrate each category by a number of examples. In the following survey the focus is on construction types which occur in more than one Semitic language. My intention is to exemplify cross-linguistic typological parallelism and suggest the reason for its occurrence. Each category in the above schema corresponds broadly to a separate cause of typological parallelism. It may be stated in advance that most construction types fall into the third category. Where appropriate, Semitic languages which have not been treated in the previous chapters are also discussed.

1. Construction types the existence of which is dependent upon some other syntactic feature of the language.

Several constructions of this type are attested in Amharic, see Chapter 5 II A 1.0. Typological parallels to some of these can be found in other Semitic languages:-

- (a) Extraposition of the nominal referring to the possessor in possessive constructions.

AMHARIC:-

- (1) kabbada məshaf allaw "kabbada has a book
(literally: kabbada - to
him is a book)".

In constructions such as these the extraposition is motivated by two syntactic features of Amharic: (i) the nuclear clause is normally subject-initial; (ii) in possessive constructions the grammatical subject is the item which is possessed. Since the item which is possessed is not a suitable starting point for the clause, the initial subject slot has to be filled by the possessor nominal. This nominal is endowed with subject properties by placing it in extraposition (see Chapter 5 II A 1.3). Typological parallels are found in some Arabic dialects which also exhibit features (i) and (ii), e.g.:-

EGYPTIAN ARABIC:-

- (2) ^cumar ^candu ktāb "Umar has a book".

MALTESE:-

- (3) pawlu ġandu ktieb "Pawlu has a book".

The parallel feature of this construction in Amharic, Egyptian Arabic, and Maltese is that it is the normal form of expression. The construction does occur in other Semitic languages which only possess feature (ii), e.g. Classical Arabic (Chapter 1, Example (151)), Biblical Hebrew (Num. 26/33), Syriac (Chapter 3b, Example (1)). Since, however, these languages do not have the additional feature of canonical subject-initial word

order, extraposition is not the norm in possessive constructions. Rather it is employed to perform specific discourse functions such as the marking of span boundaries. They do not, therefore, provide true typological parallels to (1) - (3) above.

- (b) Extraposition of the agent of the verb expressing the major semantic content in constructions containing a modal auxiliary the grammatical subject of which does not coincide with this agent. For Amharic see Chapter 5, Examples (46) - (49). The extraposition is motivated by two syntactic features: (i) the nuclear clause is normally subject initial; (ii) the modal auxiliaries either have the main predicate as their grammatical subject or else they are impersonal and so stand without any grammatical subject. The agent of the main predicate, therefore, is normally placed in the subject slot and endowed with subject properties by placing it in extraposition. This is because the modal either has no subject at all or at least none that is suitable to act as starting point. Typological parallels are again provided by some Arabic dialects which possess the aforementioned two features, e.g.:-

EGYPTIAN ARABIC:-

- | | |
|---|---|
| (4) ilhikāya di mumkin
titsabbab fi karāb
buyūt nās kitīr | "This business could cause
the ruin of many people's
houses". |
| (5) lakin ilha'ī'a
kan yagib tizhar | "But the truth should have
come out". |

Also with nominal modals, e.g.:-

(6) ^cumar biddu yrawwah "Umar would like to go home".

(7) ^cumar nifsu yrawwah "Umar very much wants to go home".

In both Amharic and Egyptian extraposition is the norm in constructions with modal auxiliaries of this nature.

2. Construction types which occur in a language under the influence of another language with which it is, or has been, in contact.

In some Semitic languages the existence of Pronominal Agreement constructions may be the result of grammatical borrowing from another language.

Kutscher (1971: pp. 356-7) claims that the use of anticipatory genitive suffixes arose in Eastern Official Aramaic¹¹ under the influence of Akkadian. He bases his argument on the fact that this construction was absent in Old Aramaic and first appears in the Behistun inscription where it parallels the Akkadian version. Segal (Gram. Mish. Heb. pp. 191-3) attributes the extensive use of anticipatory agreement pronouns in Mishnaic Hebrew to Aramaic influence. He correctly points out, however, that the construction is already sporadically attested in Biblical Hebrew. According to Fischer (1909), the use of agreement pronouns in the Syrian Arabic dialect is the result of Aramaic influence and their occurrence in Moroccan Arabic the result of Berber influence.

I suggest that there is at least one other case where PA could have arisen through areal contact with another language. In view of the extensive influence of Sumerian on Akkadian sentence structure (cf. Von Soden, GAG, para. 130b (word order); 1965 (perfect tense); Aro 1961 (infinitive constructions)), it is possible that PA in Akkadian may have originally been a grammatical calque of the Sumerian construction in which nominals are resumed by pronominal infixes or prefixes on the verb; cf. Römer 1982; pp. 53-4 for examples.

Whatever the validity of these hypotheses about areal diffusion may be, they do not affect the viability of studying the function of PA in each individual language on a synchronic basis. In all the Semitic languages possessing PA which have been examined in the previous chapters, PA is a productive feature of the linguistic 'systeme'. The purpose of this section has been to suggest an explanation for the parallel existence of PA as a typological feature in a number of geographically contiguous language areas.¹²

3. The majority of cases of typological correspondence in EX and PA constructions across the Semitic languages must be regarded as independent parallel development. The parallelism often arises on account of the fact that the construction type in question exhibits features which are common to many languages of the world and which can usually be correlated with some independently verifiable psychological or physical phenomenon. Examples:-

(overpage)

- (a) The use of Ex or PAR to mark the onset of various discourse spans has been shown to cut across the whole Semitic area. Most Semitic languages also employ S - V sequences to perform this function. In both cases the initial item is always salient in that it has topic status in the preceding and/or subsequent discourse. Another feature of these constructions which has been frequently noted in the previous chapters is that the initial item is generally a full nominal. This occurs even when the referent of the nominal has topic status in the immediately preceding discourse and its explicit identification is redundant.

Recent work in cognitive psychology indicates that the syntactic configuration which is described above, viz. salient full nominal with topic status + clause is a psychologically appropriate incipit for a span of discourse. In terms of information processing, the placement of a familiar and cognitively salient item at the onset of a new segment of discourse reflects the fact that, in order for its assimilation to be effective, new information must be integrated into, or 'hooked onto', information which is already known.¹³ It has also been shown that the initial item in a clause is the element which is best remembered in free recall.¹⁴ Also, referents are better remembered when explicitly identified by a full nominal than when they are referred to by a pronoun or elliptical form.¹⁵ In other words referents are more memorable in proportion to their strength of identification, i.e. in proportion to their rank on the scale $\emptyset > \text{pronoun} > \text{full nominal}$.¹⁶ Full nominals which co-occur with a pronominal element such

as the items at the front of Ex/PAR or S - V clauses may be regarded as a particularly strong form of identification, stronger in fact than ordinary full nominals. An Ex/PAR or S - V clause coincides either with a point where a certain topic referent is made cognitively dominant (= topic shift) or with a point where the cognitive dominance of a topic referent is renewed and confirmed (= shift on some other axis of the discourse).

The typological parallelism, therefore, can be explained by the fact that the construction has an essentially psychological basis and is not arbitrary in structure.

