

**YOU WILL KNOW ME BY MY WRITING:
THE SCRIBES' CHOICE OF GOAL-MARKING STRATEGIES IN BIBLICAL HEBREW IN THE LIGHT OF
SOCIAL, HISTORICAL, AND LINGUISTIC CORRELATES**

by
Kathryn McConaughy Medill

A dissertation submitted to Johns Hopkins University in conformity with the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Baltimore, Maryland
June 2020

© Kathryn Medill
All rights reserved

Abstract

Ancient scribes writing Biblical Hebrew could mark a Goal argument (the *place to which* one is moving) with the directive *he* suffix, with a directional preposition, or as an accusative of destination. Previous studies have explained this alternation in terms of a few historical or linguistic variables at a time. In this study, I use a comprehensive dataset (all factive Goals from prose Biblical Hebrew texts), a broad set of potential explanatory variables coded for each Goal and the clause in which it appears (including more than thirty diachronic, social, and linguistic variables, with a particular focus on previously-understudied syntactic-semantic variables), various statistical tools (especially multinomial logistical regression), and comparative data (from Epigraphic Hebrew, Biblical Aramaic, Ugaritic, and Akkadian) to explore the influences on and choices of the ancient scribes. Important findings of this study include indications that 1) scribes of the Late Biblical Hebrew corpus consciously promoted the use of directive *he* despite the convergence of the Late Biblical Hebrew goal-marking system with that of Aramaic, as evidenced in the behavior of the goal-marking prepositions across time (a conclusion not consistent with purely stylistic explanations of the linguistic differences between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew); 2) due to educational and social disruptions during the exile, the scribes originating texts described as Transitional Biblical Hebrew mobilized fewer prestigious linguistic features than scribes of the Classical and Late corpora, as evidenced by limitations in their goal-marking repertoires and paralleled by data from other Semitic corpora; 3) the scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies are largely driven by sensitivity to a Prototypical Intransitive Motion

Construction (in which a salient Affected Agent moves successfully and completely to an inanimate single-point Goal that contains inherent, specific geographic information) and other Motion Construction prototypes (Caused-Motion, Pursuit, etc.), with the directive *he* and the accusative of direction being strongly correlated with more-prototypical environments; and 4) individual prepositions may encode the type of Goal location (single-point or divisible), the place of the Goal in the information structure of the text, the mover's configuration with respect to the Goal, or Goal animacy.

Doctoral Committee: Brenda Rapp (chair), Alice Mandell (supervisor), Theodore Lewis, Jacob Lauinger, and Geraldine Legendre

Keywords: Scribe; scribalism; Hebrew Bible; Biblical Hebrew; Ancient Hebrew; Biblical Studies; Ancient Near East; historical linguistics; sociolinguistics; corpus linguistics; grammar; motion; Goal; Location; Route; differential goal marking; directive *he*; locative *he*; *he locale*; accusative of direction; adverbial accusative; spatial preposition; semantic role; participant role; Path argument; prototype; Construction Grammar; Intransitive Motion; Caused Motion; Secondary Agent Caused Motion; Pursuit; Caused Possession; Recipient; fictive motion; salience; aspect; definiteness; individuation; affectedness; agency; transitive; Prototype Transitivity; Agent; Patient; object; text type; prestige; style; oral; dialect; speech; narrative; norms; multinomial logistical regression; change over time; Classical Biblical Hebrew; Transitional Biblical Hebrew; Late Biblical Hebrew; Judah; Judea; Persian Period; monarchal period; transmission; textual change; text criticism; pre-exilic; exile; post-exilic; scribal education; scribal training; markedness; animacy; bounded location; divisible location; prose; poetry; verse; Epigraphic Hebrew; Hebrew inscriptions; Biblical Aramaic; Ugaritic; Baal; Akkadian; Old Babylonian; Gilgamesh; letters; West Semitic; East Semitic; Proto-Semitic

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to my mentors in the Department of Near Eastern Studies for their support: to Alice Mandell and Theodore Lewis, who persevered through many drafts to make this paper the best that it could be; to P. Kyle McCarter, whose enthusiasm for this project helped me to begin; to Jacob Lauinger, for teaching me that the clearest and most concise way to make a point is often by way of a figure; and to Paul Delnero, for delight in all things linguistic and an excellent book recommendation. Many thanks are also due to Brenda Rapp and Geraldine Legendre, who joined my committee during one of the greatest disruptions of the century, yet still offered their critique with care and attention.

My thanks to the attendees of the Near Eastern Studies Lunch Lecture series in 2019 and 2020, and of the Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew section of the Society of Biblical Literature's 2019 annual meeting, whose critique of papers based on Chapters 4 and 5 and Appendix 1 much improved this monograph. Many thanks also to Sahan Karatasli and An Nguyen for their statistical insights.

I am also very grateful for the advice of the faculty of the Indiana University Department of Linguistics—especially Clancy Clements, Stuart Davis, Julie Auger, and Ken de Jong—during my work on the pilot project for this study in 2013-2014. A very special thank you goes to Dr. Robert Botne, who suggested that my results could be explained via the Prototype Transitivity Hypothesis. While Prototype Transitivity was not the solution to the goal-marking problem, an investigation of prototype theory and Construction Grammar led me to Prototypical Motion.

I cannot even measure the debt I owe to the professors of my first *alma mater*: Paul Kilpatrick and Jonathan Watt, sociolinguists *extraordinaire*; and Byron Curtis, whose joy in the most obscure aspects of the Hebrew language, history, and theology has never ceased to inspire me.

Todah rabbah!
Kathryn McConaughy Medill
June 24, 2020

Dedication

Two my two favorite professors and one ever-curious engineer:

Dr. Nancy J. Medill,

Thomas P. Medill,

and the late Dr. Howard C. McConaughy.

Soli Deo Gloria!

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
DEDICATION	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
TABLES	vii
FIGURES	x
ABBREVIATIONS	xii
A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS OF BIBLICAL HEBREW	xiii
A NOTE ON GLOSSING CONVENTIONS	xiv
CHAPTERS	
INTRODUCTION: A SCRIBE'S CHOICE	1
CHAPTER ONE: IDENTIFYING GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS	15
CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN AND INITIAL RESULTS	39
CHAPTER THREE: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS, TIME, AND THE MAKERS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE	96
CHAPTER FOUR: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC ROLES	165
CHAPTER FIVE: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND PROTOTYPICAL MOTION	213
CHAPTER SIX: CHOOSING A DIRECTIONAL PREPOSITION FOR GOAL-MARKING IN BIBLICAL HEBREW PROSE	288
CHAPTER SEVEN: DIFFERENTIAL GOAL-MARKING IN HEBREW AND UGARITIC POETRY: A FIRST LOOK	347
CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS	382
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX ONE: A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE USES OF DIRECTIVE HE IN THE HEBREW BIBLE	406
APPENDIX TWO: LIST OF FACTIVE GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW PROSE	426
APPENDIX THREE: MLOGIT MODELS FOR STATISTICAL ANALYSIS	499
APPENDIX FOUR: MORE OR LESS ORAL? A CLASSIFICATION OF BIBLICAL TEXTS BASED ON THE WORK OF FRANK POLAK	505
APPENDIX FIVE: CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN THE BH DATASET	512
APPENDIX SIX: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKKADIAN – A FIRST APPROACH	526
BIBLIOGRAPHY	536
VITA	572

Tables

CHAPTER ONE

Table 1.1	Tools, Datasets, and Important Factors Impacting Goal-Marking	35
-----------	---	----

CHAPTER TWO

Table 2.1	Strategies for Goal Marking, with column percentages	41
Table 2.2	Goal Constructions in MT Samuel and extant in 4QSam ^a and ^b , with column percentages	63
Table 2.3	Goal-Marking Variation between MT and extant portions of 4QSam ^a and ^b	64
Table 2.4	Independent Variables and Their P-Values	81

CHAPTER THREE

Table 3.1	Goal-Marking Strategies by Era, with column percentages	124
Table 3.2	Goal-Marking Strategies by Source, with column percentages	140
Table 3.3	Goal-Marking Strategies by Book, with row percentages	144
Table 3.4	Some Text Types and Their Formal Characteristics in the Work of Longacre	149
Table 3.5	Goal-Marking Strategies by Text Type, with column percentages	153
Table 3.6	Goal-Marking Strategies by Oral-like-ness, with column percentages	156
Table 3.7	Goal-Marking Strategies by Dialect, with column percentages, excluding LBH texts	161

CHAPTER FOUR

Table 4.1	Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Final Phoneme, with column percentages	167
Table 4.2	Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Animacy, with column percentages	174
Table 4.3	Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Individuation, with column percentages	175
Table 4.4	Goal-Marking strategies by Goal Definiteness, common nouns only, with column percentages	176
Table 4.5	Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Complexity, with column percentages	177
Table 4.6	Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Adjunct, with column percentages	177
Table 4.7	Goal-Marking Strategies by Same-Clause Sequence, with row percentages	179

CHAPTER FIVE

Table 5.1	Goal-Marking Strategies by Subject-Definiteness, with column percentages	216
Table 5.2	Goal-Marking Strategies by Object-Definiteness, with column percentages	217

Table 5.3	Goal-Marking Strategies by Object-Animacy, with column percentages	218
Table 5.4	Goal-Marking Strategies by Participants, with column percentages	219
Table 5.5	Characteristics of the Verb Principal Parts in Biblical Hebrew	224
Table 5.6a/b	Goal-Marking Strategies by Verb Principal Part, with column percentages	225
Table 5.7	Goal-Marking Strategies by Clause Mode, with column percentages	225
Table 5.8	Goal-Marking Strategies by Verb Aspect, with column percentages	226
Table 5.9	Goal-Marking Strategies by Subject Affectedness, with column percentages	227
Table 5.10	Transitivity Components, adapted from Hopper and Thompson	234
Table 5.11	Features of Ditransitive Constructions with Animate Endpoints	272
Table 5.12	Correlating Constructions with Object Individuation, with row percentages	273
Table 5.13	Motion Constructions with Goals in BH Prose	275
Table 5.14	Summary of the Prototypical Semantic Features of the Arguments in Constructions Discussed Above	276
 CHAPTER SIX		
Table 6.1	Prepositions used to Mark Factive Goals in BH Prose	292
Table 6.2	Goal-Marking Prepositions by Era, with column percentages	313
Table 6.3	Summary of the Correlates of Goal-Marking Prepositions in Biblical Aramaic	322
Table 6.4	Goal Prepositions by Text Type, with column percentages	324
Table 6.5	Goal-Marking Prepositions by Book, with row percentages	326
Table 6.6	Goal-Marking Prepositions by Source, with column percentages	329
Table 6.7	Goal Prepositions by Orality, with column percentages	332
Table 6.8	Goal-Marking Options by Construction	338
 CHAPTER SEVEN		
Table 7.1	Factive Goal Constructions in the Poems of Psalms	352
Table 7.2	Goal Strategies in Psalms by All Independent Variables, with row percentages	354
Table 7.3	Goal-Marking Strategies in Ugaritic Prose	368
Table 7.4	Goal-Marking in the Baal Cycle, with column percentages	370
Table 7.5	Goal-Marking Options by Goal Animacy, with column percentages	372
 CHAPTER EIGHT		
Table 8.1	The Factors that Impact Goal-Marking Strategy Variation in BH Prose	386
Table 8.2	The Factors that Impact a Choice of Directional Prepositions in BH Prose	388

APPENDIX SIX

Table A6.1	Encoding Goals and Motion in OB Letters (ABB 9, 1-50)	530
Table A6.2	Encoding Goals and Motion in OB Verse (Gilgamesh Tab. II & III)	531

Figures

INTRODUCTION

Figure 0.1	Complete List of First-Analysis Variables (same as Figure 2.1)	8
------------	--	---

CHAPTER ONE

Figure 1.1	Spatial Arguments	18
Figure 1.2	Goals, Phrases, Constructions	19

CHAPTER TWO

Figure 2.1	Complete List of First-Analysis Variables (same as Figure 0.1)	73
Figure 2.2	Examples of Variables and Outcomes	76
Figure 2.3	Linguistic Variables and Their Relationship to Goal-Marking Strategy Variation	86
Figure 2.4	Preliminary Network of Goal-Marking Strategy Variation and Syntactic-Semantic Variables	89
Figure 2.5	Linguistic Variables and Their Relationship to Goal-Marking Strategy Variation (same as Figure 2.3)	94

CHAPTER THREE

Figure 3.1	Time and the Biblical Hebrew Diachronic Corpora	105
Figure 3.2	Goal-Marking Strategies by Era	124
Figure 3.3	Percentages of Directive <i>He</i> in the Biblical Books, by style/era	146
Figure 3.4	Text Types and the Verbs Found in Goal Constructions	154

CHAPTER FOUR

Figure 4.1	Options for BH Noun Suffixation	168
Figure 4.2	Animacy Scale	170
Figure 4.3	Definiteness/Individuation Scale	171
Figure 4.4	Goal-Marking Strategies and the Individuation Scale	176
Figure 4.5	A Definitional Analysis of <i>Bird</i> , from Geeraerts 2006: 152	185
Figure 4.6	Spatial Roles Matrix	191
Figure 4.7	Types of Locations	194
Figure 4.8	Prototypical Goal-like-ness Continuum	196
Figure 4.9	Inanimate Goal Matrix	196
Figure 4.10	A Construct Chain with Directive <i>He</i> Intervening	201
Figure 4.11	Markedness in Canaanite Verbs, from Korchin 2008: 323-324	203
Figure 4.12	Goal-Marking Strategies in a Markedness Hierarchy	206
Figure 4.13	Decision Tree for the Choice of Goal-Marking Strategies based on Goal Variables	211

CHAPTER FIVE

Figure 5.1	Locating the Prototype	230
Figure 5.2	Transitivity Scale with Semantically-Related Components Adjacent, from Malchukov 2006: 333	236
Figure 5.3	Prototypical Transitivity as a Venn diagram	238

Figure 5.4	Simple Verb-Class Hierarchy, from Malchukov 2005: 81	239
Figure 5.5	IMCs in Prose Goal-Containing Clauses in BH	252
Figure 5.6	CMCs with Patients in Prose Goal-Containing Clauses in BH	256
Figure 5.7	The Prototypical IMC, CMC, and Transitive	278
Figure 5.8	Motion Constructions and their Defining Features	279
Figure 5.9	Intransitive Motion Constructions with Goals (n=2146)	281
Figure 5.10	Two-Participant Motion Constructions with Goals (n=979)	284
CHAPTER SIX		
Figure 6.1	Types of Locations (same as 3.7)	299
Figure 6.2	<i>b-</i> Marks Spatial Roles	301
Figure 6.3	Prepositions and Their Spatial Relationships with the Goal	312
Figure 6.4	Proportions of Goal-Marking Prepositions by Era, shown as percentages	313
Figure 6.5	Conceptualizing Motion Situations	337
Figure 6.6	A Choice of Goal-Markers in Classical Biblical Hebrew	343
Figure 6.7	A Choice of Goal-Markers in Late Biblical Hebrew	345
CHAPTER SEVEN		
Figure 7.1	A Prose-Verse Continuum?	349
Figure 7.2	Goal-Marking in the Baal Cycle	371
Figure 7.3	Choosing a Strategy Based on Goal Animacy	372
Figure 7.4	Percentages of Types of Goal-Marking Options in Different Corpora	379
CHAPTER EIGHT		
Figure 8.1	The Semitic Language Family	394
Figure 8.2	Differential Goal Marking in Selected Semitic Languages	397
APPENDIX ONE		
Figure A1.1	Spatial Arguments (same as Figure 1.1)	407
APPENDIX SIX		
Figure A6.1	Proportions of GC Strategies in ABB 9, 1-50 and OB Gilgamesh T. II & III	532

Abbreviations

See “A Note on Glossing Conventions” for grammatical sigla, and “Bibliography” for bibliographic abbreviations.

BH	Biblical Hebrew
CM	Caused-Motion
CMC	Caused-Motion Construction
CMC+P	Caused-Motion Construction with Patient
CPC	Caused-Possession Construction
ES	East Semitic
IMC	Intransitive Motion Construction
GC	Goal Construction
GN	Geographic Names
HB	Hebrew Bible
NP	Noun Phrase
NWS	Northwest Semitic
PN	Personal Name
prp	perhaps
SACMC	Secondary-Agent Caused-Motion Construction
WS	West Semitic

A Note on Transcriptions of Biblical Hebrew

Examples from Biblical Hebrew are transcribed into English letters using the Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Hebrew Academic Style (cf. Alexander *et al.* 2009: 26), with two exceptions.

First, in SBL style, the *ʔālep* is indicated using an apostrophe that curves to the left, while the *ʿayin* is indicated using an apostrophe that curves to the right. However, due to problems with the author's word processor repeatedly losing this formatting, in this monograph the *ʔālep* (glottal stop) is indicated with a *ʔ*, which resembles the IPA symbol for a glottal stop, while the *ʿayin* (a velar fricative) is indicated using the symbol *`*.

Second, in SBL style, a *qāmeṣ* vowel followed by a word-final *hê* is transcribed as *â* alone because it is assumed to be a *mater lectionis*. However, despite the fact that the directive *he* is written as a *qāmeṣ* vowel followed by a word-final *hê*, this *hê* is not *mater lectionis*, and thus is retained in transcription.

consonants	vowels
<i>ʔālep</i> ʔ <i>mēm</i> m	<i>pataḥ</i> a <i>final qāmeṣ-hê</i> âh
<i>bêt</i> b <i>nûn</i> n	<i>qāmeṣ</i> ā <i>qāmeṣ ḥāṭûp</i> o
<i>gîmel</i> g <i>sāmek</i> s	<i>sěgōl</i> e <i>reduced qāmeṣ</i> ǒ
<i>dālet</i> d <i>ʿayin</i> `	<i>ṣērê</i> ē <i>reduced pataḥ</i> ä
<i>hê</i> h <i>pê</i> p	<i>sěgōl/ṣērê-yôd ê</i> <i>reduced sěgōl</i> ě
<i>wāw</i> w <i>ṣādê</i> ṣ	<i>ḥîreq</i> i / ī
<i>zayin</i> z <i>qôp</i> q	<i>ḥîreq-yôd</i> î
<i>ḥêt</i> ḥ <i>rêš</i> r	<i>ḥōlem</i> ō
<i>ṭêt</i> ṭ <i>śîn</i> ś	<i>ḥōlem-wāw</i> ô
<i>yôd</i> y <i>śîn</i> š	<i>qibbûṣ</i> u / ū
<i>kāp</i> k <i>tāw</i> t	<i>šûreq</i> û
<i>lāmed</i> l	<i>šěwāʔ</i> ě

Please note that the SBL transcription conventions for vowels prioritize the preservation of Masoretic spelling distinctions rather than reflecting actual phonetic or phonemic differences.

A Note on Glossing Conventions

Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses in examples are formatted according to the standard Leipzig Glossing Rules, May 2015 revision (Comrie, Haspelmath, and Bickel 2015). See list below. (The Leipzig Glossing Rules are not optimized for nonconcatenative morphology or for studies of motion-encoding, so I have added several abbreviations, shown with asterisks.)

ACC	accusative
CONJ *	conjunction
CONS *	construct form of noun
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DIR *	directional (goal-marking) morpheme
DUR	durative
F	feminine
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
IRR	irrealis
M	masculine
NEG	negative
OBJ	object
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PREC *	precative
PRET *	preterite
PRF	perfect
PTCP	participle
REL	relative
RT *	route-marker
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SRC *	source-marker
VENT *	ventive
VOC	vocative

Introduction: A SCRIBE'S CHOICE

In Biblical Hebrew, a written Northwest Semitic language from the first millennium B.C., scribes had several different options when they wanted to write about movement to a goal: they might mark the goal noun with a suffix or with a directional preposition, or not mark it overtly at all. The linguistic choices that they made, and the reasons that they made these choices, are the subject of this monograph.

Before the project is described in detail, let us situate the concept of linguistic choice in a broad context. What kinds of choices do people make in their use of language, and what do these choices signify?

Consider the following quote.

They say that a picture is worth a thousand words. But paint a picture with your words, and you need not be ashamed to stand beside the creators of the greatest artwork in the Louvre.

As readers, we look at a text like this, and we strive to understand its meaning. *What did the writer intend to say? We try to assess its value: is it profound? Is it plebeian? Is it relevant to us?* As scholars, we may have other questions. *Where did this text come from, and why was it written? Under what circumstances was it created, and by whom?* If this quote appeared in a newspaper or a book, it might come accompanied by a handy biography of the author. But what if it doesn't? What can we tell about the person responsible for this quote, or about their world, from just these few words?

A quote like this represents layer upon layer of choices. Most recently, it represents my choice to include it, a choice that has its own significance; but we can excavate several layers of choices before that. One older layer is represented by the element "a picture is worth a thousand words." This modern proverb was popularized in the early twentieth century by a man who used it as a written advertising slogan, alongside variants like "one look is worth a thousand words" and "one picture is worth ten thousand words." The proverb was shaped by Fred Barnard's choice to

formulate it just this way, but it was also shaped by the American speech community as they began using it productively in their own speech.

The author of this quote is plainly aware of the use of this proverb in the American English oral tradition. They use it, but subvert it. The original proverb/slogan promotes images over writing, but the author of the quote proclaims that writing can be just as powerful as an image. Yet this choice to publicize their beliefs is not the only choice that the author has made. The author has also chosen to word their statement in a particular way—a way that they expect to be more powerful or persuasive. What if the author had said instead, “They say that a picture is worth a thousand words, but I don’t agree.” All right, the author has their opinion—but the result is not exactly a quotable quote, is it? It doesn’t have the aesthetic quality of the real quote, and doesn’t even attempt to persuade the reader. It also baldly contradicts the proverb, pitting the author’s opinion against the received wisdom of the American speech community. Is that a power struggle that the author of this statement can win? The author of the real quote, on the other hand, uses wordplay, picking up key nouns from the proverb and putting them into a new relationship (“but paint a picture with your words”), creating the illusion that they are building on the proverb’s wisdom while they in fact contradict it.

The way that the author chose to word this quote can tell us things about them. First, they are writing after the proverb “A picture is worth a thousand words” became a common phrase. Second, they advocate painting a picture with words in order to be acknowledged as a creative professional, suggesting that their own vocation may involve writing in a style which allows aesthetic features (i.e., they don’t write car manuals or scientific papers). Third, they single out the Louvre as the home of great artwork, which could be sign of a (conscious or unconscious) Eurocentric bias on the part of the author, a sign that the author expects their audience to have a Eurocentric bias, or even a sign that the author is avoiding marking their identity by choosing some alternative museum or gallery. (What would be different about the affect of this quote if the author had referred to “the greatest artwork in the Met” or “the greatest artwork in the Israel

Museum”?) Fourth, the way that they word their contribution suggests that they have had some education in English and/or English literature. Fifth, in comparison with modern literary norms their sentence structure and word choice (“you need not be ashamed”) is antiquated, suggesting either that they wrote this some time ago or that they are being purposefully archaizing, perhaps in order to make their contribution seem more authoritative. In short, by examining their language choices we can make some deductions about the time when the author lived and wrote, their occupation, their education, and their worldview (or the worldviews of their expected audience).

Scribal Choices in the Hebrew Bible

Like the quote given above, the Hebrew Bible represents layer upon layer of choices. A scribe chose to write each phrase, and to write it *this way* and not *that way*. Perhaps another scribe chose to update the phrase, to move it, to add to it—again, choosing to do so in *such a way* and not *such another way*.¹ More scribes chose to copy it, to keep preserving it for centuries before it finally showed up in the oldest extant biblical texts.² As with the choices we can identify in the quote above, these choices can tell us much about the scribes, the worlds they lived in, and what they were trying to do in the texts they created.

A scribe’s choices in language can be impacted by many different factors. For example, these choices can be impacted by the particular time and place in which they live. For example, in a particular region in the year 799 BC, a community may have four different words for *lion*. The local scribes can choose from this set of four whenever they want to write about lions. However, at the same time but in an area two hundred kilometers away, a scribe might live in a community which only has two words for *lion*. He will probably choose between these two even if he has read texts from other regions which include additional options. A scribe’s language choices are constrained by what is available in the community. As scholars, when we can identify these kinds

¹ Of course, scribes may also make mistakes, resulting in changes to the text which the scribe would not wish to have made. Unfortunately, in many cases scribal errors cannot be distinguished from changes which the scribe found acceptable based on our data.

² For further on the complex compositional history of the Hebrew Bible, see 2.1.2.

of constraints, we can describe characteristics of a language or dialect at a particular time and place.

A scribe's choices can also be impacted by their education. A scribe with an excellent education and a scribe with a basic education may make very different linguistic choices. The scribe with the basic education simply does not have access to all of the linguistic resources. As students of the ancient world, when we see evidence of greater and lesser linguistic resources in a given place and time (for example, among the Canaanite scribes of the fourteenth century BC), we can investigate not only the contents of the scribal curriculum but also the demographics of the scribes themselves. What types of people were likely to become well-educated versus less-educated scribes? What does this tell us about the society in which they lived?

A scribe's choices can also be influenced by other linguistic choices that the scribe has made. This happens both on the grammatical level and on the broader discourse level. If a scribe chooses to write about a plural subject, they will make the verb agree. If the scribe begins a narrative set in the past, they will put their verbs in the paradigm. If a scribe chooses to write in a certain genre or text type—for example, cultic law or reported speech—they will make linguistic choices which fit the norms for that genre or text type. In other words, once a scribe has made *x* linguistic choice, they become more likely to make the contingent choices *y* and *z*. As Hebraists, when we can identify these kinds of entanglements, we can explore the linguistic system of Biblical Hebrew and the ways that the language's components work together.

Within the constraints of community availability, the scribe's own training, and the linguistic context, the scribe may make choices which have social connotations in the community, either through unconscious bias or conscious desire to mark certain identities or ideologies, or may choose due to idiosyncratic preference.³ As scholars, when we can distinguish these types of

³ The scribe may even choose to reject these constraints, although this is less common. Humans are creative and innovative creatures. A scribe could choose a word that is no longer in use in their language, or make up a new word. A scribe may choose not to make the subject and verb of a sentence agree.

choices, we can begin to examine what the scribe was trying to do with language, and what social meanings their linguistic choices had.

To be clear, if there is more than one linguistic option available to express something in a given language at a certain place and time, the scribe *is* making a choice. However, what a scribe's choice *signifies* (i.e. does it reflect linguistic norms, social norms, the scribe's own manipulation of language) is constrained by the factors that are influencing that choice.

Finding the Scribe's Choice

So then, a scribe's linguistic choices can potentially give us a wealth of information about the scribe and his goals, the community he lived in, the norms of the written language in the time and place where he lived, and so on. But how do we access these choices and decide what they signify?

If we had extensive information about an individual scribe, perhaps with a handy manifesto of his ideology or a memoir about his life, we could begin there. However, we lack that information. We could start with the scribe's community, but given the long history of the Biblical Hebrew text that option is also problematic.

The best starting point that we have is the text of the Hebrew Bible—a complex, layered, multi-genre composition with many unidentified contributors. While it is not an ideal linguistic corpus (see Chapter 2), we can use this text to identify linguistic norms in Biblical Hebrew; once these linguistic norms have been identified, we can consider factors like change over time, region, and finally the scribe's own goals.

The best way to identify the linguistic norms in such a complex corpus is through multivariate statistical analysis. This type of analysis allows us to handle large linguistic datasets and to weigh many variables simultaneously. We need such capabilities because a language is a system made up of numerous entangled parts, ranging from its basic building blocks (phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics) to norms for different styles, discourse types, and language varieties. The parts of this linguistic system influence and interact with one another.

In Hebrew Studies, we often focus on a handful of linguistic variables without considering the breadth of the system or the ways that different parts of the system interact with one another. For example, I might choose to explain the differences between one text and another as differences between the original scribes' regional language varieties without considering the fact that one text is a legal code and one is an historical narrative. When we produce studies focused on only a few variables, we miss the impacts that other variables—or, indeed, that connected sets of variables—have on our linguistic data, making it very difficult for us to identify linguistic norms.

Clearly, it is valuable to cast a wide net when considering what variables could have an impact on the linguistic phenomena that we are studying. But why is having a large dataset so important? In the past, for practical reasons Hebraists have tended to focus on handfuls of examples or small subsets of the text of the Hebrew Bible when making their linguistic arguments. However, this kind of selective approach has drawbacks. For example, I may find fifty examples of a certain linguistic phenomenon in the Hebrew Bible and think that this is an adequate dataset; but if thirty of these examples are from Classical Biblical Hebrew, ten from Transitional, and ten from Late Biblical Hebrew; and thirty-five are from narrative, five from dialogue, and ten from verse; forty have verb-subject order and ten have subject-verb order; and so on—unless the data is unexpectedly unified I will find it very difficult to draw accurate conclusions about this linguistic phenomenon with respect to any of these variables. Today, with widespread access to statistical software and partially-tagged versions of the Hebrew Bible, we can create extensive datasets that allow us to weigh more accurately the impacts that different Biblical Hebrew linguistic variables have on specific linguistic phenomena.

In short, then, we can access the choices of the scribes if we start by identifying Biblical Hebrew linguistic norms through a multivariate statistical analysis of a substantial dataset. With that in mind, in this study I use a well-known linguistic variant as an entry point into the linguistic system and sociohistory of Biblical Hebrew.

The Current Project: The Scribe's Choice of Goal-Marking Strategies

In Biblical Hebrew (BH), a goal argument (the place *to* which one is going) can be encoded in several different ways: with a postpositional clitic (directive *he*), with an unmarked accusative case (accusative of direction), or with bound or unbound prepositions, as shown in example (a).

(a) <i>I went up to Jerusalem.</i> ⁴	
\`alîtî yĕrûšālaym= âh	directive <i>he</i>
\`alîtî yĕrûšālāim- â	accusative of direction
\`alîtî ?el/`al/`ad/?et yĕrûšālāim	unbound directional preposition
\`alîtî li-/bi- yĕrûšālāim	bound directional preposition

In the grammars these variants are treated as semantically interchangeable and largely unpredictable. However, while it is true that the three options have extensive functional overlap—all belonging to a “goal-marking” functional domain—linguists agree that constructions which are syntactically distinct must also be distinct in their semantics, their pragmatics, or both.⁵ The initial purpose of this monograph is to identify the independent linguistic variables that predict the use or disuse of a specific goal-marking strategy, then to attempt to define the semantic/pragmatic distinctions between these Goal Constructions, in order to describe the Biblical Hebrew linguistic norms related to this variant. In the process, I hope to achieve several additional aims: to demonstrate the utility of statistical methods such as multinomial logistical regression for linguistic research into Biblical Hebrew, to advance our understanding of linguistic prototypes in Biblical Hebrew and other languages, and to begin to describe the social significance of scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies.

Scholars familiar with the Biblical Hebrew linguistic literature may wonder why I have chosen to return to such a well-known alternation. Hermann Austel was already identifying factors which impacted differential goal marking in BH half a century ago. His list of independent

⁴ See Note on Transcription of Biblical Hebrew, above.

⁵ Bolinger 1968; Goldberg 1995: 3, 67; Givon 2001 1:25; cf. Coleman 2016: 55-56, 66; Halevy 2007: 61. From a functionalist perspective, “a given structure once present must be assumed to be motivated to at least some extent by functional factors” (Naess 2007: 4). A holistic approach which integrates syntax, semantics, and pragmatics is absolutely necessary (cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 16, 25).

variables has been increased and further refined in the works of scholars such as Jacob Hoftijzer, Jan Joosten, and Robert Rezetko and Ian Young.⁶ What, then, can be gained by a renewed study?

In this study I use advances in computer-aided statistical analysis to improve our understanding of the ways that different parts of the grammar interconnect in the texts produced by BH scribes. Having extracted a complete dataset of over 3000 Goal Constructions from the prose portions of the Hebrew Bible, I coded these examples for over thirty linguistic and extra-grammatical variables, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 0.1: Complete List of First-Analysis Variables (same as Figure 2.1)

<p><u>Dependent</u>: goal-marking strategy (he/acc/prep) <u>GC</u>: Goal animacy, goal number, goal definiteness, goal individuation (proper vs. common), goal complexity, presence/absence of adjuncts to goal, goal final phoneme <u>Object</u>: object animacy, object number, object definiteness, object reflexivity <u>Subject</u>: subject animacy, subject number, subject definiteness, subject affectedness, overt subject <u>Verb and clause</u>: number of participants, verb aspect, verb binyan, verb voice, verb parsing (imperfect, wayyiqtol, infinitive, etc.), clause mode (realis/irrealis), clause negation (affirmative/negative) <u>Word order</u>: verb-initial, goal before verb <u>Priming</u>: preceding goal in same clause, preceding goal in adjacent clause <u>Descriptive</u>: style/era, book, source, text type, orality, dialect</p>

I consider variables from the syntax, phonology, morphology, historical development and social world of Biblical Hebrew. By modeling multinomial logistical regressions and using various postestimation tests, I am able to weigh the importance of each variable in relation to the others. In some cases, I find that a certain variable has been overemphasized in earlier research, while other significant variables have received little attention. While this study does not address all possible linguistic variables or all possible BH texts, the present study does demonstrate the worth of multivariate statistical analyses in the study of Biblical Hebrew and its cognate languages.

In this study, I investigated five hypotheses.

⁶ See 1.3 below.

Hypothesis 1. The alternation between different types of goal-marking strategies is not free variation but is largely caused by the differing semantics/pragmatics of these constructions, reflecting Biblical Hebrew linguistic norms.

Methodological Corollary: The differing semantics/pragmatics of these constructions can be identified by a study of the independent variable outcomes which have a statistically significant effect on BH scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies.

Hypothesis 2. Multiple independent variables have a statistically significant effect on BH scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies.

Methodological Corollary: A statistical model which incorporates multiple independent variables will have different results than one which has only one independent variable. For example, variables which were significant in a minimal model may not be significant in a larger model, or variables which were not significant in a small model may be significant in a larger model. Models must therefore be carefully designed and assessed.

Hypothesis 3. The semantics/pragmatics of the goal-marking strategies differ in part due to their relationships to linguistic prototypes, such as the prototypical goal and the Prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction.⁷ I predict that one or two goal-marking strategies will be associated with more prototypical clauses and one or two goal-marking strategies will be associated with less prototypical clauses.

Hypothesis 4. Scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies in other Semitic corpora (such as the corpora of Epigraphic Hebrew, Ugaritic, Biblical Aramaic, and Akkadian) are

⁷ Throughout this project, I make an extensive use of linguistic prototype theory, the idea that linguistic units are judged by language users as being 'good' or 'bad' members of a given linguistic category, and that said language users may overtly mark the degree to which the unit conforms or does not conform to that category. For further on linguistic prototype theory, see Chapters Three and Four.

driven by many of the same linguistic variables as scribes' choice of strategies in Biblical Hebrew.

Hypothesis 5. Scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies give us insight into their conscious and unconscious construction of social meaning.

These hypotheses appear to be correct. Variations between goal-marking strategies can often be predicted by considering other linguistic variables, with the postpositional clitic and unmarked accusative being used in more prototypical clauses while directional prepositions are used in less prototypical clauses; many of the same linguistic factors active in Biblical Hebrew appear to be active in Epigraphic Hebrew, Ugaritic, and Biblical Aramaic, although the situation in Akkadian is somewhat different; and the scribes' choices of goal-marking strategies reflect both the unconscious effects of sociohistorical change and conscious manipulation of goal-marking strategies as signs of broader rhetorical and social goals.