- (b) Ex and PA clauses which mark span closure constitute a construction type which is attested in many Semitic languages. An important motivating factor for their use in this function is probably the physical 'ballast' which is given to the construction by the redundant resumptive or anticipatory pronoun. It is a widely observed phenomenon in language that in the linear sequence of components in a grammatical unit long or 'heavy' components tend to be placed at the end after the shorter ones. This was noted by Pānini in his rule of compounds¹⁷ and by many grammarians and rhetoricians since.¹⁸

It is manifested in several guises in Semitic languages.

In Biblical Hebrew poetry, for instance, the final verse of a poem or of a section is often longer than the verses which come before it (cf. Rowley, 1975: p.90). In Ugaritic poetry it is common for the last stichos of a verse to be made longer than the preceding stichoi (UT para. 13.110). Also

in the parallelistic constructions which are found in some types of Arabic prose the second member of a pair of parallel sentences is frequently of a greater length than the first (cf. Beeston 1974b: p.137).

Friedman (1971) has shown that, in Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew, when a nominal consists of two or more co-ordinated nouns the longest noun is usually placed in final position, e.g. 'ōb wəyiddē^cōnī rather than yiddē^cōnī wə'ōb. This tendency to give end weight to compound nominals often motivates the occurrence of allomorphic variants. In the Aramaic papyri from Elephantine, for instance, the possessive construction zyl + pronoun is used concomitantly with l + pronoun, the 'heavy' form zyl + pronoun only occurring within the last of a series of co-ordinated nominals, e.g.:
br wbrh lky w'yš zylky "Any son and daughter of yours and any one belonging to you" (Cowley 1923: 8/12); cf. ib. 28/8, 43/9. For the operation of the 'end weighting' principle in Biblical Aramaic word order, cf. Chapter 3b, Footnote 8.

Ex and PA constructions which mark span closure are often parallel in some way to the preceding clause or clauses, cf. Chapter 1, Examples (174), (175); Chapter 2, Examples (101), (102); Chapter 3b, Example (73); Chapter 4, Examples (124), (126), (127); Chapter 5, Example (90). The nominal which is resumed or anticipated by a pronoun in the Ex or PA clause constitutes the final item in a series of nominals of equivalent status. By means of the redundant co-occurring pronoun the nominal in the Ex or PA clause is identified more powerfully than the preceding ordinary nominals (see above). A closely related phenomenon is

represented by constructions such as those illustrated in Chapter 3b, Example (82), and Chapter 2, Example (77), in which the final clause contains a full nominal whereas in the preceding clause(s) explicit reference to the same referent in an equivalent slot is elided (i.e. 'zero anaphora'). Both this type of construction and Ex or PA clauses, therefore, mark closure by means of an identification which is stronger than that which is used in an equivalent position in the preceding clause(s).

As stated above, the use of the anticipatory or resumptive pronoun in the Ex or PA clause adds greater physical ballast to the closing construction and so may be explained as a manifestation of the general linguistic principle of end weighting. It has also been observed, however, that greater strength of identification makes for greater memorability. The nominal which is resumed or anticipated by a pronoun in Ex or PA clauses may accordingly be said to have also more 'cognitive weight' than the equivalent nominals in the preceding clauses.

The wide attestation of this construction type in Semitic languages, therefore, may be explained by the fact that it has in each case developed independently in conformity with certain general principles of language.

- (c) It has been observed that in many Semitic languages agreement pronouns predominantly co-occur with nominals which are of high individuation. This typological feature is a manifestation of the general phenomenon which is found in

many languages of the world whereby explicit verb complement markers only occur with highly individuated nominals. For examples from languages of various different genetic groups, cf. Moravcsik (1974) and Hopper and Thompson (1980). In Semitic languages it can also be detected in the distribution patterns of analytic object marker particles (cf. Khan 1984).

- (d) The widespread use of Ex in the Qur'ān, the Mishna, and the Akkadian Omen compendia and law codes is in each case the result of the desire to produce uniformity of structure and so facilitate memorization. This typological parallelism, therefore, is the consequence of the nature of human memory.¹⁹ Apart from this common motivation for the employment of Ex in the three text types, it is interesting to note that they also all independently exhibit a particular kind of Ex structure which is rarely found elsewhere, viz. one in which there is considerable syntactic disjointedness between the extraposed nominal and the rest of the clause, cf. pp. 42, 115, 183, 184, 256.

- (e) Two Ex construction types which occur independently in a number of Semitic languages are motivated by the requirements of stress distribution:-

- (i) The use of an independent resumptive pronoun to carry contrastive stress when the contrastively asserted referent is expressed in a long nominal phrase, cf. Chapter 2, II 3.0; Chapter 3a, II A 2.0; Chapter 3b, II 2.0; Chapter 4, II 6.0. This phenomenon is by no

means restricted to the Semitic language area,
cf. English: "The boy who broke the window, HE is
responsible, not you".

- (ii) The use of an independent resumptive pronoun to carry a stress beat in poetry. This is attested in Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian poetry as a means of adjusting a clause to a fixed metrical scheme, cf. Chapter 2, II, 4.0 (iii); Chapter 4, II, 8.0.

The foregoing discussion has shown that comparative Semitic syntax cannot be used as the basis for inferences of a historical nature. It can yield no more than a classification of synchronic 'types' of construction.

One of the greatest values of comparative Semitic syntax is not historical but heuristic. Having established the existence of certain linguistic principles in one language the investigator then seeks the same principles in a second language. This procedure often reveals facts, in the first and/or the second language, which he may not have been able to discern so easily in a monolingualistic perspective.

F O O T N O T E S

1. This principle was first established by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure.
2. cf. Meillet (1948: p.84).
3. cf. Greenberg (1966: p.110).
4. e.g. Malagasy, which has basic VOS order (cf. Keenan 1976) and some languages of the Amazon region which exhibit object initial syntax, i.e. types (e) and (f), (cf. Derbyshire and Pullum 1981).
5. cf. Comrie (1981: p.20). The view that the subject of a clause, or more precisely the agent, which generally correlates with the subject, forms the natural cognitive point of departure was already held by many nineteenth century linguists (cf. Sandmann 1954).
6. For the notion of 'iconicity' as the opposite of arbitrariness, cf. Hockett (1958: p.577). Onomatopoeic expressions such as cuckoo, growl, are generally cited as the only examples of iconic forms of word structure.
7. cf. McKnight (1928), Strang (1970), Gardner (1971) and Stockwell (1977) for English, and Lightfoot (1979: p.393-4) for Greek.

8. cf. Leslau (1945) and Titov (1959).

9. This methodological point was not appreciated by Brockelmann, who, in the Introduction to GVGSS II p.3, states that the syntax of Semitic languages can be compared "um festzustellen, inwieweit eine Sprache Redeweisen bewahrt hat, aus denen die einer anderen sich entwickelt haben können".

10. It should be mentioned that Rabin (1963) rejects the 'family tree' model of the development of the Semitic languages whereby distinct linguistic divisions were created by ethnic migrations and proposes an evolution based on areal diffusion along the lines of Trubetzkoy's theory of the history of Indo-European. This would require historical Semitic linguistics to be an exercise in dialect geography. Diachronic comparative syntax, however, would be equally impossible since we have no hope of acquiring documentation of the formation of all syntactic isoglosses across the Semitic area.

11. I am adopting here the historical classification of the Aramaic dialects which was proposed by J. A. Fitzmyer (1966: p.19, n.60), viz. Official Aramaic = 700 - 300 B.C.E.

12. cf. the study by Haas (1973) of PA in the Balkan languages. She shows that the construction has spread by areal diffusion to all languages of the Balkan Sprachbund despite the fact that these belong to different branches of Indo-European.

13. cf. Van Dijk (1977: p.117); Halliday (1970: p.161).

14. cf. MacWhinney (1977: p.164).

15. cf. Bates et al. (1980: p.44).
16. For 'strength of identification' cf. Grimes (1975: p.91).
17. cf. Cooper and Ross (1975).
18. For the general phenomenon cf. Gil (1982).
19. For references see Chapter 1, Footnote 66.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Ab.B. = Altbabylonische Briefe in Umschrift und Übersetzung hrsg. von F. Kraus. Leiden, 1964 -
- Abū^C Ubaida Ma^Cmar ibn al-Muḡannā. Majāz al-Qur'an. Ed. F. Sezgin, 2 vols., Cairo, 1954 - 1962.
- AfO = Archiv für Orientforschung.
- Āg. + Roman numeral = al-Isfahānī. Kitāb al-Āgānī. 20 vols., Bulaq, 1285 A.H.
- Āg. + Arabic numeral = al-Isfahānī. Kitāb al-Āgānī. Ed. Ahmad Zakī al-^CAdawī, Cairo 1927.
- Ahiq. = The story of Ahikar from the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek, and Slavonic versions by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and A. Smith Lewis. 2nd edition. London, 1914.
- AHw = Soden, W. von. Akkadisches Handwörterbuch. Wiesbaden, 1959 - 1981.
- AL = Abe Gubanna. And lannatu. Addis Ababa, 1961 (Ethiopian Calendar).
- Allwood, J., L. Andersson, and O. Dahl (1977). Logic in Linguistics. Cambridge.
- ^CAlqama = Die Gedichte des ^CAlkama Alfahl. Mit Anmerkungen hrsg. von A. Socin. Leipzig, 1867.
- Altorient. Bib. = Altorientalische Bibliothek. Ed. F. M. T. Böhl, B. Meissner, E. F. Weidner. Leipzig, 1926.
- Ambros, A. A. (1972). "Functionalität und Redundanz in den arabischen Kasusdeklination". Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 63-64, pp. 105 - 127.
- Amh. Chr. = Ullendorff, E. An Amharic Chrestomathy. 2nd edition, London, 1978.

- Ammiṣad. = Kraus, F. R. Ein Edikt des Königs Ammi-ṣaduqa von Babylon.
Leiden, 1955.
- Andersen, F. I. (1970). The Hebrew Verbless Clause in the Pentateuch.
New York.
- Andersen, F. I. The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew. The Hague, 1974.
- Anshen, F. and P. A. Schreiber (1968). "A focus transformation of
Modern Standard Arabic". Language 44, pp. 792 - 797.
- Aph. = The homilies of Aphraates the Persian sage, edited ... by
W. Wright. London, 1869.
- Arb. = Arberry, A. J. Arabic Poetry: A Primer for Students.
Cambridge, 1965.
- ARM = Archives Royales de Mari.
- Aro, J. (1961). "Die akkadischen Infinitivkonstruktion".
Studia Orientalia 26.
- A.S. = Reckendorf, H. Arabische Syntax. Heidelberg, 1921.
- Ash. = Piepkorn, A. C. Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal I.
Chicago, 1933.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). How to Do Things With Words. Oxford.
- Ayoub, G. and G. Bohas (1981). "Les Grammairiens Arabes, la Phrase
Nominale et le Bon Sens". In C. H. M. Versteegh, K. Koerner, and
H. J. Niederehe (eds.), The History of Linguistics in the Near
East (Studies in the History of Linguistics vol. 28), Amsterdam.
- Bahya, Hidāya = Yahuda, A. S. (ed.) Al-Hidāja 'ilā farā'id al-qulūb
des Bachja. Leyden, 1912.
- Baidāwī. 'Anwār al-tanzīl wa-'asrār al-ta'wīl. ed. Fleischer, H. L.,
Leipzig, 1846.
- Bates, E. et al. (1980). "Recognition Memory for Surface Forms in
Dialogue: Explicit vs. Anaphoric Reference". In J. Kreiman and
A. E. Ojeda (eds.), Papers from the parasession on pronouns and
anaphora, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, pp. 41 - 48.
- Bateson, M. C. (1970). Structural Continuity in Poetry: A Linguistic
Study in Five Pre-Islamic Arabic Odes. The Hague.

- Bauer, H. (1910). Die Tempora im Semitischen. Berlin.
- Bauer, H. and P. Leander. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Halle, 1927.
- Baumgartner, W. (1927). "Das Aramäische im Buche Daniel". Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 45, pp. 81 - 133.
- BBSt. = King, L. W. Babylonian boundary-stones and memorial tablets in the British Museum. London, 1912.
- BE = The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. 19 vols., Philadelphia/München, 1893 - 1914.
- Beeston, A. F. L. (1970). The Arabic Language Today. London.
- Beeston, A. F. L. (1974a). "Embedding of the theme-predicate structure in Arabic". Language 50/3, pp. 474 - 477.
- Beeston, A. F. L. (1974b). "Parallelism in Arabic prose". Journal of Arabic Literature 5, pp. 134 - 146.
- Beeston, A. F. L. (1977). Samples of Arabic Prose in its Historical Development. Oxford.
- Behagel, O. (1909). "Beziehungen zwischen Umfang und Reihenfolge von Satzgliedern". Indogermanische Forschungen 25, pp. 110 - 142.
- Bergsträsser, G. Einführung in die semitischen Sprachen. München, 1928.
- BIN = Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies. 2 vols., New Haven, 1917 - 1920.
- Blake, B. J. (1977). Case marking in Australian languages. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies.
- Blau ChA = J. Blau, A Grammar of Christian Arabic, Based Mainly on South-Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium (Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, vols. 267, 276, 279), Louvain, 1966 - 1967.
- Blau, J. Diqdūq ha-^cārābīṭ hayyehūdīt šel yemē-habbēnayim. Jerusalem, 1961.
- Blau JAL = J. Blau, Judaeo-Arabic Literature: Selected Texts. Jerusalem, 1980.
- Blau, J. (1954). "Zum angeblichen Gebrauch von 'et vor dem Nominativ". Vetus Testamentum 4, pp. 7 - 19.