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. In Chapter One, I define what Goal Constructions are and are not.⁸ In Chapter Two I discuss the challenges of treating the Hebrew Bible as a linguistic corpus, then explain my methods for creating and coding the dataset and analyzing the data. Along the way, I address issues such as the difference between the text criticism of the Hebrew Bible versus the New Testament, the complex compositional history of the Hebrew Bible and its modes of transmission, the witnesses available to us, the extent of the textual fluidity in the biblical text, and the kind of texts of which the Hebrew Bible is representative. My initial results show that many different variables—from the animacy of the goal to the factivity of the clause, to the diachronic corpus in which the Goal Construction was found—have statistically significant correlations with the scribe's choice of goal-marking strategies. Readers

⁸ A comprehensive survey of the uses of the postpositional clitic directive *he* (in goal-marking and elsewhere) can be found in Appendix One.

who are interested in replicating or verifying this study will find this chapter, with the connected appendices, to be a helpful reference.⁹

To what extent was the scribe's choice of goal-marking strategies constrained by the time and place where they lived or impacted by the text type or style in which they chose to write? In Chapter Three I make my first push toward an answer to this question, considering scribes' choices to use the directive *he*, accusative of direction, or directional prepositions in terms of factors such as change over time, book, source, dialect, text type, and orality.¹⁰ (In Chapter Six, I build on this study in an analysis of the scribe's choice of directional prepositions in terms of the same factors.) While text type and orality are not significantly correlated with goal-marking strategy choice (perhaps due to their entanglement with change over time and syntactic variables), the other extra-grammatical variables are. Significant variation in biblical books and Pentateuchal sources may be due to a combination of diachrony, text type/genre considerations, and 'authorial preferences.'

In an investigation of the differences in goal-marking between different diachronic corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late Biblical Hebrew; Epigraphic Hebrew), I find that scribes who used later Biblical Hebrews made choices which were different from the choices made by CBH-using scribes, not only because of their distinct sociohistorical circumstances but because of an apparently conscious desire to manipulate their use of the directive *he* as an ideological marker.

To what extent was the scribe's choice of goal-marking strategies influenced by other grammatical choices that they had made? In Chapters Four and Five, I situate my results within the contexts of linguistic prototype theory, spatial semantics, and construction grammar. In Chapter Four, I show that the nature of the goal itself—its animacy, definiteness, individuation, complexity, etc.—is a significant predictor of the goal-marking strategy that will be used. I show

⁹ Appendix Two includes a list of all of the Goal Constructions in the dataset analyzed in Chapters Two-Six. Appendix Three includes a list of the multinomial logistical regression models on which the analysis in Chapter Two is based.

¹⁰ For a complete account of the coding of the orality variable, see Appendix Four.

that the directive *he* and accusative of direction are correlated with inanimate, proper noun goals, which I argue are the most prototypical goals available due to the inherent specific geographic information that they contain. (The directive *he* is also constrained by an association with unmarked goals.) In Chapter Five, I demonstrate that a wide variety of syntactic-semantic factors have a significant impact on goal-marking strategy choice. I argue that the correlations between these factors and the goal-marking strategies can be explained as sensitivity to prototypical Motion Constructions such as the Intransitive Motion Construction and the Caused-Motion Construction with a Patient. The directive *he* and the accusative mark goals in more prototypical Motion Constructions, while the directional prepositions (when considered as a class) are free to mark goals in atypical motion environments. The findings in this chapter are valuable not only as we consider the role and importance of prototypical constructions in Biblical Hebrew but also as we seek to understand the systems of prototypical Motion Constructions that exist in the world's languages.

Having considered the semantic/pragmatic differences between the directive *he*, accusative of direction, and directional prepositions in Chapters Two through Five, in Chapter Six I explore the differences between the goal-marking prepositions. I find that several of these prepositions (*?et*, *b-*, *'al*, and *l-*) prefer to mark goals that are semantically similar to the noun phrases that they mark when performing their core functions. I also conclude that the ways that prepositions are used in the Classical Biblical Hebrew, Transitional Biblical Hebrew, and Late Biblical Hebrew corpora are significantly different from one another. The scribes who originated the Transitional Biblical Hebrew texts make use of a limited repertoire of goal-marking strategies, likely due both to changes in scribal education during the exilic period and to less of a focus on the creation of a 'literary' end product. (Differences in goal-marking between 'literary' and 'non-literary' texts can also be detected when comparing Ugaritic verse with Ugaritic letters and Akkadian verse with Akkadian letters.) The situation in LBH is also intriguing, as the goal-marking

system appears to have undergone a dramatic renegotiation in this corpus, converging toward the goal-marking norms that we see in Biblical Aramaic.

In Chapter Seven, I show that the linguistic factors behind goal-marking strategy choice in Hebrew prose are also important in Hebrew verse. In a case study on Goal Constructions in Psalms, I find that non-prepositional goal-marking strategies are less common in verse due to the higher proportions of imperfective verbs, irrealis modes, and less-individuated goals and subjects. In fact, the directive *he* is not used to mark goals at all, while the preposition *l-* is favored. I explore the relationship between goal-marking in prose and verse further through a study of goal-marking in Ugaritic, examining both the prose letters and the verse epic, the *Baal Cycle*. While I find that many of the same linguistic features drive goal-marking variation in Ugaritic as in Hebrew, my attempt to compare prose and verse raises more questions than it answers. Why is the repertoire of goal-marking strategies in the letters so limited? Why is directive *he* so uncommon in both Hebrew and Ugaritic verse? What is the impact of the text type in which a verse text is composed? While this pilot study shows that similar linguistic factors are active in scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies in both prose and verse, these new questions can only be addressed via a more comprehensive investigation of goal-marking in Hebrew and Ugaritic verse.

Appendix 6 addresses differential goal-marking in Akkadian; this analysis supports the hypothesis that the same linguistic factors are active in goal-marking strategy choice in other Semitic corpora, but show that the scribes of Old Babylonian Akkadian have a different emphasis in their goal-marking system.

In Chapter Eight I discuss the choices of the ancient Judean (and Israelite?) scribes with respect to goal marking, from what they reveal about the norms of the written languages in the times and places when they lived, to what these decisions tell us about the norms for the text types and styles these scribes chose to use, to ways that scribes consciously manipulated their use of different goal-marking strategies as a social marker. I also review the development of the goal-marking system in Semitic and outline several directions for future research.

Every piece of the Biblical Hebrew text represents many choices by the biblical scribes. By examining the constraints and contents of those choices, scholars can gain information about the Biblical Hebrew linguistic system, social and linguistic norms in Hebrew-using communities at different times and places, scribal education, and the scribes' own goals and worldviews. Even the study of a single variant—the scribe's choice between goal-marking strategies—yields new information on all of these topics. It is my hope that this will be the first of many studies which—by taking a holistic approach to the Biblical Hebrew linguistic system with its sociohistorical matrix and emphasizing statistical analysis of frequent linguistic phenomena—finds meaning in these elusive echoes of the lives and choices of ancient scribes.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter One: IDENTIFYING GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS

Chapter Outline

- 1.1 Defining the Goal Construction*
- 1.2 Strategies for Marking the Biblical Hebrew Goal*
 - 1.2.1 Directive *he**
 - 1.2.2 Accusative of Direction*
 - 1.2.3 Directional Prepositions*
 - 1.2.4 Goals Marked Using Multiple Strategies*
- 1.3 Biblical Hebrew Goal-Marking in Previous Literature*
 - 1.3.1 Ground-Breaking Studies Related to Goal-Marking*
 - 1.3.2 Prolegomena for a Study on Goal-Marking*
- 1.4 In Sum*

As I noted above, a language is a holistic system with many entangled parts. In order to investigate a language user's conscious decision to manipulate language, one must first outline the linguistic norms of the community and the specific time and place to which he belongs. One way to begin to define these linguistic norms is to use a particular linguistic variable as an entry point. To make an effective entry point, this variable must have two properties. First, the variable must have a sufficient theoretical likelihood of being sensitive to different parts of the linguistic system (in order to cast light on the language as a whole); and second, the linguistic variable must have enough attestations in a given corpus for statistical analysis (in order for a discussion of the contexts in which it varies to be meaningful).

The goal-marking alternation in Biblical Hebrew has a high likelihood of being sensitive to different parts of the linguistic system. First, the three major variants in the goal-marking alternation (marking with the clitic directive *he* or with directional prepositions, or construal as an 'accusative' of direction) cross the wall between morphology and syntax: adding a clitic is a morphological strategy, while adding a preposition or construing a noun in the 'accusative' is a syntactic one. Second, previous studies of the goal-marking alternation in Biblical Hebrew have found that goal-marking is sensitive to issues of phonology, animacy, and definiteness as well as to the diachronic corpus and source to which a particular Goal Construction belongs (see 1.3 and

Chapter 4). Finally, linguists have long identified the goal as one of the most common semantic roles in language, situating it in a theoretical framework which integrates syntax and semantics (see 1.1 and Chapter 4).

Goal-marking alternation also occurs frequently enough in Biblical Hebrew for a robust statistical analysis. There are over 3000 goals in my dataset of factive Goal Constructions from Biblical Hebrew prose. Since goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew has a high theoretical likelihood of being sensitive to different parts of the linguistic system as well as numerous attestations, this linguistic variable is a perfect fit for a study exploring the linguistic norms of Biblical Hebrew.

In this chapter, I define the concept of a Goal Construction, briefly describe the various strategies used to form Goal Constructions in Biblical Hebrew, and discuss the relevance of previous studies to the present work, with particular attention to how these studies have used or not used statistical methods. For a discussion of the dataset and methods used in the present study, as well as the initial results of my statistical analysis, see Chapter 2.

1.1 Defining the Goal Construction

There are many different perspectives by which we understand the roles that nouns and noun phrases play in a given clause. Hebrew philologists often classify nouns as *subjects* or *objects*; we also understand nouns from the perspective of (morpho-)syntactic case, referring to *nominatives* or *accusatives*. However, the roles that nouns play can also be understood from the perspective of semantics.

When we classify nouns by **semantic role**, we take into account not only the relationship of the noun to the verbal action and to any other arguments in the clause, but also the active characteristics of the noun itself. Thus, while certain semantic roles tend to be associated with certain information structure roles or certain (morpho)syntactic cases, the relationship is not one-to-one. For example, a subject in the nominative case could be filling a variety of semantic roles, such as Agent, Affected Agent, or Theme, depending on whether the subject is intentionally

performing the verbal action and on the extent to which the subject is changed by performing that action.¹¹

Certain sets of semantic roles tend to occur with certain classes of verbs. Whether we explain this correlation as verbs lexically selecting certain semantic case frames (i.e. sets of nouns with specific semantic roles), or as constructions specifying information about all of their obligatory constituents, both verbal and nominal, we cannot deny that the semantic classes of the verbs in a clause and the semantic roles of the nouns in the same clause are intimately connected. For example, the active caused-motion verb *throw* tends to occur with an Agent who is intentionally throwing a Patient (a fully affected but non-cooperating object or being) to a new spatial location. Just knowing that the verb of a clause is *throw* allows us to predict a great deal about the semantic roles of the nouns in the clause and about the relationship between them; just knowing that a clause contains an Agent and a Patient allows us to predict that only verbs from certain semantic classes and/or valencies will be able to appear.¹²

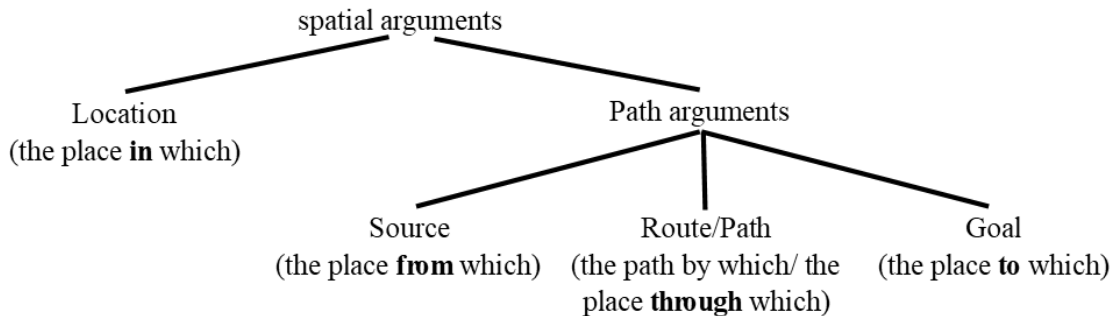
Verb-classes whose semantics includes an element of movement often take a core argument in a spatial semantic role. Noun phrases (NPs) in spatial semantic roles answer the question “Where?” Spatial arguments may express Location (the place *in* which something occurred) or Path (the path *along* which something moved). Path arguments come in several varieties: Source (the place *from* which something moved), Route/Path (the path *by* which or the

¹¹ Andersen and Forbes 2012: 135-139 summarizes many of the semantic roles that have been suggested.

¹² Of course, only core arguments (aka verbal complements) allow us to predict things about the verb, and the semantics of the verb only predicts things about the core arguments. Peripheral arguments (aka adjuncts) don't give us this kind of predictive power. Adjuncts may be informally defined as those elements which are not syntactically or semantically obligatory in the clause. For instance, in the sentence *John hit the ball by the lake*, *John* and *ball* are verbal complements that need to be there for the clause to work, but *the lake* is adjunctive, not syntactically necessary. For a cogent discussion of the difficulties in distinguishing between complements and adjuncts, see Forbes 2016. Like so many linguistic phenomena, the distinction between obligatory complements and non-obligatory adjuncts is really gradient rather than binary; for a discussion that wrestles with some of the intervening grades, see Cook 2016. Please note that just because an argument is an obligatory complement does not mean that it has to be overt (Forbes 2016: 101-102; Sinclair 1991: 71-72, 74, 78).

place *through* which something moved), and Goal (the place *to* which something moved).¹³ In this paper, our focus will be on the Goal.¹⁴

Figure 1.1 Spatial Arguments



Goals typically appear in motion clauses, embedded in structures which I label as Goal Constructions (GCs). A **Goal Construction** at its most basic includes a subject which is moving and/or causing the motion of an object, a verb which can be interpreted as a verb of motion, and a Goal phrase indicating “(movement) to a location,” as in the following examples. In Biblical Hebrew, the moving subject may be encoded only in the verb.

(a) 1 Kings 11:40bc

wayyāqām yārāb’ām wayyibrah mišrayim ?el šīšaḡ melek mišrayim
 and:he:arose Yarab’am and:he:fled **Egypt:to** **to Shishaḡ king:of Egypt**
 [MOV SUBJ:MOTION VB] [GOAL1] [GOAL2]

‘So Yarab’am arose and fled **to Egypt, to Shishaḡ king of Egypt.**’

(b) 2 Samuel 11:8a

wayyō?mer dāwid lē?ûrîyyâh rēd lēbêtēkā ûrḡaṣ raglêkā
 and:he:said David to:Uriah [you:]go_down **to:house:your** and:[you:]wash feet:your
 [MOV SUBJ:MOTION VB] [GOAL]

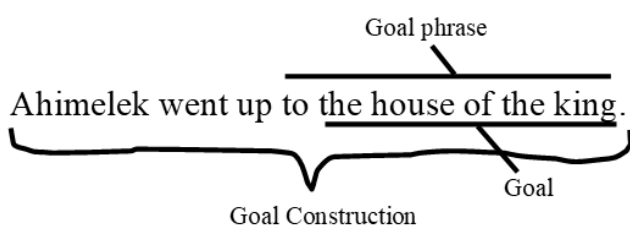
‘And David said to Uriah, “Go down **to your house** and wash your feet.”’

The Goal Construction is the largest unit, including all the core constituents of a given clause, with the Goal Phrase nested within it and the Goal within that, as below.

¹³ Route/Path was described as Path in earlier work, but since this created confusion (as Sources and Goals also contain path information) linguists have tried a variety of other labels, such as Route or Trajectory (cf. Stefanowitsch 2018: 147).

¹⁴ Biblical Hebrew also contains differential Location and Route marking. The Location and Route alternations may be fruitful subjects for future research.

Figure 1.2 Goals, Phrases, Constructions



1.2 Strategies for Marking the Biblical Hebrew Goal

A Goal Construction contains a moving subject, a motion verb, and a Goal phrase. In Biblical Hebrew, this Goal phrase may be formed by marking an appropriate noun phrase in one of three ways: by adding a directive *he* (a clitic suffix $-\hat{a}$), by adding a directional preposition, or by construing the noun phrase as an accusative of direction. These three strategies make up the goal-marking functional domain—that is, they all perform roughly the same function (marking a noun phrase as a semantic goal).¹⁵ They have often been treated as equivalent to one another, due in part to the fact that multiple strategies may be used within the same biblical text.¹⁶

1.2.1 Directive *he*

The directive *he* (also known as the locative *he* or *he locale*) is a clitic morpheme whose core function is the marking of goal arguments.¹⁷ Since it does not receive stress, it is relatively easy to distinguish from the *mater lectionis he* of the feminine singular.¹⁸

Directive *he* can mark a variety of location NPs as Goals, including the deictic adverb *there* (*šām*), directions (*north, above*), common location nouns (e.g. *sea, hill country*), and geographic

¹⁵ Alternation in goal-marking is a type of **differential place marking**. Differential place marking is a blanket term that also applies to alternations in the marking of other spatial roles, although differential goal-marking is the alternation most commonly studied by linguists (cf. Haspelmath 2019).

¹⁶ See for example 1 Kings 2:40-41. In 2:40, the goal GN Gath is marked with a directive *he*, but in 2:41 the goal Gath is construed as an accusative of direction.

¹⁷ See Appendix 1. Although earlier scholars believed the directive *he*, pronounced $-\hat{a}$, was a *mater* for the case vowel of a fossilized directive accusative $-\hat{a}$ (GKC §90a), the discovery of a directive clitic $-h$ in Ugaritic has led to the scholarly consensus that the directive *he* represents a morpheme unconnected with the case system (e.g. WO §10.5; Hasselbach 2013: 33-34). On clitics as a prototypical category, see Taylor 1995:179-183.

¹⁸ Lambert (1931) §253, Speiser (1954): 110; Lambdin (1971) §58; MNK §28.

names (e.g. *Jerusalem*, *Gibeah*). The nouns to which it adds may be definite or indefinite, but must always be inanimate.¹⁹

Directive *he* is usually applied to single-word Goals without possessive pronominal suffixes, as in the following example (directive *he* shown in bold):²⁰

(c) Genesis 50:14a

wayyāšob yôšēp mišraym=âh hû? wě?eḥāyw
 and:he:returned Joseph **Egypt=DIR** he and:brothers:his
 ‘And Joseph returned **to Egypt**, he and his brothers.’

However, in a few cases, the directive *he* adds to more complex NPs. These are sometimes compound geographic names like *Beer Sheba*, *Gath Hopher*, and *Paddan Aram*, but are more commonly two-noun construct chains like *the land of Canaan* or *the house of Joseph*.²¹ In a single case, the directive *he* attaches to an NP consisting of a definite noun followed by a definite adjective (*the great sea*, Josh 15:12); it may be best to understand *the great sea* as a compound GN referring to the Mediterranean. In almost all instances, the directive *he* attaches to the first noun of the construct chain (or the first element of the compound GN), as in Exodus 4:20 (directive *he* shown in bold, attached to the *land of land of Egypt*):²²

(d) Exodus 4:20ac

wayyiqqah mōšeh ?et ?ištô wě?et bānāyw ... wayyāšob ?arš=âh mišrāyim
 and:he:took Moses OBJ wife:his and:OBJ sons:his ... and:he:returned **land/of=DIR** Egypt
 ‘And Moses took his wife and his sons ... and he returned **to the land of Egypt**.’

¹⁹ cf. Austel 1969: 323, 328, 330-331, 346.

²⁰ cf. Austel 1969: 324, 334, 343-345.

²¹ A few longer construct chains do appear with directive *he*; see Joshua 18:12 “to the wilderness of Beth-Aben”; and Genesis 29:1, “to the land of the sons of the east.” cf. Genesis 28:2, in which it is attached to “the house of Bethuel your mother’s father;” and Genesis 24:67, with “the tent of Sarah his mother.”

²² Placement after the first constituent in a phrase is quite normal for clitics (Spencer and Luis 2012: 48-64). The three cases in which directive *he* attaches to the end of a construct chain all occur in Ezekiel 48. The Goal Constructions consist of the construct form of *p?h* “side” with a cardinal direction (“west/seaward” in two cases [vss. 16 and 34], “south/Negebward” in one case [vs. 33]). Ezekiel 48, despite the fact that it contains 44 Goal Constructions with directive *he*, usually does not mark *p?h* + direction in this manner. It either combines *p?h* + direction without requiring directive *he* (3 times), or, far more frequently, it uses both a preposition and directive *he* (22 times), in which case the directive *he* defaults to final position. On the somewhat experimental nature of some Transitional Biblical Hebrew (especially Ezekiel), see 3.1.

1.2.2 Accusative of Direction

The accusative of direction (also known as the terminative accusative or accusative of destination) is, by definition, an NP without overt marking which is “used with a verb of motion to state the direction of motion or the place reached through the motion.”²³

The label “accusative of direction” comes from our understanding of the historical trajectory of case in Semitic languages. Scholars posit a three-case declension for nouns in Proto-Semitic, which system survived into Semitic languages such as Akkadian, Arabic, and Ugaritic. In this system, nominative singular nouns were marked with –u, genitive singulars with –i, and accusative singulars with –a.²⁴ Each of these morphological cases could be used for a variety of syntactic functions. Proto-Semitic accusative nouns, in addition to functioning as direct objects, could take on “adverbial” functions, indicating the time at which something occurred, the goal toward which an action was directed, *et cetera*.²⁵ Although the morphological case system was lost with the loss of final short vowels in Proto-Hebrew (probably during the Iron I period²⁶), scholars still describe nouns in BH which take on “adverbial accusative” functions as accusative.²⁷

Like the directive *he*, the accusative of direction is most often applied to simple, one-word Goals, as in example (e).²⁸ However, about a third of the time (33.6%) the accusative appears with a Goal of two or more morphemes—sometimes many more, as in example (f):

(e) Ruth 3:6a
wattēred *haggōren*
and:she:went_down [DIR] the:threshing_floor
'And she went down **to the threshing floor**'

²³ Williams 54a; cf. MNK 33.2.3.

²⁴ Moscati 1958: 143-144; Hasselbach 2013: 35-36. The Proto-Semitic noun was diptotic in the plural, with –ū in the nominative and –ī in the oblique (Moscati 1958: 143; Hasselbach *ibid*). For other possible reconstructions of the early Semitic nominal system, see review in Hasselbach 2013: 48-72.

²⁵ Especially in older grammars, the directive accusative is often described as a subset of the locative accusative or accusative of place, by analogy with the accusative of place found in Latin and other Indo-European languages. In addition to being methodologically suspect, this description was not supported by the evidence; true locative accusatives are exceedingly rare in BH (Meek 1940: 226, 228).

²⁶ The Canaanite language(s) attested in borrowings in the Amarna letters during the 1300s B.C. still had this case system (Lipinski 2001: 270).

²⁷ How the ancient scribes themselves would have classified these uses is unfortunately unknown.

²⁸ cf. Austel 1969: 324, 334, 343-345.

(f) Deuteronomy 2:37

raq ?el ?ereṣ bēnē 'ammôn lō? qārābtā kol yad naḥal yabbōq ...
only to land\of sons\of Ammon not you:approached [DIR] all bank\of wadi Yabboq
'Only to the land of the sons of Ammon you did not draw near, **to all the bank of the wadi Yabboq**'

Again like the directive *he*, the accusative of direction is almost never used with animate noun phrases.²⁹

1.2.3 Directional Prepositions

A variety of prepositions can be used in the formation of Goal Constructions.³⁰ A detailed analysis of their individual behavior can be found in Chapter 6. The most popular directional preposition is *?el* (*to, toward*), which accounts for 74% (1576 out of 2040) of the prepositional constructions in my dataset.

(g) Numbers 22:36a

wayyišma 'bālaq kī bā? bil 'ām wayyēšē? liqrā?tō ?el 'īr mō?āb
and:he:heard Balaq that he:came Bil'am and:he:went_out to:meet:him DIR city/of Moab
'When Balaq heard that Bil'am had arrived, then he went out to meet him **to the city of Moab.**'

Next most common is the bound preposition *-l-*, accounting for 13% of the prepositional goal constructions in my dataset. It has wide variety of uses in BH, being a crucial part of possessive constructions, dative constructions, infinitives, and numerous idioms in addition to Goal Constructions.

(h) Jud 19:21a

wayēbī?ehū lē-bētō
and:he:brought:him DIR-house:his
'And he brought him **into his house**'

Third is the preposition *`al*. Although it usually means *upon* or *over*, it is used with 5% of the prepositionally-marked Goals in my dataset. Previous scholars have stated that in later Biblical Hebrews *`al* and *?el* may be employed interchangeably to mean *upon* and *to*.³¹

²⁹ cf. Austel 1969: 323, 328, 330-331, 346.

³⁰ Note that each of these prepositions also has other uses (WO 193, 195, 196, 205, 215, 216; cf. Beavers, Levin, and Tham 2010: 337, 341).

³¹ Austel 1969: 341; Rooker 1990: 127-131; cf. Waltke and O'Connor 216.

(i) Numbers 33:7a

wayyis 'û mē?ētām wayyāšob 'al pī haḥīrōt
and:they:travelled SRC:Etam and:they[collective]:returned **DIR Pi-Hahiroṯ**
'Then they set out from Etam they returned **to Pi-Hahiroṯ**'

Fourth is *'ad*, used to mark 4% of the prepositionally-marked Goals in my dataset. It generally indicates arrival at the external boundary of a location or region, a fact reflected in the frequent translation *as far as*.

(j) Judges 18:2de

wayyābō?û har ?eprayim 'ad bêt mīkâh wayyālīnû šām
and:they:came [DIR] hill_country/of Ephraim **DIR house/of Micah** and:they:slept there
'Then they came to the hill country of Ephraim, **to the house of Micah**, and they spent the night there.'

Fifth is *b-*, which also marks 4% of prepositionally-marked Goals. This bound preposition is most often used to mark noun phrases in the Location role (place *in* which), and is thus generally translated *in*, *on*, or *at*. It may also be used to mark the Route argument in a clause (place *through* which). Perhaps by extension, it is occasionally used to mark Goals which are being conceptualized as having a divisible interior in which one could move around to different sub-locations, as in the sentence *Joshua went up into (b-) the city*.³²

(k) Ezekiel 4:14d

wē 'ad 'attâh wēlō? bā? bē-pî bēšar piggûl
and:until now and:NEG it:came **DIR-mouth:my** meat/of offense
'And until now offensive meat has not come **into my mouth**'

The rarest goal-marking preposition is *?et*, appearing only five times in the dataset. The core function of this preposition is as a marker for salient, definite direct objects.³³ For the complete set of examples, see 6.2.1.

Some of the directional prepositions just discussed can be combined with other prepositions to form compounds. In my dataset, such compounds appear 39 times: 22 counts of

³² cf. WO 196; Beavers, Levin, and Tham 2010: 363 shows similar examples in other languages.

³³ An even more rare goal-marker is *?eše/* (usually *near*), for which see two late examples in Daniel 8:7 ('and I saw him coming near to [*?eše/*] the ram') and Daniel 8:17 ('and he came to [*?eše/*] my standing-place'). These were missed in the analysis.

?el plus *min* (= *to*),³⁴ six of ?el plus *taḥat* (= *to under*), four of ?el plus ?aḥarê (= *to behind*), one of ?el plus *bên* (= *to between*), one of `ad plus ?el (= *to*), three of `ad plus *l-* (= *to*), and two of `ad plus *nōkaḥ* (= *to opposite*).

For the purposes of the analysis in Chapters 2-5, the directional prepositions are treated as a homogenous class. The differences between them are examined in Chapter 6.

1.2.4 Goals Marked Using Multiple Strategies

On rare occasions, Goal Constructions are formed by applying both the directive *he* and a directional preposition to a noun phrase. A variety of prepositions may be used (?el, *l-*, or `ad).

Ten of these double-marked GCs appear in my dataset.³⁵ Judges 14:5 contains an example with both the preposition `ad and the directive *he*.

(e) Judges 14:5a

wayyēred šimšôn wěʔābiw ... timnāt=âh wayyābōʔû `ad karmê timnāt=âh
 and:he:descended Samson and:father:his ... Timnah=DIR and:they:came DIR vineyards/of Timnah=DIR
 'And Samson went down—and his father ...—to Timnah, and they came to the vineyards of Timnah.'

1.3 Biblical Hebrew Goal-Marking in Previous Literature

While the Biblical Hebrew goal-marking functional domain *per se* has not previously been the subject of scholarly work, the alternation between the goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, directional prepositions, accusative of direction) has intrigued scholars for decades; indeed, it is pointed out in almost all of the major grammars and syntaxes of Biblical Hebrew. Goal-marking in BH has been the subject of important studies by Austel, Hoftijzer, and Rezetko and Young; Joosten and Bekins have also made brief but important contributions to this topic. These studies establish that goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew is sensitive to issues such as goal animacy, individuation, and complexity; verb aspect and telicity, diachronic corpus, Pentateuchal source,

³⁴ On its own, *min* means *from*. The semantic vacuity of the *min* in such compound prepositions is maintained in other Semitic languages. See for example Choueiri 2016: 6-8 on locative and directional prepositions in Lebanese Arabic.

³⁵ Jud 14:5, 2 Sam 20:16, 1 Kgs 18:46, 2 Kgs 8:7, Ezek 34:21, Ezek 40:40, Ezek 41:7, Ezek 47:8, Qoh 3:21 (2 times).

text type, prose versus poetry, and perhaps dialect—showing that goal-marking is a linguistic variable entangled with various parts of the BH linguistic system.

In section 1.3.1, I review the research done by these scholars. Then, in section 1.3.2, I briefly discuss the ways in which my pilot study (Medill 2014) and the current study build on earlier scholarship. For a complete explanation of the methods used in this study, see Chapter 2.

1.3.1 Ground-Breaking Studies Related to Goal-Marking

Hermann Austel

Austel's 1969 dissertation "Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements with Verbs of Motion in Biblical Hebrew" is one of the most comprehensive works related to goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew. Unfortunately, it was never published, and thus has been neglected in later treatments of this topic.

Austel was interested in the question of how and why intransitive verbs from the motion class alternate between marking their spatial arguments with prepositions or construing them without prepositions (whether as accusatives of direction or with directive *he*).³⁶ Were these strategies for complement-marking interchangeable? If not, what linguistic factors impacted their use?

Austel was interested in all spatial complements, not just goals. His dataset was made up of the concordance entries for half a dozen major and several dozen minor motion verbs. He used frequency tables to compare the use of prepositional and non-prepositional complements with each motion verb, breaking the prepositional complements down by the specific preposition used.

Using this data, Austel drew an important conclusion: the alternation between complement-marking strategies was not primarily based on the specific motion verb being used, but on properties of the complement itself.³⁷ If the complement was animate, it would almost

³⁶ Austel 1969: 2.

³⁷ Austel 1969: xxii; cf. Rezetko and Young 2014: 391.

always be marked with a preposition.³⁸ If the complement was a common noun, it tended to be marked with a preposition, although some individual nouns had other preferences.³⁹ If the complement was a proper noun, then marking would differ based on whether it was a simple one-word place name versus a complex multi-word place name: simple place-names were often marked with the accusative, while complex place names were more likely to be marked with *?e!*.⁴⁰

Later in his dissertation, Austel considered issues such as the use of prepositional and non-prepositional complements in prose versus poetry and in earlier versus later Biblical Hebrew. He drew few conclusions about the prose-poetry distinction,⁴¹ but made some intriguing observations about possible chronological distinctions in Biblical Hebrew. For example, Austel found that the directive *he* was favored for goal-marking in the prose Pentateuch, was used with the same frequency as other goal-marking strategies in the Former Prophets, and was disfavored in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles. Austel interpreted this chronologically, with the Pentateuch understood as representing early Biblical Hebrew and Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles representing late Biblical Hebrew.⁴² Austel argued that the accusative of direction also became less common in later Biblical Hebrew.⁴³ On the other hand, the preposition *l-*, which tended not to mark goals in earlier Biblical Hebrew, became popular with this function in later Hebrew—perhaps due to contact with Aramaic, in which *l-* was a common goal-marker.⁴⁴

Austel's research had several limitations, mostly due to the fact that he did not have access to statistical software or a searchable text of the Hebrew Bible. He could consider only a few variables, and only two at any given time—so he could not weigh their relative effects. He also did not consider instances of verbs from outside of the motion class which act as verbs of motion in some cases.

³⁸ Austel 1969: 323, 328, 330-331, 346.

³⁹ Austel 1969: 326, 331-332.

⁴⁰ Austel 1969: 324, 334, 343-345.

⁴¹ Austel 1969: 325.

⁴² Austel 1969: 329.

⁴³ Austel 1969: 324.

⁴⁴ Austel 1969: 335-336, 346.

Jacob Hoftijzer

In a 1981 monograph, Jacob Hoftijzer examined the syntax of the directive *he*, identifying the structure and function of every NP that carried the morpheme. He focused primarily on the examples from non-prophetic prose, although he briefly characterized directive *he* constructions in prophetic and poetic material in his tenth chapter. He was interested by the possibility of “a paradigmatic relationship” between constructions with directive *he* and those with the directive accusative, collecting dozens of directive accusative constructions for comparison.⁴⁵ (Not having a computer-aided search available to him, he missed many examples of the accusative of direction, making his statistical comparisons unreliable.)⁴⁶ He usually included prepositional constructions in the analysis only if they also carried the directive *he*, although he also isolated a few which he described as prepositions applied to “zero examples” (Goal phrases with the accusative of direction).⁴⁷

The structure of Hoftijzer’s work makes it difficult to compare to the present study. He was interested in all functions of the directive *he*, not just its use in Goal Constructions; but more importantly, he organized his monograph by the structure of the NP to which the directive *he* attached, devoting a chapter to each structure.⁴⁸ Thus the results for singular nouns with directive *he* are separated from the results for singular construct chains with an intervening clitic *he*, which in their turn are separated from plural nouns with *he* and so on. He concludes that certain constructions tend to favor certain functions; however, with so few examples in each tightly-defined category it is difficult to assess this claim.

⁴⁵ Hoftijzer 1981: 9, 15-16.

⁴⁶ There were additional problems with his statistical methods, for which see Parunak 1983.

⁴⁷ He did not distinguish between the different prepositions. Thus constructions with *b-* “in, on” are analyzed together with constructions carrying *mi-* “from” or *?el* “to.” The fact that these prepositions carry meaning—indeed, a meaning which may override the meaning of the directive *he*—is not discussed.

⁴⁸ His divisions are as follows: singular noun with directive *he*; singular chain of common nouns with intervening directive *he*; chain of common noun and GN with intervening *he*; singular chain of common nouns with *he* at the end, with and without a preposition; dual nouns with *he*; plural nouns with *he*, with and without a preposition; simple GNs with *he*; complex GNs with intervening or following *he*; simple GNs with *he* or complex GNs with intervening or following *he* or chains consisting of common nouns followed by a GN with following *he*, all with prepositions; and adverbs plus *he*.

More compelling is Hoftijzer's conclusion that the directive *he* attached to "a certain set of nouns which did not really increase" over time, but that the NP structures to which it could be applied did multiply over time, in that the directive *he* applies to more complex NPs in later examples.⁴⁹ These claims seem to be accurate, although the reasons for them which he cites may not be. In my own work, I found that the directive *he* tends to attach to certain nouns because they fulfill certain criteria in terms of semantics, markedness, and phonological structure; these criterial restrictions on the use of the directive *he* do not loosen over time, so the set of nouns to which it applies across time remains relatively stable. Thus, the fact that the directive *he* applies to more complex NPs in later Biblical Hebrew may be due to the fact that more complex NPs are more frequent in later BH in general.⁵⁰

Hoftijzer found that directive *he* patterned differently in prose versus poetic material—that is, in poetry its use was extended in meaning (frequently being used in metaphor) and in application (applying to nouns that would not be expected to carry it in prose), while its core use for marking physical goals was backgrounded.⁵¹ According to Hoftijzer, the directive *he* in prophetic material occupies an intermediate space between the directive *he* of BH prose and of verse like the Psalms, both in meaning and application; in particular, it often performs what Hoftijzer asserts to be non-local functions.⁵² (For my analysis of this issue, see Appendix 1.)