- Blau, J. (1977a). An Adverbial Construction in Hebrew and Arabic: Sentence Adverbials in Frontal Position Separated from the Rest of the Sentence (The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings, Vol. VI No. 1). Jerusalem.
- Blau, J. (1977b). "The Beginnings of the Arabic Diglossia. A Study of the Origins of Neoarabic". Afroasiatic Linguistics 4/4.
- Blau, J. (1981). The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic, Second edition. Jerusalem.
- Bloch, A. (1946). Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen, Acta Tropica Supplementum 5. Basel, 1946.
- B.O. = Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino - Vaticana recensuit J. S. Assemanus. 3 vols., Rome, 1719 - 1728.
- Bolinger, D. (1979). "Pronouns in Discourse". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1979).
- Borger, BAL = Borger, R. Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke. 3 vols., Rome, 1963.
- Bottéro, J. (1974). "Symptômes, signes, écritures". In J. P. Vernant (ed.), Divination et Rationalité, Paris.
- Bravmann, M. M. Studies in Arabic and General Syntax (Publications de l'Institut d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Textes arabes et islamiques, XI), Cairo, 1953.
- Brock. Chr. = Chrestomathy in Brockelmann, C. Syrische Grammatik, 13th edition. Leipzig, 1981.
- Brock. Gram. = Grammar section in Brockelmann, C. Syrische Grammatik, 13th edition. Leipzig, 1981.
- Brockelmann, C. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, 2 vols., Berlin, 1908-13.
- Buk. = Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī. ed. and tr. by M. M. Khan, Medina, 9 vols. (n.d.).
- Butler, M. C. (1977). "The reanalysis of object as subject in Middle English impersonal constructions". Glossa 11/2, pp. 155 - 170.
- BWL = Lambert, W. G. Babylonian Wisdom Literature. Oxford, 1960.
- Carr, T. H. (1976). "Perceptual tuning and conscious attention: Systems of input regulation in visual information processing". Cognition 4, pp. 281 - 302.

- Chafe, W. L. (1976). "Givenness, contrastiveness, definiteness, subjects, topics, and point of view". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 25 - 55.
- Charniak, E. (1975). Organization and Inference in a Frame-Like System of Common-Sense Knowledge. Catagnola.
- CH = Codex Hammurapi. In Borger, R. BAL.
- Cinque, G. (1977). "The Movement Nature of Left Dislocation". Linguistic Inquiry 8 pp. 397 - 412.
- Cinque, G. (1979). "Left dislocation in Italian: A syntactic and pragmatic analysis". Cahiers de Lexicologie 34, pp. 96 - 127.
- Clark, H. and E. Clark (1977). Psychology and Language: An Introduction to Psycholinguistics. New York.
- Cohen, M. Traité de langue amharique (Abyssinie). Paris, 1936.
- Cohen, M. Nouvelles études d'éthiopien méridional. Paris, 1939.
- Comrie, B. (1978). "Genitive-accusatives in Slavic: The rules and their motivation". In Comrie, B. (ed.), Classification of grammatical categories. International Review of Slavic Linguistics 3/1-2, Edmonton, pp. 27 - 42.
- Comrie, B. (1981). Language Universals and Linguistic Typology. Chicago.
- Contreras, H. (1978). El orden de palabras en español. Madrid, 1978.
- Cooper, W. E. and J. R. Ross (1975). "World Order". In R. E. Grossman, L. J. Sam, and T. J. Vance (eds.), Papers from the parasession on functionalism, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago.
- Corriente, F. C. (1971). "On the functional yield of some synthetic devices in Arabic and Semitic morphology". Jewish Quarterly Review N.S. 62, pp. 20 - 50.
- Cowley, A. (ed. and tr.) (1923). Aramaic papyri of the fifth century B.C. Oxford.
- Creider, C. (1979). "On the explanation of transformations". In Givon (ed.) (1979).
- CT = Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum. London, 1869 ff.
- CUL TS = Cambridge University Library, Taylor Schechter Geniza Collection.

- Culley, R. (1967). Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms. Toronto.
- Daneš, F. (1968). "Some thoughts on the semantic structure of the sentence". Lingua 21, pp. 55 - 59.
- David = David ben Abraham Maimonides. Commentary on Pirqe Abōt. In Blau, JAL, pp. 242 - 248.
- Davidson, A. B. Hebrew Syntax. Edinburgh, 1902.
- Dawkins, C. H. (1960). The Fundamentals of Amharic, Addis Abāba.
- Del. = Delectus Veterum Carminum Arabicorum: Carmina selegit et edidit Th. Noeldeke. Wiesbaden, 1961.
- De Lancey, S. (1981). "An interpretation of split ergativity and related patterns". Language 57/3, pp. 626 - 657.
- Deller, K. (1965) = Deller's contribution to M. Dahood, K. Deller, and R. Köbert "Comparative Semitics: Some Remarks on a Recent Publication". Orientalia 34, pp. 35 - 44.
- Derbyshire, D. C. and G. K. Pullum (1981). "Object initial languages". International Journal of American Linguistics 47.
- Dijk, T. van (1977). Text and Context: Explorations in the semantics and pragmatics of discourse. London.
- Dijk, T. van (1981). Studies in the Pragmatics of Discourse. The Hague.
- Dressler, W. (ed.) (1977). Wege der Textlinguistik. Darmstadt.
- Dressler, W. (ed.) (1978). Current Trends in Textlinguistics. Berlin.
- Driver, S. R. A Treatise on the Use of Tenses in Hebrew, Third edition, Oxford, 1892.
- Duranti, A. and E. Ochs (1979). "Left dislocation in Italian conversation". In Givon. T. (ed.) (1979).
- Duval, R. Traité de Grammaire Syriacque. Paris, 1881.
- Ēadie, J. I. An Amharic Reader. Cambridge, 1924.
- E.e. = Enuma Eliš, the Babylonian epic of creation: The cuneiform text. Text established by W. G. Lambert and copied out by S. B. Parker. Oxford, 1966.
- Ehelolf, H. (1916). Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen. Marburg.

- Eichler, B. L. (1982). "The literary structure of law texts". Paper read at XXIX Rencontre Assyriologique, London, 1982.
- Eid, M. (1983). "The copula function of pronouns". Lingua 49, 2/3, pp. 197 - 207.
- Eissfeldt, O. The Old Testament: An Introduction. Transl. (from the 3rd German ed.) by P. R. Ackroyd. Oxford, 1965.
- Esarh. = Thompson, R. Campbell (ed. and tr.). The prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh 1927-8. London, 1950.
- Ewald, G. H. A. Grammatica Critica Linguae Arabicae. Leipzig, 1833.
- Ewald, G. H. A. Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache des Alten Bundes. Leipzig, 1855.
- Fathu lBārī = al-^CAsqalānī. Fath al-Bārī ... iltizām ^CAbd al-Rahmān Muhammad. Cairo, 1348 A.H.
- Firbas, J. (1964). "On defining the theme in functional sentence analysis". Travaux Linguistiques de Prague 1. pp. 267 - 80.
- Fischer, A. (1909). Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 63, pp. 825 - 827.
- Fischer, W. (1977). "'Dass-Sätze' mit 'an und 'anna im Arabischen". Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement IV (XX Deutscher Orientalistentag), pp. 276 - 277.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. (1966). The Genesis apocryphon of Qumran Cave I (Biblica et Orientalis, 18), Rome.
- Friedman, S. Y. (1971). "Kol qāsār qodem". Lešōnenu 35/2, pp. 117 - 129; 35/3 - 4, pp. 192 - 206.
- Fulas, H. (1972). "A Pseudo-Object Construction in Amharic". IV Congresso internazionale di studi etiopici, Roma.
- Gaaf, W. van der. (1904). The transition from the impersonal to the personal construction in Middle English. Heidelberg.
- Gabelentz, G. von der. (1869). "Ideen zu einer vergleichenden Syntax". Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft 6, pp. 376 - 384.
- GAG = W. von Soden. Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik (Analecta Orientalia, 33), Rome, 1952.