Hoftijzer also argued that the frequency of the directive *he* varied based on source and book.⁵³ In BH prose, he found that the source JE has the highest percentage of directive *he* of any source;⁵⁴ followed by P; then D and L; then the Deuteronomistic History, Chronicles, and

⁴⁹ Hoftijzer 1981: 244.

⁵⁰ cf. Polak 2002, 2006, 2010.

⁵¹ Hoftijzer 1981: 23, 62-63, 113, 138, 162-163, 167, 246.

⁵² (Although see Appendix 1.) Hoftijzer 1981: 168, 174-175.

⁵³ See Chapter 3 for an introduction to the concept of source.

⁵⁴ Hoftijzer measured the percentage of directive *he* by having the total set equal all examples of directive *he* plus all examples of zero-instances in a given book or source (1981: 16-17).

Jeremiah; and lastly Ezekiel. Hoftijzer understands this as a chronological development, suggesting that directive *he* was more frequent in older material.⁵⁵

Jan Joosten

Joosten's 2005 article on differences between Classical Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew syntax includes a case study on changes in the frequency of the directive *he* over time. While Joosten's conclusions are for the most part the same as those of earlier scholars—he states that the directive *he* was much less frequently used in later Biblical Hebrew than in Classical Biblical Hebrew, and that it was dispreferred with complex Goals—he also claims that the directive *he* was applied to a wider variety of NP structures in earlier Biblical Hebrew, becoming limited to an increasingly fossilized set of simple nouns in Late Biblical Hebrew.⁵⁶

Robert Rezetko and Ian Young

Rezetko and Young add several important pieces to the puzzle of goal-marking strategy variation in a case study on the directive *he* in their 2014 volume *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps toward an Integrated Approach*. They compare the relative frequencies of the different goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, accusative of direction, *?el*, *'al*, *'ad*, *b-*) in clauses with the verb *bw?* in the *qal* stem drawn from both the Masoretic Text and the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls.⁵⁷ Their treatment appears to be limited to examples of factive marking of inanimate goals (although this is not explicitly discussed) and includes both prose and verse texts.

For the most part Rezetko and Young consider the relative frequencies of the goal-marking strategies in units of book, although some books are subdivided (Isaiah being divided into First, Second, and Third Isaiah, for example) and the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls are treated

⁵⁵ Hoftijzer 1981: 201, 223, 226, 245.

⁵⁶ Joosten 2005: 337-338.

⁵⁷ Rezetko and Young 2014: 377-378. For their source texts, they are using a searchable, tagged MT from the Accordance software package (from the numbers of *Kethiv/Qere* variants discussed on p. 376 note 84, this appears to be the HMT-T rather than the BHS-T) as well as the Qumran biblical texts from a searchable Accordance module.

as a unit.⁵⁸ The list of references from each book/division for each goal-marking strategy are helpfully provided in the footnotes.⁵⁹

Rezetko and Young's quantitative variationist approach is a significant advance over previous work on this topic, weighing as it does the behavior of all of the different goal-marking strategies in their selected corpus.

They conclude that the directive *he* is most likely to be selected in BH prose historiography, especially in books such as Genesis, Exodus, Judges, Samuel, and Kings—perhaps being absent in Leviticus and Deuteronomy because so much of these books consists of “procedural discourse.”⁶⁰

Rezetko and Young summarize the few examples of directive *he* from the inscriptional evidence, then tie their relative frequency counts and their observations on variations between manuscript traditions together:

We could suggest a tentative theory, that in early, pre-exilic Hebrew, the use of the directive *he* in these collocations [= *bw?* constructions indicating movement toward a place, when the place NP does not carry a pronominal suffix] was obligatory or at least the default construction. This might mean that those scholars are right who see those biblical books like Samuel which use a relatively large number of directive *hes* as reflecting an earlier stage of Hebrew than those books which seldom use it. However, it would also mean that even in those books, the MT has already suffered drastic loss of the early grammatical form compared to early, preexilic Hebrew... This highly theoretical discussion... casts further doubt on the view that the distribution of linguistic forms in our late manuscripts gives us reliable evidence of the state of the language in earlier periods.⁶¹

While Rezetko and Young's case study yields some interesting results, it also has several flaws. Rezetko and Young see the directive *he* as a marginal goal-marking option in all texts and corpora; they support this view by comparing the frequencies of directive *he* with those of all other

⁵⁸ Rezetko and Young 2014: 380-384.

⁵⁹ A comparison with my own dataset shows that either some examples are missing from the work by Rezetko and Young or there are additional unstated parameters for their dataset selection. For instance, in clauses with inanimate goals and *bw?* verbs in the *qal* in the book of Joshua I found one more example of the accusative of direction marking a factive goal, and two more examples of *?e/*; in Judges I found four more examples of directive *he*, two fewer examples of the accusative, one example with both a preposition and directive *he*, one more example of *?e/* and one less example of *b-*. In the book of Ezekiel, they have certainly missed the two examples of *?e/*-marked goals in Ezekiel 21:25.

⁶⁰ Rezetko and Young 2014: 385-387, 390.

⁶¹ Rezetko and Young 2014: 394; bracketed information paraphrased from *ibid* 393.

options (accusative of direction and five directional prepositions) taken together.⁶² This is correct as far as it goes—there is no corpus in which directive *he* is the most frequent goal-marking strategy—yet they then state that “From this viewpoint there is a statistically insignificant difference between ‘early’ prose books like Joshua and Judges on the one hand and ‘late’ synoptic/non-synoptic Chronicles on the other” and “it is evident that the non-*he* variants are constant” (in relative frequency?) “in all the writings.”⁶³ Since they do not examine the other goal-marking strategies individually and do not show any statistics (beyond a basic count table that lacks column totals—making it difficult to figure their total observations—and its reinterpretation in several percentage graphs), I cannot tell how they have determined this ‘statistical insignificance.’ In addition, the scholars’ unwillingness to see a difference between the use of the directive *he* in Joshua and Chronicles due to ‘statistical insignificance’ seems at odds with their willingness to posit a near-default use of directive *he* in pre-exilic Hebrew based on the Hebrew inscriptions—which are far too small a corpus to yield statistically robust results. While I entirely agree with them that the Masoretic Text does not perfectly reflect the language in which the older biblical texts were composed, enough traces of the original use of goal-marking strategies remain that statistically significant differences between books and corpora of given styles/eras can indeed be identified.⁶⁴

In a footnote, Rezetko and Young note that they have considered a variety of additional linguistic factors in their study of goal-marking, including

Common vs. proper nouns of place; simple vs. composite (two or more units) place names; number and order of constituents ...; anarthrous vs. arthrous nouns; nouns vs. pronominal suffixes with nouns of place as referents; human vs. non-human actors; unforced vs. forced non-use of directive *he* [KMM notes: A ‘forced non-use’ seems to refer to the fact that directive *he* cannot be used with nouns ending in vowels]; semantic nuances of individual prepositions (e.g. *?el* and *’al* as hostile ‘against’ rather than ‘to’); personified places (e.g. ‘Jerusalem’ in some poetic texts,

⁶² Later in this study I will show that GCs with directive *he* and the accusative of direction should be classed together but contrasted with the prepositional options.

⁶³ Rezetko and Young 2014: 390, cf. 520.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 2.

usually with *lamed*); specific collocations (e.g. ‘to come the house,’ [sic] ‘to come to Jerusalem’).⁶⁵

This list includes many of the parameters suggested by Austel as well as others not studied in any previous papers. Unfortunately, none of the results of Rezetko and Young’s examinations of these linguistic factors have been published. My own results with regard to many of these parameters can be found in Chapters 4 and 5.

Peter Bekins

Again in 2014, Bekins published an important study on object marking in Biblical Hebrew. In one section of this work he analyzed the alternation between complements marked with *?et* and complements marked with other prepositions for several classes of verbs including verbs of motion. Some of these preposition-marked complements are goals. He argues that linguistic variables such as aspect, telicity, object affectedness, object individuation (including definiteness, animacy, and potency), dialect, era, and text type make a difference in whether *?et* versus other prepositions will be used to mark these complements. He finds that although *?et* is generally used to mark definite direct objects, it can also be used to mark spatial arguments if they are highly individuated and appear in telic clauses with perfective verbs.

Bekins’ monograph is well-reasoned and well-grounded in theory, yet it suffers from several methodological problems. The first is his lack of transparency about his corpus. For example, regarding complements accompanying verbs of motion, the reader knows only that Bekins analyzed clauses with specific verbs of motion (five are mentioned: *bw?*, *yš?*, *hlk*, *rwš*, and *rdp*, with *rdp* being treated separately under the heading of “verbs of relative motion”) from both Classical Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew narrative prose.⁶⁶ In addition, there are no summary tables or statistics of any kind for these verbs and complements, although he

⁶⁵ Rezetko and Young 2014: 379-380.

⁶⁶ Bekins 2014: 143, 160-166, 189-193.

occasionally gives summary tables in other sections of the book. This makes it difficult to evaluate his conclusions.

1.3.2 Prolegomena for a Study of Goal-Marking

Studies by Austel, Hoftijzer, Joosten, Rezetko and Young, and Bekins have shown that linguistic factors like goal animacy, individuation, and complexity; verb aspect and telicity; diachronic corpus; Pentateuchal source; text type; prose versus poetry; and perhaps dialect all correlate with BH scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies. These findings are extremely valuable as I seek to construct a study on goal-marking. However, these studies also have a number of limitations.

- The datasets used by most of these scholars are difficult to assess. Austel lists his data in chunks scattered through the first part of his dissertation. Hoftijzer lists his data clearly but is missing many examples of the accusative of direction. Joosten does not list his data; he appears to be missing a number of examples, but this could be due to unstated selection constraints. Rezetko and Young list the references for their dataset but do not specify how it was selected, and are missing at least a few examples. Bekins does not list his data. When a scholar's data or the selection parameters are not specified it is difficult to check or replicate their work.
- Only very basic statistical tools like frequency tables and correlation tables are used, making it impossible to weigh the significance of any linguistic factor or to assess the effect of one linguistic factor on goal-marking versus the effect of another. (Hoftijzer may have had statisticians run some regressions for him, but he does not report the results in his book.)
- These scholars did not interact with each other's work or include specific variables in their studies because of the work of others. (Rezetko and Young, who respond to Austel and Joosten, are the exception.)

- Each scholar focuses on a small set of linguistic factors which they believe had an impact on goal-marking. The only variable to appear in all of these studies is the diachronic corpus (Classical vs. Late Biblical Hebrew) in which a given observation appeared. Bekins, who suggests the most connections between goal-marking and different parts of the BH linguistic system, has the smallest dataset on which to base his claims.

The results of these studies are also difficult to synthesize because each of them was designed to answer a slightly different research question. In consequence, each scholar selected his dataset based on different criteria. Austel, interested in any and all complements of motion verbs, begins by identifying a list of motion verbs and then studying all of their complements, whether these are Goals, Locations, Routes, etc. Hoftijzer is primarily interested in the directive *he*, so he isolates all examples of the directive *he* in BH non-prophetic prose—whether the directive *he* is being used for the marking of a factive Goal or not—then throws in some examples in which a factive Goal is construed as an accusative of direction. Joosten looks only at the directive *he* (apparently only in CBH and LBH prose), and, like Hoftijzer, seems to include both factive uses and some other uses (though not all; see Appendix 1 for a comprehensive survey of the uses of directive *he* in the Hebrew Bible). Bekins' work is primarily centered on object marking in BH; his goal-marking dataset consists only of those goals which are marked with *?et*. Rezetko and Young have the dataset most comparable to that of the present study, including all examples of inanimate (?) goals from factive (?) contexts in clauses with *bw?* verbs in the *qal* stem; however, since they seem to have a number of unstated constraints by which they restricted their dataset, their counts for the number of examples of each goal-marking strategy in each book are frequently lower than mine.⁶⁷

The studies discussed above are contrasted in Table 1.1. The statistical tools and dataset used in each are described, and the factors which each scholar identified as important are listed.

⁶⁷ See note 59.

Table 1.1 Tools, Datasets, and Important Factors Impacting Goal-Marking

Study	Statistical tools	Dataset	Factors with Impact
Austel 1969	Correlation tables, Frequency tables	All spatial complements in HB concordance entries for a selected set of motion verbs, for a total of around 2500 observations	Spatial argument (SpA) animacy, SpA individuation, SpA complexity, Diachronic corpus, Prose vs. poetry?
Hoftijzer 1981	Correlation tables, Frequency tables	All uses of directive <i>he</i> and some accusatives of direction in non-prophetic BH prose; pilot study on directive <i>he</i> in verse and prophecy	NP structures, Source, Biblical book, Diachronic corpus, Prose vs. prophecy vs. poetry
Joosten 2005	Frequency counts	849 examples of directive <i>he</i> in Genesis-2 Kings and the LBH corpus in both factive and fictive contexts	Goal complexity Diachronic corpus
Rezetko and Young 2014	Frequency tables, Percentage graphs	742 examples of directive <i>he</i> , accusative, and prepositions marking goals in clauses with the verb <i>bw?</i> (in <i>qal</i>) from the MT and DSS HB, directive <i>he</i> examples from Qumran Samuel and epigraphic Hebrew	Biblical book, Text type, Diachronic corpus
Bekins 2014	-	? <i>ef</i> -marked objects of at least five verbs of motion from CBH and LBH narrative prose	Object affectedness, Object animacy, Object individuation, Verb aspect, Verb telicity, Dialect, Text type, Diachronic corpus

In 2013, I completed an exploratory study on Biblical Hebrew goal-marking that attempted to address the limitations of these earlier studies.⁶⁸ In particular, I was interested in testing the value of more complex statistical models in the assessment of the significance and weight of linguistic factors from different parts of the grammar. Since the work of Bekins and Rezetko and Young was not yet published, I was responding primarily to the studies of Hoftijzer and Joosten.

⁶⁸ Medill 2014.

In my article, I explored the effects that change over time and twelve other variables had on the alternation between the three goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, accusative of direction, and directional prepositions). As in the contemporary work by Rezetko and Young, mine was a variationist analysis. For my dataset, I extracted examples from the prose portions of Joshua, Judges, Ezra-Nehemiah, and parts of Numbers; coded them for these thirteen variables; and used a basic statistical program (GoldVarb X) to run a series of binary logistical regressions between the three goal-marking strategies in order to identify which variables were significant. Based on the results of these regressions, I concluded that the directive *he* was significantly more likely to appear in Classical Biblical Hebrew texts than Late Biblical Hebrew texts; to appear following other directive *he* constructions (priming); to appear in the books of Numbers, Judges, and Joshua rather than Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles; to attach to certain nouns such as *har* (hill) and *šāmayim* (skies); to apply to indefinite rather than definite nouns; and to accompany prefix-conjugation verbal forms and verbs without object suffixes. On the other hand, prepositional constructions were favored in the opposite environments—in Late Biblical Hebrew texts, with perfect verbs, with definite goals, and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Accusatives of direction were neutral with regard to most of these features. Following a line of thought similar to the one later published by Bekins, I suggested the correlation which the directive *he* showed with verbal aspect and goal definiteness could be due to scribes' unconscious sensitivity to the (proto)typical transitivity of the clause (see 5.2.1 for a discussion of Prototypical Transitivity). While the dataset for this study was small (201 observations) and only about a dozen independent variables were analyzed, this preliminary research demonstrated, first, that Biblical Hebrew goal-marking is correlated to a statistically significant degree with factors from different parts of the linguistic system; and second, that logistical regression does work effectively to weigh each variable's significance relative to other variables.

In the current work, I expand and refine the work begun in this pilot study. (For a complete discussion of my present methodology, see Chapter 2.)

- The current dataset has been expanded to draw from the entire prose Hebrew Bible. With a larger number of observations, statistical analyses with more independent variables can be performed and the reliability of significance results can be improved.
- In my 2014 study, observations for my dataset were extracted via a manual search of the Biblical Hebrew text; as a result, some examples were missed. In the current study I used multiple computer-aided searches to build my dataset.
- As in the work of Hoftijzer, in my earlier work I included fictive as well as factive examples of Goal Constructions—specifically, I included the goals of fictive orientation paths (see Appendix 1), thus introducing a number of theoretical problems. In the current work I concentrate on factive goals, reserving a full discussion of goal-marking in fictive contexts for a later study.
- While the binary logistical regressions from the 2014 study served as an effective proof of concept, fitting three separate binary regressions to accommodate the three-way contrast (directive *he*, accusative, directional prepositions) in my dependent variable meant that each regression was based on a slightly different selection from the dataset. Therefore, in the current study I moved to a more powerful statistical software package (STATA 15) which could handle all three outcomes of the dependent variable at once in a multinomial logistical regression. Using STATA also allowed me to fit a variety of post-estimation commands and to run tests for multicollinearity and overfitting.
- In the current study, I expanded the list of independent variables to include variables suggested by Austel, Bekins, and Rezetko and Young, as well as additional syntactic-semantic variables that have been connected to Prototypical Transitivity by scholars, in order to test my 2014 conclusions. I also refined the coding for variables which carried over from my earlier study.

1.4 In Sum

The goal-marking alternation is an ideal linguistic variable through which to examine Biblical Hebrew's linguistic norms.

Semantic Goals, which describe the place *to which* something is moving, may be marked in a variety of ways in Biblical Hebrew: with the clitic suffix directive *he*, with the so-called accusative of direction, with directional prepositions (*?el*, *'al*, *'ad*, *l-*, *b-*, *?et*, and assorted compounds), or—on rare occasions—with a combination of directive *he* and a directional preposition. These Goal phrases (consisting of the Goal and the goal-marking strategy applied to it) are then incorporated into Goal Constructions. Goal Constructions include a subject which is moving and/or causing the motion of an object, a verb which can be interpreted as a verb of motion, and a Goal phrase.

The alternation between goal-marking strategies in Biblical Hebrew has been examined by scholars such as Austel, Hoftijzer, Joosten, Rezetko and Young, Bekins, and Medill. These previous studies have explained goal-marking strategy variation as a function of change over time (looking at corpora, books, or sources); of variation between prose and poetry; or of Goal individuation, animacy, complexity, and structure; and even as a property of specific Goal lemmas. This earlier work has also examined goal-marking strategy alternation as a correlate of verbal aspect and of features of the subject and object. However, while these previous studies contain valuable observations, they have not been based on comprehensive datasets, they have incorporated only a few independent variables, and they have used simple statistical methods (with the exception of Medill 2014).

In the current study, the use of an expanded dataset, numerous independent variables, and statistical tools such as multinomial logistical regression modelling allow us to achieve greater depth and precision in our understanding of the place of goal-marking in the linguistic system of Biblical Hebrew. In Chapter 2, the design and methodology of the present study are explained.

Chapter Two: RESEARCH DESIGN AND INITIAL RESULTS

Chapter Outline

2.1 Step One: Defining a Dataset

2.1.1 Setting the Stage: The Borders of the Dataset

2.1.1.1 Is it a Goal Construction?

2.1.1.2 Is it Factive?

2.1.1.3 Is it Prose?

2.1.2 Querying the Source Text, or, Scribes are Not Automatons

2.1.2.1 Textual Change and the Search for Original (?) Readings

2.1.2.2 The Story of a Text

2.1.2.3 Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible

2.1.2.3.1 Hebrew Versions

2.1.2.3.2 The Text Used in This Study

2.1.2.4 Excursus: How Fluid is the Biblical Text? A Case Study of Goal-Marking in Samuel

2.1.3 Statistical Considerations in Creating a Dataset

2.1.3.1 What is the Biblical Hebrew Corpus Representative Of?

2.1.3.2 Quantity and Accuracy in a Statistical Dataset

2.2 Step Two: Coding for Variables Potentially Correlated with Goal-Marking

2.3 Step Three: Statistical Analysis of the Coded Dataset Using Multinomial Logistical Regression

2.3.1 Outline of Statistical Methods

2.3.2 Mlogit Models Used in This Analysis

2.3.3 Initial Results Regarding the Significance of Dependent Variables

2.3.4 Excursus: Mapping Relationships Between Variables

2.3.5 Why Use Complex Statistical Modeling to Analyze Biblical Hebrew?

2.4 In Sum

Chapter One defined the Goal Construction and outlined the various options for goal-marking found in Biblical Hebrew. The chapter closed with a discussion of earlier scholars' perspectives on goal-marking in which the strengths and weaknesses of their treatments were identified. I demonstrated that common weaknesses of these studies included the lack or misuse of statistical analyses and the lack of a wide-ranging independent variable set that included historical, social, and linguistic correlates.

What linguistic and extra-grammatical factors have an impact on scribes' choice between using directive *he*, the accusative of direction, or directional prepositions for goal-marking? In the current chapter, I present a transparent account of the dataset, coding, and statistical methods that I used in my attempt to answer this question, in the hope that this will both aid other scholars

in assessing the present work and will be a useful methodological precedent for those interested in conducting similar studies.

The first section (2.1) is concerned with defining and explaining how I constructed my dataset. After considering some basic definitional issues (2.1.1), I explore the problem of the semi-fluid text of the Hebrew Bible (2.1.2). The ancient scribes were not copy machines: they made numerous changes to the biblical text, both intentional and accidental. In the sociohistorical context of the first millennium B.C., scribal changes were the norm rather than the exception (though many changes were small); thus, our extant HB texts may exhibit quite different readings. That being the case, choosing an HB source text from which to extract a dataset for linguistic research is quite a challenge. While I ultimately prioritize the replicability of this study over text-critical issues by using the widely-available *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* as a source text, I believe (and argue) that the Hebrew of the *BHS* is a sufficiently accurate representation of first-millennium B.C. Biblical Hebrew for my statistical significance results to be valid (*contra* Rezetko and Young 2014).

Next I turn to statistical considerations. As a linguistic corpus, the Hebrew Bible is relatively small and has a particular compositional profile (being written by mostly-Judean men with elite educations, and containing prestige texts related to the relationship between Israel and Judah and their God) (2.1.3) which impacts both the number and character of the independent variables that can be used in the study. (These variables and the coding process are only briefly described (2.2) in this chapter, as each of them, whether it is diachronic corpus, text type, goal animacy, clause factivity, *et cetera*, is discussed in more detail in the relevant section of Chapters 3-5.)

After I created and coded my dataset of Goal Constructions, with their goal-marking strategies and many potential correlated factors, I analyzed the dataset using multinomial logistical regression and other statistical tools (2.3). Since complex statistical modeling is rarely used in Biblical Hebrew linguistics, I describe the strengths and limitations of such statistical

research in some detail. I find that fourteen variables, including diachronic era and Pentateuchal source, are certainly significantly correlated with scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies, while an additional six either have weak effects or have substantial overlap with another significant variable. This multivariate analysis, with its assessment of the weights and connections between many of the independent variables, would not have been possible without the use of complex statistical tools such as multinomial logistical regression.

This chapter creates the foundation for the detailed historical, social, and linguistic arguments in the rest of the volume by justifying the source text and statistical methods used in this study of scribal choice and goal-marking.

2.1 Step One: Defining a Dataset

The dataset of clauses used for this statistical analysis includes all 3125 factive Goal Constructions in Biblical Hebrew prose according to the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.⁶⁹ Of these, more than half of the Goals (68%) were marked with directional prepositions, with the Goals in the remaining observations marked with the accusative of destination and the directive *he* in nearly equal proportions (about 15.8% each). A tiny fraction of Goals were double-marked—that is, marked using both prepositions and the directive *he*.⁷⁰

Table 2.1: Strategies for Goal Marking, with column percentages

Strategy	Number of observations
directive <i>he</i>	496 (15.87%)
preposition + <i>he</i>	10 (0.32%)
accusative	494 (15.81%)
preposition	2125 (68.00%)
total observations	3125 (100.00%)

This simple summary is the result of an involved research process which included decisions based on both theoretical and practical considerations as well as over a year of data

⁶⁹ For a complete list, see Appendix 2.

⁷⁰ Since this category is very small—too small for statistical analysis—it is not discussed extensively in what follows. In short, Goals marked with both prepositions and directive *he* have the same characteristics as other Goals marked with directive *he*. The use of the directive *he* is restricted while that of the directional prepositions (taken as a class) is relatively free.

collection, coding, and checking. In the following sections, I attempt to make transparent the assumptions that lie behind the creation of this dataset, from basic definitional issues (2.1.1), to knotty matters of the Hebrew Bible's textual fluidity (2.1.2), to questions of how the Hebrew Bible maps onto our expectations of a linguistic corpus (2.1.3).

2.1.1 Setting the Stage: The Borders of the Dataset

Creating a manageable dataset requires that we define the boundaries of that dataset. An infinite dataset would be unmanageable, for obvious reasons. Creating a meaningful dataset also requires that we define boundaries for the dataset which are drawn on a meaningful theoretical basis.

In this paper, I focus on variation in goal-marking; thus, I extracted examples of Goal Constructions from the source text (see 2.1.1.1 below). The salience of the concept of the goal has already been established above. Clauses which did not contain Goal Constructions were not sampled.

The dataset of Goal Constructions was constrained by two additional variables. First, since including all examples in the supercategory of *actual and non-actual motion in reference to a goal* would have resulted in an impractically large dataset with much more variation in the constructions' syntax, in the present work I have chosen to focus on Goal Constructions in factive rather than fictive contexts (see 2.1.1.2). Second, since Hebrew verse has been recognized as having significantly different linguistic features than Hebrew prose, I have not tried to address goal-marking in prose and verse in a single study but have chosen to concentrate on Biblical Hebrew prose (see 2.1.1.3).

2.1.1.1 Is it a Goal Construction?

In theory, the category of Goal Constructions (clauses which include a subject which is moving and/or causing the motion of an object, a verb which can be interpreted as a verb of motion, and a Goal phrase indicating [movement to] a location) seems as if it should have clear boundaries.

In practice, deciding whether a given clause belonged or did not belong in this category was sometimes difficult.

First, consider the verb-class known as **change-of-posture** (or change-of-position, or non-translational) verbs. Change-of-posture verbs are sometimes considered to be distinct from motion verbs and at other times categorized as a subclass of motion verbs.⁷¹ Verbs such as *sit down* (*yšb*),⁷² *lie down* (*škb*), *bow* (*šth*, *qdd*), or *fall* (*npl*) certainly describe motion, and may describe motion toward a Goal, but the motion they encode is primarily vertical, not horizontal—and not much vertical motion at that. A subject performing a change of posture usually occupies the same latitude-longitude spatial coordinates both before and after the action—that is to say, the Source and Goal of their action are usually identical, meaning that their entire Path of movement can be deduced even if no overt Path information is given in the clause. In addition, change of posture verbs are focused on the posture which performing them achieves, not on movement through space. Given these semantic differences between ordinary translational motion and change of posture situations, I chose to reserve examples of non-translational motion for a later study. (For a preliminary discussion of non-translational motion, see A1.1.1.3.)

Second, in cases where clauses included “(movement) to an animate NP,” it was difficult to determine whether the NP was functioning as a Goal or only as **Recipient**, a different semantic role. Goals are usually the inanimate endpoints of movement through space, while Recipients are generally the animate endpoints of a transfer of possession. With certain verbs (ones like *send* which encode both caused-possession and caused-motion) endpoint NPs may be both Goals and Recipients (for further, see 5.2.3.5 below). However, the most common caused-possession verbs (e.g. *ntn*, *to give*) do not have contingent motion—thus, their endpoints are not Goals and they were not included in this dataset.

⁷¹ e.g. Levin 1993: 262-263; Bosque 2015; Winther-Neilsen 2016: 83.

⁷² The verb *yšb* can be used with contingent motion as “to come to dwell,” but this is usually encoded as a form of fictive motion such as an advent path (cf. Appendix 1.1.2.3).

Third, some clauses that appeared to involve motion included verbs from outside of the motion class. For example, in 1 Sam 2:14 the priest thrusts (*nkh*) a fork into a vessel. The verb *nkh* usually means *to strike (down)* and does not occur with a Goal. However, here it acts as a motion verb and takes a Goal. Observations like this one were considered on a case-by-case basis. A list of all of the verbs attested in the dataset may be found in Appendix 5.

2.1.2.2 Is it Factive?

I also limited my analysis to **factive** Goal Constructions—clauses in which *a physical being or object moves through space to a physical goal*. I did not include Goal Constructions from a **fictive** context. Fictive motion is unreal motion—that is, in a fictive motion situation either the mover, the motion, or the path is non-physical or unreal, yet language users still conceptualize it as a motion situation.⁷³

There are many different types of fictive motion.⁷⁴ The most common type in the Hebrew Bible is the orientation path, as exemplified in the sentence *He prostrated himself toward the east*. In this sentence, the subject has oriented himself toward a goal (the east), thus creating a fictive path between his source location and the goal, but has not actually moved along that path. Another common type of fictive motion in BH is the coextension path. In a coextension path, an extended object like a road or a border can be described as if its own course is the route it is travelling, as in the sentence *The road went up the mountain*. The road is conceptualized as going up toward a goal even though it is not really moving. A third common type is metaphorical motion. For example, in the sentence *His stock went up* no actual motion has occurred, although a VERTICAL MOVEMENT = SUCCESS/FAILURE metaphor is being used.

Linguists treat factive and fictive motion expressions separately from one another, as the relationship between the verb and the subject, the type of journey the subject takes (or does not

⁷³ See Medill in prep.

⁷⁴ cf. Talmy 2000.

take), and even the way that the sentence is formed can be distinct.⁷⁵ Thus, I have postponed the study of fictive motion in the Hebrew Bible until a later date.

2.1.1.3 Is it Prose?

After defining a dataset of Goal Constructions, I decided to limit my main analysis to Goal Constructions from **prose**. An initial survey of Goal Constructions in verse showed that these clauses had such different linguistic characteristics that including these observations in the first analysis added significant complexity to the project. For example, in the Hebrew Bible prototypical verse (e.g. Psalms) is known to be distinct from narrative prose in its approach to definiteness, agreement, relativization, *et cetera*. Therefore, I decided to exclude verse Goal Constructions from the first analysis.⁷⁶ (See 7.1 for a more detailed discussion of prose vs. verse in Biblical Hebrew as well as a case study of goal-marking in the Psalms.)

2.1.2 Querying the Source Text, or, Scribes are Not Automatons

Before any data can be collected or coded in a corpus-linguistic research project, one must first decide on the source texts from which that data will be collected. For some types of corpus linguistic research, this is a relatively simple (though still crucial) decision. One's corpus could be all of the New York Times editorial columns from 2000-2002, for example. While the separate texts would have to be collected, each column exists in a single published form. Or one's corpus could be a database of 200,000 North American text messages. Again, while collecting them in the first place might be challenging, each message exists in a single form. However, in biblical research, choosing a source text can be problematic. Biblical texts have a complex compositional

⁷⁵ e.g. Stefanowitsch 2018: 151. See Appendix 1 for a more detailed discussion of fictive motion.

⁷⁶ Regarding the characteristics of prose and verse, see Chapter 7. Texts treated as verse in the BHS were treated as verse for the purposes of this project. However, note that while there are many texts which scholars (relatively non-controversially) classify as prose or as verse, other texts have an ambiguous status. For example, extended sections of the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah are treated as verse in the Leningrad Codex. However, a close examination of these texts show that, while some sections conform to the Hebrew verse prototype, others are close matches for typical Hebrew prose; sometimes, we find rapid alternations between more-verse-like and more-prose-like text. These more-prose-like texts (treated as verse in the BHS) have not been included in the present analysis. A more comprehensive survey of goal-marking in Hebrew verse than that found in Chapter 7 may help us to place these texts along the prose-verse continuum.

history. A given text may exist in many different forms—some of them only slightly different from one another, some of them very different. *No ancient witness to the biblical text is entirely identical to any other ancient witness.* This is because of a very important fact: ancient biblical texts were transmitted by humans, and humans are not automatons. They do not reproduce texts like a modern copy machine. They have varying goals and abilities.

In what follows, I consider the problem of choosing a biblical source text for linguistic research from several different angles. In section 2.1.2.1, I set up the problem of textual variation and consider how our text-critical expectations have impacted our attempts to solve this problem. In section 2.1.2.2, I examine some of the complexities of textual transmission history and scholars' access to that history through an extended example. In 2.1.2.3 I discuss the surviving ancient and medieval versions of the Hebrew Bible, then conclude with my own choice of source text, the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. As a test of the potential reliability of my dataset, I perform a case study on the fluidity of goal-marking in Masoretic and Qumran versions of Samuel (2.1.2.4).

2.1.2.1 Textual Change and the Search for Original (?) Readings

The Hebrew Bible is one of the most influential documents in Western culture. Not only is it central in Jewish and Christian faith traditions and important to several others, thus impacting the lives of millions of people during its history, it has also been the subject of scholastic inquiry for millennia. Yet the archaeological discoveries of the past century have only increased our confusion about the foundational question in our field: What is the text of the Hebrew Bible? All of our research is based on this text, yet establishing how it reads is a significant challenge.

The texts of the Hebrew Bible were put together over a long period of time. Once each text was written, it had to be transmitted—copied, written out by hand by a scribe. Over the centuries, changes occurred. A scribe working on a particular copy might make mistakes. He might misunderstand a marginal note as something that was supposed to be included in the text. He might add an explanatory gloss, correct something he thought to be a mistake, or update a term or a syntagm that was out-dated. He might add an editorial frame, combine multiple texts

together, or write a new text based on older ones.⁷⁷ His purpose might be to copy the old text accurately, or it might be something completely different. Then, when this scribe's text was transmitted in its turn, his changes could be passed on. This may seem like a complex description of the transmission process, but it is in fact a much simplified one!

Scholars of the Hebrew Bible use critical methods, especially text criticism, in an attempt to peel away the transmission noise from our surviving biblical texts and rediscover their original readings. Unfortunately, while we can sometimes reason backward through manuscripts' differing readings to find their most probable progenitor, in other cases we can only narrow down the possibilities.⁷⁸ In some cases, the text critical process leaves us with more possibilities, not fewer!

There is also a crucial theoretical issue that we must confront. Do all HB texts even have an original, *as we have defined that concept?*

The text critical method was originally created to handle variants in New Testament (NT) texts. The time-difference between the dates of these texts' composition and the dates from which we have the earliest surviving manuscripts of these texts is usually much shorter than the time-difference between HB text origins and extant witnesses. The NT texts also have a distinctive compositional profile.

1. NT texts were ascribed to single authors (or to primary authors with assistants).⁷⁹ In post-Hellenistic Judea, the value of a text was assessed in part based on the identity of the author. If he was relating events, was he an eyewitness to these events? If he was explaining theology, was there reason to believe that he would know what he was talking about?

⁷⁷ Studies of so-called "rewritten bible" texts have flourished in recent years. See for example the oeuvres of Sidnie White Crawford and Molly M. Zahn, or the papers collected in van Weissenberg, Pakkala, and Marttila 2011.

⁷⁸ For a classic manual of text criticism, see Tov 2005.

⁷⁹ Even a book like Hebrews, whose author is not known or ascribed in the earliest Christian sources, presents itself as the work of a single mind.

2. NT texts were composed over a relatively short period of time and experienced relatively little large-scale change after the initial compositional period (the inclusion or exclusion of John 8 and the inclusion or exclusion of Mark 16:9-20 being some obvious exceptions).

3. NT texts were composed as bounded wholes. Third John has always been Third John. It was not split off from another text or compiled from multiple texts. (Even gospels like Luke, which make use of some earlier oral and written sources, were composed as a single redaction, not in multiple stages with significant time between them.)

Given this conception of the NT texts, there would be *a distinct, identifiable moment when the autograph of a New Testament work was complete and existed in a single version ('Urtext')*.⁸⁰

The text critical methodology was created to access this original version.

However, the texts of the Hebrew Bible are different in several crucial ways.

1. Authorship information regarding an HB text is often suppressed. (Oracles that are ascribed to specific prophets [e.g. "The word of YHWH to Jeremiah"] are exceptions.) In the ancient Near East before the mid first millennium B.C., authorship that was or could be attributed to a deity or an important individual had value, but failing such prestigious attributions, it was better for a text to be anonymous.⁸¹

⁸⁰ Please note that some NT witnesses—which were written off in early scholarship and labeled as marginal or unreliable—show evidence of the same kinds of textual fluidity and rewriting that we see in some HB traditions. See for example the studies collected in Lied and Lundhaug 2017.

⁸¹ According to Weinberg, "in cultures dominated by mythological thinking ... it is unimportant to know by whom something was said (or written) and to distinguish strictly between words uttered yesterday and today; it is important only to note what was pronounced. Consequently ... a text is perceived not as an independent entity ... but rather as a component within the ongoing, everlasting conversation, lacking an explicit beginning and specific end. Within such a perception of reality, there is no... place for the notions of 'authorship' and 'author.' The generation of texts is governed by a postulate of anonymity" (2003: 158). While Weinberg slightly overstates the situation—texts could be attributed to divine authors, and persons involved in their copying or production could be recognized in colophons—he is absolutely correct that the norm for Ancient Near Eastern texts did not include an author. cf. Schmid 2011: 117; Collins 2011: 24-28. Ancient Near Eastern scribes outside of Canaan often left texts anonymous, or attributed them to prestigious figures such as ancient sages, royal persons, or gods (van der Toorn 2007: 31-39, 46-49, 207-214, 221-231; Holm 2007: 272-273). Regarding the biblical tradition, Schmid says of the biblical redactor that "the scribe's bonds to tradition were so strong that they had no reason to identify themselves from behind their texts" (2011: 117). Van der Toorn situates the conceptual shift to single-author texts in the third century BC (2007: 23).

2. Many HB texts were based on earlier textual sources. For example, the book of Kings is based in part on royal records. These earlier sources might be imported into the text in their entirety or in part, or might be paraphrased, summarized, rearranged, and so on.⁸²

3. Many HB texts may have been redacted multiple times by individuals or groups. The redactors might do any number of things to the text, including add to it, rearrange it, change it, reframe it, add pieces from other texts, etc.⁸³ In other words, only some of the scribes transmitting the texts of the HB had copying them without changing them as a goal.

4. The books of the Hebrew Bible did not necessarily have the same boundaries throughout their history. For example, Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles have each been split into two standard parts due to their length; it is not clear where any original boundaries may have been in the Genesis-Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers material; scholars of the Minor Prophets have strong reasons to believe that at one point Haggai and Zechariah 1-8 circulated together as one book while Zechariah 9-12 and Malachi circulated together as another book; and there is ancient disagreement regarding the number of texts in the book of Psalms.⁸⁴

5. Some books of the Hebrew Bible, such as Jeremiah, circulated in multiple distinct versions simultaneously within the same or adjacent communities.⁸⁵

Without identified authors—using many earlier sources—with multiple redactions—with varying boundaries—not only do the texts of the Hebrew Bible have a much more complex compositional history than the texts of the New Testament, but *we do not posit that they have*

⁸² On the inclusion of older verse sources in BH texts, see especially Greenstein 2018. Older oral prose may also have been integrated into some BH texts (van der Toorn 2007: 110-115).

⁸³ cf. Ulrich 2011; van der Toorn 2007: 109-141. Scribes working in other languages and traditions during the first millennium BC could make similar adjustments to texts (Frahm 2019).

⁸⁴ cf. van der Toorn 2007: 22 on the average length of a scroll. Regarding Haggai-Zechariah-Malachi, see for example Curtis 2012. On Psalms, see Mroczek 2017. The beginning and end of a text were frequently the focuses of scribal redaction (Carr 2011: Chapter 3).

⁸⁵ cf. Tov 2019: 4-6.

*Urtexts in the exact sense that the New Testament texts do.*⁸⁶ There may have been several consecutive distinct moments when a text of the Hebrew Bible was considered to be complete by those using it, but given our limits as human scholars working thousands of years after the fact, we cannot determine which complete set of readings was extant at any of these moments.⁸⁷

2.1.2.2 The Story of a Text

It can be difficult to wrap our minds around the manifold complexities of textual transmission, so let us consider an example. What could happen to a text over the course of its history, and what parts of that history could scholars access in the present day?

Imagine that a text (Jr) was composed in Jerusalem during the pre-exilic period—say around 800 B.C. It was immediately accepted as authoritative and became an important temple text, consulted by temple scribes and other literate elites.⁸⁸ A lengthy non-monumental text in Hebrew at that time would probably have been written on perishable materials (such as leather or papyrus).⁸⁹ Assuming that the text was being read on a regular basis, but that the users were

⁸⁶ cf. THB IA: 12, 15-19; Debel 2011; Sanders 2015. For some of us, the need to find the original is not driven only by the desire to use the best (?) text for our scholarly inquiry but by theological considerations. In conservative traditions, the biblical texts of the Old and New Testaments are understood to be divinely inspired in their entirety. In early times, the biblical texts were described simply as inerrant, without error. After wrestling with the variety of readings in extant copies of New Testament books, Christian theologians and scholars redefined biblical inerrancy: now only the original autographs were understood as fully inerrant, but a sufficient text was preserved through the centuries by the sovereign power of God. However, while the concept of the original autograph is a problem for the texts of the Hebrew Bible, there is no consensus on how to understand inerrancy with regard to these texts.

⁸⁷ cf. Tov 2019: 43-47.

⁸⁸ Literacy did extend beyond trained scribes, although degrees of literacy varied. We have evidence of literacy among assorted elites: kings, military commanders, and other royal and temple officials in ancient Israel and Judah (Rollston 2010: 128-133).

An authoritative text is one "which one would study, from which one could quote, which one could read in religious gatherings or in one's personal meditation, and which formed the basis for religious practice" (Tov 2019: 22). Unfortunately, it is often difficult for us to determine which texts would have fit these criteria in which communities and at which times. As Tov remarks regarding the ancient versions, "Were some or all of them authoritative ...? And if all or some of them were authoritative, did they have the same level of authority, and for which communities? Likewise, did individual scrolls have authority before Scripture as a whole became authoritative?" (Tov 2019: 21; cf. Tov 2019: 21-35; Schniedewind 2015). Lange situates the establishment of the canon of the Hebrew Bible (a closed list of authoritative biblical texts with relatively stable contents) in the late first century BC into the first century AD, with the standard proto-Masoretic master copies being kept in the Temple (THB IA: 36-48, 132, 148-150, 157; on the HB canon, see also Davies 1998, especially 6-13, 32-35, 54-56). The scribes whose work was preserved in the Qumran caves did not necessarily view the proto-Masoretic tradition of biblical texts as authoritative for all biblical books (THB IA: 138-140).

⁸⁹ Writing materials (even the cheapest option, papyrus) were expensive in antiquity (van der Toorn 2007: 19). Shorter texts were often written on ostraca (pieces of broken pottery), either inscribed with a stylus or painted on with a reed pen (Rollston 2010: 112). The Dead Sea Scrolls texts (from primarily the first and second centuries B.C.) are written on leather (primarily literary texts) and papyrus (primarily letters and administrative texts) using soot (carbon-based) and iron-gall inks (Tov 2017: 30-34, 39); the significant correlation between literary/biblical texts and leather writing

careful in how they handled it and policed the text storage areas to keep out rats and insects, this particular copy could have lasted several decades.⁹⁰

During the life of this copy, other copies may have been made for distribution to other locations or persons. These copies could have been made in several ways. A scribe may have looked at the Jr text and silently copied it onto another scroll, receiving only visual input; the scribe may have read it aloud to himself and copied it onto another scroll, receiving both visual and auditory input; one scribe may have read it aloud while a second scribe transcribed it, receiving only auditory input; or, in some cases, a scribe may have written down a text he had previously memorized either as a text or a recitation. Unfortunately, we lack enough evidence to decide which of these writing practices was the norm in ancient Judean and Israelite scribal communities.⁹¹ These different kinds of writing practice would make different kinds of changes more likely.⁹² The scribe who reads silently to himself may be the most likely to misread one consonant as another and thus create a nonsensical reading. The scribes who only hears and does not see the text would have no way of matching the spelling of the previous copy (except as guided by community spelling norms) and may misunderstand whole words as similar-sounding

surfaces seems to be socially meaningful, as DSS scribes follow in a post-Mesopotamian material tradition which they may have perceived as going back to Ezra (Tigchelaar 2020). For an overview of the writing materials available in the ancient Near East during the Bronze Age, see Sparks 2013, especially pp. 97-98; on the media available during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, especially papyrus, see Bülow-Jacobsen 2009. On parchment, which probably did not become popular in Canaan until the post-biblical period, see Rabin 2017.

⁹⁰ cf. Frösén 2009. Van der Toorn estimates about a forty-year lifespan for a frequently-used scroll in the temple archive (2007: 149).

⁹¹ In the ancient world, writing practice varied greatly based on the text's genre, the region, and the individual (Lauinger 2015: 294, 297-299, 305-307; Sanders 2015; Frahm 2019: 38, 40). We have evidence that Old Babylonian Sumerian literary texts could be copied from memory as part of a scribe's education (Delnero 2012: 203-204), although other parts of the scribal curriculum of the time emphasized visual copying (Sanders 2015); some Hittite ritual texts were also written based on memory (Marcuson and van den Hout 2015). During the first millennium B.C., visual copying was the default in cuneiform cultures; the scribe might even write 'broken' rather than attempting to restore a damaged text (Sanders 2015; Frahm 2019: 14). Carr argues that copying from memory (either pure memory or, more likely, writing-supported memorization) was a common method for transmitting the biblical text, and resulted in a relatively well-preserved text (Carr 2011: Chapter 1, Chapter 3; Carr 2015: 164-169). As he remarks, "The vast majority of cases involve reproduction of earlier traditions with no shifts beyond the memory or graphic shifts surveyed so far" although "scribes did innovate at times in their transmission of tradition" (Carr 2011: Chapter 3). Carr claims that around the turn of the era there was a shift in transmission methods to a visual copying model (Carr 2015: 172). cf. Carr 2005; van der Toorn 2007: 103-104; Delnero 2012: 191.

⁹² Delnero 2012: 204, 206-207.

words due to mishearing. The scribe who reproduces the text from memory will be likely to omit phrases and to confuse words which are phonologically, semantically, or graphically similar.⁹³

Other variables could also impact the way each copy of our manuscript Jr turn out. Was the task of copying given to a scribe in training or to an experienced scribe? Was the scribe's goal to create an exact representation of the previous copy or was his goal to maximize the intelligibility of the text by perhaps adding explanatory notes or changing obscure words for simpler ones?⁹⁴ Was the scribe himself a product of Jerusalem's standardized scribal training or was he operating with a different set of regional or familial scribal norms? Did the scribe intend merely that the document be consulted by scribes within the temple or did he expect it to be read/performed aloud for a wider audience?⁹⁵

Among the many copies made from the original Jr master text is a copy made for a Levite who lives in Beth-Shemesh. Over the next two hundred years, both the Jerusalem (Jr) and Beth-Shemesh (BSh) versions of the text are copied several times. Small accidental changes creep in when each copy is made—the new copies of the Beth Shemesh version are particularly rife with spelling mistakes, which later lead to misunderstandings and reanalyses. The Levite of Beth-Shemesh, and the son and grand-nephew that eventually inherit his library, do not earn their living as scribes and lack the standardized training that the Jerusalem scribes enjoy, leading both to less of an interest in replicating the text exactly and to less of an ability to do so. However, they do remain interested in the text. While his father is training him, the Levite's son copies a number of passages onto potsherds along with excerpts of other texts and other scribal miscellanea. One

⁹³ Delnero 2012: 196-198.

⁹⁴ Some discussions of the development of the Hebrew Bible give the impression that the idea of making an accurate copy was a concept wholly alien to the ancient scribe. This is not the case. Some ancient texts, such as Sumerian literary texts or the Esarhaddon Succession Treaty, were copied with accuracy as a goal (Delnero 2012: 199-200; Lauinger 2015: 293; Frahm 2019: 14). Accuracy was one of many possible desiderata for the ancient scribe.

⁹⁵ Carr has argued that many biblical texts were created for recitation and oral performance and were an integral part of elite education (2005: 166; Carr 2015; see also Miller 2015).

Some scholars have argued that the setting in which or purpose for which a text was expected to be read can be deduced from characteristics of the text itself, such as the layout, line spacing, and script size (see Pajunen 2020 and Schücking-Jungblut 2020, who study reading practice in the Qumran collection).

particularly large potsherd includes eight lines of the BSh text, as well as two lines from a Yahwistic poem written upside down with respect to the BSh extract, half of the alphabet, and a row of a dozen examples the letter *tsade* running along the left edge of the ostrakon. The young Levite later discards his potsherds in a trash pit near his home along with animal bones, food debris, and other detritus. During the time of the first Levite's grand-nephew, the end of the current copy of BSh is lost and the young man adds a few lines to the end of a new copy in which he summarizes the old ending from memory. For one reason or another, the BSh text is never copied again. In the Judean exile the heirs of the old Levite are taken to Babylonia and do not carry this text with them.

About fifty years after the origin of the first version of Jr, a partial manuscript of the Jerusalem text makes its way to the Israelite capital of Samaria, where it is deposited without fanfare in the royal archive. After a decade in storage, a scribe finds it and reframes extended quotes and paraphrases from it in a text of his own. One of his proteges carries the new text with him when he flees south to Judah ahead of the Assyrian invasion in 722 B.C. The first Samaria text is destroyed when Shalmaneser takes that city, but the new version (Sm) is preserved in the Jerusalem royal archive when the young Samarian scribe joins the Jerusalem scribal community.

Meanwhile in the Jerusalem temple complex, the original text Jr is copied several times. Since the Jerusalem scribes had had years of standardized scribal training, they were far more capable of creating high-quality copies than the Levitical family in Beth Shemesh.⁹⁶ New master copies were copied onto papyrus, but there were also several partial copies made by scribal students on waxed tablets, which were later rubbed out or lost when the wooden back disintegrated.

⁹⁶ On scribal education, see 3.1.1.

The text Jr also undergoes some purposeful redaction. Another, related text is appended and the composite document (Jr2) is reframed with a new introduction and editorial framework throughout. For several decades texts Jr and Jr2 are used alongside each other, but ultimately Jr2 is recopied and Jr is not. Once text Jr becomes sufficiently tattered, it is retired to a special area in the Mount Moriah building complex, alongside four earlier copies of Jr and many copies of other temple texts in varying stages of decay.⁹⁷ The Jr2 tradition has triumphed—for the moment.

In the late 600s B.C., a scribe who works for both the royal chancery and the temple complex runs across the Samaritan version, Sm, in the royal archive. He dimly remembers reading Jr and decides that Jr was a witness to JrSm with sections missing. He locates a copy of Jr2 in the temple archive and sets about creating a harmonized version (JrSm) of Jr2 and Sm, which requires him to interleave the sources, delete the Jr2 introduction, and create a new introduction and as well as new transitions between the texts.⁹⁸ Part of the way through he hands the work over to a junior scribe, who simply copies the rest of Jr2 onto the scroll.

Not long after this, Judah falls and the Jerusalem scribes are carried into exile in Babylonia. They take with them parts of the royal and temple archives, including copies of Jr2 and JrSm. Five retired copies of Jr and two of Jr2 are destroyed with the first temple. During the exile, both the Jr2 and JrSm traditions continue to be copied.

In the late 500s B.C., a scribe returning to Judea carries a copy of the JrSm tradition back to Jerusalem with him. The text is written after a collection of hymns on a long scroll and the text and hymns continue to be copied together for a long time and even considered as a single composition.⁹⁹ Eventually, a leather scroll including both the JrSm text and the hymnic collection is deposited in a jar in a cave near the Dead Sea.

⁹⁷ On the retirement of worn-out scrolls, see for example van der Toorn 2007: 147-149.

⁹⁸ Scribes often sought to harmonize the sources that were available to them. See Carr 2011: Chapter 3. On the significance of a scribe's adding a new introduction or conclusion to reframe a text, see Milstein 2016.

⁹⁹ cf. Davies 1998: 57.

The Jr2 text is never carried back to Judea. Instead, it is copied by scribes in a Jewish community in Egypt. Soon, the scribes decide to translate the entire text into Aramaic. After this time, although the Jewish community in Egypt continues to use the Aramaic version, the Hebrew version is taken out of circulation.

Millennia later, scholars discover a Hebrew text reflecting the Jr2 tradition in the Cairo Genizah. Although the text along one edge is damaged, much of it is readable, and it is quickly published. Most scholars assume that it is a creation of the Jewish scribes in Egypt, possibly from the period when the Hasmonean kingdom in Canaan had its independent existence since it speaks of Judah as an independent kingdom. However, a few scholars argue that the text is far more ancient, stating that Egyptian Jews were not writing new texts in Hebrew during this late period. Some Aramaic fragments of the text are also discovered in Cairo, fueling the discussion. When half of a large ostrakon containing a closely related text is found in an excavation at Beth Shemesh, scholars agree that at least some parts of the text are ancient. Yet a final discovery, of the JrSm text in a cave near the Dead Sea, disturbs the growing consensus once again.

After careful study, text critics decide that the Jr2 text was a source used in the creation of the JrSm text, but clearly another source was also used. And neither Jr2 nor JrSm fully agree with the readings in the BSh Ostrakon. Even given these three sources—a copy from the Jr2 tradition, the harmonized JrSm, and the pre-exilic BSh Ostrakon—scholars are never able to reconstruct most of the history of this text. The competing ideologies in the embedded Samarian and Jr2 material in JrSm are especially controversial. How did these come to coexist in the text, scholars ask? Was the embedded Samarian ideology or the Jr2 ideology ‘more original,’ with the other representing later reworking of the material? Ultimately, scholars decide that since the Jr2 material takes an optimistic view of the Judean monarchy but the other material seems more negative, the Jr2 material is older and the other material was probably composed during or after the exile.

Does this story seem unnecessarily complex, with its multiple lines of textual transmission, its harmonization, its introduction of additional sources at various phases, and its influences from different regions? Do the individual scribes seem too powerful, too able to transform or reframe the text? Does it seem strange that modern scholars have to constantly recreate their understanding of the development of the text every time a new witness is uncovered? Yet these same kinds of phenomena occur in the history of the Hebrew Bible, and we are often left in the same uncertain place. What scribes made what changes when? If the changes were unconscious, how did they happen? And if they were conscious, why did the scribes make them? What choices were the scribes making, and how can we, so far away in time, begin to understand these choices? The current study is dedicated to identifying and examining some of those linguistic choices.

2.1.2.3 Witnesses to the Hebrew Bible

The history of the Hebrew Bible is complex, and many versions exist. From which version of the Hebrew Bible, then, should linguistic data be extracted?

Picking and choosing readings from different sources is not a preferred option, since the quantitative analysis methods in this paper were specifically designed so that they could easily be replicated or re-run with alterations by scholars other than the present author, and an eclectic source text would make that a far more difficult endeavor. So, then, which versions do we consider—all ancient versions, or only those in Hebrew?

Today, ancient readings of the Hebrew Bible are preserved in witnesses in a variety of languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, and more.¹⁰⁰ That is to say, in some cases translations of the Hebrew Bible into other languages seem to reflect more-original readings than do copies of the HB in Hebrew. However, versions in other languages do not preserve the intricacies of the Hebrew goal-marking system. For example, in the

¹⁰⁰ THB IA; Tov 2019: 54-76.

Septuagint the equivalents of goals marked with the accusative of direction, *ʿal*, *ʔel*, and directive *he* in 1 Kings 2:8, 2:26, 2:28, and 2:40 respectively are all marked with the Greek preposition *eis*.¹⁰¹ While the Greek preposition *pròs* can also be used for goal-marking¹⁰²—meaning that goal-marking choices are made by scribes writing in Septuagintal Greek—these choices do not map onto the choices of scribes writing in Biblical Hebrew. Thus, for this paper, translated versions of the Hebrew Bible were not consulted.

2.1.2.3.1 Hebrew Versions

Even among the Hebrew versions many textual differences exist, some of which affect Goal Constructions.¹⁰³ The oldest complete Hebrew Bible is the Leningrad Codex, a copy dating to about 1009 A.D.¹⁰⁴ It is a product of the Masoretic tradition, and includes the Tiberian vowel points and cantillation marks still used in Hebrew Bibles today.¹⁰⁵ Today’s most commonly consulted Hebrew Bible, the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), is based primarily on the Leningrad Codex.¹⁰⁶ Slightly older but no longer complete is the Aleppo Codex, also a product of the Masoretic tradition, which differs from the Leningrad Codex in many (usually small) ways.¹⁰⁷ The Zechariah Ben ‘Anan Manuscript, copied in 1028 A.D. according to its colophon, preserves a Masoretic version of the Writings (wisdom literature, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, etc.). At least sixteen other manuscripts preserve Masoretic versions of substantial parts of the Hebrew Bible

¹⁰¹ Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray 1930.

¹⁰² 1 Kings 1:13 (Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray 1930).

¹⁰³ cf. Rezetko and Young 2014: 374-394 and review in 1.3 above; see also Forbes 2016: 106.

¹⁰⁴ THB IA: 118. The most recent critical edition is Dotan 2000.

¹⁰⁵ On the Masoretic tradition, see Tov 2019: 195-236.

¹⁰⁶ THB 1A: 113; Tov 2019: 82, 85-86.

¹⁰⁷ cf. THB IA: 117-118. The Aleppo Codex is used as the running text in the new *Hebrew University Bible*, several volumes of which have been published. Ben Zvi 2000 includes the most recent critical edition of the entire text. Images of the codex may be viewed at www.aleppocodex.org. Spot-checking of randomly selected GCs from Joshua, Judges, and Samuel showed that the texts in Leningrad and Aleppo usually exhibit the same goal-marking strategies. While my primary concern is with whether these different manuscripts use the same goal-marking strategy in a given GC, a given GC may also vary in other respects. For example, different manuscripts may have the subject as explicit or not explicit, or may have the verb in a different paradigm; since these differences relate to linguistic variables which are statistically significant (see below), too many variants of this kind (say, over 100) could negatively impact the accuracy of my analysis. Other differences, such as the differences between singular and plural subjects or objects, do not relate to linguistic variables that were found to be significant and thus should have little impact on the analysis. For further, see 2.1.2.4.

from the 800s-1200s A.D.¹⁰⁸ Of course, these manuscripts are each the product of over a millenium of scribal transmission.

The oldest Hebrew manuscripts of biblical texts date to the second and first century B.C. and come from the Dead Sea collections at Qumran.¹⁰⁹ Every biblical book except Esther is at least partially represented. Multiple copies of some books, like Isaiah and Psalms, were found at Qumran; in some cases, these copies reflect distinctly different versions of the text. While some of the Qumran biblical texts can be described as proto-Masoretic—that is, they represent earlier instances of the traditions recorded in the later Masoretic texts—others are pre-Samaritan or pre-Septuagintal, while still others represent traditions not known in later texts.¹¹⁰

The Samaritan Pentateuch represents a distinct tradition marked by “large-scale harmonizations and editorial changes ... concerned with [the Samaritans’] choice of Mount Gerizim as the central place of worship.”¹¹¹ The Urtext of the Samaritan Pentateuch tradition was probably created around the same time as the biblical texts from Qumran, but the extant copies are medieval.¹¹² The Samaritan scribes who recreated the biblical tradition exercised their power over the text to promote a specific ideology that was critical to their community’s group identity.

Other ancient copies of the Hebrew Bible include the En-Gedi Scroll (from the second or third century A.D.), which includes part of the book of Leviticus; Papyrus Antinoopolis, which includes parts of Kings; and others which provide early witnesses to Genesis, Exodus, and Job.¹¹³

¹⁰⁸ THB IA: 117-120. The Torah is most commonly represented. Additional medieval texts of the Hebrew Bible, many of which are still unpublished, were found in the Cairo Genizah.

¹⁰⁹ The Dead Sea collections as a whole include biblical texts dating from about 250 BC to 135 AD (THB IA: 136). This range of dates is based on the paleographic sequence developed by F. M. Cross and his successors and is defined at the earlier end by texts from Wadi Daliyeh and at the later end by texts from Wadi Murabbaat. Recent work combining radiocarbon dates, AI analysis of scribal hands, and classic paleography yields absolute dates for many scrolls which fall earlier within the range of dates than had previously been hypothesized (Popović and Dhali 2020). The oldest biblical text found archaeologically is Numbers 6:24-26. These verses, along with several extra-biblical lines, were inscribed on two silver amulets found in a burial cave overlooking the Hinnom Valley, just south of ancient Jerusalem. The amulets have been dated to the 600s B.C.

¹¹⁰ THB IA: 123-126. The Qumran biblical texts will be used as the basis for the forthcoming *Biblia Qumranica*. On Qumran Hebrew, see for example Qimron 1986, Muraoka 2011, Penner 2015, and the papers collected in Muraoka and Elwolde 2000, especially contributions by Fassberg, Hurvitz, Joosten, Qimron, and Schniedewind.

¹¹¹ THB IA: 167.

¹¹² THB IA: 171-172.

¹¹³ THB IA: 121-123; on the En Gedi Leviticus Scroll, see Tov 2019: 458-469.

The surviving fragments of Psalms in the second column of Origen's Hexapla (third century A.D.), which includes the Hebrew text transliterated into Greek, are also an important witness to early Hebrew readings.¹¹⁴

2.1.2.3.2 The Text Used in This Study

No critical edition of the Hebrew Bible which includes the variant readings from all (or even most) of the Hebrew witnesses is currently available.¹¹⁵ Thus, with regret, I have chosen to minimize my attention to text-critical issues, instead focusing on maximizing the replicability and accessibility of this study. For this project, I have extracted my dataset from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS), a critical edition based on the Masoretic text (especially that found in the Leningrad Codex), which is consulted by almost every modern student and scholar of the Hebrew Bible. Not only is BHS the most widely used Hebrew Bible in the world, but it also exists in a tagged and searchable electronic form, which makes quantitative linguistic research a more feasible project.¹¹⁶

For this paper, I used the tagged *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* in Accordance 12, extracting my dataset of Goal Constructions during the period from September 2017 to May 2018; coding and checking of the dataset took place from May to September 2018. Locating examples of the directive *he* is straightforward in Accordance, as all non-fossilized examples are tagged; the results for a search for this suffix (which returns approximately 1095 hits) were then manually

¹¹⁴ On the Hexapla, see THB 1A 228-235; for the surviving portions of Column 2, see Mercati 1958.

¹¹⁵ Both *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (whose text is primarily based on Codex Leningrad) and the *Hebrew University Bible* (whose running text is the Aleppo Codex) attempt to account for Qumran variations in their apparatus. However, the Masoretic manuscripts and other ancient versions are not fully represented.

¹¹⁶ Having chosen *BHS* as my source text, I considered one final issue. In the Masoretic tradition one finds occasional places in which two readings are given: a written (*Ketiv*) reading which the Masoretic scribes inherited from earlier copies, and thus are unwilling to change, but believe to be in error; and a *Qere* reading which was meant to be used when the text was read aloud, which represents the Masoretic scribes' tradition regarding the correct reading. (Alternatively, the most of the *Qere* readings may have been "ancient oral variants that were preferred to the *Ketiv* readings at some stage and were later put into writing," while only a small fraction were meant as corrections [Tov 2019: 307].) During initial data collection, I found only a handful of *Ketiv/Qere* variants which exhibited different goal-marking strategies. In each case, they varied between goal-marking with directive *he* and with the accusative of direction. After sorting the data to include only factive Goal Constructions from prose, none of these varying *Ketiv/Qere* examples remained in the dataset. See for example 1 Sam 9:26, where the word *roof* bears a directive *he* in the *Qere* but not in the *Ketiv*; this is a fictive radiation path (see Appendix 1) and thus is not included in the factive dataset. In 2 Sam 21:12, the word *there* bears a directive *he* in the *Qere* but not in the *Ketiv*; this is a fictive advent path or a factive Location (see Appendix 1).

narrowed to include only instances of factive motion in prose Goal Constructions (496 examples of goals marked with directive *he* alone, plus 10 examples of goals marked with both the directive *he* and a prepositional goal-marker). Directional prepositions *?el*, *`al*, *`ad*, *l-*, and *b-* were searched individually (as for example '*l-* + noun,' '*l-* + pronoun,' '*l-* + adjective') and the search results manually narrowed to include only factive prose GCs. Since accusatives of direction were not tagged, I searched the tagged English Standard Version of the Old Testament in Accordance 12 for all examples of *to*, *into*, *onto*, *at*, and *upon* occurring directly before nouns, pronouns, or adjectives, then checked these results against BHS and recorded any examples of factive prose GCs. During the English-to-Hebrew search, five examples of factive goals marked with the preposition *?et* were also located. Searches for common but idiosyncratic goals like *šām* (*there*) and directional terms (e.g. *up*, *north*, *left*) were also performed and any factive prose GCs were recorded.¹¹⁷ 3125 examples were included in the final dataset.

2.1.2.3 Excursus: How Fluid is the Biblical Text? A Case Study of Goal-Marking in Samuel

Rather than wrestling with the many (though often minor) differences between extant texts of the Hebrew Bible, I have chosen to extract my data from the modern and accessible *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. It should be clear to the reader that this choice is not ideal, either from the standpoint of biblical interpretation or of linguistic research. When we interpret a text, the first step is usually to establish how the text reads. If we can only partially establish this, or can establish multiple possibilities (the text does not read *x*, but may read either *y* or *z*), any gaps or ambiguities in the reading of the text could negatively impact our ability to interpret it. Then, from the standpoint of linguistic research, not knowing whether a single clause was first written by a single person at a single moment or was put together by multiple people over a much longer

¹¹⁷ An update to the grammatical and semantic tagging available for BHS in Accordance 13 was mentioned by A. D. Forbes and P. Marshall at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in November 2020. This update, which is expected to become available in 2020, should dramatically simplify any future projects relating to goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew, as it includes the full tagging of NPs with their semantic roles as goals, locations, *et cetera*.

period of time who may have had differing Hebrew grammars due to social, historical, or educational factors is a serious problem.

What if the clause in which a Goal Construction is found has changed since it was first written? What if the goal phrase itself was added later, or the verb was changed, or the spelling was altered? If a Goal Construction clause was not composed as a whole, can we trust that the same linguistic factors will correlate with the same goal-marking strategies? Scholars like Rezetko and Young argue that the convoluted compositional history of the Hebrew Bible makes linguistic analysis extremely unreliable: a text originally composed during the pre-exilic period would be so affected by later redaction as to no longer reflect the norms of pre-exilic written Hebrew.

So, then, just how compromised is the dataset (and thus the results and analysis) in the present study? To put it another way, *given a potentially fluid source text, how well do the Goal Constructions discussed in this paper truly represent coherent synchronic linguistic systems from various points in the first millennium B.C.?* Is it probable that a large enough proportion of the Goal Constructions in this dataset are linguistically coherent to make statistical analysis reliable?

A case study of the books of Samuel can give us an initial estimate of how fluid our Hebrew sources are in terms of goal-marking. Here we may build on the work of Rezetko and Young, who considered the variation between goals marked with directive *he* versus without directive *he* in the Masoretic text of Samuel (as exemplified by the tagged HMT in Accordance) and in the Qumran Samuel texts 4QSam^a and 4QSam^b (apparently from the Judean Desert Biblical Texts module in Accordance).¹¹⁸ 4QSam^a preserves about 15% of the books of Samuel, while 4QSam^b preserves about 2%.¹¹⁹ Rezetko and Young find that the MT and Qumran sources both use directive *he* in 13 cases, but in nine cases they disagree (directive *he* is present twice in MT but

¹¹⁸ Rezetko and Young 2014: 182-184; cf. *ibid* 392-393. If Rezetko and Young consulted 1QSam, 4QSam_c, or the Schøyen fragments posited to belong to Samuel, they do not mention having done so.

¹¹⁹ THB IB: 320-325.

absent in 4QSam^a; it is present seven times in 4QSam^a or 4QSam^b but lacking in MT).¹²⁰ In other words, directive *he* is unstable in 41% (9 of 22) cases. This seems like a serious problem! However, there are two possible mitigating factors: first, the 22 cases surveyed represent only 4% of the total GCs in MT Samuel, and compose a dataset which is dangerously small from a statistical perspective. Second, in every single case where there is variation, the variation is between the directive *he* and the accusative of direction; in no case do we see variation between the directive *he* and a prepositional construction. Since my research shows that the directive *he* and the accusative of direction tend to pattern together in terms of the syntactic-semantic contexts in which they may appear, while directional prepositions tend to appear in differing contexts (see Chapters 4 and 5), this finding suggests that while a certain amount of textual fluidity is possible, the options for variation are constrained by the syntactic-semantic context—and, crucially, these grammatical constraints remained active and fairly consistent while the books of Samuel were developing.

A more detailed examination of the goal-marking variation between the MT and 4QSam^a/4QSam^b shows that these suggestions seem to be correct: the small number of cases surveyed by Rezetko and Young led to inflation of apparent textual fluidity; and variation, when it does occur, is constrained. Tables 2.2 and 2.3 show the results of my own analysis of all factive Goal Constructions in prose portions of Samuel as given in the HMT-T and Judean Desert Biblical Manuscripts corpora in Accordance (the same source texts apparently used by Rezetko and Young).

In Table 2.2, I show the breakdown of types of goal-marking strategies both in the complete Masoretic Text of Samuel and in the extant portions of the fragments 4QSam^a and 4QSam^b. About 11% of the Goal Constructions in MT Samuel are sufficiently preserved in the

¹²⁰ Rezetko and Young 2014: 182-183.

Qumran texts for their goal-marking strategies to be judged.¹²¹ GCs with directive *he* are over-represented in the extant fragments relative to their proportions in MT, while GCs with the accusative are under-represented, even when variation between these two strategies is taken into account. In other words, the GCs in Qumran Samuel are a skewed sample of GCs in Samuel.

Please note that an additional 14 Goal Constructions—not shown in the table—were partially preserved, giving enough information for some goal-marking options to be eliminated from consideration but not enough information to verify which goal-marking option was used in each case. For each of these 14 partial GCs, the goal-marking option used in MT Samuel was still a possibility.

Table 2.2 Goal Constructions in MT Samuel and extant in 4QSam^a and ^b, with column percentages

GC Options		MT Samuel	extant 4QSam ^a and ^b
directive <i>he</i>		69 (13.7%)	16 (27.6%)
accusative of direction		128 (25.3%)	7 (12.1%)
preposition plus directive <i>he</i>		1	0
directional preposition	all	307 (60.8%)	34 (58.6%)
	? <i>el</i>	215 (42.6%)	24 (41.4%)
	' <i>ad</i>	19	2
	' <i>al</i>	12	1
	<i>l-</i>	44 (8.7%)	7 (12.1%)
	<i>b-</i>	19	0
total		505 (100%)	58 (100%)

Table 2.3 shows the correspondence of goal-marking options between the Masoretic and Qumran Samuels. Of the 58 preserved GCs in 4QSam^a and 4QSam^b, 51 (88%) have the same goal-marking strategy. Only 7 (12%) vary between strategies.

¹²¹ Many additional GCs have been reconstructed in the Accordance edition of the Qumran Samuels. For the purposes of this study, reconstructed GCs were ignored. Note that in a number of cases GCs were reconstructed with a different goal-marking strategy than was used in MT; for example, goals were reconstructed as marked with directive *he* in 1 Sam 5:8, 10:8, 20:40 and 2 Sam 15:27, 15:37 (2x) although they appear as accusatives of direction in MT. It is not clear why these reconstructions were proposed. Due to circumstances beyond my control, I did not have access to the critical editions of the Qumran Samuel texts while this paper was in preparation (e.g. *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* 17).