- Galambos, S. J. (1980). "A clarification of the notion of topic: Evidence from popular spoken French". In J. Kreiman and A. E. Ojeda (eds.), Papers from the parasession on pronouns and anaphora, Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, pp. 125 - 136.
- Gardiner, A. H. Egyptian grammar, being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs, 3rd edition, revised. London, 1957.
- Gardner, F. (1971). The analysis of syntactic patterns of Old English. The Hague.
- Gerhardsson, B. (1964). Memory and Manuscript: Oral Tradition and written Transmission in Rabbinic Judaism and Early Christianity. Copenhagen.
- Gesenius, W. and E. Kautzsch. Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, second English edition. Oxford, 1910.
- Getatchew, Haile. (1971). "The suffix pronouns in Amharic". In Chin-wu Kim and H. Stahlke (ed.), Papers in African Linguistics, Edmonton - Champaign, pp. 101 - 112.
- Gil, D. (1982). "Case Marking, Phonological Size, and Linear Order". In P. S. Hopper and S. A. Thompson (eds.) Studies in Transitivity (Syntax and Semantics vol. 15), New York, pp. 117 - 141.
- Gilg. = Thompson, R. Campbell. The epic of Gilgamesh, text, transliteration, and notes. Oxford, 1910.
- Ginsburger, M. Das Fragmententhargum. Berlin, 1899.
- Givon, T. (1976). "Topic, Pronoun and Grammatical Agreement". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 151 - 188.
- Givon, T. (1977). "The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1977), pp. 181 - 254.
- Givon, T. (1979). On understanding grammar. New York.
- Givon, T. (ed.) (1979). Discourse and syntax (Syntax and Semantics vol. 12). New York.
- Goetzte, A. "Reports on Acts of Extispicy from Old Babylonian and Kassite Times". Journal of Cuneiform Studies 11 (1957), pp. 89 - 105.

- Goldenberg, G. (1981). "Les mémoires d'Alḡqa Lamma et l'étude de l'amharique parlé". Rassegna di Studi Etiopici, vol. 28, pp. 41 - 56.
- Goldenberg, G. (1983). "On Syriac Sentence Structure". In Sokoloff, M. (ed.) Arameans, Aramaic and the Aramaic Literary Tradition, Ramat Gan, pp. 97 - 140.
- Gordon, C. H. (1963). "Abraham of Ur". In Thomas, D. Winton and W. D. McHardy (eds.) Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver. Oxford, 1963.
- Gottstein, M. H. Goshen (1951). tahbīrah umelōnāh šel hallāšōn hā^cibrīt šebitahūm hašpā^cātāh šel hā^cārābīt. Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Graf, G. Der Sprachgebrauch der ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur. Leipzig, 1905.
- Green, G. (1980). "Some wherefores of English inversions". Language 56/3.
- Greenberg, J. H. (1966). "Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements". In J. H. Greenberg (ed.) Universals of language, Cambridge, Mass.
- Grice, H. (1975). "Logic and Conversation". In Cole, P. and J. L. Morgan (eds.) Speech Acts (Syntax and Semantics vol. 3), New York.
- Grimes, J. (1975). The thread of discourse. The Hague.
- Grimes, J. (ed.) (1978). Papers on Discourse. Summer Institute of Linguistics, Dallas.
- Grohmann, A. (1934). Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library, Cairo.
- Gruber, J. (1967). "Topicalization in Child Language". Foundations of Language 3, pp. 37 - 65.
- Gundel, J. K. (1975). "Left Dislocation and the Role of Topic-Comment Structure in Linguistic Theory". Working Papers in Linguistics 18, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.
- GVGSS = Brockelmann, C. Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen, 2 vols., Berlin, 1908 - 13.

- Haas, O. (1973). "Zum 'Objektanzeigenden Pronomen' der Balkansprachen".
Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 23, pp. 121 - 127.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1967). "Notes on transitivity and theme in English,
Part II". Journal of Linguistics 3, pp. 199 - 215.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1970). "Language structure and language function".
In J. Lyons (ed.) New Horizons in Linguistics. Harmondsworth;
Penguin Books.
- Hartmann, J. Amharische Grammatik (Äthiopische Forschungen Band 3).
Wiesbaden, 1980.
- Hätim = Der Diwan des arabischen Dichters Hätim Tej, Schulthess, F. (ed.).
Leipzig, 1887.
- Havers, W. (1926). "Der sog. 'Nominativus pendens'". Indogermanische
Forschungen 43, pp. 207 - 257.
- Havers, W. Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax. Heidelberg, 1931.
- Hawkinson, A. and I. M. Hyman (1974). "Hierarchies of natural topic
in Shona". Studies in African Linguistics 5, pp. 147 - 170.
- Hetzron, R. (1966). "Pronominalization in Amharic". Journal of
Semitic Studies 11, pp. 83 - 97.
- Hetzron, R. (1970). "Toward an Amharic Case-Grammar". Studies in
African Linguistics 1/3, pp. 301 - 354.
- Hetzron, R. (1971). "Presentative function and presentative movement".
Studies in African Linguistics (Supplement II), pp. 79 - 105.
- Hirschbühler, P. (1974). "La dislocation à gauche comme construction
basique en français". In C. Rohrer and N. Ruwet (eds.), Actes
du Colloque Franco-Allemande de Grammaire Transformationelle,
vol. 1, Tübingen.
- Hirschbühler, P. (1975). "On the Source of Lefthand NPs in French".
Linguistic Inquiry 6, pp. 155 - 165.
- Hob. = Bahya ben Yōsēp̄ ibn Paqūdā. Hōbōt hallebābōt. In Blau,
JAL, pp. 183 - 187.
- Hockett, C. F. (1958). A Course in Modern Linguistics. New York.
- Hopkins, S. (1978). A miscellany of literary pieces from the Cambridge
Genizah collections. Cambridge.