Table 2.3 Goal-Marking Variation between MT and extant portions of 4QSam^a and ^b

Goal Constructions in MT and 4QSam	N
Directive <i>he</i> in both sources ¹²²	12
Accusative of direction in both sources ¹²³	6
? <i>e</i> l in both sources ¹²⁴	23
<i>l</i> - in both sources ¹²⁵	8
' <i>a</i> d in both sources ¹²⁶	2
Sources agree	51 (88%)
Varying between directive <i>he</i> (MT) and the accusative ¹²⁷	1
Varying between the accusative (MT) and directive <i>he</i> ¹²⁸	4
Varying between <i>l</i> - (MT) and ? <i>e</i> l ¹²⁹	1
Varying between ? <i>e</i> l (MT) and ' <i>a</i> ' ¹³⁰	1
Sources do not agree	7 (12%)
Total	58 (100%)

Of those seven varying examples, two include variation between prepositions (?*e*l varying with *l*- or '*a*'), while five involve variation between the directive *he* and the accusative of direction. There are no extant cases in which a prepositional strategy varies with a non-prepositional strategy. A GC which consists of a PREPOSITION + GOAL continues to consist of a PREPOSITION + GOAL, even if the identity of the preposition varies. A GC which consists of a single word (with or without a directive *he* suffix) continues to consist of a single word. In other words, *while the precise morpheme used to mark a goal may vary, the syntax of the GC is stable*. Rezetko and Young's analysis unfortunately obscures this constraint, which is in line with their own observation that syntagms are more likely to remain stable in the process of copying and redaction than are lexemes or orthography.¹³¹

¹²² 1 Sam 20:41, 21:2, 22:9; 2 Sam 2:12, 5:1, 5:6 (2x), 14:14, 14:31, 14:32, 20:10, 23:11.

¹²³ 1 Sam 1:24 (2x), 6:12, 20:35; 2 Sam 5:6, 13:38.

¹²⁴ 1 Sam 6:20, 6:21 (2x), 10:3, 10:8 (2x), 21:2, 22:9, 23:16, 24:4, 27:1; 2 Sam 3:24, 11:4, 11:6 (2x), 11:7, 12:15, 13:24, 13:37, 14:3, 14:24, 14:32, 20:22.

¹²⁵ 1 Sam 1:18, 2:20, 4:10, 6:4, 9:7 (2x), 10:25 (goal differs); 2 Sam 14:8.

¹²⁶ 1 Sam 20:37; 2 Sam 6:6 (final word of complex goal differs).

¹²⁷ 2 Sam 4:3.

¹²⁸ 1 Sam 21:1; 2 Sam 2:29, 3:27, 15:29.

¹²⁹ 1 Sam 6:2.

¹³⁰ 1 Sam 20:27 (with a different goal as well).

¹³¹ cf. Rezetko and Young 2014: 155, 167; Rezetko 2003: 245.

So, then, syntax tends to remain stable when a text is transmitted, even when the lexicon or morphology vary. There may be some semantic constraints as well. As Chapters 4 and 5 make clear, the directive *he* and the accusative of direction are licensed in overlapping contexts (with directive *he* having some additional phonological and markedness constraints); from Chapter 6, the reasons why *`a/* could replace *?e/* in a Herodian-period text or *?e/* could vary with *l-* are evident. There are no cases of *`ad* or *b-* varying with *?e/*, perhaps because they have additional semantic content that may not be appropriate in a given GC.

This limited case study raises an additional question: is the variation between the Qumran and MT Samuels systematic? From Table 2.3, we see that the Qumran Samuels are somewhat more likely to have GCs marked with directive *he* than the MT Samuels are. Rezetko and Young see this as evidence of a consistent orthographic shift. They argue that the Masoretic readings without directive *he* are secondary in most cases, leading to the conclusion that the directive *he* “had a relatively common pattern of usage in earlier forms of the book,” but that this pattern has been partially obscured in the Masoretic Text.¹³² In other words, according to Rezetko and Young, scribes of the post-Qumran periods were much more likely to drop the occasional directive *he* as they copied a biblical text than they were to add one. Unfortunately, we do not have enough data to either verify or falsify this suggestion. The examples in the factive Qumran Samuel GC dataset are hardly sufficient data; nor are Rezetko and Young’s fifteen additional examples of directive *he*, which are drawn from across the Qumran biblical corpus.¹³³

To return to our original question, how serious a threat is the Hebrew Bible’s textual fluidity to our ability to draw accurate conclusions regarding widespread linguistic phenomena such as goal-marking variation? Based on the above discussion of goal-marking variation in Samuel, we can posit the following:

¹³² Rezetko and Young 2014: 184.

¹³³ Rezetko and Young 2014: 392 note 152; subtract the examples already discussed here.

1. Fluidity with regard to the goal-marking strategies used in Goal Constructions is probably much closer to 10% than to 40%.
2. When goal-marking variation does occur between equivalent texts in different manuscripts, it will be lexical or morphological; the syntax of the GC will remain stable.
3. Given the two hypotheses above, while in individual cases extracting data from *BHS* may introduce “less original” goal-marking strategies than are extant in other Hebrew witnesses, these cases should be few enough that most significance results (e.g. significant/ not significant) in tests of correlations between goal-marking strategies and linguistic factors will still be reliable.

In other words, I claim that the dataset used in the present study of goal-marking is reliable enough for valid statistical analyses to be conducted and for valid conclusions to be drawn.

However, a more thorough study of textual fluidity, both as regards goal-marking and as regards scribal transmission in general, is to be desired so that future work can be based on a more certain foundation. Ideally, such a study would include all major Hebrew witnesses to the Hebrew Bible, not just texts from Qumran contrasted with a single edited “Masoretic Text.” This study would examine all linguistic differences between equivalent texts, whether these differences are orthographic, morphological, lexical, or syntactic. Which kinds of changes are most likely to occur? How often is each kind of variation found? With this information in hand, it would be possible to develop a quantitative model to measure how fluid our text really is in the hands of the scribes.¹³⁴

2.1.3 Statistical Considerations in Creating a Dataset

The current project investigates goal-marking alternation in factive contexts in Biblical Hebrew prose, examining possible correlations between the various goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, the accusative of direction, and directional prepositions) and other linguistic and extra-linguistic

¹³⁴ It would also be necessary to capture additions, deletions, and reorderings in the text.

features via statistical analysis. The results of the statistical analysis are then situated in the light of theories of historical-linguistic change, stylistic choice, linguistic prototypes, Construction Grammar, and so on. Since statistical analysis lies at the foundation of this study's unique contribution, the present dataset was designed with the implicit assumptions underlying statistical analysis in mind.

The value of a statistical analysis is limited by the quantity, accuracy, and representativeness of its data.¹³⁵ In this section I consider each of these three factors in turn.

2.1.3.1 What is the Biblical Hebrew Corpus Representative of?

The representativeness of data in a dataset is often a problem in corpus linguistics. Most statistical modeling tools assume that the data sample in a dataset is **representative**—that is, that it reflects the real world in terms of the independent variables that are active, their relative effects on the dependent variable, and the proportions of each variable outcome in the sample. For example, when pollers conduct a survey about politics and report that 40% of Americans are in favor of the current president, 40% of Americans dislike him, and 20% have no opinion, they are not implying that they have polled all Americans; instead, the pollers have polled a sample of Americans which they believe is representative—a microcosm of America with the right proportions of ages, genders, socioeconomic groups, party affiliations, etc.—and thus the opinions of this small group are representative, such that we would expect to find the same proportions of opinions if we were actually able to poll all Americans.

In corpus linguistics we are not only seeking a sample which is representative of a population but one which is representative of their language use in some particular domain. For example, we might be assembling a representative sample of courtroom transcripts from a representative sample of courts, with the understanding that courtroom transcripts only reflect a single facet of the population's language use. We might make sure to sample court cases with

¹³⁵ cf. Moshavi and Notarius 2017: 3-6.

lawyers of various genders dealing with various kinds of crimes (e.g. white-collar crimes vs. petty misdemeanors vs. major crimes) in courtrooms in different regions of the country.

Unfortunately, creating a representative corpus can be very difficult. First, we may not be aware of certain factors, and thus might not sample texts with all possible values for these factors. For instance, we might only collect information from county courts, not from higher courts, because it did not occur to us that the type of court might impact language use in the courtroom. Second, we may not be able to survey and sample all texts. All of the court transcripts from a certain small courthouse might have been lost when a single hard drive failed, or when the courthouse burned.¹³⁶ We may not be aware that certain archives exist in order to make use of them. Third, we may not have the funding or the manpower to survey all known texts or even a very large proportion of them.

Working with a corpus compiled by others—as, for example, in the case of the Hebrew Bible—creates additional challenges when we try to assess whether the corpus is representative. How were texts chosen for the corpus? Probably not at random. A corpus may be unintentionally biased toward certain types of texts or toward texts from certain sources. For instance, I might use a corpus of courtroom transcripts created by a researcher in the 1980s who compiled them from the local law school archive, which consisted of the donated archives of three closed county courthouses with miscellaneous additions. If I didn't understand the nature of the corpus, I might falsely assume that the corpus was representative of court cases throughout the state.

To assess the representativeness of an existing corpus such as the Hebrew Bible, we must ask questions such as,

¹³⁶ Or more fragile media may have disintegrated or become unreadable over time. In ancient Israel and Judah, much writing was done on papyrus or leather, which has not survived. On similar issues in the ancient cuneiform corpus, see Matthews 2013: 72.

1. What is the nature of the corpus? (How was it written and compiled? What types of texts are included? What do we know about those responsible for these texts and those responsible for their compilation?)
2. Are the texts in the corpus sufficiently similar to be analyzed as a single dataset, or must the corpus be subdivided for study?
3. Given the nature of the corpus, what type of language would we hope that the corpus is representative of?
4. Is the corpus “representative enough” of this type of language to be used in a statistical study?¹³⁷

As a corpus, the Hebrew Bible is certainly not representative of language produced by all segments of ancient Judean and Israelite society. In its component texts, there is an implicit bias toward certain sorts of authors (men, usually with an elite education, often connected to the religious or political establishment). The Hebrew Bible is also not representative of all types of writing produced in ancient Judah and Israel. It contains certain types of texts (e.g. narrative texts, legal texts, hymnic texts) which were composed with a certain type of audience in mind (usually a broad Judean audience rather than a specific person or foreign audience). These texts often include what appear to be prestigious or aesthetic language features. The corpus does not include private correspondence or family records of legal and economic transactions. The Hebrew Bible is not even representative of all prestige texts from ancient Israel and Judah. The books included in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible were not chosen randomly, but were preserved because the Jewish and Christian religious communities believed (and believe) them to be divinely inspired. These texts focus on certain themes—most notably, the relationship of the Judeans and Israelites with their God—and were primarily curated in the Judean capital, Jerusalem, during the first millennium B.C.

¹³⁷ cf. Iwata 2008: 7.

The nature of the Biblical Hebrew corpus, then, is a corpus of prestigious texts written by well-educated men, curated in Jerusalem, concerned with the relationship between the Twelve Tribes and their God, and accepted as authoritative at an early enough date for them to become candidates for recopying and preservation. (Although the component texts tend to cluster around this prototypical definition, a few outliers such as the Song of Songs are also included.)

From a linguistic perspective, the most serious division between these texts is the division between prose and verse, because prototypical prose and verse use very different syntactic systems and may differ substantially in their lexica and orthography. This division is much more serious than the difference between diachronic corpora (i.e. Classical vs. Late Biblical Hebrew). Thus, most scholars of BH linguistics treat prose and verse separately, as I do in this study. (For further discussion, see 7.1.)

What kind of texts is the Hebrew Bible representative of? Since authority is probably not a linguistic feature, we are hoping that the Hebrew Bible is representative enough of prestigious Biblical Hebrew texts written by usually-Judean men during the first millennium B.C for valid statistical analysis. We recognize the fact that non-Yahwistic religious perspectives, non-Judean perspectives, non-male perspectives, and non-elite perspectives are not well represented in this corpus.

2.1.3.2 Quantity and Accuracy in Statistical Analysis

For this study, I have maximized the **quantity** of data available by including every Goal Construction that appears in a factive expression in Hebrew prose. Maximizing the dataset is desirable because statistical error decreases as sample size increases (other things being equal).¹³⁸ Please note that the resulting dataset of 3125 Goal Constructions is still fairly small from a corpus-linguistics or general statistics perspective, and it may become smaller when variables with limited application (like the characteristics of a direct object, which can only be

¹³⁸ cf. Woods, Fletcher, and Hughes 1986: 81-86.

coded for GCs which include a direct object) are included in a given statistical model.¹³⁹ However, this dataset is significantly larger than the average linguistic study in Biblical Hebrew, which allows us to accept the results with greater confidence than is usual for our field.

The **accuracy** of the dataset is based on two factors: the accuracy with which the dataset's compiler input and coded the data, and the accuracy of the source text as a reflection of the linguistic system of a particular moment in historical time (in this case, an historical moment in the first millennium B.C.). Statistical tests will attempt to analyze data even if the data is incorrect, thus producing fallacious results. Regarding the compilation of the dataset, the dataset and coding used in this analysis were repeatedly checked and revised by the present author and may be taken as an accurate representation of the author's opinions.¹⁴⁰ The issue of the reliability of the source text is a more troublesome one, as was discussed in 2.1.2 above. However, as I claimed there, the source text used for this project (the tagged *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* in Accordance) reflects written Hebrew linguistic systems of the first millennium B.C. sufficiently well for valid statistical analyses to be conducted.

2.2 Step Two: Coding for Variables Potentially Correlated with Goal-Marking

Having extracted a dataset of all 3125 factive Goal Constructions in Biblical Hebrew prose from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, I coded each Goal Construction for more than 30 independent variables from different parts of the grammar, seeking to find the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that impacted scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies, and to see if there were examples in which scribes were using differential goal marking as part of conscious stylistic choices. While the set of independent variables that I used is by no means comprehensive, it is larger and more diverse than the variable sets used by previous scholars interested in Hebrew

¹³⁹ cf. Forbes 2016: 105. This impacts the number of variables that can be examined at one time as well as the certainty that we assign to the results. See below.

¹⁴⁰ Under best practices, one or more additional scholars should have been brought on board and asked to code subsets of the data. The resulting coding could have been compared to that of the present author as a check on the reliability of the author's coding. Such checks would also have helped to identify areas of potential ambiguity and disagreement in the coding. For practical reasons, this could not be done in the present case.

goal-marking. (Please note that this section only gives a brief introduction to the variables. Each variable is discussed in more detail in the relevant section of Chapter 3, 4, or 5.)

My first set of variables addressed the structures and characteristics of the goals in the Goal Constructions. What sort of NP was incorporated into the Goal Phrase in each observation? Was the NP animate or inanimate? Singular or plural? Definite or indefinite? Was its ending consonantal or vocalic? Did the NP consist of one morpheme or more? Did it govern any adjuncts—whether relative clauses or other kinds? Then, was the goal in the same clause as another goal, or in an adjacent clause to one—and if yes, were the parallel Goals marked with the same strategy or with a different one?

In my next set of variables I accounted for different clause structures and types. Was the clause verb-initial? What was the position of the Goal with regard to the verb? Was the clause realis or irrealis? Was it negated?

I then considered the verb itself. Did it have one participant (intransitive) or more (transitive or ditransitive)? What was the *binyan* of the verb? What principal part of the verb was used—infinitive, participle, imperative, imperfect, jussive, perfect, preterite (*wayyiqtol*), or *weqatal*?

What of the subject? Was it singular or plural? How animate or definite was it? Was the subject affected by performing the action of the verb?

What about the object? Was it singular or plural? How animate or definite was it?

Finally, having coded for these largely syntactic-semantic variables, I turned to several extra-grammatical variables. Does the GC appear in a text which has been identified as having pervasive Northern Hebrew features? Does it appear in dialogue, narration, or narrative speech? Is the text more- or less oral-like in its syntax? Is the GC in a text which is part of the Classical, Transitional, or Late Biblical Hebrew corpus? In what book and/or Pentateuchal source was the GC found?

Some of these independent variables—like era, book, source, text type, and the animacy or complexity of the NP in the GC—have been identified by previous scholars as important in Hebrew scribes’ choices between goal-marking strategies.¹⁴¹ Other variables were included because, although they are known to drive variation in languages from across the world, they have not previously been considered in studies of Biblical Hebrew goal-marking.

Figure 2.1: Complete List of First-Analysis Variables

Dependent: goal-marking strategy (he/acc/prep)
GC: Goal animacy, goal number, goal definiteness, goal individuation (proper vs. common), goal complexity, presence/absence of adjuncts to goal, goal final phoneme
Object: object animacy, object number, object definiteness, object reflexivity
Subject: subject animacy, subject number, subject definiteness, subject affectedness, overt subject
Verb and clause: number of participants, verb aspect, verb binyan, verb voice, verb parsing (imperfect, wayyiqtol, infinitive, etc.), clause mode (realis/irrealis), clause negation (affirmative/negative)
Word order: verb-initial, goal before verb
Priming: preceding goal in same clause, preceding goal in adjacent clause
Descriptive: style/era, book, source, text type, orality, dialect

As I noted above, this set of variables is not comprehensive. It does not incorporate lexical data from the goals or verbs in the Goal Constructions, although this information was collected, since the proliferation of categories caused when lexical data was included caused any statistical models to refuse to converge.¹⁴² Nor does the independent variable set incorporate word order variables other than the position of the verb and the position of the Goal Phrase relative to the verb, although, again, this information was collected. I did not attempt to code for social variables such as scribes’ gender, class, age, or education as this information is rarely preserved. Most notably, this set of variables does not include discourse variables other than text type.

However, while this variable set is not comprehensive, it does represent a significant advance over the independent variable sets used in prior research into Biblical Hebrew goal-marking (for which see 1.3.1), whether these sets consist of one systematically-applied variable

¹⁴¹ See section 1.3 above.

¹⁴² The lexical data regarding the verbs was used in post-estimation analysis in Chapter 5.

such as diachronic corpus with one or two variables related to the structure and nature of the goal (Joosten), or several extra-grammatical variables such as biblical book/source and diachronic corpus with results reported plus numerous eclectic variables with results not reported (Rezetko and Young). My analysis fronts syntactic-semantic factors, which have been chronically understudied; yet it also includes phonological, historical, and sociolinguistic factors, which are usually studied in isolation from one another. Thus, this variable set allows us to access not only the syntactic-semantic system of written Biblical Hebrew but also to begin to explore Biblical Hebrew as a holistic system which reflects the sociohistorical circumstances in which it was used.

2.3 Step Three: Statistical Analysis of the Coded Dataset Using Multinomial Logistical Regression

For the most part, only simple statistical tools have been used in Biblical Hebrew linguistics—tools such as frequency counts, correlation tables, and chi-squared tests.¹⁴³ Such tools only allow the consideration of one or two variables at a time. In the present study, I use statistical tools that allow many variables to be assessed in a single model, thus permitting us to assess the relative weight of and relationships between these variables. Do some linguistic factors have more of an impact on goal-marking than others? Are some subsets of independent variables closely connected with one another?

In 2.3.1, I explain the types of statistical tests that I used, with their strengths and weaknesses. In 2.3.2 I outline the statistical models themselves, along with some of the challenges I confronted while creating these models, most notably issues of collinearity and overfitting. In 2.3.3 I give the results of these models, showing that many independent variables are significantly correlated with scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies. 2.3.4 contains

¹⁴³ See Forbes 1992. Studies by Dean Forbes himself are notable exceptions. This statistics-poor state of affairs may finally be changing, as both tagged source texts and statistical software packages are now widely available. For instance, Fredrickson is using an interval LASSO program to explore issues of Hebrew diachrony (Fredrickson 2019). Please note that some scholars may be using logistical regression in their research without discussing it in their published work. For example, in his study on the locative *he* Hoftijzer may be selecting which factors to talk about based on significance results from binomial logistical regressions, but since he never discusses this or explains his coding, it is difficult to assess the validity of his experimental design and results (cf. Hoftijzer 1981; Parunak 1983).

an excursus, an exploration of the relationships that these independent variables have with one another. In 2.3.5, I argue that the methods of the current study yield valuable data which could not have been accessed without the use of complex statistical methods.

2.3.1 Outline of Statistical Methods

After coding each of my observations for its goal-marking strategy and all independent variables, I imported my data into STATA v.15, a statistical software package with functionality similar to that of SPSS. I then analyzed my dataset using multinomial logistical regression (**mlogit**). Mlogit is the most common type of regression used for nominal (unordered categorical) dependent variables. Like other types of regression, it tests the null hypothesis—the hypothesis that one or more independent variables has no effect on the dependent variable—by analyzing the predictive power of the independent variable outcomes, trying different combinations of variable weights until the log likelihood is maximized, and looking for the combination that best explains the relationship between the independent and dependent variables.¹⁴⁴

In its output for an mlogit model, STATA returns information on the likelihood that each outcome category for an independent variable really is correlated with the variation in the dependent variable. Independent variable outcomes with a significance probability (p-value) of 0.01 or less have a 99% likelihood that variation in the independent variable has a significant effect on variation in the dependent variable and a 1% likelihood that the null hypothesis is true (that the independent variable is not significantly correlated with variation in the dependent variable). In other words, the mlogit results can tell us if there is a very high probability that a certain linguistic variable is really correlated with goal-marking, but never with 100% certainty.

Figure 2.2 gives some examples of variables and outcomes used in this analysis. For the independent variable *goal animacy*, a goal in a given GC is coded as matching one of two outcomes, *animate* (1) or *inanimate* (0). For the variable *subject definiteness*, the subject in a

¹⁴⁴ In other words, until the logarithm of the probability of getting this dataset from this set of variables/outcomes is maximized. This is not the same as finding the set of variables/outcomes that are most likely to produce the dataset.

given GC is coded as matching one of five outcomes, ranging from *not explicit* (0) to *pronoun* (4). In one GC, a clause like *Joshua went up to Jerusalem*, the goal (*Jerusalem*) is inanimate, so the *goal animacy* outcome is 0; the subject (*Joshua*) is a proper noun, so the *subject definiteness* outcome is 3.

Figure 2.2 Examples of Variables and Outcomes

Variable: goal animacy	Variable: subject definiteness index
Outcomes: 0) inanimate	Outcomes: 0) not explicit
1) animate	1) indefinite
	2) definite common
	3) proper noun
	4) pronoun

Since an mlogit model fits binary logistical regressions for each pair of outcome categories—not for each independent variable as a whole¹⁴⁵—some of the outcome categories for a given variable may have a statistically significant effect while others do not. For example, I found that if a verb is a perfect, imperfect, or jussive, there is a statistically significant chance that this has an effect on the scribes’ choice of goal-marking strategies; yet if the verb is a participle, there is no statistically significant effect.

Mlogit modeling is a powerful tool, but it has potential downsides. The STATA software assumes that the dataset given to it for analysis fulfills certain criteria. It assumes that variables have been correctly labelled as categorical and non-categorical, and, if they are categorical, assumes that the outcomes are not ordered. It assumes that all relevant outcome categories for a given variable have been correctly distinguished and coded. It assumes that all independent variables with a significant effect on the dependent variable have been included in the analysis; it also assumes that all independent variables which are included are relatively independent of one another (that is, collinearity is low). The last two assumptions can be especially problematic. If a powerful independent variable is not included in the model, the model may on the one hand be

¹⁴⁵ Long and Freese 2014: 385.

unable to account for the variation in the dependent variable for certain observations; on the other hand, the model may report that other, less powerful variables have a more (or less) significant effect on the variation than they really do. Variables which are not relatively independent of one another may be so highly correlated that they cause the modeling software to be unable to present results. Since many of the independent variables in this dataset covary, high correlations between variables sometimes caused problems in the analysis.

I had to fit several mlogit models in order to examine all of the data.¹⁴⁶ Most variables were analyzed using a model hereafter referred to as the **main model**. This was the maximal model that I was able to create which would converge, did not drop any outcomes due to STATA's automatic function for eliminating collinear outcomes, and retained over 2000 observations in its analysis.¹⁴⁷ I ran many additional models with different variable sets (a representative sample of which are reported in Appendix 3), both in order to examine variables which could not be included in the maximal model and in order to verify the significance results for each independent variable. Since STATA's stepwise analysis (adding and subtracting entire variables from a regression model in order to find the best set of variables¹⁴⁸) is not directly supported for multinomial logistical regression, I created and assessed these secondary models manually.

After fitting my mlogit models, I used a variety of post-estimation tests (tests run based on the mlogit) to check and nuance my results. Many of the specific commands I utilized were written as add-ons for STATA by Long and Freese. Detailed explanations of these commands as well as instructions for adding them to STATA can be found in Long and Freese (2014).¹⁴⁹ Particularly

¹⁴⁶ This creates some problems for interpretation, as the set of observations used in each model may vary. I have tried to be transparent with regard to the models fitted.

¹⁴⁷ `mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.vb_binyan i.vb_particip i.vb_parse i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_anim i.sub_def if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3. N = 2734, Log Likelihood = -1569.7393, chi2(105) = 1910.35.` The if-operators remove perfectly predicted observations from the analysis.

¹⁴⁸ Starting with no variables and then adding predictors is forward selection; starting with all of the independent variables and subtracting them is backward deletion; adding and subtracting predictors is bidirectional selection. Stepwise checks can be run in STATA for linear regressions and ordinal regressions using the command *stepwise*.

¹⁴⁹ See especially pp. 11-14, 398-410, and 355-359.

useful was the test of log likelihood for each independent variable outcome category (mlogtest). This test weighs the likelihood that each outcome category has a significant effect on the dependent variable as a whole, unlike the mlogit itself, which looks for the independent variable outcomes' significance effects on each individual outcome category of the dependent variable. Another important post-estimation command was mtable, a macro for the testing of marginal effects. Using this command, it is possible to input specific values for one or more independent variables in order to predict which goal-marking strategy is most likely to be used in a clause with that set of characteristics. This is especially helpful when dealing with sets of variables which are expected to covary.

2.3.2 The Mlogit Models Used in This Analysis

For the most robust results, all of the independent variables in an analysis should be included in a single statistical model. Unfortunately, this ideal situation cannot always be achieved. In the current project, I faced four challenges as I tried to construct models:

1. Some variable outcomes overlap heavily with other variable outcomes (they are **collinear**). When the overlap is extensive (more than, say, 90%), the collinear variables or outcomes should either be combined into an index (often not a reasonable choice with categorical variables) or one should be omitted.¹⁵⁰
2. A dataset of a given size can only support the analysis of a certain number of variables and outcomes.¹⁵¹ Having too many variables/outcomes included in your model may prevent the model from converging (it will run perpetually without ever yielding results).

¹⁵⁰ Acock 2016: 292-294. A special STATA package (*collin*) is required to do this for categorical variables. Collinearity is usually detected by measuring the variance inflation factor (VIF); a VIF value of more than 10 for any individual variable or an average VIF of substantially more than 1.00 for the variable set used in a given model are problematic (Acock 2016: 293).

¹⁵¹ At a minimum, the dataset should include 100 plus 10x observations, where x is the number of independent variable outcomes (Long and Freese 2014: 85). So if we have three variables, each of which has three outcomes, that is a total of nine outcomes; we need a minimum of $100+10(9)= 190$ observations. If we add a category like biblical book which has 20 outcomes even in my adjusted version, we need $190 + 10(20) = 390$ observations. Note that even when the suggested minimum number has been reached, if there are too few observations which have a particular outcome the model may still fail to converge.

When this occurs, the researcher must omit variables or recode them so that they have fewer outcomes, which causes a loss of information.

3. Certain variables may apply to only part of the dataset. Since the statistical software will omit any observation which is missing a value for any of the variables included in the model, including these limiting variables can shrink the dataset, exacerbating convergence problems.

4. From a statistical standpoint, the dataset used here is small. The smaller the dataset, the more likely it is that models will be **overfit**—that is, that variables will achieve statistical significance even though they do not really have an effect on the dependent variable. If the model is then applied to another dataset from the same language, these variables will lack predictive power. For example, in a dataset confined to the book of *x*, I might find that in GCs with pronominal objects, second-person objects always appear with goals marked with *'al*. This would be a statistically significant result. However, when I turned to a dataset of GCs from the book of *y*, the number of the pronominal object might no longer be an effective predictor of goal-marking. In other words, in a given model, some variables may be selected as significant due to accidents of data distribution rather than due to real effects. Overfitting becomes more likely as the number of independent variables/outcomes increases, since smaller amounts of correlation between the dependant variable and each added variable are required in order to improve the fit of the model.¹⁵² So, on the one hand, it is desirable to include all independent variables which are hypothesized to have an impact on goal-marking choice; but on the other hand, increasing the number of independent variables will almost certainly lead to false positives due to overfitting.

¹⁵² cf. Forbes 2012: 36-37. "It is well known that we pick up part of the idiosyncratic characteristics of the data along with the systematic relationship between dependent and explanatory variables. This phenomenon is known as overfitting and generally occurs when a model is excessively complex relative to the amount of data available" (Bilger and Manning 2015: 75).

Due to these challenges, I constructed multiple models in an effort to test the effects of all of my independent variables. I describe the main model below; it was the most comprehensive, with the best compromise of dataset size and variable inclusion. For the specifications of additional models, see Appendix 3. I also ran post-estimation tests for multicollinearity and overfitting. Results of the collinearity testing is reported model by model; selected results for overfitting are discussed in 2.3.3.

In what follows, note that N is the number of observations from the dataset that were included in the model. Note also that when variables are included that only apply to some of the observations in the dataset, observations without values for those variables are omitted. (For instance, including an object variable causes all observations without objects to be omitted.)

1. Main Model (N = 2734, Log Likelihood = -1569.7393, chi2(105) = 1910.35)¹⁵³

Goal: Include as many independent variables from the dataset as possible in a model that will converge and that retains over 2000 observations.

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim
i.gc_end i.vb_binyan i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit
i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the p<0.01 level: era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_anim, gc_proper, gc_end, vb_parse

Significant at the p<0.05 level: vb_participants, sub_def

Not significant: text type, gc_sgpl, vb_binyan, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_vbinit, syn_gcb4vb, syn_realis

Notes: Average VIF (collinearity measure) 1.59 (not a problem). Independent variable VIF over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.04; syn_realis 2.53; vb_particip 2.50; texttype 2.22. **vb_binyan** and **vb_particip** are collinear with each other here and in the other models; they have a correlation coefficient of 0.59, which is a moderate to moderate-high correlation. **syn_realis** and **texttype**

¹⁵³LR chi2(N) is the chi2 likelihood ratio, or the likelihood that the values in the dataset occur due to chance. As the LR chi2 value approaches zero, the likelihood that the values in the dataset have a chance distribution approaches certainty. As the LR chi2 value increases, this tells us that this model fits better than a model with no independent variables/outcomes. (N) are the degrees of freedom in the model, in theory the number of independent variable outcomes minus one times the number of dependent variable outcomes minus one, but may be less due to dropped outcomes. (Outcomes may be dropped if STATA detects that they are over 90% collinear with another outcome or if they apply to too few observations. The dependent variable outcome "preposition plus directive he" is almost always dropped because it only applies to 10 observations.)

A p-value of less than 0.01 here indicates that the likelihood that none of these variables has a significant effect on the dependent variable is less than 1%.

are also collinear here and in the other models; they have a correlation coefficient of 0.68, which is a fairly high correlation.

2.3.3 Initial Results Regarding the Significance of Dependent Variables

Variables from each of the variable groups (goal-related, clausal, verbal, subject, object, and descriptive) were found to have a significant effect on the HB scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies. In this section, I summarize selected significance results for each variable outcome.

In the following table, significant results are marked with asterisks in the p-significance column. Results that are significant at the 0.01 level are marked with two asterisks, and results significant at the 0.05 level are marked with one.

Table 2.4 Independent Variables and Their P-Values

Group	Variable	Model	chi2 (df)	p-significance
Goal	Goal-Complexity Simple NP Complex NP	main	(base) 255.250 (3)	** (base) 0.000**
Goal	Goal-Adjunct no adjunct appositional phrase relative clause modifying PP	main	(base) 7.801 (3) 93.938 (3) (perf. predict)	** (base) 0.050* 0.000** (perf. prediction) ¹⁵⁴
Goal	Goal-Number singular NP plural NP	main	(base) 2.798 (3)	(base) 0.424
Goal	Goal-Definiteness indefinite NP definite NP	main	(base) 73.148 (3)	** (base) 0.000**
Goal	Goal-Individuation common NP proper NP pronoun	main	(base) 94.831 (3) (collinear)	** (base) 0.000** (collinear)
Goal	Goal Same Clause Sequence same goal-marking strategy different strategy	alt 6	(base) 118.967 (3)	** (base) 0.000**
Goal	Goal Nearby Clause Sequence same goal-marking strategy different strategy	alt 7	(base) 30.973 (3)	** (base) 0.000**

¹⁵⁴ Please note that outcome categories which perfectly predicted the scribes' choice of goal-marking strategy were omitted from the mlogit models (though not from the discussion in Chapters 3-5).

Goal	Goal-Animacy inanimate NP animate NP	main	(base) 535.360 (3)	** (base) 0.000**
Goal	Goal-Ending ends in other consonant ends in guttural consonant ends in vowel <i>he</i> blocked by pronom. suffix	main	(base) 6.751 (3) 74.195 (3) 118.140 (3)	** (base) 0.080 0.000** 0.000**
Clause	Clause-Realis realis irrealis	main	(base) 3.683 (3)	(base) 0.298
Clause	Clause-Negation affirmative clause negated clause	main	(base) 3.655 (3)	(base) 0.301
Clause	Clause Verb-Initial verb-initial not verb-initial	main	(base) 2.600 (3)	(base) 0.457
Clause	Goal-Fronting Goal not before verb Goal before verb	main	(base) 4.405 (3)	(base) 0.221
Verb	Verb-Participants one participant more than one participant	main	(base) 10.655 (3)	* (base) 0.014*
Verb	Verb-Aspect imperfective perfective	alt 13	(base) 1.448 (3)	(base) 0.694
Verb	Verb-Binyan G (qal) D (pi'el) C (hip'il) N (nip'al) Hitp. (hitpa'el)	main	(base) 5.827 (3) 4.827 (3) 2.184 (3) 0.246 (3)	(base) 0.120 0.185 0.585 0.970
Verb	Verb-Passive active verb passive verb	main	(base) 2.475 (3)	(base) 0.480
Verb	Verb-Principal Part imperative infinitive participle imperfect yiqtol jussive perfect wayyiqtol preterite weqatal	main	(base) 2.451 (3) 3.238 (3) 11.400 (3) 9.850 (3) 8.872 (3) 1.056 (3) 12.422	** (base) 0.484 0.356 0.010** 0.020* 0.031* 0.788 0.006**
Subj	Subject-Affectedness not affected affected incomplete (irreal/imperfect)	alt 3	(base) 4.965 (2)	(base) 0.291 ~0.246

			~2.804 (2) ¹⁵⁵	
Subj	Subject-Definiteness subject not explicit indefinite definite PN pronoun	main	(base) 0.214 (3) 4.129 (3) 3.979 (3) 8.683 (3)	* (base) 0.975 0.248 0.264 0.034*
Subj	Subject-Animacy impersonal inanimate animate	alt 5	(base) 0.515 (3) 0.057 (3)	(base) 0.916 0.996
Subj	Subject-Number impersonal singular/distributive collective/list plural	alt 4	(base) 0.351 (3) 0.255 (3) 0.222 (3)	(base) 0.950 0.968 0.974
Obj	Object-Definiteness ellipsis indefinite definite PN pronoun	alt 2	(base) 11.561 (3) 10.475 (3) 21.138 (3) 15.281 (3)	** (base) 0.009** 0.015* 0.000** 0.002**
Obj	Object-Animacy impersonal inanimate animate	alt 2	(base) 11.071 (3) 18.104 (3)	** (base) 0.011** 0.000**
Obj	Object-Number ellipsis singular/distributive collective/list plural	alt 1	(base) 1.501 (3) 0.307 (3) 1.787 (3)	(base) 0.682 0.959 0.618
Desc	Era/Style Classical BH Transitional BH Late BH	main	(base) 23.160 (3) 94.128 (3)	** (base) 0.000** 0.000**
Desc	Text Type dialogue narrative speech narrative	main	(base) 2.252 (3) 2.381 (3)	(base) 0.521 0.497
Desc	Dialect not identified as northern Northern Hebrew	alt 11	(base) 12.370 (3)	** (base) 0.006**

¹⁵⁵ Numbers for this outcome are from the second complete run of all statistical tests. (In contrast, numbers for all other outcomes and variables are from the third complete run) Between the second and third complete runs, one observation was dropped and the coding of a dozen observations was revised with respect to one or more independent variables. In the third complete run, the test of the likelihood ratio for incompletely affected subjects refused to resolve. From the mlogit results, it is clear that 1) this outcome is not significant and 2) that the likelihood ratio should be fairly similar to the LR in the second run.