- Hooper, J. B. and S. A. Thompson (1973). "On the applicability of root transformations". Linguistic Inquiry, 4/4, pp. 465 - 497.
- Hopper, P. J. (1979). "Aspect and foregrounding in discourse". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1979), pp. 213 - 241.
- Hopper, P. J. and S. A. Thompson (1980). "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse". Language 56/1, pp. 251 - 299.
- HS. = Hayle Sellase. Hawātenna yaityopya erməgga. Addis Abāba, 1969 (Ethiopian Calendar).
- Huddleston, R. (1976). An Introduction to English Transformational Syntax. London.
- Hyman, L. M. and K. E. Zimmer (1976). "Embedded Topic in French". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 189 - 212.
- Ibn Ya^cīš = Jahn, G. (ed.) Ibn Ja^cīš Commentar zu Zamachšarī's Mufassal. Leipzig, 1882 - 1886.
- Irra = Gössmann, F. Das Era-Epos. Würzburg, 1957.
- Išt. = "Die Hollenfahrt der Göttin Ištār". In Borger, R. BAL.
- Jāh. = al-Jāhiz, Abū ^cUṡmān ^cAmr ibn Bahr. Kitāb al-Bukalā'. Beirut, 1960.
- Jahn, G. Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik ... übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sīrāfi und anderen Commentaren. Berlin, 1895.
- Janāh = Yōnāh ibn Janāh. Kitāb al-luma^c. In Blau, JAL, pp. 97 - 122.
- Jeffery, A. (1937). Materials for the History of the Text of the Qur'an. Leiden.
- Jespersen, O. A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. 7 vols. Heidelberg, 1909 - 1949.
- Jespersen, O. Analytic Syntax. Copenhagen, 1937.
- Jotun, P. P. Grammaire de l'Hébreu Biblique. Rome, 1947.
- Jul. = Iulianos der Abtrünnige. Syrische Erzählungen ed. J. G. E. Hoffmann, Leiden, 1880.
- al-Jurjānī, ^cAbd al-Qāhir. Dalā'il al-'i^cjāz li-l-'imām ^cAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī ta^clīq wa-šarh Muhammad ^cAbd al-Mun^cim Kafājī. Cairo, 1969.

- KAJ = Ebeling, E. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts. Leipzig, 1927.
- Kapeliuk, O. (1972). "L'emploi de la marque de l'accusatif -n avec le complément d'objet direct en amharique". Israel Oriental Studies 2, pp. 183 - 214.
- Kautzsch, E. Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen. Leipzig, 1884.
- KAV = Schroeder, O. Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts. Leipzig, 1920.
- Keenan, E. L. (1976). "Remarkable Subjects in Malagasy". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 247 - 302.
- Keenan, E. O. and B. B. Schieffelin (1976a). "Foregrounding Referents: A Reconsideration of Left Dislocation in Discourse". In Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistic Society, Berkeley, California.
- Keenan, E. O. and B. B. Schieffelin (1976b). "Topic as a Discourse Notion: A Study of Topic in the Conversations of Children and Adults". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 335 - 384.
- Kempson, R. M. (1977). Semantic Theory. Cambridge.
- Khan, G. A. (1984). "Object markers and agreement pronouns in Semitic languages". Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies 47/3.
- King, LIH = King, L. W. The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi. London, 1898 - 1900.
- Kintsch, W. and T. van Dijk (1978). "Cognitive psychology and Discourse: Recalling and Summarizing Stories". In Dressler (ed.) (1978), pp. 61 - 80.
- Kiparsky, P. (1968). "Tense and mood in Indo-European syntax". Foundations of Language 4/1, pp. 30 - 57.
- Kizānātu l'Adab = ^CAbd al-Qādir ibn ^CUmar al-Baḡdādī. Kizānat al-'adab wa-lubb lubāb lisān al-^Carab. Bulāq, 1299 (A.H.).
- König, E. Historisch-Kritischen Lehrgebäudes des Hebräischen, Schlusstheil, Syntax. Leipzig, 1897.
- Kraus, F. R. (1960). "Ein zentrales Problem des altmesopotamischen Rechtes: Was ist der Codex Hammu-rabi?" Genava 8 (IX Rencontre Assyriologique).

- Kropat, A. (1909). Die Syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen. Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beiheft XVI.
- Küchler, F. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Assyrisch-Babylonischen Medizin. Leipzig, 1904.
- Kuno, S. (1976). "Subject, Theme, and the Speaker's Empathy - A re-examination of relativization phenomena". In C. N. Li (ed.) (1976), pp. 417 - 444.
- Kutscher, E. Y. (1971). "Aramaic". In Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa. (Current trends in linguistics, vol. 6), The Hague, pp. 347 - 412.
- Labat TDP = Labat, R. Traité Akkadien de Diagnostics et Pronostics Médicaux. Paris-Leiden, 1951.
- Labov, W. (1972). "The transformation of experience in narrative syntax". In his Language in the innercity, Philadelphia, pp. 354 - 405.
- Labov, W. and J. Waletzky (1967). "Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience". In J. Helm (ed.), Essays on the verbal and visual arts, Seattle, pp. 12 - 44.
- Lakoff, G. (1970). "Linguistics and natural logic". Synthese 22, pp. 151 - 271.
- Lambert, M. (1893). "De l'emploi du lamed en Araméen Biblique devant le complément direct". Revue des Études Juives 27, pp. 264 - 270.
- Lambert, M. Traité de Grammaire Hébraïque. Paris, 1931 - 1937.
- Lane, E. W. Maddy l-Kamoos - An Arabic-English Lexicon, Parts 1 - 5, London, 1863 - 1874; Parts 6 - 8 and Suppl., ed. Stanley Lane Poole, 1877 - 1893.
- Leech, G. N. A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry. London.
- Lehmann, W. P. (1973). "A structural principle of language and its implications". Language 49, pp. 47 - 66.
- Leichty, E. The Omen Series šumma izbu (Texts from Cuneiform sources, vol. IV). New York, 1970.
- Leslau, W. (1945). "The influence of Cushitic on the Semitic languages of Ethiopia. A problem of substratum". Word 1, pp. 59 - 82.

- Let. Ham. = Jean, F. C. Les Lettres de Hammurapi à Sin-Idinam.
Paris, 1913.
- Levinsohn, S. H. (1978). "Participant Reference in Inga Narrative Discourse". In J. Hinds (ed.) Anaphora in Discourse. Edmonton.
- Levy, E. (1982). "Towards an objective definition of discourse topic". In K. Tuite, R. Schneider and R. Chametzky (ed.), Papers from the eighteenth regional meeting of the Chicago linguistic society. Chicago. pp. 295 - 305.
- Lewkowicz, N. K. (1971). "Topic-comment and relative clause in Arabic". Language 47, pp. 810 - 825.
- Lewy V.A.G. = Lewy J. Das Verbum in den altassyrischen Gesetzen (Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung, Bd.I, Teil 4).
- Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976). Subject and Topic. New York.
- Li, C. N. (ed.) (1977). Mechanisms of Syntactic Change. Austin.
- Li, C. N. and S. A. Thompson (1976). "Subject and topic: A new typology of language". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1976), pp. 457 - 489.
- Lightfoot, D. W. (1979). Principles of Diachronic Syntax. Cambridge.
- Longacre, R. E. (1972). Hierarchy and Universality of Discourse Constituents in New Guinea Languages, 2 vols. Washington.
- Longacre, R. E. (1976). An anatomy of speech notions. Lisse.
- Longacre, R. E. (ed.) (1976). Discourse Grammar: Studies in Indigenous Languages of Colombia, Panama, and Ecuador. Summer Institute of Linguistics Publications 52, Dallas.
- Longacre, R. E. (1979). "The paragraph as a grammatical unit". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1979), pp. 115-134.
- LSS = Leipziger Semitistische Studien.
- Lyall, C. J. The Dīwāns of ^cAbīd ibn al-Abras of Asad, and 'Āmir ibn at-Tufail, of 'Āmir ibn Ṣaṣaḥ. Leyden, 1913.
- Lyons, J. (1968). Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge.
- Lyons, J. (1977). Semantics 2 vols. Cambridge.
- Lyons, M. C. An Elementary Classical Arabic Reader. Cambridge, 1962.
- MacWhinney, B. (1977). "Starting points". Language 53, pp. 152 - 168.

- Majmū^c = al-Majmū^c šarḥ al-muḥaḍḍab li-Abī Zakariyā Muhyi l-Dīn ibn Saraf al-Nawawī, Cairo, (n.d.).
- MAL = Middle Assyrian laws. In Driver, G. and J. Miles (ed. and tr.), The Assyrian laws, Oxford, 1935.
- Mallinson, G. and B. J. Blake (1981). Language Typology. Amsterdam.
- Mart. = Assemani, S. E. (ed.). Acta Sanctorum Martyrum Orientalium et Occidentalium. Rome, 1748.
- Mas. = al-Mas^cūdī, Murūj al-ḡahab. Ed. and tr. Barbier de Maynard, C. and A. Pavet de Couville. 9 vols. Paris, 1861 - 1877.
- McKnight, G. H. (1928). The evolution of the English language: from Chaucer to the twentieth century. New York.
- Meillet, A. (1948). Linguistique Historique et Linguistique Générale. Paris.
- Men. = Gəbrä Sellase. Tarikā zāmān zā Dagmawi Mēnilək. Addis Abāba, 1959 (Ethiopian Calendar).
- Minsky, M. (1975). "A framework for representing knowledge". In P. Winston (ed.) The Psychology of Computer Vision. New York, pp. 211 - 277.
- Misk. = Miskawayhi, Tahḍib al-'aklāq. Ed. ^cAbd al-^cĀlim Ṣāliḥ. Cairo, 1899.
- Moes. = Moesinger, G. Monumenta Syriaca ex Romanis codicibus collecta. Oeniponti, 1878.
- Monroe, J. (1972). "Oral composition in Pre-Islamic poetry". Journal of Arabic Literature 3, pp. 1 - 53.
- Morovcsik, E. (1974). "Object-verb agreement". Working papers in language universals 15, pp. 25 - 140. Stanford University.
- Muḡnī = Ibn Hišām, Jamāl al-Dīn. Muḡnī al-labīb ^can kutub al-'a^carīb haqqaqahu wafassalahu wa-dabata ḡarā'ibahu Muḥammad Muhyī al-Dīn ^cAbd al-Hamid. Cairo, 1965.
- Muraoka, T. (1975). "On the Nominal Clause in the Syriac Gospels". Journal of Semitic Studies 20, pp. 28 - 37.
- Muraoka, T. (1977). "On the Syriac Particle it". Bibliotheca Orientalis 34, pp. 21 - 22.

- Muzhir = Suyūṭī. al-Muzhir fī ^Culūm al-luġa wa-'anwā^C i-hā šaraha-hu Muhammad Ahmad Jād al-Mawlā, ^CAlī Muhammad al-Bajāwī, Muhammad 'Abu al-Faḍl Ibrahim. Cairo (n.d.).
- Myhill, J. (1982). "Word order and marginal ergativity". In K. Tuite, R. Schneider, and R. Chametzky (eds.), Papers from the 18th Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, Chicago, pp. 377 - 389.
- Nāmōsē d-atr. = ketābā denāmōsē datrāwātā, Bardesane; Le Livre des Lois des Pays, ed. F. Nau. Paris, 1931.
- Naqā'id = Bevan, A. A. (ed.). The Naqā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdak, 3 vols. Leiden, 1905 - 1907.
- Neo-Babylaws = "Neo-Babylonian laws". In Driver, G. R. and J. C. Miles (ed. and tr.). The Babylonian Laws. Oxford, 1955, pp. 324 - 347.
- Neusner, J. (1974). A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities. Part 3, Kelim. Literary and Historical Problems. Leiden.
- Neusner, J. (1977). A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities. Part 21. The Redaction and Formulation of the Order of Purities in Mishnah and Tosefta. Leiden.
- Nicholson, R. A. (1911). Elementary Arabic. Third Reading-book. Cambridge.
- Nis. = Nissim ben Ya^Cāqōb. al-Faraj ba^Cda al-šidda w-al-sa^Ca ba^Cda al-dīqa. In Blau, JAL, pp. 168 - 181.
- Nöldeke, T. Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Poesie der alten Araber. Hannover, 1864.
- Nöldeke, T. Mandäische Grammatik. Halle, 1875.
- Nöldeke, T. (1884). Review of Kautzsch, E., Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen 1, pp. 1014 - 1023.
- Nöldeke, T. Compendious Syriac Grammar, Translated by J. A. Crichton. London, 1904.
- Nöldeke, T. (1910). Neue Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft. Strassburg.
- Nöth, W. (1978). "The Semiotic Framework of Textlinguistics". In Dressler (ed.) (1978), pp. 21 - 34.

- Ochs, E. (1979). "Planned and unplanned discourse". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1976).
- Oesch, J. M. (1979). Petucha und Setuma: Untersuchungen zu einer überlieferten Gliederung im hebräischen Text des Alten Testaments. Freiburg.
- Ornan, U. (1979). Hammišpāt happašūt. Jerusalem.
- Ov. = Overbeck, J. J. (ed.). S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episc. Edess., Balaei aliorumque opera selecta. Oxford, 1865.
- Paul, H. Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte, dritte Auflage. Halle, 1898.
- Petöfi, J. (1978). "A Formal Semiotic Text Theory as an Integrated Theory of Natural Language". In Dressler (ed.) (1978), pp. 35 - 46.
- Petöfe, J. and H. Rieser (1974). Probleme der modelltheoretischen Interpretation von Texten. Hamburg.
- Pettinato, G. Die Ölwahrsagung bei den Babyloniern. 2 vols. Rome, 1966.
- Phil. = The discourses of Philoxenus. Ed. and tr. E. W. Budge, 2 vols. London, 1894 - 1895.
- Polanyi-Bowditch, L. (1976). "Why the whats are when: Mutually contextualizing realms of narrative". Berkeley Linguistics Society 2, pp. 59 - 77.
- Polotsky, H. J. (1944). Études de syntax copte. Cairo.
- Polotsky, H. J. (1960). "Syntax amharique et syntaxe turque". Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici (Problemi Attuali di Cultura, Quaderna No. 48). Rome, pp. 117 - 121.
- Polzin, R. (1976). Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an historical typology of Biblical Hebrew prose. Chico, California.
- Postal, P. (1971). Cross-over Phenomena. New York.
- Praetorius, F. Die Amharische Sprache. Halle, 1878 - 1879.
- Prince, E. (1981). "Toward a Taxonomy of Given - New Information". In Cole, P. (ed.). Radical Pragmatics, New York, pp. 223 - 255.
- Q. = Qur'ān. Verse numbers according to the Egyptian text.
- Qutāmī = Dīwān des ^cUmeir ibn Schujeim al-Qutāmī. Herausgegeben und erläutert von J. Barth. Leiden, 1902.