Desc	Orality more oral like less oral like	alt 10	(base) 3.487 (3)	(base) 0.322
Desc	Book Genesis Exodus Leviticus Numbers Deuteronomy Joshua Judges Samuel Kings Isaiah Jeremiah Ezekiel Zechariah Ruth Esther Daniel Ezra Nehemiah Chronicles miscellaneous	alt 8	(base) 8.567 (3) 57.037 (3) 30.315 (3) 5.075 (3) 23.581 (3) 55.124(2) 119.622 (2) 100.542 (2) 18.713 (3) 69.616 (3) 55.612 (2) 21.284 (3) 40.286 (3) (perf prediction) 15.715 (3) 66.161 (3) 56.610 (3) 119.883 (3) 32.192 (2)	** (base) 0.036* 0.000** 0.000** 0.166 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** (perfect prediction) ¹⁵⁶ 0.001** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000** 0.000**
Desc	Source D Non-P P	alt 9	(base) 1.174 (2) 25.507 (2)	** (base) 0.556 0.000**

Table 2.4 shows 17 variables as being significantly correlated with goal-marking. Goal complexity, goal adjuncts, goal definiteness, goal individuation, goal animacy, the goal's ending, same-clause priming, adjacent-clause priming, verb parsing, object definiteness and animacy, era, dialect, book and source had an effect at the $p < 0.01$ level, while the number of participants, and subject definiteness had an effect at the $p < 0.05$ level. Goal number, clause mode, negation, word order (verb-initial and goal fronting), aspect, verb stem, voice, subject affectedness, subject animacy, subject number, object definiteness, object number, text type, and orality had no significant effect.

¹⁵⁶ Please note that outcome categories which perfectly predicted the scribes' choice of goal-marking strategy were omitted from the mlogit models (though not from the discussion in Chapters 3-5).

However, the detailed results from the models in Appendix 3 show a more complex picture. Some variables always have a significant effect, no matter what model they are in; some never do. Others may or may not appear to be significant.

Variables which always have an effect are most likely to be the ones directly causing a certain strategy to be selected or blocked. For example, goal animacy was always selected as significant at the 0.01 level. A cross-tabulation of the outcomes for goal animacy (inanimate vs. animate) with the different goal-marking strategies clearly shows why the effect is significant: animate goals cannot be marked with directive *he* and are rarely marked with the accusative of direction (see 3.1.2.1 below). A scribe choosing a strategy to mark an animate goal will almost certainly do so via a preposition.

Variables which never have a significant effect may, on the one hand, represent parts of the language which have no interaction with goal-marking; but, on the other hand, they may represent linguistic components which overlap so heavily with a significant variable that they appear not to be significant; the variation in goal-marking strategy choice which they explain is also almost entirely explained by this other variable. See 2.3.4 below for further exploration of the relationships between some such variables.

Variables which may or may not appear to have a significant effect vary in significance due to a number of factors. Some variables have a significant effect as long as the dataset is large enough; these variables should be understood as having a real effect on goal-marking strategy variation. The ‘era/style’ variable falls into this category.¹⁵⁷ It is significant at the 0.01 level unless the model’s dataset is limited by the inclusion of a variable that covers few observations, like the inclusion of object variables in alternative model 1 or the priming variables in models 6 and 7. Other variables have a significant effect unless certain other variables are included with which they overlap heavily. It is often hard to say whether these variables should

¹⁵⁷ For a discussion of this variable, see 3.1.

be understood as really having or not having an effect. Still other variables only appear to be significant due to overfitting in models with numerous independent variables.

Figure 2.3 Linguistic Variables and Their Relationship to Goal-Marking Strategy Variation

Always Sig	Sig in Large Dataset	Effect Weak or Blocked by Overlapping Variable	No Sig Effect
Goal animacy, Goal definiteness, Goal individuation, Goal complexity	Goal adjuncts, Goal end, Era/style, Dialect, Book, Source, No. of participants, Verb principal part, Same-clause priming, Adjacent-clause priming	Object animacy & definiteness, Subject definiteness, Subject affectedness, Verb aspect, Clause mode	Text type, Orality, Goal number, Verb-initial, Goal fronting, Verb stem, Verb voice, Negation
CORE VARIABLES			Insufficient data: Object number Subject animacy Subject number

Figure 2.3 shows a preliminary breakdown of the independent variables. To the far left are the variables which are always significant; their effects are so strong that they are discernible even in small datasets. Certain goal-marking strategies (usually directive *he*) are restricted from applying to certain outcomes of these variables. Next are the variables which are significant as long as the dataset is large enough; they have real but less all-encompassing effects. Third is a column of variables which have weak effects or which overlap heavily with significant variables, causing their effects to be masked.¹⁵⁸ Finally, on the far right are variables which appear to be irrelevant to the question of goal-marking strategy choice. Core variables—variables whose statistical significance is not in question—appear within the bold square, while all possibly effectual variables are contained inside the dotted line. Object animacy and definiteness appear together in the third column, as they are only significant when they are both included in the model.

¹⁵⁸ With interval-ratio data, one could create interaction variables to try to tease such entangled variables apart. However, with categorical data this is not possible.

There is not enough information to determine whether the variables subject animacy, subject number, and object number belong in the third or fourth column.

2.3.4 Excursus: Mapping Relationships Between Variables

One of the advantages of using complex statistical modeling to analyze a dataset is the ability to explore relationships not only between the dependent variable (goal-marking strategy choice) and the independent variables, but between the independent variables themselves. It was this kind of exploration that allowed me to define a column of variables with weak or masked effects in Figure 2.3 above.

A number of the Tense-Aspect-Mood variables coded in my dataset exist in a complex network of covariance. The central variable in this network is verb principal part. The principal parts of the BH verb—infinitive, imperative, participle, wayyiqtol preterite, perfect, imperfect, weqatal, and jussive—are encoded by BH writers with distinct morphology and semantics, making coding them a relatively objective task.¹⁵⁹ Each of these principal parts is an index with expected values for features such as clause mode, verb aspect, and time sequence.

In a series of models, I found that including verb principal part causes clause mode and verb aspect not to appear significant, yet these variables *are* significant when the principal part variable is removed. Their effect is masked by the inclusion of a variable that indexes them. So we can safely say that at least part of the significance of verb principal part is due to the fact that it indirectly encodes mode and aspect.

However, each of these masked variables (mode and aspect) is also entangled with other variables. Mode and aspect influence each other—in a model containing both of them but not verb principal part, they have reduced significance because they do not function independently but in covariance: perfect verbs are realis 94% of the time and imperfect verbs are irrealis 83% of

¹⁵⁹ Although the jussive can be confused with the imperfect.

the time. They are also both strongly correlated with text type, because given text types tend to include certain types of verbs.

Clause mode is also closely related to subject affectedness. In this analysis, subject affectedness was coded with three possible outcomes: subjects that were affected, subjects that were not affected, and subjects that would have been affected if they had not appeared in irrealis clauses. By definition, the last outcome perfectly predicts the irrealis outcome for mode and vice versa.¹⁶⁰

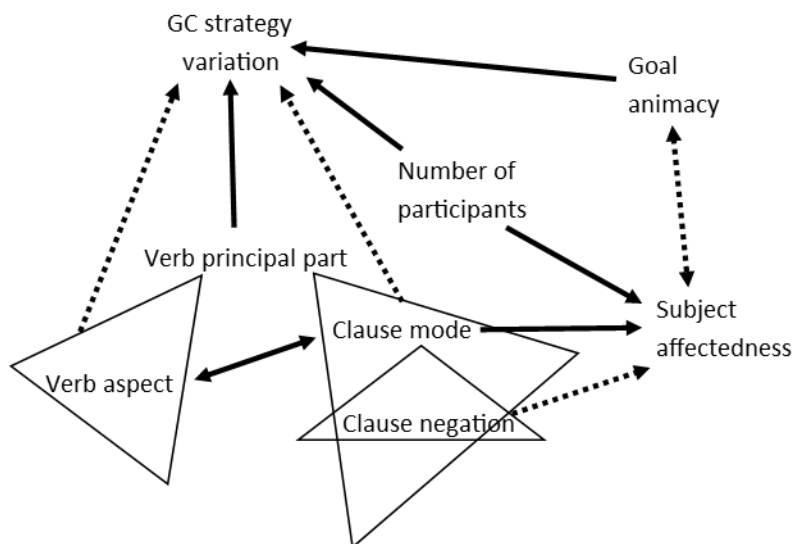
Subject affectedness also has masked significance. It is masked primarily by the number of participants variable and Goal animacy variable, which are both significant. One-participant clauses in the dataset almost always have affected subjects, since intransitive motion verbs generally affect their subjects (something must be moving or why is a motion verb present?) (62% affected plus 32% would have been affected if not irrealis).¹⁶¹ Then, clauses with animate Goals (~ Recipients) often include verbs like *š/h* which do not affect their subjects.

The discussion above is summarized in the following figure. Arrows show the apparent direction of effects. Triangles radiating from certain variables and enclosing other variables show that the enclosed variables are included (nested or indexed) in the variables from which the triangles radiate. Dotted lines show tentative relationships.

¹⁶⁰ Clause mode is also closely connected with text type, as certain text types tend to be in realis or irrealis modes.

¹⁶¹ Number of participants, in its turn, has substantial overlap with verb binyan, as verbs in certain binyanim have certain numbers of participants.

Figure 2.4 Preliminary Network of Goal-Marking Strategy Variation and Syntactic-Semantic Variables



While this is an incomplete network, it shows that the relationships between independent variables are complex. It can be difficult to decide whether a variable such as subject affectedness has a weak effect on goal-marking strategy variation in its own right, or only has an indirect effect (by affecting other independent variables which then affect goal-marking strategy variation in their turn); mapping these relationships, as in the figure above, can help to capture these options.

Although the variable map given here is arranged around goal-marking strategy variation, this map and others like it can be valuable in the syntactic study of Biblical Hebrew in general; the network of relationships given here should still be accurate in other contexts. For example, whatever the specific linguistic research question of a study may be, clause mode will always be connected with subject affectedness.

2.3.5 Why Use Complex Statistical Modelling to Analyze Biblical Hebrew?

To date, almost all scholars of Biblical Hebrew have been content to use relatively simple statistical tools in their linguistic research, tools that require little to no training and little to no investment in specialized software. Our time and resources are precious; why should we expend

them on statistical training, reference books, or software packages? Is statistics really worth it for Hebraists?

I would argue that statistics is worth it for two primary reasons. First, statistical research can correct mistaken ideas about Biblical Hebrew that arose from anecdotal or simplex statistical analyses by scholars. While scholarly intuition has led to many advances, it can also lead to errors when not supported by evidence. Second, complex statistical analysis can allow us to settle long-standing linguistic debates. For example, are the linguistic variants in a certain corpus primarily linked to diachrony, orality, or dialect? The use of multinomial logistical regression would allow us to weigh all of these variables at once, rather than one at a time, and to identify which variables have a statistically significant correlation with the dependent variable.

In the present study, careful statistical analysis has allowed us to make several advances over earlier work on goal-marking. First, we see that multiple independent variables have a statistically significant effect on biblical scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies (see Table 2.4 above). What is the advance here? Even studies using basic correlation tables could suggest the importance of multiple independent variables. However, mlogit calculates the statistical significance of the independent variables—that is, given the dataset which it has been fed, it calculates how likely it is that independent variable *x* really correlates with the dependent variable if all other independent variables are held at their means (or, in the case of categorical variables, at their most frequent outcome). Although Austel, for instance, assessed half a dozen variables, he could not give a numerical measure of his certainty that each variable really impacted goal-marking.¹⁶²

Second, we observe that significance results fluctuate based on which variables are included in the statistical model. As I hypothesized in the introduction, a statistical model which incorporates multiple independent variables will have different results than one which has only

¹⁶² Of course, a t-test can also be used for this, which is a much simpler statistical tool (though not one I have seen used in many studies of BH). However, the t-test can only test one independent variable at a time.

one independent variable. For example, variables which were significant in a minimal model may not be significant in a larger model, or variables which were not significant in a small model may be significant in a larger model. These fluctuations illuminate the fact that the variables significantly correlated with goal-marking variation have various degrees of correlation both with goal-marking and with each other (see sections below). We can only see their connections with one another because multinomial logistical regression allows us to assess multiple variables at once. Only completing a correlation table would not show us these connections.

These fluctuations and connections can be illustrated with a few examples. First, minimal models may show a significant effect for a variable which is not found to be significant in a larger model. For example, in a minimal model including only goal-marking strategy and the descriptive variables (except for era), text type was found to have a significant effect at the 0.05 level. Yet in the main model this variable is not significant. In the smaller model, text type appeared significant because it was capturing some of the variation in verb principal part which was coded as a separate variable in the main model. Similarly, in a minimal model including only goal-marking strategy and verb *binyan*, several of the outcome categories for *binyan* are significant at the 0.05 level (the *pi'el* and *hip'il binyanim*). Yet these are not found to have a significant effect in the main model, when the number of participants in a clause was coded separately.

Second, variables may appear insignificant or less significant in minimal models while they are found to have a significant effect in larger models. This can occur when an independent variable only applies to a small portion of a dataset. In a model with few independent variables, the limited variable will look less significant since it cannot explain any of the dependent variable's variation in the part of the dataset in which it does not appear. For example, in a minimal model including only goal-marking strategy and object definiteness, none of the object definiteness outcome categories are significant; yet in an alternative model all of these outcomes are significant, three at the 0.01 and one at the 0.05 level. Again, in a minimal model including only goal-marking strategy and Pentateuchal source, the "Non-P" outcome category is not significant;

but in a larger model this outcome category is significant at the 0.01 level. These kinds of observations are relevant as we consider earlier studies that only analyze a convenience sample of evidence—a dozen examples pulled at random from the biblical text as the scholar encountered them, for example—or studies that explicitly state that they address a small dataset (such as the book of Esther). Linguistic factors that have a significant effect on variation may not appear important when they are only examined in small datasets.

I could continue, but the point is clear. A quantitative model which can handle multiple independent variables at once, such as a multinomial logistical regression model, is to be preferred over simple correlation tables.

Of course, *mlogit* is not a magic bullet. Overfitting (false positives on variable significance due to the idiosyncracies of the dataset) remains a problem in multinomial logistical regression. Overfitting increases 1) as sample size decreases; 2) as the number of independent variables/outcomes increases; and 3) when important variables are omitted from the analysis.¹⁶³ The main model, which uses 2734 observations as its sample size and contains 18 independent variables (105 degrees of freedom), but is only missing biblical book and object salience from among the significant variables, is at least 2.25% overfit—an acceptable level of overfitting.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ I used Bilger and Manning's overfit package for STATA to measure overfitting in selected models. The overfit post-estimation command estimates out-of-sample predictive bias, in-sample bias, and overfitting (see Bilger and Manning 2015 for full description). It produces values for these with their standard errors based on averages from 100 iterations. While the overfit command is meant for non-linear models, it is not optimized for *mlogit*; thus in addition to running it for my *mlogit* models I also recoded my dependent variable as binary (prepositional vs. non-prepositional goal-marking) in order to run these sets of variables through binary logits (logistical regressions), which are fully supported by Bilger and Manning's algorithm. Overfit data was not calculated for all models due to time constraints.

¹⁶⁴ For a multinomial logistical regression (*mlogit*) with all goal-marking strategies separate, overfit is 5.69% with a standard error of 1.63 and in-sample bias is 507.27%! For (binary) logistical regression (*logit*) with goal-marking strategies recoded as prepositional vs. non-prepositional, estimated overfit is 2.25% with a standard error of 0.27 and in-sample bias drops to -1.20%. The recode and change of model in the last option optimizes the dataset for Bilger and Manning's overfit test.

To minimize overfitting, we can create a model composed only of significant independent variables. For example, a model *mlogit gc2 gc_anim gc_complex gc_add gc_def gc_proper gc_end vb_parse vb_particip era* which includes only significant goal variables, number of participants, verb principal part, and era/style corpus. When we run this as an *mlogit* (N=3095, 63 degrees of freedom), estimated overfit is 2.81% with a standard error of 0.49 and an in-sample bias of 522.48. As a *logit* (N=2735, 19 degrees of freedom), with the dependent variable recoded to be binary (prepositional vs. non-prepositional goal-marking), estimated overfit is a mere 1.17% with a standard error of 0.17 and an in-sample bias of -1.13. The recode and change of model in the last option optimizes the dataset for Bilger and Manning's overfit test.

Alternative model 12a, on the other hand—which includes only the extra-grammatical variables era, text type, dialect, orality, and source—includes only 588 observations and 5 independent variables (5 degrees of freedom), and is missing all of the significant syntactic-semantic variables as well as biblical book. It is at least 17% overfit; without the significant syntactic-semantic variables present, much of the variation between goal-marking strategies either cannot be explained or must be attributed to variables like text type.¹⁶⁵

Complex statistical modelling can be valuable in biblical research. Statistics allows us to correct misconceptions about Biblical Hebrew linguistics and may even serve to end long-standing debates. Multinomial logistical regression, in particular, may allow us to make more objective assessments of which linguistic factors are causing variation in certain texts as well as to let us examine the connections between these variables. While not every Hebraist needs to be a statistician—just as not every biblical scholar must be a biblical archaeologist, a text critic, or a reception-historian—we must invest in statistical training and research in order to advance our field.

2.4 In Sum

In this chapter, I presented the methodology used in my study of goal-marking, from the selection of a source text (the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*) and my justification of its use; to the extraction of a dataset of over 3000 factive Goal Constructions from prose; to the coding of these GCs for over thirty independent variables; to the analysis of the dataset using multinomial logistical regression; to the presentation of the significance results for each variable. In addition, I showed

¹⁶⁵ For multinomial logistical regression (mlogit) with all goal-marking strategies separate, overfit is 21.29% with a standard error of 7.52 and in-sample bias is 686.17%! For mlogit with goal-marking strategies recoded as prepositional vs. non-prepositional, estimated overfit drops to 17.19% with a standard error of 3.81 and in-sample bias drops to 198.15%. For (binary) logistical regression (logit) with goal-marking strategies recoded as prepositional vs. non-prepositional, overfit is 17.17% with a standard error of 3.82 and in-sample bias drops to 1.87%. The recode and change of model in the last option optimizes the dataset for Bilger and Manning's overfit test.

Compare the recoded binary logit version of alternative model 2, the object variable model, which includes only 699 observations, has 36 degrees of freedom, and contains almost all of the significant variables. Estimated overfitting is 9.04% with a standard error of 1.12% of an in-sample bias of -0.67. This object model suffers 7% more from overfitting than the main model, due to its additional variables and much smaller sample size, but is about 8% less overfit than alternative model 12a, since critical independent variables like goal animacy are included.

that the results of the current study can be used to support the claim that complex statistical methods can be valuable enough in the field of BH linguistics to justify the needed expenditure of time and resources. Multinomial logistical regression allows us both to assess multiple independent variables simultaneously—to determine, for example, whether dialect is a significant determiner of goal-marking choice if the diachronic corpus of a text is already included in the model—and to explore the relationships of these variables to each other. Independent variables which are closely connected in this study may also be correlated throughout the world’s languages.

For the purposes of this study, the most important fruit of this chapter lies in the significance results for the independent variables, as shown in the figure below (same as Figure 2.3 above). Fourteen independent variables are certainly significantly correlated with scribes’ choices between goal-marking strategies, while an additional six may be, and eleven seem not to be.

Figure 2.5 Linguistic Variables and Their Relationship to Goal-Marking Strategy Variation

<p>Always Sig</p> <p>Goal animacy, Goal definiteness, Goal individua- tion, Goal complexity</p> <p>CORE VARIABLES</p>	<p>Sig in Large Dataset</p> <p>Goal adjuncts, Goal end, Era/style, Dialect, Book, Source, No. of participants, Verb principal part, Same-clause priming, Adjacent-clause priming</p>	<p>Effect Weak or Blocked by Overlapping Variable</p> <p>Object animacy & defi- niteness, Subject definiteness, Subject affectedness, Verb aspect, Clause mode</p>	<p>No Sig Effect</p> <p>Text type, Orality, Goal number, Verb-initial, Goal fronting, Verb stem, Verb voice, Negation</p> <p>Insufficient data:</p> <p>Object number Subject animacy Subject number</p>
---	---	---	---

Each of these variables is studied in more detail in the relevant section of Chapters 3-5. In Chapter 3, I examine extra-grammatical factors such as era/style corpus, dialect, biblical book,

Pentateuchal source, text type, and orality. I argue that the changes in the proportions of goal-marking strategies used in the diachronic corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late) are not consistent with a model which sees Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as contemporaneous styles used in the same or adjacent scribal communities, although the scribes of at least one era are consciously manipulating their use of directive *he* goal-marking.

In Chapter 4, I consider the variables related to the structure of the goal itself. I argue that the directive *he* and the accusative tend to be used with prototypical goals—that is, they mark single-point goals which contain inherent, specific geographic information—and that the directive *he* is used primarily with unmarked goals.

In Chapter 5, I broaden my focus to consider each GC as a complete clause. I show that the directive *he* and the accusative are used in clauses which conform to Motion Construction prototypes such as the Prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Three: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS, TIME, AND THE MAKERS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE

Chapter Outline

3.1 The Problem of Time

3.1.1 Era, Style, or Style and Era?

3.1.2 Era/Style and Changes in Goal-Marking Part 1

3.1.3 Excursus: Goal-Marking in Hebrew Epigraphic Texts

3.1.3.1 Goals Marked with Directive He

3.1.3.2 Goals Marked with the Accusative of Direction

3.1.3.3 Goals Marked with Directional Prepositions

3.1.3.4 What Do We Learn from the Epigraphic Texts?

3.2 The Question of Origin

3.2.1 Pentateuchal Sources Part 1

3.2.2 Biblical Books Part 1

3.3 Choosing How to Say It

3.3.1 Text Type and Genre: A Messy Business

3.3.1.1 Text Type and Speech in Previous Scholarship

3.3.1.2 A Note on Genre

3.3.1.3 Coding Text Type

3.3.1.4 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 1

3.3.2 More-Oral versus Less-Oral Styles Part 1

3.4 Where Did They Come From? Dialect Part 1

3.5 In Sum

There are many non-grammatical variables which can have a powerful influence on the way we speak and write. Our linguistic choices reflect numerous social factors—our regional dialects, our expectations about our audiences, our ages, our genders, our level and type of education, and more. They also reflect the times in which we live and our idiosyncratic linguistic preferences. The makers of the Hebrew Bible—authors, compilers, copyists, redactors, rewriters, and all—were influenced by similar networks of social, historical, and personal variables. Unfortunately, many of the variables which impacted the ancient writers are inaccessible to us now. What was the level and type of the education of the person who composed Judges 5? Were any parts of the Hebrew Bible written by female authors? In the absence of data, no amount of scholarly

endeavor can answer such questions, leaving us unable to account for the linguistic variation caused by these lost variables.¹⁶⁶

However, some non-grammatical variables are still accessible to us—or, at least, have been hypothesized to be accessible. The time when a scribe trained and worked, their region of origin, the scribal community's norms about the use of language in different text types, norms for different styles or levels of orality, and the scribes' own personal preferences all could impact their use of language. Some of these influences are unconscious, affecting the scribe without their knowledge; other influences are unconscious for some scribes but at least partially conscious for others. For example, while Biblical Hebrew scribes may not have been fully aware of how the linguistic norms of the region in which they were raised and/or trained impacted their own language, some scribes were aware enough of norms from other dialect regions to try to parody them, and were probably aware of some of the ways that their own regional language use contrasted with that of other dialect regions (see 3.4). Still other influences, such as the norms for different styles or levels of orality, are more likely to be conscious, although scribes may have mobilized these based more on internalized feelings of appropriateness rather than through conscious analysis.

As we pursue a fuller understanding of the Hebrew Bible, we also pursue a deeper understanding of the people who wrote and rewrote it. We want to know why they wrote each section *this way* instead of *that way*. Which of these choices were unconscious, the results of factors like the scribe's home dialect or the syntactic context in which the choice occurred? Which of these choices had conscious social meaning, as the scribe tried to signal something about his ideology or his world? And which choices had an implicit social meaning, as the scribe reflected

¹⁶⁶ Regarding the question of gendered language in the Hebrew Bible see e.g. Bar-Asher 2008, Løland 2008, Muchnik 2015. In each case these studies are concerned with probably-male scribes gendering their language to convey something about their subjects, so while Bar-Asher *et al.* may be able to identify some BH linguistic gender stereotypes, these stereotypes may not fully correspond with ancient reality.

some social change in his community in his language use without even being aware of it? We want to be able to identify and assess those implicit and explicit reflections of society.

While Chapters 4-5 wrestle with the probably unconscious syntactic-semantic and phonological factors that constrain scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies, the current chapter confronts the extra-grammatical factors, some of which are consciously manipulated by scribes. In section 3.1, I show that scribes made different goal-marking choices in the three main diachronic corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late Biblical Hebrew), in part (though not entirely) based on conscious decisions. The Iron Age Hebrew epigraphic texts also shed light on goal-marking over time. In section 3.2, I demonstrate that scribes mark goals differently in both various Pentateuchal sources and various biblical books; this variation is not wholly a function of distance between their dates of composition but may be partially driven by scribes' individual preferences. Scribes may have access to different sets of synchronic written norms in different text types or in more-oral versus less-oral texts (3.3).¹⁶⁷ Scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies may also be impacted by dialect norms (3.4), although the data is incomplete.

3.1 The Problem of Time

All language is always changing. This is a truism in the field of historical linguistics. In both spoken and written language, morphemes, syntagms, and meanings are constantly being created or forgotten; the balances between variants change; new pronunciations and orthographies are born. American English today is not exactly the same as it was a year ago—in part because the communities that speak and write it are not the same.

Written forms of language tend to change more slowly than spoken forms of language do—as there is often a push to maintain the norms of writing systems (or at least of a community's standard writing system), sometimes by defining a specific grammar or lexicon to be used for

¹⁶⁷ Text type and orality are not significant for a study of the goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, accusative of direction, directional prepositions as a class) but are significant for a study that differentiates between the goal-marking prepositions. See 6.3.2 and 6.3.6.

education, sometimes through other methods—and may not reflect all changes in speech—as for example when spellings do not change to reflect changes in pronunciation (e.g. *knight*, *mortgage*).¹⁶⁸ However, morphological, lexical, semantic, and syntactic changes in the spoken language will tend to filter into even a standardized written language over time, with orthographic changes (reflecting changes in pronunciation) also being adopted in some cases.¹⁶⁹ Written language is also impacted by changes in written norms, which can be quite rapid (as, for example, the switch from using the Arabic script to using a modified Roman script to write Turkish in the early twentieth century; or the creation of a new set of written norms for a particular type of writing, such as instant messages).¹⁷⁰

Since this is the case, we can posit the following without, I think, the disagreement of any Hebrew philologists: *if the Hebrew Bible contains texts written over any significant time depth—let's say more than a century apart, for an extremely low estimate—some historical-linguistic changes will be attested*. Although scholars may disagree on how much more than a century apart the oldest and newest texts in the Hebrew Bible may be, both the Hurvitz School and its challengers (regarding which see below) would agree that the HB includes texts at least this distant in time. Thus we can conclude that *some historical-linguistic changes are attested in the Hebrew Bible*.¹⁷¹

Our problems arise as we strive to move forward. There is intense disagreement in the Hebrew linguistic community about the relationship between language and history in the Hebrew Bible, in large part because we have different answers to the following methodological questions.

a) How can we identify written linguistic variation that occurs primarily due to change over time rather than due to some other factor? (Is this even a valid question?)

¹⁶⁸ Hasselbach-Andee 2020: 459.

¹⁶⁹ Campbell 2013: 396, 398-400.

¹⁷⁰ See for example Squires 2012. Even academic English has changed quite a bit over the past century (Biber and Gray 2016).

¹⁷¹ cf. Zevit 2005; Miller-Naudé 2012; Drescher 2012; Naudé 2012; Kim 2013; Rezetko and Young 2014: 13-58, 211-244; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 1-30.

b) Can we identify any texts (or corpora of texts) that seem to have been written at different times?

c) Can we put these texts or corpora into a relative sequence based on linguistic evidence?

d) Can we anchor this relative sequence to absolute dates?

e) Given the complex compositional history of the Hebrew Bible, is treating *any* unit of text as discrete and datable a valid endeavor? If yes, to what extent?

We argue about these questions not because we think that dating the biblical texts is undesirable, but because we disagree about the extent to which it is possible given the data that we have. The Biblical text itself has a complex compositional history that makes an historical linguistic analysis very difficult (see 2.1.2). The discovery of a new cache of Hebrew texts dating to the fourth to sixth century B.C. could entirely change the discussion, but for now our data on the development of first millennium B.C. written Hebrew is limited to a few handfuls of inscriptions from the monarchic period, texts from Qumran and elsewhere dating to the second century B.C. through first century A.D., the Samaritan Pentateuch, and copies of the Hebrew Bible from the first millennium A.D.¹⁷² Thus, when attempting to assign dates to the texts of the Hebrew Bible we are working with a linguistically compromised and restricted dataset.

3.1.1 Era, Style, or Style and Era?

Since the nineteenth century, many Hebraists have recognized distinct corpora within the Hebrew Bible; these corpora have been linked to different periods of time. Wilhelm Gesenius had this to say in the introduction to his famous grammar:

5. ... Even in the language of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its general uniformity, there is noticeable a certain progress from an earlier to a later stage. Two periods, though with some reservations, may be distinguished: the *first*, down to the end of the Babylonian exile; and the *second*, after the exile.

¹⁷² Aramaic documents written by Jewish communities in the first millennium B.C. also give us some valuable information; for example, they show us the date formulae used in Aramaic economic texts, which have equivalents in some later Biblical Hebrew texts.

To the former belongs, apart from isolated traces of a later revision, the larger half of the Old Testament books, viz. (a) of the prose and historical writings, a large part of the Pentateuch and of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings; (b) of the poetical, perhaps a part of the Psalms and Proverbs; (c) the writings of the earlier prophets (apart from various later additions) in the following chronological order: Amos, Hosea, Isaiah I, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Habakkuk, Obadiah (?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah II (ch. 40–55). The beginning of this period, and consequently of Hebrew literature generally, is undoubtedly to be placed as early as the time of Moses, although the Pentateuch in its present form, in which very different strata may be still clearly recognized, is to be regarded as a gradual production of the centuries after Moses. ...

6. Even in the writings of this *first* period, which embraces about 600 years, we meet, as might be expected, with considerable differences in linguistic form and style, which are due partly to differences in the time and place of composition, and partly to the individuality and talent of the authors. ...

7. The *second* period of the Hebrew language and literature, after the return from the exile until the Maccabees (about 160 B.C.), is chiefly distinguished by a constantly closer approximation of the language to the kindred western Aramaic dialect. ... But all the peculiarities of these later writers are not Aramaisms. Several do not occur in Aramaic and must have belonged at an earlier period to the Hebrew vernacular, especially it would seem in northern Palestine.¹⁷³

This model of Biblical Hebrew—with one major corpus written before the exile (down to 586 B.C. or so) and one major corpus written after the exile and seriously impacted by contact with Aramaic—has survived to the present day, although with some revisions.

Scholars today recognize at least two corpora in the Hebrew Bible: Classical Biblical Hebrew (also known as Standard BH or Early BH), and Late Biblical Hebrew. These corpora can be distinguished by their contrasting vocabulary, orthography, morphology, and syntax.¹⁷⁴ A Transitional Biblical Hebrew corpus, whose works date mainly from the period of the Judean exile, has also been posited. Some unusual poetic texts have been assigned to a fourth corpus, labelled

¹⁷³ GKC §2. Gesenius' first edition dates back to 1815.

¹⁷⁴ On the method for distinguishing CBH texts from LBH texts, see Polzin 1976, Rezetko 2003, Hurvitz 2012, Hornkohl 2013, Hurvitz 2013, Blum 2016. Main ingredients of the method include the identification of linguistic variants which have usually contrasting outcomes in CBH vs. LBH; attention not to individual words or features but to an accumulation of CBH or LBH features; and corroboration from extrabiblical Hebrew sources. On investigations of lexical borrowing as a method for periodizing texts, see Holmstedt 2012: 105-109.

There has been some discussion of whether these corpora are really linguistically distinct or whether they are semi-arbitrary chunks in a diachronic continuum, labelled as separate for the sake of scholars' convenience (cf. Holmstedt 2012). For an approach to the diachrony of biblical texts that is less attached to the era/style corpora, see the promising work by Fredrickson 2019 (although Fredrickson still considered the era/style corpus assignments when defining the date intervals for each block of text). In my own opinion, there is no doubt that CBH and LBH are linguistically distinct and that the scribes producing them were aiming for distinct orthographic norms.

as Archaic Biblical Hebrew.¹⁷⁵ But what, exactly, are the natures of these corpora? Or, to consider this question from a different perspective, what are the natures of the contrasting Hebrew varieties used in these corpora?

As I noted above, all language is always changing. However, not every change made by an individual changes the language at large. A certain person may start using the interjection “Massive!” instead of “Cool!” every time something happens that they think is interesting or exciting, but if no one else picks this up such a change will have very little impact. To have an impact, a change must be accepted and used by a linguistic community.

A **linguistic community** is a group of people (of whatever size) who have accepted a common set of linguistic norms for the language(s) and variety(ies) which they share. The boundaries of the linguistic community coincide with the boundaries of some sort of social group, whether that group is a regional, ethnic, religious, racial, gender, age, educational, class, occupational, or recreational community or some combination thereof. Of course, a given community may be nested within a larger community, and a given individual may be a part of multiple socio-linguistic communities and thus have access to many different sets of linguistic norms. For example, those who grow up as part of the Western Pennsylvania regional linguistic community (which falls under the umbrella of the larger American English linguistic community) may have access to both Western Pennsylvanian and more standard American English norms.

The **linguistic norms** accepted by a given community define the variants which are accepted in that community (or, from a broader perspective, they define the system of linguistic

¹⁷⁵ The Archaic Biblical Hebrew (ABH) corpus is maximally composed of the poems in Exodus 15: 1-18; Numbers 23: 7-10, 18-24; Numbers 24: 3-9; 15-19; 20-24; Psalm 29: 1-11; Genesis 49: 2-27; Deuteronomy 33:2-29; Judges 5:1-31; Psalm 68:1-35; and Habakkuk 3:1-19. Habakkuk 3 is usually understood as archaizing (the scribe purposefully incorporates older poetic/linguistic features, but is actually writing at a later time), while the other poems are variously understood as genuinely archaic (from before 900 BC) or as also archaizing though still pre-exilic (from times comparable to the current form of the surrounding prose text). The characteristics of ABH include archaic suffixes, keeping the genitive case on construct nouns, *yiqtol* preterite (not *wayyiqtol*), reduplicative plurals, and so on. However, no text has all of these features. Based purely on the linguistic data, it is not possible to say with certainty whether these texts are older than other poems in the Hebrew Bible or whether they simply represent a minority norm. The dataset is simply too small. See Robertson 1972, Young 2005, Vern 2011, Bloch 2012, Notarius 2012, Pat-El and Wilson-Wright 2013, Mandell 2013, Hornkohl 2013, Smith 2014: 209-233.

varieties which are used in the community).¹⁷⁶ Variants may include particular words or phrases (e.g. in Western Pennsylvania, to *red up* a room is to clean it), morphemes (e.g. *yinz* as a second person plural pronoun), ways of forming syntactic constructions (e.g. the *to be* deletion in sentences such as *This room needs redde*d* up*), and meanings for words (e.g. *mad* usually meaning *angry* rather than *insane*); as well as speech phenomena like pronunciation, patterns of intonation, and a common repertoire of speech styles, and—if the community writes—written phenomena like systems of writing symbols, spellings, and a common repertoire of written styles. Members of the community learn the norms for a particular language variety (through formal education or informal learning) as a set, and, if fluent in the variety, are able to assess whether they or another person are a good or bad speaker or writer of that version of the language variety.¹⁷⁷ If an individual is fluent in the norms from multiple contrasting communities—such as, for example, an American English-using community and a British English-using community—the individual will aim at either the American English set of norms or the British English set of norms in their own language production.¹⁷⁸ For instance, American and British English have norms for spelling which sometimes contrast; so in American English we have *honor* and *realize* and *airplane*, but in British English we have *honour* and *realise* and *aeroplane*. In English academic writing in general, conforming to either norm is usually acceptable but mixing them is not; thus we may write “He realized that he needed to catch the airplane” or “He realised that he needed to catch the aeroplane” but not “He realized that he needed to catch the aeroplane.”

What is the relevance of all this to our current topic? I argue that the contrasting linguistic features of the Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew corpora are not an accidental collection of unconnected choices by individuals, but instead represent distinct sets of linguistic norms which

¹⁷⁶ Wardhaugh 2010: 123.

¹⁷⁷ It is difficult to explain the process by which community linguistic norms are acquired by an individual (Wardhaugh 2010: 6).

¹⁷⁸ Of course, in a multilingual or multivarietal community, as for example in a community of American expatriates living in London, the situation may appear to differ, as the community may create their own norms based on a particular mixture of American and British norms. cf. Sankoff 2002.

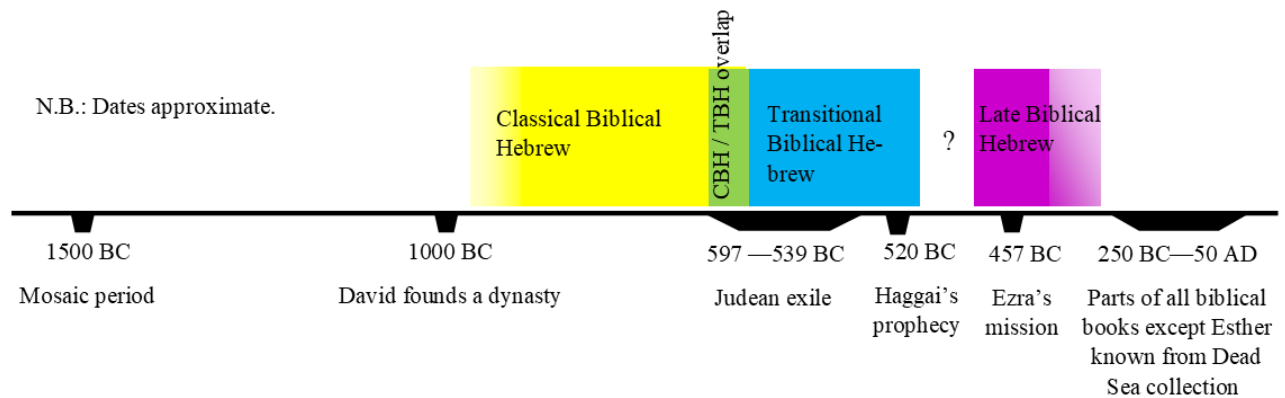
were acquired by the members of specific communities via scribal training. These communities had sometimes diverging written practice in terms of spelling, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and semantics, as well as differences in their repertoires of available styles (for example, at least some CBH scribes had access to both more- and less-oral written styles, while LBH scribes only seem to have included less-oral styles in their repertoire).

What was the difference between the CBH-using and LBH-using scribal communities? Did they live in different times or places? Did they have different educations? Were they ideologically distinct? Could a specific scribe be a member of both CBH-using and LBH-using communities, or was that impossible? Did the members of CBH-using and LBH-using communities have awareness of or attitudes toward each other? These are all fascinating questions, many of which we can only begin to answer by a thorough study of their use of language in the Hebrew Bible.

As I mentioned above, the most common explanation of the differences between BH corpora is diachronic. In this model, the CBH-using and LBH-using scribal communities lived in different times. The CBH-using community, which came first, would have had no knowledge of the LBH-using community, but the LBH-using community would have been very aware of the CBH-using community. Figure 3.1 shows a plausible model of the diachrony of the BH prose corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late). The dates given in the figure are approximate; the timeline is not to scale due to reasons of space.¹⁷⁹ We do not know what written Hebrew variety was preferred during the early fifth century BC (see discussion below).

¹⁷⁹ Please note that the fact that Classical Biblical Hebrew postdates the beginning of the Judean monarchy does not necessarily imply that the biblical texts which belong to the CBH corpus could not have been first composed before the beginning of the Judean monarchy. It is plausible to hypothesize that pre-monarchic authoritative texts could have been updated during the Judean monarchy to make them more comprehensible. In my own opinion, some of the linguistic differences between Torah texts (i.e. the Pentateuchal sources) are best explained as the result of different dates of updating rather than as different dates of first composition. But these issues cannot be discussed in any detail here.

Figure 3.1 Time and the Biblical Hebrew Diachronic Corpora¹⁸⁰



While the classification of some texts is still in question, and later redactional layers on older texts are still being identified, for the most part scholars agree on which texts belong to which corpus.¹⁸¹ Hornkohl summarizes the assignment of texts to corpora as follows:

Classical Biblical Hebrew is the language of biblical and extra-biblical material from the First Temple Period (10th century [?]-6th century B.C.E.): the **Pentateuch** (including the Priestly portions thereof: on the date of P see Hurvitz 1982; 1988; 2000c; Rendsburg 1980; cf. Levine 1983; Blenkinsopp 1996:508–518; on J: Wright 2005); the **Deuteronomistic History** (i.e., Joshua–Kings); with some hesitation, due to the difficulty of dating poetry, **First Isaiah** (Isa. 1–39), **Hosea**, **Amos**, **Obadiah**, **Micah**, **Nahum**, **Habakkuk**, **Zephaniah**, various **Psalms**; and the relevant epigraphic material (Hurvitz 1999; cf. Young 2003b).¹⁸² ...

Transitional Biblical Hebrew characterizes compositions that date to a period extending from the close of the First Temple Period, through the Exile, until the period of the Restoration, such as the latter part of the book of **Kings**; **Jeremiah** (Smith 2003); **Second Isaiah** (Isa. 40–66; Cheyne 1895:255–270; Driver 1898:240; cf. Rooker 1996); **Ezekiel** (Hurvitz 1982; Rooker 1990); **Haggai** (Shin

¹⁸⁰ For a summary of the dates that have been assigned to the Qumran and other Dead Sea copies of biblical texts, see THB IA: 136.

¹⁸¹ As was discussed in 2.1.2, redactional activity may obscure the earlier linguistic character of a work by deleting early linguistic features or adding later linguistic features. For example, we may find an isolated Persian loanword (an LBH feature) in an otherwise CBH text, or may find an original *qal* passive (often a CBH feature) changed into a *nip'al*. Some scholars argue that redaction of the Hebrew Bible has been so dramatic that the original linguistic character of the text has been almost completely obscured, making it necessary for the scholar to use extreme caution when assigning texts to era/style corpora (Young 2005: 349-351; Rezetko 2009; Rezetko and Young 2014, especially pp. 59-116; cf. Mizrahi 2017: 27-28, 46-47). However, other scholars, especially those who take a statistical approach to linguistic periodization—looking for an accumulation of CBH or LBH features—find that sufficient evidence survives for statistical significance even with a certain amount of ‘noise’ from redactional activity included in the dataset (cf. Hornkohl 2017; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 47-59). Of course, it is highly desirable that we take steps to reduce this ‘noise’ (Forbes 2017)! See 2.1.2.4.

¹⁸² I would hesitate to include the epigraphic material here. While I would agree that the epigraphic material and the biblical CBH material come from similar times and have similar linguistic features, I do not think that the ancient scribes themselves would have understood the administrative letters and religious texts of the time to belong to the same style. See 3.1.3 below (cf. Ehrensverd 2003: 188; Young 2003a; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 60-72).

2007); **Zechariah** (Hill 1982; Shin 2007); **Malachi** (Hill 1981; Shin 2007); and Lamentations (Dobbs-Allsopp 1998).

Late Biblical Hebrew is best represented by texts whose content dates them unequivocally to the Persian Period or beyond. Clear-cut cases are **Esther** (Driver 1898:484–485; Bergey 1983), **Daniel** (Driver 1898:504–508), **Ezra–Nehemiah** (Driver 1898:553), and **Chronicles** (parallels with Samuel–Kings are particularly illustrative; Driver 1898:535–540; Kropat 1909; Polzin 1976; cf. Rezetko 2003; 2007). Other texts exhibiting an accumulation of characteristically late features include **Pss.** 103, 117, 119, 124, 125, 133, 144, and 145 (Hurvitz 1972); the narrative framework of **Job** (Job 1–2, 42:7–17) (Hurvitz 1974; cf. Young 2009); and **Qohelet** (Delitzsch 1877:190–199 and *passim*; Driver 1898:474–475; Hurvitz 1990; 2007; Schoors 1992–2004; Seow 1996; cf. Fredericks 1988).¹⁸³

Of these three corpora, **Late Biblical Hebrew** (LBH) is most divergent and has been most clearly defined in scholarship.¹⁸⁴ It has a clear *terminus post quem*, coming after the Judean exile by its own account. Late Biblical Hebrew is distinct in its orthography—*plene* spellings are much more common; in its vocabulary—Aramaic loanwords are more common, previously marginal Hebrew vocabulary becomes normal, and Persian loanwords appear; in morphology—use of *l-* as an object marker, increased use of object suffixes on verbs, shifts in the *binyanim* licensed for verbs like *hlk*; and in its syntax—infinitive absolute is more often used as a substitute for a finite verb form, the *be* verb *hyh* plus a participle is more often used; furthermore, LBH clauses are written in an intricate literary style with complex nominal constituents and more-frequent subordinate clauses.¹⁸⁵ While some of these LBH distinctives arise from (largely unconscious) changes over time, others seem to be conscious stylistic choices made as the postexilic Jewish community recreated its identity.¹⁸⁶ Unfortunately, we lack contemporaneous extra-biblical

¹⁸³ Hornkohl 2013, bold and underline mine.

¹⁸⁴ For useful cautions on the uncritical use of Chronicles as an LBH exemplar, see Rezetko 2003.

¹⁸⁵ For a list of proposed LBH features, see Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008 II:160-214. On vocabulary, see Hurvitz 2014; Rezetko and Young 2014: 245-328. On orthography, see Freedman, Andersen, and Forbes 1992; Forbes and Andersen 2012. On loanwords, see especially Eskhult 2003, Hurvitz 2003. See also Polzin 1976; Polak 1998; Polak 2002; Paul 2012; Hornkohl 2013; Hurvitz 2013; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 16-30. On spelling as a social marker, see Sebba 2009.

¹⁸⁶ Talshir 2003; Kim 2013; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 92-93; cf. Wardhaugh 2010: 216 on unconscious, systematic *changes from below* versus conscious, sporadic *changes from above*.

Hebrew parallels which would allow us to distinguish between these choices based on synchronic evidence.

Classical Biblical Hebrew (CBH), the largest corpus, reflects the scribal norms of the pre-exilic kingdom of Judah.¹⁸⁷ Scholars of the Hurvitz School would say that it mostly dates to the pre-exilic period and ends before scribes began to write in LBH.¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, in discussions of text periodization CBH texts are often described in the negative—that is, a CBH text is one that lacks the accumulation of late features characteristic of LBH.¹⁸⁹ Yet CBH is the standard by which the Hebrew scribes of other corpora defined their writing, whether they were mimicking it or rejecting it.¹⁹⁰ To them, CBH was a distinctive linguistic code with powerful ideological connotations—the scribal code of an independent Judah that enjoyed the care of its covenant God. Linguistic characteristics of CBH include more frequent use of *qal* passives, less frequent participles and more frequent habitual *yiqtol*s, and many more. The Classical Biblical Hebrew corpus includes a mixture of more-oral-like texts with little subordination and simple nominal constituents, and less-oral-like texts with frequent subordination and complex nominal

¹⁸⁷ Scholars would tend to agree on this whether they belong to the Hurvitz school or the Rezetko-Young group. The difference would be that the Hurvitz school argues that these texts have pre-exilic origins and that these origins can be proven on the basis of the linguistic evidence; while the Rezetko-Young group argues that, although the scribes of these books are aiming toward a pre-exilic norm, these texts may have later origins and a pre-exilic date for them cannot be proven on the basis of the available linguistic evidence.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the methods by which the CBH scribal norms arose. We do not know whether the basic set of characteristics first became normative in Samaria, Jerusalem, or Transjordan; nor do we know who directed any process of standardization which may have occurred. (CBH seems to have been relatively stable throughout the corpus, which could be strong evidence for standardization. However, the many-layered redaction of the biblical text makes it difficult to **prove** whether CBH's stability is due to close adherence to a norm in the 'original' texts or due to these texts being linguistically harmonized toward that norm later in the pre-exilic period, although original adherence to a norm is a more efficient explanation. The ability and desire to stick to a standard is in itself a meaningful social indicator [Sebba 2009: 38])

¹⁸⁸ The emergence of standardized CBH may date to the 800's BC. In southern Canaan, scribes shifted from writing primarily in cuneiform to primarily in alphabetic script during the Iron I period; this alphabetic script shows some evidence of standardization across Canaan by the mid 800's B.C, although some aspects were still in question (Byrne 2007; Schniedewind 2013: 60-69; Rollston 2018: 462). Hebrew became a distinctive script later in the 800's BC; it would be reasonable to suggest that CBH was also standardized during that time, although explicit evidence for this is lacking (cf. Schniedewind 2013: 78-79, 82-83). Jerusalem seems to have been more prosperous in the late 800's and into the 700's BC, and scribalism also appears to have become more widespread throughout Judah at that time as Jerusalem's administrative presence became increasingly pronounced (Jamieson-Drake 1991: 137-138, 147-148). Israel reached prominence at a somewhat earlier date, with King Ahab appearing as one of Hadadezer of Damascus' military allies at the Battle of Qarqar (853 BC); Ahab brought twice as many chariots to the war as anyone else—at least according to the Kurkh Monolith of the Neo-Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, who admittedly may have had reasons for over-reporting the forces he faced at Qarqar.

¹⁸⁹ e.g. Hornkohl 2013.

¹⁹⁰ It is also the one described in modern grammars.

constituents.¹⁹¹ Since this corpus has a considerable time-depth in itself, there may be linguistic changes between early CBH and late CBH texts.¹⁹² This might be especially true for any early texts which might pre-date CBH's standardization and elaboration, which probably took place by the 800's BC. However, very little work has been done on stratification within Classical Biblical Hebrew.

Many of the distinctive linguistic characteristics of Classical Biblical Hebrew are paralleled in the pre-exilic Hebrew epigraphic corpus. We have dozens of Hebrew texts from ostraca, rock inscriptions, amulets, seals and sealings, and more. While most of these are short and give little linguistic data—seals, for example, often give only the name of the owner—others, such as the letters from Lachish and Arad, yield useful information. Scholars who situate CBH texts in the pre-exilic period often appeal to the epigraphic parallels as evidence for these texts' early date, while scholars who dispute an early date for CBH highlight the inscriptions' linguistic differences. Unfortunately, both of these uses of the epigraphic material—whether to prove or to falsify the early date of CBH—are methodologically flawed. First, the epigraphic corpus is small, and the portion of the corpus which yields useful linguistic data is even smaller; there is not enough data here for real statistical analysis, nor is the data sufficient to bear the burden of proof. While it is important for an early-dating argument that the written Hebrew of the inscriptions be consistent with the Hebrew of the CBH texts, this evidence cannot be the only or even the primary support for such an argument.¹⁹³ Second, scholars' use of disparities between epigraphic and biblical Hebrew to falsify the early-dating argument is also flawed. The biblical and epigraphic corpora have very different repertoires of text types.¹⁹⁴ The epigraphic prose comes mostly from mundane letters written by various officials to particular known individuals, while the CBH prose corpus consists primarily of prestige narratives and cultic/civil regulations constructed for a broad

¹⁹¹ Polak 1998; Polak 2002.

¹⁹² cf. Naudé 2003; Holmstedt 2012: 103-104.

¹⁹³ cf. Ehrensverd 2003: 188; Young 2003a.

¹⁹⁴ They are also written in different scripts and have different vocabularies (Hendel and Joosten 2018: 61-64).

audience. It is not surprising that these text types would be very different in their language. For example, consider the verbal systems attested in biblical narratives and epigraphic letters. The biblical narratives give accounts of consecutive past events, so subjects are usually third person and clauses describe events that really happened, are completed, and are in a particular sequence. *Wayyiqtol* preterites thus make up the largest proportion of the verbs. On the other hand, the epigraphic letters contain numerous questions, orders, and suggestions, so most of the clauses describe events that haven't happened and are not in any particular sequence. Therefore, imperatives and other modal verbs are the most common verb types. (For a discussion of the handful of examples of goal-marking in the epigraphic corpus, see 3.1.3 below.) In the end, I would argue that the language of the epigraphic and CBH corpora could be (and probably is) contemporaneous, but that their differing text-typical repertoires and the small size of the epigraphic corpus should make us cautious in depending on the epigraphic data to prove linguistic arguments.

So, on the one hand, we have the Late Biblical Hebrew corpus, which is well-defined both temporally and linguistically; and on the other hand, we have the CBH corpus, which is somewhat defined temporally and linguistically. But what do we do with texts that do not match either of these norms? The **Transitional Biblical Hebrew** (TBH) text-set was originally posited because certain books—Jeremiah, Ezekiel, etc.—display a mixture of characteristically CBH and LBH features, or relative proportions of linguistic variants which fall between the CBH and LBH probabilities for these variants. TBH texts may include Neo-Babylonian loanwords but lack Persian loanwords; often but not always use the long form of the third masculine plural possessive suffix; treat *pi'el* second-weak verbs like strong verbs; use *?ēt* for *with*; use *?el* for *'al* and vice

versa; and so on.¹⁹⁵ In some cases, new features appear sporadically in TBH which later become popular in LBH, while other innovations are only attested in parts of the TBH corpus.¹⁹⁶

How did the scribes themselves regard TBH? According to the Hurvitz School, the TBH corpus is temporally situated between the CBH and LBH corpora, during a period when Hebrew scribes were transitioning from the old norm to the new. (At least some of these books have been securely dated to the sixth century; Ezekiel, for example, has a high frequency of Neo-Babylonian loanwords and Jeremiah uses Egyptian-style [pre-exilic] date formulae.) As such, TBH does not constitute an independent norm with established scribal conventions. Was this Hebrew a 'failed' attempt at the CBH norm, with 'late' features intruding due to discontinuity in scribal communities during this period of upheaval, as the language in the books of Haggai and Zechariah suggest?¹⁹⁷ Or were TBH texts the products of a time of experimentation, when an ideological break from the old norm caused the Hebrew scribes to start seeking a new one, which they eventually found in LBH? The answer seems to be *yes* to both questions. TBH reflects diverse responses to the loss of the old monarchic infrastructure and scribal training; it does *not* represent an integrated corpus with a defined scribal norm.¹⁹⁸

In the diachronic model, the Classical, Transitional, and Late Biblical Hebrew corpora are not just distinct in time. The scribes using these varieties are also operating in vastly different sociohistorical circumstances: the CBH-writing scribes living for the most part in the capital city of the Hebrew-speaking kingdom of Judah and employed by the court or the temple, enjoying access to economic resources and Hebrew archives;¹⁹⁹ the TBH-writing scribes living scattered across

¹⁹⁵ Rooker 1990; Hornkohl 2013; Hornkohl 2014; Hornkohl 2016; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 73-84.

¹⁹⁶ Note for example the irregularities in the placement of directive *he* on compound nouns in Ezekiel 48 (see note 22), although it is difficult to tell whether this is due to innovation or confusion.

¹⁹⁷ On the language of these books as an unsuccessful attempt at CBH, see Joosten 1999; Joosten 2012; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 85-97. Ehrensverd has argued the contrary; for example, he sees Zechariah 1-8 as a successful scribal attempt at CBH because it has many CBH features (2003, 2006). Looking at this evidence from a sociolinguistic perspective, I would see the CBH features in Zechariah as a sign of the symbolic importance which the CBH variety had in the post-exilic community in Jerusalem.

¹⁹⁸ cf. Naudé 2003: 202-205; Young 2003b: 314-315; Holmstedt 2012: 103-104; Schniedewind 2013: 135-137.

¹⁹⁹ cf. Schniedewind 2013: 118.

the ancient Near East in contact with many different linguistic communities, with little access to older Hebrew texts;²⁰⁰ and the LBH-writing scribes living as part of a poor post-exilic community that was trying to recreate its identity in the wake of the trauma of the exile and the destruction of the First Temple.²⁰¹ As a result, the scribes of each community had different ideological priorities.²⁰²

Due to the changing sociohistorical circumstances, the scribal communities that wrote in CBH, TBH, and LBH also had different educations, which would have impacted both how they wrote and what they chose to write.²⁰³ Given that CBH is assigned to the pre-exilic period in the prevailing model, inscriptional Hebrew evidence from the pre-exilic period and evidence from neighboring cultures may shed light on the scribal training undergone by CBH-users.²⁰⁴

Scribal training during this period included learning to write the alphabet in a synchronically-consistent Hebrew script, using normative spelling, learning the national norms for hieratic numerals, becoming familiar with the formulae needed to construct certain genres of texts (such as letters or economic documents), and knowing how to lay out texts in certain genres (orientation on the scroll, dividing lines, other scribal marks).²⁰⁵ Proverbs, word lists, and ideologically-important texts may also have been copied by scribal students, as in the Egyptian and Mesopotamian scribal traditions.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁰ cf. Schniedewind 2013: 126-128, 130-131, 136. Note that some of the Judean scribes working during the exile would, of course, have been trained in Judah during the monarchic period. Relatively few scribes would have stayed in Judah during the exilic period, even though many other Judeans were allowed to remain; the scribes tended to be part of the elite, and the Mesopotamian empires concentrated on the elites when displacing potentially troublesome vassal populations (cf. Carr 2011: Chapter 8).

²⁰¹ Polak 2006b; Schniedewind 2013.

²⁰² On the impact of sociohistorical circumstances on language and linguistic ideologies, see Irvine and Gal 2000: 72, 77.

²⁰³ cf. Schniedewind 2019: 3.

²⁰⁴ This evidence has been helpfully collected in Schniedewind 2019.

²⁰⁵ van der Toorn 2007: 98-100; Rollston 2010: 93-96, 103, 107, 110-111; Schniedewind 2013: 119; Schniedewind 2014; Rollston 2015; Tov 2019: 429-447; Schniedewind 2019: 55-59, 104-109.

²⁰⁶ Schniedewind 2019: 121-122; cf. Rollston 2010: 116-117; Schniedewind 2014; Schniedewind 2019: 30-35, 77-94, 142-147, 158-164; van der Toorn 2007: 100-103.

While the general contents of a scribal education are known, the setting and format in which that education took place are still mysterious.²⁰⁷ A specialized school building was probably not needed; instead, scribal education could happen in domestic spaces or other repurposed areas, where a teacher instructed one or more students.²⁰⁸ As van der Toorn says, “The essence of scribal training does not reside in buildings that can be identified as schools, but in a teacher-student relationship in which the transmission of scribal skills is based on a curriculum.”²⁰⁹ Rollston argues that this curriculum was standardized and state-sponsored: “those capable of conveying the necessary data to the Old Hebrew scribal students would have been a scribal teacher [sic] associated with the national Old Hebrew apparatus.”²¹⁰ Van der Toorn highlights the fact that scribal knowledge could be passed down in families as well as in temple- or state-sponsored institutions which enjoyed the services of multiple teachers.²¹¹ Schniedewind points out that, given the evidence of scribal practice texts from the garrison at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud in the Sinai, scribes also seem to have been training apprentices or at least doing some continuing education while on assignment with the military.²¹²

Scribes with different career paths may have received different training from one another. Most scribes of the pre-exilic period had little to do with literary texts, whether verse or prose, and many may not have had any knowledge of the special norms of the Classical BH literary variety. Most ordinary scribes of the pre-exilic period would primarily have produced administrative or economic texts like the Arad Letters and the Samaria Ostraca.²¹³ They may also have produced legal and legal-adjacent texts like the Meşad Hashabyahu Letter, which contains an agricultural

²⁰⁷ For a review of older theories, which posited for example a widespread scribal education and even widespread literacy and writing competence in the late monarchic period, see Jamieson-Drake 1991: 11-15, 21; discussion on the problem of quantifying and defining literacy also in Schniedewind 2013: 120-122.

²⁰⁸ Jamieson-Drake 1991: 150-151; Byrne 2007: 6-7; Van der Toorn 2007: 89, 97; Rollston 2010: 115-116; Schniedewind 2013: 117-119.

²⁰⁹ Van der Toorn 2007: 97; cf. Davies 1998: 75-83.

²¹⁰ Rollston 2010: 113.

²¹¹ Van der Toorn 2007: 97; see also Rollston 2010: 122-126.

²¹² Schniedewind 2019: 40-48. Some of the inscriptions are in the Phoenician rather than Hebrew script, pointing to multi-script competence on the part of local scribes (Rollston 2018: 465). Rollston notes that, as in the Deir Alla texts, the use of red versus black ink in these inscriptions seems to be significant (2018: 464).

²¹³ See Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005: 5-108 and 423-498 for editions.

worker's petition about his (wrongfully?) confiscated clothing, or produced military reports while accompanying military officers as scribes and logistical officers.²¹⁴ However, the scribes of the royal court who kept the annals or handled the king's local diplomatic correspondence, and the scribes of the temple who transmitted and created religious texts and instructed the people in their contents would probably have been trained in CBH and used this variety for their work.²¹⁵ We do not know whether this training in CBH was an integral part of scribal education in Jerusalem for all those scribes associated with the court and temple, or whether it was a sort of post-graduate training for a special few. We also do not know whether the same scribes who worked with CBH were ever the same ones who presumably cross-trained in Aramaic, Akkadian, or Egyptian in order to communicate with their neighbors and sometime overlords; or whether any foreign scribes employed by the court were trained in CBH or involved in the transmission of the biblical texts.²¹⁶

While the CBH-using scribes of the pre-exilic period primarily wrote Hebrew, spoke Hebrew, and were surrounded by others who spoke Hebrew, the TBH-using scribes of the exilic

²¹⁴ See Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005: 358-359 for edition of the Mešad Hashabyahu letter. Please note that most legal actions in pre-exilic Judah and Israel may not have involved a written component (cf. Ruth 4:7; Davies 1998:16). On scribes assigned to accompany military officers, see 2 Kings 25:19, Schniedewind 2019: 131-133.

²¹⁵ Van der Toorn sees a clear distinction between scribes who have acquired "rudimentary scribal skills" including "basic literacy for simple chores like accounting and run-of-the-mill administrative tasks" and the scribes who were rendered "expert and wise" via "a program of study provided only in the temple school" (2007: 97; *pace* Schniedewind 2013: 105). While I agree that a different curriculum is required, economic and administrative texts present their own challenges and the scribes who mastered their production often had more than "rudimentary ... skills."

There was probably overlap between the scribes employed on court business and those working for the temple (cf. van der Toorn 2007: 82-89). We know that certain scribes were assigned to the royal court; see 2 Sam 20:25, 2 Kings 12:10, 2 Kings 18:18; cf. van der Toorn 2007: 78; Schniedewind 2013: 119. On the annals, see e.g. Rollston 2018: 469-472. On scribes at the temple, see van der Toorn 2007: 89-90, 95-96.

The fact that other nearby kingdoms (notably Moab) used a literary language similar to CBH suggests that some of the scribal norms for CBH were shared by other local scribal communities (cf. Schniedewind 2004: 43). See the stele of Mesha king of Moab (Jackson and Dearman 1989).

²¹⁶ Schniedewind argues that cross-training in Aramaic would have been widespread in the late monarchic period, as the Neo-Assyrian administration put scribes trained in Aramaic in place throughout the Levant. This cross-training may have led to the introduction of vocalic *matres lectionis* in Classical Biblical Hebrew (Schniedewind 2013: 86-87, 115-117). However, we lack information about the extent of the presence of Neo-Assyrian *šepiru* scribes in Judah, which makes it difficult to assess how much of an impact they would have had. Were there one or two Neo-Assyrian scribes in the region, or were there fifty?

Judean and Israelite scribes may have had little occasion to learn Akkadian during the monarchic period, as the Neo-Assyrian administration in the west preferred Aramaic from an early date (cf. Schniedewind 2013: 120; Hasselbach-Andee 2020: 463-464). However, many Akkadian loanwords did make it into Biblical Hebrew, especially during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods; while most of these seem to have been borrowed first into Aramaic and then into Hebrew, a few have not been accounted for in this way (Mankowski 2000; Schniedewind 2013: 134-135). See also note 217.

period were subject to many more linguistic influences. Although the Judean people, like other peoples displaced by Assyria and Babylon, seem to have been mostly scattered in groups rather than as individuals, the exiles in Babylonia would still have come into contact not only with local speakers of Aramaic but also with groups of other exiles from a variety of linguistic communities. Judean scribes trained in Hebrew would have had little use for their skills, aside from writing economic or legal texts intended for their small diasporic community, and may have begun working in Aramaic.²¹⁷ However, a few scribes did create new Hebrew texts during this time.

The LBH books date to the Persian Period. When we try to outline the scribal training which LBH-using scribes would have undergone, we are foiled in part by the geographic issue. It is very unlikely that the LBH books were composed in the same place by the same group of Jewish scribes. Ezra and Nehemiah are concerned with the activities of the returned exiles in Jerusalem, so it is plausible that they originated in Yehud. However, Daniel and Esther are concerned entirely with people and events in Mesopotamia; and Chronicles, while it ends with Cyrus' proclamation that the Jews may return to their homeland, says nothing about events after that proclamation. While all of these books eventually made their ways to Jerusalem, Daniel and Esther, at least, almost certainly originated elsewhere. Given the disparate geographic origins of the LBH books, we must ask whether they are the products of a unified scribal training and represent unified scribal norms or whether we have grouped eclectic texts together because they tend to diverge from Classical Biblical Hebrew in the same ways due to the universal influence of scribal training in Aramaic. Daniel and Esther do have a number of linguistic peculiarities, even when compared with other LBH texts. In terms of goal marking, for example, Esther has only

²¹⁷ Schniedewind 2013: 131, 133. There may have been a social or legal barrier against recently displaced persons learning Akkadian and/or working as scribes in Akkadian. Pearce and Wunsch 2014 collect over a hundred unprovenanced economic texts from Babylonia, many of which were written (according to their closing formula) in "the city of Judah," a place where Judean exiles had settled. The texts date from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II soon after the beginning of the exile (early 500's BC) to the reign of Xerxes (early 400's BC). All of these texts are written in Akkadian. Although many are written in "the city of Judah," and some name participants who have Yahwistic names and are presumably Judean exiles or children of exiles, the scribes named in the closing of each text have non-Judean names.

prepositional marking attested, almost always using the default *ʔe/*. Daniel, on the other hand, displays an unusual mix of goal-marking options including a high proportion of non-prepositional goal-marking. Esther's goal-marking system looks less like that of CBH than any other book, while Daniel's looks very much like that of CBH Samuel and Kings. However, the relatively consistent spelling and other LBH features in the LBH text corpus point to these texts' editing by a scribal community with consistent scribal norms, if not necessarily to unified scribal norms among the to communities where the texts originated.

The LBH-using scribal community was clearly interested in preserving older Hebrew works. Second Maccabees reports that "The same things also were reported in the writings and commentaries of Nehemiah, and how he founded a library to gather together the acts of the kings, and the prophets, and of David, and the letters of the kings about the holy offerings" (2 Macc 2:13).²¹⁸ Whether we take the Maccabees account to be accurate or not, it is plausible that Nehemiah and other important post-exilic figures would dedicate their resources to collecting authoritative texts.²¹⁹ This was all the more important as the destruction of the First Temple and the exigencies of the exile probably left few copies extant for each early work.²²⁰ Without sustained and conscious effort, earlier biblical works would have been lost to history. However, while the LBH-using community did copy and make use of these earlier texts (as in Chronicles²²¹) their exposure to the Classical BH norms did not prevent them from creating new Late Biblical Hebrew ways of writing.

One of the most important features that we can discern in the scribal education of LBH-using scribes is their intimate familiarity with Aramaic. By this time, the Judean scribes had probably switched from writing Hebrew in the paleo-Hebrew script to writing it in the Aramaic

²¹⁸ cf. THB IA: 133-134; van der Toorn 2007: 237-244.

²¹⁹ See also the prologue to Ben Sira (cf. THB IA: 133). Scrolls were expensive, so a significant investment would be necessary to build up a collection (cf. van der Toorn 2007: 20).

²²⁰ THB IA: 133-134.

²²¹ They may also have been trained in ways of understanding the text through oral or written commentaries (van der Toorn 2007: 103-104).

script.²²² Both Ezra and Daniel incorporate large portions of Aramaic within these otherwise LBH books, showing that Aramaic had been accepted in the LBH-using community as a language for some authoritative religious literature.²²³ Indeed, Aramaic may have been the default language of scribal training for most Jewish scribes.²²⁴ As we know, Jewish scribes who were still in the diaspora in the late 400's BC—whether in Egypt or in Idumaea—used written Aramaic to communicate with local officials and even with one another.²²⁵ In the small scribal community in post-exilic Jerusalem, Aramaic was at least used alongside Hebrew and may have overshadowed it in both the written and spoken domains. The accepted presence of Aramaic, with its own set of norms, impacted the norms of Late Biblical Hebrew—as we will see below.²²⁶

Indeed, the ubiquity of Aramaic during the Persian Period leads us to ask, why maintain Hebrew at all? If their only interest in the language was the preservation of their literature, the post-exilic scribes would not have needed to create new texts or a new Hebrew linguistic norm. They could have translated the CBH texts into Aramaic if they desired.

If Hebrew was still widely spoken in the post-exilic community, writing in Hebrew could have been an intuitive choice.²²⁷ Nehemiah, however, gives us a different picture, describing Jerusalem as a multilingual community in which the younger generation was growing up speaking

²²² Schniedewind 2013: 133, 140-143; Schniedewind 2019: 166; Tigchelaar 2020. Note that some fourth century BC Judean and Samaritan coins did bear paleo-Hebrew inscriptions; these may have been unreadable even to most literate members of society, with the script bearing a symbolic function (Schniedewind 2013: 158-161).