- Rabin, C. (1955). "The Beginnings of Classical Arabic". Studia Islamica 4, pp. 19 - 38.
- Rabin, C. (1963). "The origin of the subdivisions of Semitic". In Thomas, D. Winton and W. D. McHardy (eds.). Hebrew and Semitic Studies, Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver, Oxford, pp. 104 - 115.
- Rainey, A. F. (1976). "Enclitic -ma and the logical predicate in Old Babylonian". Israel Oriental Studies VI, pp. 51 - 58.
- Reckendorf, H. Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen, Leiden, 1895 - 1898.
- Reckendorf, H. Arabische Syntax. Heidelberg, 1921.
- Res. Maim. = Responsa of Moses Maimonides. In Blau, JAL, pp. 223 - 228.
- Rodman, R. (1974). "On Left Dislocation". Papers in Linguistics 7, pp. 437 - 466.
- Ross, J. R. (1967). Constraints on Variables in Syntax. Unpublished Doctoral dissertation, MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Rosen, H. B. (1961). "On the Use of the Tenses in the Aramaic of Daniel". Journal of Semitic Studies 6, pp. 183 - 203.
- Römer, W. H. Ph. (1982). Einführung in die Sumerologie. Nijmegen.
- Rowley, H. H. (1975). "The literature of the Old Testament". In M. Black and H. H. Rowley (ed.), Peake's Commentary on the Bible, Hong Kong, pp. 86 - 90.
- Rundgren, F. (1955). Über Bildungen mit (g)- und n-t-Demonstrativen im Semitischen. Uppsala.
- Sandmann, M. (1954). Subject and Predicate. Edinburgh.
- Sappan, R. (1981). The Typical Features of the Syntax of Biblical Poetry. Jerusalem.
- Sarg. = Thureau-Dangin, F. Une relation de la Huitième Campagne de Sargon. Paris, 1973.
- Scheffler, M. (1978). "Munduruku discourse". In Grimes, J. (ed.) (1978), pp. 119 - 142.
- Schmidt, S. J. (1978). "Some Problems of Communicative Text Theories". In Dressler (ed.) (1978), pp. 47 - 60.
- Segal, M. H. A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew. Oxford, 1926.

- Sen. = "Die Feldzüge Sanheribs von Assyrien". In Borger, R., BAL. Sgall, P. et al. (1973). Topic, Focus and Generative Semantics. Kronberg.
- Sīb. = Sībawayhi, al-Kitāb. Ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris, 1881 - 1889.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). "Hierarchy of features and ergativity". In R. M. W. Dixon (ed.), Grammatical categories in Australian Languages, Canberra, pp. 112 - 171.
- Sīr. = al-Sīra al-nabawiyya l-Ibn Hišām ḥaqqāqa-hā wa-dabata-hā wa-šaraha-hā wa-wada'a fahārisa-hā Mustafa al-Saqqa', Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, ^cAbd al-Hafīz Salabī, 4 vols. Cairo, 1936.
- Sirafi = Sirafi's commentary on al-Kitāb of Sibawayhi, as contained in John, G., Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik ... übersetzt und erklärt und mit Auszügen aus Sīrāfi und anderen Commentaren. Berlin, 1895.
- Snow (1965). A grammar of Modern Written Arabic clauses. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan dissertation.
- Soden, W. von. Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik (Analecta Orientalia, 33), Rome, 1952.
- Sonnek, F. (1940). "Die Einführung der direkten Rede in den epischen Texten". Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 12, pp. 225 - 235.
- Spic. = Cureton, W., Spicilegium Syriacum: containing remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara Bar Serapion. London, 1855.
- STC = King, L.W. The Seven Tablets of Creation. London, 1902.
- Stockwell, R. P. (1977). "Motivations for exbraciation in Old English". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1977), pp. 291 - 314.
- Strang, B. M. H. (1970). A history of English. London.
- STT = Gurney, O. R. and J. J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe Tablets Vol. 1, London, 1957.
- S.V. = Reckendorf, H. Die Syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen, Leiden, 1895 - 1898.
- Tabarī. Tārīk al-rusul wa-l-mulūk. Ed. M. J. De Goeje, Leiden, 1879 - 1901.
- Tan. = al-Tanūkhī, Abū ^cAlī al-Muḥassin. The tabletalk of a Mesopotamian judge. Edited by D. S. Margoliouth. London, 1922.

- TCL = Textes Cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre. Paris.
- Timberlake, A. (1975). "Hierarchies in the genitive of negation".
Slavic and East European Journal 19, pp. 123 - 138.
- Timberlake, A. (1977). "Reanalysis and actualization in syntactic change". In Li, C. N. (ed.) (1977), pp. 141 - 177.
- Titov, E. G. (1959). "Ob osobennostiakh amharskogo iazyka v sravnenii s nekotorymi drugimi semitskimi iazykami". Afrikanski Etnograficheskii Sbornik, III, Yazykoznanija, pp. 169 - 183.
- Ungnad, A. Babylonisch-Assyrische Grammatik. München, 1906.
- UT = Gordon, C. H., Ugaritic Textbook. Rome, 1965.
- VAB = Vorderasiatische Bibliothek.
- Vennemann, T. (1975). "An explanation of drift". In Li, C. N. (ed.),
Word order and word order change, Austin.
- Vollers, K. (1906). Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien.
Strassburg.
- Von Soden, W. (1965). "Das akkadische t-Perfekt in Haupt- und Nebensätzen und sumerische Verbalformen mit den Präfixen ba-, imma- und u-". Assyriological Studies 16, Chicago, pp. 103 ff.
- Wald, B. (1979). "The development of the Swahili object marker: A study of the interaction of syntax and discourse". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1979), pp. 505 - 524.
- Wansbrough, J. (1977). Quranic Studies, Oxford.
- Waterman, L. Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire. Part I, Ann Arbor, 1930.
- Wienold, G. (1978). "Textlinguistic Approaches to Written Works of Art". In Dressler (ed.) (1978), pp. 133 - 154.
- Winograd, T. (1975). "Frame representation and the declarative-procedural controversy". In Bobrow, D. and A. Collins (ed.). Representation and Understanding: Studies in Cognitive Science, New York, pp. 185 - 210.
- Wright, W. A Grammar of the Arabic Language. Third edition, Cambridge, 1896.

Wundt, W. Völkerpsychologie: Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte. Leipzig, 1900 - 1920.

YOS = Yale Oriental Series.

Zamakšarī. al-Kaššāf^c an haqā'iq al-tanzīl, ed. W. N. Lees. Calcutta, 1856 - 9,

Zamakšarī. Al-Mufasssal. Ed. J. P. Broch, 2nd edition, Christianae, 1879.

Zubin, D. A. (1979). "Discourse function of Morphology: The focus system of German". In Givon, T. (ed.) (1979), pp. 469 - 504.

Zwettler, M. (1978). The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry, Its Character and Implications. Columbus, Ohio.