²²³ The Bavli Sanhedrin includes the following from Mar Zutra or Mar Ukva: "In the beginning the Torah was given to Israel in Hebrew writing [i.e., script] and [in] the holy language [i.e. Hebrew]; and it was given to them in the days of Ezra in Assyrian writing [i.e. Aramaic script] and [in] the Aramaean language. [The Jews] chose for themselves, for Israel, the Assyrian writing [i.e. Aramaic script] and the holy language [i.e. Hebrew], and they left the Hebrew writing and the Aramaic language for commoners (*hdywt*)" (b. Sanh. 21b, as found in the William Davidson Talmud on <sefaria.org>; text in brackets supplied by KM). That is to say, in later rabbinic tradition the switch to the Aramaic script was associated with the Persian Period, as was the choice to maintain the Hebrew language as a marker of religious and other identity.

²²⁴ cf. Polak 2006b: 596; Schniedewind 2013: 155.

²²⁵ For the letters from Elephantine, see Lindenberger 2003: 61-80. Note especially the Passover Letter, in which a Jewish official in the Persio-Egyptian administration writes to the Jews in Elephantine regarding the approved regulations for celebrating Passover. For the Idumaeian material, see Porten and Yardeni 2020.

²²⁶ In addition to the comments on goal-marking below and in Chapter 6, note also the arguments of Gee 2019, who shows that the date formulae which Jewish scribes were trained to use in Aramaic were also used in Late Biblical Hebrew.

²²⁷ Although the existence of a living spoken language does not guarantee that the native speakers of that language will use it in writing instead of some other language; consider situations of diglossia throughout history.

“various languages” and “could not speak the language of Judah” (Nehemiah 13:24).²²⁸ Even among returned exiles, the Hebrew language was not necessarily a priority. Nehemiah himself, however, identifies the Hebrew language with the historic Judean identity, and seems to have been a champion for its use.²²⁹ The scribes must have had a similar attachment to the Hebrew language, situating Biblical Hebrew close to the heart of their Judean identities. For them, Biblical Hebrew had both historic and symbolic power; and writing in Late Biblical Hebrew, rather than Aramaic, was an important ideological move.²³⁰

In short, in the diachronic model the three main Biblical Hebrew corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late) are separated in time.²³¹ As a consequence, the scribal communities which use each variety come out of distinct sociohistorical circumstances, have different ideological priorities, and enjoy different educations; due to these factors, they operate with different scribal norms, which are reflected for us in the Classical, Transitional, and Late BH corpora. The CBH variety represents a fairly unified norm; while the LBH variety is unified in many respects but divergent in others (perhaps indicating that its component texts were redacted by scribes with a unified norm but composed by scribes with somewhat divergent norms); and the TBH texts do not seem to be aiming at a unified norm at all, unless their use of CBH as a linguistic touchstone can be considered a unifying feature.

The diachronic model is the most popular among Hebraists, and the one which I believe best explains the linguistic data. However, other models have also been posited. In current

²²⁸ This phenomenon does not surprise us. Situations of multilingualism or bilingualism tend not to stabilize unless each language has a well-defined social function; in unstable multilingual situations a population will drop one or more languages after a generation or two (cf. Woods 2006: 103-106). In a situation where Aramaic was being used for many written functions, “various languages” were being spoken in many homes, and written Hebrew’s only unique function was for religious documents, it was largely up to those who used, copied, and created those religious documents to maintain the written language. While spoken Judean Hebrew did persist in some communities (eventually developing into the spoken correlate of Mishnaic Hebrew), this may have been a scattered rural phenomenon rather than one with unified community norms across Judea (cf. Polak 2006b: 606; Schniedewind 2013: 143-146; Hasselbach-Andee 2020: 466-468).

²²⁹ Schniedewind 2013: 81.

²³⁰ Talshir 2003; Schniedewind 2013: 139, 147, 155-158. Compare the case of Sumerian in Woods 2006: 94-95.

²³¹ The Hebrew language remained important for the creation of new religious texts for centuries more. For a review of post-biblical developments, see Saenz-Badillos 1993; Schniedewind 2013: 164-203.

scholarship, the best-known alternative is the **stylistic hypothesis**. While this model has not become popular among Biblical Hebrew linguists, it has become popular among those involved in other types of biblical scholarship, since it yields possible later dates for the biblical texts which align more closely with the dates suggested by modern European source and redaction critics.²³² According to the stylistic hypothesis, Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew need not be seen as diachronically distinct, but could be co-existing scribal styles used during overlapping time periods.²³³

The proponents of this hypothesis—most notably Ian Young, Robert Rezetko, and Martin Ehrensverd—have made some important points.²³⁴ It is true that features associated with LBH are sometimes found in CBH and that CBH features may be found in LBH texts, showing that the distinction between them is not black and white, and simplistic scholarly attempts to make them seem unconnected are doomed to fail.²³⁵ We rarely see cases where CBH-users would always say *this* while LBH-users would always say *that*; instead, CBH-users are much more likely to say *this* than *that*, while LBH-users are much more likely to say *that* than *this*. In other words, the differences between the CBH and LBH scribal norms, especially in terms of spelling and lexicon, tend to be probabilistic rather than dichotomous.

It is also true that the kinds of differences between CBH and LBH which have been most studied could be understood as stylistic differences. As Bell states in his seminal article on style, “The basic principle of language **style** is that an individual speaker does not always talk in the same way on all occasions. Style means that speakers have alternatives or choices ... Speakers talk in different ways in different situations, and these different ways of speaking can carry different

²³² Some such scholars situate the creation of most biblical texts in the exilic, some in the post-exilic Persian, and some in the post-exilic Hellenistic periods. Even if one ignores the linguistic data, the sociohistorical circumstances of most post-monarchic Judean scribal communities would not have been favorable for the creation of extensive and unified literature, making the case for the pre-exilic origins of much of the Hebrew Bible that much stronger (Carr 2011: Chapter 17; Schniedewind 2013).

²³³ Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008 II: 89-91, 94-99; see also Davies 2003, Young 2005.

²³⁴ Their work builds on the work of others, such as Davies, who take a skeptical view of the possibility that any significant body of authoritative literature was created in Israel or Judah before the exile (cf. Davies 1998: 59-64).

²³⁵ Young 2005: 343-348.

social meanings.”²³⁶ In other words, every individual speaker has access to multiple spoken styles; when they speak or write, they choose from these styles based on factors such as the composition of their audience, their topic, the setting, and how they want to present themselves. The individuals don’t create these styles independently, however. Each style is connected to a community norm of some kind. These connections—between styles and communities—give the styles their social meanings. This is the case whether the styles are spoken or written.

Let’s consider an example. A girl named Sarah grows up in rural Appalachia, where she speaks the local dialect. Her Appalachian dialect is different from standard American English in its pronunciation, its idioms, and its word choices. When Sarah goes to school, however, she is taught in standard American English, and is expected to both speak and write in standard American English. By the time she finishes high school, Sarah can switch between Appalachian and standard speech styles and can write standard English. Sarah then goes to Harvard on scholarship, where she hears the Bostonian dialect and associates it with a high level of education. She begins to emulate the dialect, and by the time she finishes her degree she can switch between Appalachian norms, Bostonian norms, and standard American English norms.

Sarah then returns to a city near her Appalachian home, where she works as a paralegal. She and her colleagues speak to one another in standard American English. One day, however, a colleague hears her speaking on the phone with her mother using the Appalachian dialect. The colleague immediately assumes that Sarah is less educated and perhaps not qualified for her position, due to local stereotypes regarding speakers of the dialect. After lunch, he begins to harass her about her qualifications. Sarah is not amused. If he wants to know about her education he can ask their boss for her resume. She switches into the Bostonian dialect, which both of them associate with a high level of education, and he soon retreats. By changing

²³⁶ Bell 1997: 240. Style is a ubiquitous linguistic phenomenon. That is to say, every time we speak or write we are using a style.

styles/norms Sarah was able to access the style's social meaning and assert her educational background without having to address his assumption directly.

What do we learn from this example? We learn that an individual can learn multiple styles through informal and formal means of education; that the styles may differ from one another in pronunciation, word choice, and grammatical features; that these styles have social meaning in the places where they are spoken and/or recognized; and that language users can mobilize these styles for particular social purposes.

These same principles remain accurate as we shift from the spoken to the written domain. Many ancient Levantine scribes were part of scribal communities that used multiple written languages or varieties. In some cases, we even have evidence of style-switching in the work of an individual scribe. Whether we are considering the scribes of Late Bronze Canaan, who might switch between Middle Babylonian, Canaanite-Akkadian, and Canaanite in the course of a single letter; the scribal community of Iron Age Sam'al (Zinjirli), which could produce texts in both the locally-oriented Sam'alian and the Assyria-oriented Old Aramaic; the community at Ugarit, which created texts in Akkadian cuneiform, cuneiform Ugaritic, and alphabetic Ugaritic; the virtuoso scribe Šarruwa of Late Bronze Alalakh, who wrote administrative texts in Hurro-Akkadian but put together a dynastic foundation text for King Idrimi which used both locally-prestigious West-Semitic Akkadian and internationally-prestigious Mesopotamian Akkadian; or Yedaniah of Elephantine, who matched East or West Aramaic norms depending on his audience and topic, it is evident that scribes of the ancient Near East were more than capable of switching between languages, scripts, and varieties.²³⁷ Since these different orthographic codes are used within the same community with different social meanings, we can describe them as styles.

²³⁷ On style-switching in LBA Canaan, see especially Izre'el 1995, Izre'el 2012, Mandell 2015. On Šarruwa and the *Idrimi Statue Inscription*, see Na'aman 1980, Medill 2019. On Yedaniah at Elephantine, see Rezetko, Young, and Ehrensverd 2008 I: 294. Whittaker has argued that the scribal communities which used the Aegean Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic scripts developed them from a single source into distinct orthographies in order to underline their unique regional identities (2013). Some scribes whose work is known from the Dead Sea collection at Qumran wrote texts in various graphic and orthographic styles, generally using a formal hand and an archaizing spelling when writing complete biblical texts; recent work that assesses scribal hands at Qumran has provided new evidence that helps us

The most-studied linguistic differences between CBH and LBH could certainly be accommodated within the rubric of different styles. Scholars have primarily discussed the lexical variation between the two—different words for *kingdom*, for example²³⁸; since differing styles usually have differing lexica, the divergent vocabulary sets of the Classical and Late corpora could theoretically reflect stylistic choices rather than diachronic differences. The somewhat divergent morphologies could also be seen as stylistic.

However, certain circumstances make it less likely that CBH and LBH are coexisting productive styles. When there are two linguistic varieties of a single language which are differentiated not only by consciously-recognized characteristics such as given lexemes and morphemes but by unconscious characteristics (especially from syntax or semantics), it is unlikely that the two varieties will be used fluently in the same community (although it is possible if they have very distinct social functions and are conceptualized as distinct coherent varieties).²³⁹ For example, imagine that there is a word *narit*. In variety x of a given language, this word means *artificial light*, whether from candles or oil lamps. In variety y of the same language, the word means *light* in general. These meanings are close enough that language users working with both varieties x and y may not be consciously aware of this difference. Scribes whose mother tongue is the restricted variety x may continue to look for an alternative when writing about natural light in variety y even though *narit* would be possible in that context, and scribes whose mother tongue is the unrestricted variety y may continue to use *narit* when speaking about natural light in variety x even though this is anachronistic. As long as the texts that they produce are still intelligible, the fact that these texts do not accurately reflect the norms of the two varieties may not be noticed.

to identify whether texts are written by the same scribes or not, allowing us to pursue a deeper understanding of style-shifting at Qumran (Tigchelaar 2020; Popović and Dhali 2020). See also Hasselbach-Andee 2020.

²³⁸ Drescher 2012: 24-26; cf. Davies 2003: 159-160.

²³⁹ On the fact that syntactic differences should be given more weight in the discussion than lexical ones, see Rezetko 2003: 245 and his bibliography in note 88.

CBH and LBH have a number of important differences of which the scribes were probably not consciously aware.²⁴⁰

To give another example—this a real example from Biblical Hebrew—imagine that in variety *x* (CBH) the preposition *l-* principally marks animate goals while the preposition *`a/* marks inanimate goals. On the other hand, in variety *y* (LBH) the preposition *l-* principally marks inanimate goals while the preposition *`a/* marks animate goals (as in Aramaic).²⁴¹ This is very likely to be an unconscious semantic difference. It would be very difficult for scribes in a single community to correctly handle these divergent goal-marking norms without being consciously aware of them. Thus, CBH and LBH probably did not co-exist in a single community. (Of course, if there are multiple communities of scribes, perhaps with geographic separation, then CBH and LBH could be contemporary without having to co-exist.²⁴²)

Additional research on the types of linguistic differences which a given scribal community can and cannot accommodate would be valuable as we seek to address the stylistic hypothesis.²⁴³ For example, one could consider the differences between the more-oral and less-oral texts in the CBH corpus, as this is a well-accepted stylistic distinction within Biblical Hebrew. Less-oral texts

²⁴⁰ On syntactic-semantic and typological differences between the era/style corpora, see Joosten 2005, Eskhult 2005, Joosten 2011, Givon 2012, Naudé 2012, Cook 2012b, Bar-Asher Siegal 2012, Pat-El 2012. On further syntactic development in post-biblical Hebrew, see Naudé 2000, Abegg 2012. For caveats regarding some of these proposed differences, see Ehrensvarð 2012.

In addition to underlying syntactic-semantic differences, there are differences in idioms and formulae. Note, for example, the use of the Egyptian-style dating formulae in Genesis, Deuteronomy, Kings, Jeremiah and Leviticus (which are used in pre-exilic epigraphic material as well), which are quite distinct from the Persian-period-style dating formulae appearing in Persian Period Aramaic ostraca and in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah (Gee 2019, see Porten and Yardeni 2014-2018 for the Aramaic ostraca). This indicates that Genesis, Deuteronomy, Kings, Jeremiah and Leviticus had their origin before Persian-Period dating formulae became the norm for Jewish scribes. (Ezekiel has idiosyncratic dating formulae. However, the high incidence of Neo-Babylonian loanwords is a strong support for situating the origins of the book of Ezekiel specifically in the Neo-Babylonian period [Hendel and Joosten 2018: 26, 80-81].)

²⁴¹ See 6.3.1. See also Pat-El 2012 on Hebrew borrowing of Aramaic syntagms in Late Biblical Hebrew.

²⁴² Another possibility would be that the post-exilic scribes viewed CBH and LBH as representing separate languages; this would make it more plausible for CBH and LBH to co-exist in the same scribal community. However, to the best of my knowledge we have no evidence to support this possibility.

²⁴³ For a summary of the debate between the Hurvitz School (which champions the diachronic explanation of the linguistic differences between the era/style corpora) and the Rezetko-Young group (which has put forward the stylistic hypothesis), see Gesundheit 2016. For responses to the Rezetko-Young group, see Hurvitz 2006; Dresher 2012; Holmstedt 2012: 112-113; Zevit 2012; Hornkohl 2017; Hendel and Joosten 2018: 135-144. Forbes 2012 is especially valuable for its critique of the statistics in Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvarð 2008.

tend to have more complex noun phrase structures, more complex clause coordination, and a greater proportion of explicit constituents (see 3.3.2) than more-oral texts. An analysis of any differences in lexicon or syntax-semantics would be helpful in our understanding of the Biblical Hebrew scribal communities' use of different styles.

3.1.2 Era/Style and Changes in Goal-Marking

The variation between goal-marking strategies has long been one of the go-to examples of a Classical vs. Late linguistic variant. Many have noted that the use of the directional *he* seems to decrease over time, while the proportion of prepositional goal-marking, especially with the preposition *l-*, increases in later Hebrew.²⁴⁴ Thus, the era/style corpus variable was indispensable for this analysis.

Each Goal Construction was classified as coming from the Classical, Transitional, or Late corpus. (Since this analysis is limited to prose, no Archaic examples were included.) Some GCs—from Jonah, Job, Joel, and the Psalms headings—could not be assigned to a corpus and thus are excluded from the results in this section. The GCs from other books were assigned to a corpus based primarily on Hornkohl's article "Biblical Hebrew: Periodization" in the *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (see above).²⁴⁵

There are several caveats with regard to this variable. First, please note that GCs which may appear as a result of minor later redaction are still assigned to the era/style of the surrounding text. In other words, some GCs which have been coded as belonging to the CBH corpus may appear as the result of minor redactional activity by scribes not fully competent in the CBH norm.

²⁴⁴ 1.3; cf. Hornkohl 2014: 207-209, 218-224. In later Hebrew texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Mishnah, the directive *he* becomes limited to fossilized forms and biblical references (Hornkohl 2014: 210). Kinberg sees the shift from accusative goal-marking to prepositional goal-marking as a sign of a shift in Biblical Hebrew from a synthetic to analytic language type (1981)—that is, as evidence of a shift from a language which primarily marks meaning with overt morphemes to a language that marks meaning through underlying constructions. However, the reasons for the differing proportions of goal-marking strategies in CBH vs. LBH are complex; it would be premature to posit a typological shift based on this data.

²⁴⁵ Hornkohl 2013. I chose to use this article as the primary basis for my coding rather than creating a synthesis of assignments by different scholars because using a single foundation yields a more coherent picture. If the reader prefers a different set of text-period assignments, my dataset could be easily recoded and reused for an alternative study. In cases where the article did not yield a clear era/style assignment for a given GC, I consulted additional scholarly literature.

Second, note that GCs in Chronicles are assigned to LBH even when they appear in passages for which we have close parallels in Kings. That is to say, the scribes writing these GCs may have been looking at and influenced by earlier, non-LBH sources.

Given the long history of scholarship on the ties between diachronic corpora and goal-marking, it is not surprising that the era/style corpora were significantly correlated with the goal-marking strategies, as shown in Table 3.1 and Figure 3.2. Directive *he* was much more common in CBH texts than TBH or LBH texts. Prepositional strategies, conversely, were most common in LBH texts. The proportion of accusative goal-marking was relatively stable across time.

Table 3.1: Goal-Marking Strategies by Era, with column percentages

Strategy	CBH	Transitional	LBH	totals
directive <i>he</i>	361 (18.45%)	97 (13.59%)	32 (7.48%)	490
preposition + <i>he</i>	4	4	2	10
accusative	329 (16.81%)	96 (13.45%)	67 (15.65%)	492
preposition	1263 (65.54%)	517 (72.41%)	327 (76.40%)	2107
totals	1957 (100%)	714 (100%)	428 (100%)	3099

Figure 3.2 Goal-Marking Strategies by Era

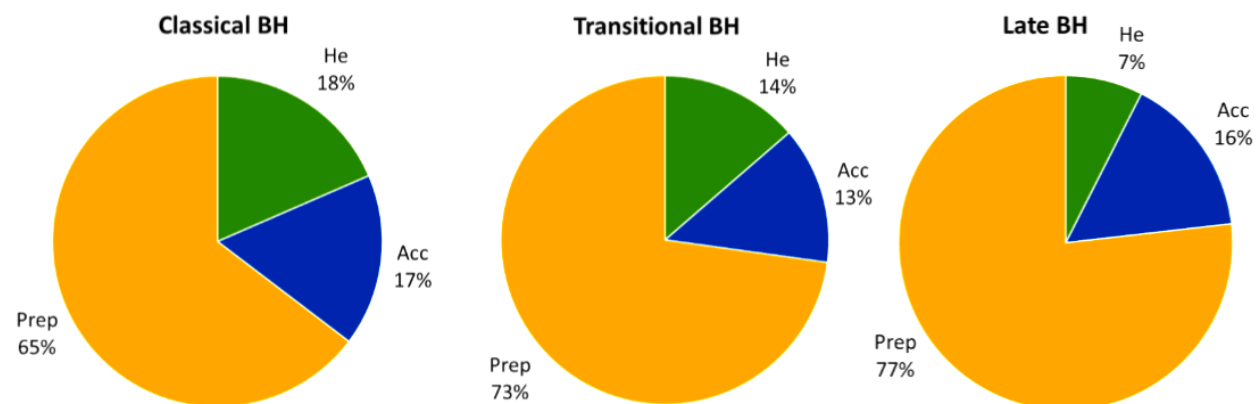


Figure 3.2 shows how the proportion of directive *he* goal-marking, here shown in green, grows somewhat smaller in TBH, then dramatically smaller in LBH—eaten up by the prepositional slice (here shown in yellow). These results confirm the claims of earlier scholars that the directive *he* becomes limited in LBH while prepositional goal-marking flourishes.

Why do these changes occur? And is there anything in these changes that helps us to determine whether CBH, TBH, and LBH are best understood as temporal corpora versus stylistic corpora?

One possible reason for these changes might be that the syntactic-semantic makeup of the GCs in each corpus happens to be different. In Chapters 4 and 5, we see that many grammatical features have an impact on scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies. However—leaving aside the fact that the era/style variable should not have been statistically significant in a model that includes the syntactic-semantic variables if the reason for variation between the era/style corpora is purely due to syntax and semantics—the results here show that something different is occurring. The directive *he* and the accusative of direction patterned together with regard to almost all of the syntactic-semantic variables (with the directive *he* having a few additional restrictions with regard to the goal's final phoneme and its markedness). Thus, if the GCs in LBH (for example) had different syntactic features which are preventing the directive *he* from being used for goal-marking, they should also be preventing the accusative from being used. Yet this is not happening; the use of the directive *he* drops dramatically in LBH while the use of the accusative remains stable.

One could also take a purely diachronic approach to understanding these results. If the CBH, TBH and LBH corpora have enough temporal separation,²⁴⁶ the directive *he* could have begun falling unconsciously from use. Yet the sixth-century TBH texts flow directly from CBH; and there is little temporal separation (almost certainly less than a century) between the Transitional books of Haggai and Zechariah and the Late books of Ezra and Nehemiah; some scholars even believe that the TBH and LBH corpora overlap in time. Thus *the decline in the use of directive he is unlikely to be purely a function of unconscious linguistic change over time.* (It

²⁴⁶ Either a long uneventful period or a short period with a significant disruption of scribal education and enough time for one generation of scribes to be replaced with another (the latter being the historical reality).

could, however, be correlated with other time-sensitive issues, such as the replacement of the primacy of one group of scribes with the primacy of another.)

The best explanation of the changes in goal-marking between the three corpora involve a combination of unconscious change over time and conscious stylistic choice. There are at least three distinct possibilities.

Option 1. The directive *he* declined naturally in common use over time, but was consciously kept in use in TBH, where scribes were aiming toward the CBH scribal norm. It was then allowed to fall to its unconscious level of use in LBH, when the CBH scribal norm was consciously abandoned. **(TBH stylistic choice to keep)**

Option 2. The LBH scribes purposefully limited their use of the directive *he*, which they consciously associated with CBH scribal norms. **(LBH stylistic choice to restrict)**

Option 3. The directive *he* was common in Hebrew while its cognate, the directive *ʔālep*, was all-but-nonexistent in contemporary Aramaic. Scribes of TBH, who grew up using Hebrew or were trained by scribes who grew up using Hebrew, consciously or unconsciously kept it in use. Scribes of LBH, who were strongly influenced by Aramaic, also tried to preserve it as part of the BH literary norm, but with much less success and in restricted contexts. **(TBH [?] and LBH stylistic choice to keep)**

The first possibility assumes that directive *he* was declining in a semi-linear fashion over time in common use (speech and mundane writing), and that it was held at roughly the same proportion in both literary and common use in the CBH and LBH corpora. In TBH, however, scribes used the directive *he* more than they would have done in common use in a conscious attempt to hold on to the scribal norms of the monarchic period. This would make sense from an ideological perspective. However, there is no reason to assume that directive *he* was naturally declining in Hebrew. It was still in common use at the end of the pre-exilic period (e.g. in the Lachish Letters; see 3.1.3 below), and the proportional difference between directive *he* goal-marking in CBH and TBH is fairly small.

The second possibility assumes that the LBH scribes purposefully avoided the use of directive *he*, while the accusative of direction, lacking an unusual postpositional clitic, went untouched. Certainly new scribal norms were being established and standardized in LBH, which included lexical, syntactic, morphological, orthographic, and semantic changes; these new norms could have included a lower proportion of directive *he*.²⁴⁷ But the actual examples of directive *he*-marking that we see in LBH speak more to decreased productivity than conscious restriction. It applies to only 20 different NPs in LBH, mostly GNs and axial directions, with a few definite common nouns and *here/there*; of these, only 5 different NPs appear with directive *he* outside of Chronicles (four axial directions and *thither*). This suggests that the use of the directive *he* was fossilized by the time the LBH texts were being written; when the scribes were looking at older sources (when creating Chronicles, for example) they were reminded of the wider archaic use of directive *he* and were willing to mobilize it to mark non-axial location goals, but on their own they used it only for a restricted set of goal types.

The third possibility accounts for the severe disruption of scribal education and Hebrew knowledge caused by the exile.²⁴⁸ According to this hypothesis, directive *he* use was understood to be a feature of the CBH scribal norm; later scribes tried to keep using it, perhaps as a marker of ideological continuity with the earlier biblical texts. Where many of the TBH scribes were still native Hebrew users, however, the scribes of LBH were more familiar with Aramaic (or Aramaicized Hebrew?), a language with a distinctly different goal-marking system.²⁴⁹ (In Aramaic, not only is the equivalent of directive *he* rare, written with a different letter of the alefbet, and limited to marking axial direction words and *hither/thither*; but several of the directional prepositions behave differently.) Influenced by Aramaic, the LBH scribes used directive *he* marking on a limited basis, primarily on the kinds of NPs to which the fossilized Aramaic directive

²⁴⁷ On the establishment of a new Hebrew norm for ideological reasons, see Talshir 2003.

²⁴⁸ Talshir 2003; Schniedewind 2004: 143-149; Schniedewind 2013: 148-155; Schniedewind 2017.

²⁴⁹ On the possibility that LBH reflected more vernacular linguistic norms than other Biblical Hebrews, see e.g. Davies 2003. This could be correct in terms of its lexicon, although it is clearly not the case in terms of its over-all syntactic style (Polak 1998, 2002).

?ālep still occasionally applied. Given how unusual the directive *?ālep* was in Aramaic, the fact that the LBH scribes still used the directive *he* at all is notable, and may suggest that they were consciously trying to maintain it. This possibility is the most plausible, and is also supported by detailed analysis of the directional prepositions which are used in each era (for which see 6.3.1).

In this scenario, what could have been the scribes' purpose in consciously maintaining the directive *he*? In other words, what was the social significance of promoting the use of directive *he*? While there is not sufficient evidence to answer this question with certainty, I can offer some suggestions. Let us start with the assumption that the LBH-using scribes were consciously aware of the directive *he* morpheme; the fact that it was visually represented in writing made it more likely that they would be consciously aware of this morpheme than of the accusative of direction. If the scribes were aware of the directive *he*, they would have known that it had been relatively common in Classical Biblical Hebrew but that it was all-but-nonexistent in Aramaic, where it might not even be written with the same letter (see 6.3.1.3.2).²⁵⁰ Given the post-exilic situations of LBH-using scribes, they may have needed to be taught to use the directive *he* (beyond its limited use with axial nouns) as part of their scribal education or may have deduced its broader use from older texts which they copied. Thus it would have been a linguistic feature that they attributed to Classical Biblical Hebrew, the variety of their prosperous, independent, and educated scribal forefathers, and (just as importantly) did not attribute to Aramaic, the language of their uncertain and Other-dominated present.²⁵¹ So when any scribes sought to retain this feature, they could be claiming the continuity of their language and society with the monarchal language and society;

²⁵⁰ If the scribes did see the directive *?ālep* of some Aramaics as cognate with the Hebrew directive *he*, their use of directive *he* could hypothetically have been an instance of branding (the association of particular visual indicator with a specific social group [Sebba 2015: 213-216, 218-219]), but given the marginal nature of the directive *?ālep* and the switch from Hebrew to Aramaic script I think that this is unlikely.

²⁵¹ On how linguistic and orthographic features become attributed to social groups, see Sebba 2015. A parallel example may be found in the Dead Sea Scrolls material from Qumran. In this material, two distinct spelling systems can be seen, one associated to a statistically significant degree with texts that include entire biblical books and one significantly associated with other texts. Tigchelaar argues that when these Jewish scribes of the Hellenistic period copied biblical texts they made a conscious effort to preserve older biblical spelling traditions, while in non-biblical texts their spelling reflected contemporary spelling norms (2020). Tigchelaar also notes a correlation between more "formal" hands and originally-complete biblical texts, while "informal" scribal hands are more likely to be used for other texts (idem 2020).

to be identifying themselves as free Judeans and not as syncretized vassals; or to be marking themselves as classically educated.²⁵²

At this point, we would have to ask, why the directive *he*? Why make the directive *he* a social marker, when we know that so many words and grammatical features did change between CBH and LBH?²⁵³ The most plausible hypothesis is that the directive *he*, no doubt along with some other features, was viewed by the scribes using later Biblical Hebrews as one of the iconic or stereotypical characteristics of CBH.²⁵⁴ Thus, its use was consciously manipulated while many other components of the written language were allowed to change or to be reformulated.

Regarding the relationship of differential goal-marking and era/style, we conclude that

- There is a significant difference in the proportions of the goal-marking strategies in different era/style corpora.
- Directive *he* is most common in CBH, declining slightly in TBH and sharply in LBH, while prepositional constructions follow the opposite trajectory. Accusatives remain stable over time.
- The trajectory of use of the directive *he* is partially due to conscious decisions on the parts of BH scribes.
- The most plausible explanation is that later scribes were consciously trying to preserve the directive *he* despite disruptions in their community and training.

²⁵² It is interesting that the post-exilic Judean scribes seem to be trying to preserve Hebrew linguistic features even though they are not reviving the Hebrew script. Did they not usually see the difference as socially meaningful? This is somewhat surprising, since adjacent scribal communities did find meaning in the distinction between scripts such as Akkadian syllabic cuneiform and Aramaic alphabetic. Was the social difference between Hebrew and Aramaic scripts less pronounced because they were related alphabets penned on the same media? (On orthographies as socially meaningful, see Sebbas 2009. For the few examples when paleo-Hebrew script was preserved for symbolic reasons, see note 222.)

²⁵³ Although others were maintained or manipulated; see Kim 2013.

²⁵⁴ cf. Irvine and Gal 2000: 36-37, 47; Sebbas 2015: 212. We frequently stereotype language varieties that we know less well. These linguistic stereotypes may be shared in our communities. For us, the characteristics that are part of that stereotype identify the variety for us. For example, we may stereotype educated Bostonian speech as r-dropping (i.e. *pahk the cah in Hahvahd yahd*) and count this as a sufficient characterization even though Boston's regional variety has many other features that contrast with Standard American English.

The impact of these disruptions on later scribes' use of goal-marking strategies can also be seen in the ways that they mobilized the various directional prepositions. In 6.3.1, I return to issues of time and goal-marking to show that the LBH scribes were operating with very different linguistic norms than the scribes of the Classical corpus, especially with regard to the contexts in which they found /- and `a/ appropriate for goal-marking.

3.1.3 Excursus: Goal-Marking in Hebrew Epigraphic Texts

As I noted above, scholars have often attempted to confirm that features of Classical Biblical Hebrew are genuinely early (pre-exilic) by appealing to linguistic parallels in pre-exilic Hebrew inscriptions. Yet while the epigraphic corpus is hypothetically critical in linking linguistic variants to absolute dates, in practice we often have few or no datapoints in the corpus which are relevant to the variants in question.

Challenge #1. The Hebrew epigraphic corpus is quite small.²⁵⁵ While archaeologists and looters have discovered a number of texts carved in stone, painted on plaster, and scratched or painted on ostraca, it seems clear that most of the texts produced in Israel and Judah in the first half of the first millennium B.C. were written on perishable materials and thus have not survived. Thus, not all types of writing (text types / genres) or linguistic features are represented; and almost no linguistic features appear sufficiently often for robust statistical significance tests to be performed.

Challenge #2. The text types and genres of the Hebrew epigraphic corpus are often not the same as text types and genres found in the Hebrew Bible.

Challenge #3. The texts of the Hebrew Bible have had a special status from a very early date (as evidenced by their being copied and preserved for generations); this prestige has

²⁵⁵ See the collections of Hebrew inscriptions by Dobbs-Allsopp et al. 2005 and Ahituv 2008. On possible diachronic development in the inscriptions (or just minor Aramaic influence), see Bloch 2017.

affected the language of the Hebrew Bible.²⁵⁶ The texts of the Hebrew epigraphic corpus do not have this special status.

In other words, there are sufficient differences between the sociohistorical functions of the texts in the biblical and epigraphic corpora that we would not expect a complete match in their language. Further, the epigraphic corpus is small enough that even if a linguistic feature from CBH was also common in ordinary Hebrew letters or records from the pre-exilic period, it might not be preserved in our extant documents. Thus, *failure to find a linguistic match between CBH and the epigraphic texts does not necessarily mean that CBH is not pre-exilic.*

There is an additional problem. Since we lack Hebrew epigraphic evidence from the exilic and Persian post-exilic periods, it is difficult to verify which linguistic features changed and when. A linguistic feature shared between pre-exilic epigraphic Hebrew and Classical Biblical Hebrew could be an archaic survival—a feature that survived into exilic or post-exilic Hebrew. Thus, *success in finding a linguistic match between CBH and the epigraphic texts does not necessarily mean that CBH is pre-exilic.*

All this to say, the epigraphic evidence is not a magic bullet that can easily solve our linguistic diachrony debate. Each piece of epigraphic evidence must be carefully weighed. Pieces of language that are known to have changed in later Hebrews (e.g. from CBH to LBH) should be weighted more heavily; shared pieces of language of types that are more subject to change over time (e.g. lexemes) can tentatively be weighted more heavily than pieces of language (e.g. syntagms) that tend to be more stable.

What, then, can the epigraphic evidence tell us about goal-marking in pre-exilic Hebrew and in the Hebrew Bible? First, it can give us data about the pre-exilic Hebrew goal-marking system. Second, it can verify (or fail to verify) that the Classical BH goal-marking system is consistent with the pre-exilic Hebrew goal-marking system. Third, it can verify (or fail to verify)

²⁵⁶ The vagueness of this statement is intentional.

that the Late BH goal-marking system is *not* consistent with the pre-exilic Hebrew goal-marking system.

There are very few Goal Constructions in the epigraphic corpus—certainly too few for statistical analysis. I identified 24 examples, one of which (in Lachish 18:2-3) was broken, three of which (in Murabbat 1:1, Lachish 2:5-6, and Lachish 9) occurred in fictive contexts, and one of which has omitted the motion verb through ellipsis (Arad 3:3-4). The remaining 20 observations are drawn from the Siloam Tunnel Inscription (late 8th century B.C.) and from ostraca found at Arad (dating from the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C.) and Lachish (dating from the seventh century B.C.). The ostraca from Arad and Lachish are letters of business or military directions; thus there is a high incidence of imperatives, jussives, and other imperfective and irrealis verbs.

Goal phrases formed with each of the three major strategies (directive *he*, accusative of direction, and directional prepositions) are represented in the corpus.²⁵⁷ However, only the most common goal-marking prepositions (*?el* and *l-*) are used. It is difficult to determine whether this lack of variety in directional prepositions is an artifact of the small sample size (in which case a larger sample size would show more variety) or is a characteristic of the letter genre (which might not show linguistic features which were perceived as literary). Regarding the latter possibility, see 3.1.2.1 above and 3.3.1.3 and 6.3.2 below.

Note that both directive *he* and directional prepositions are used in Lachish 3, verifying the fact that a single author at a single moment in time can use a mixture of goal-marking strategies.²⁵⁸

3.1.3.1 Goals Marked with Directive *He*

Directive *he* is used to mark goals five times in the epigraphic corpus.

²⁵⁷ See also discussion in Hendel and Joosten 2018: 67-68, 144.

²⁵⁸ Compare Jonah 1:3—Jonah's plan to go to Tarshish is expressed three times using two different goal-marking strategies.

(a) ?l nħm [w] ʔt b? byt=h ?lyšb bn ?šyhw
 for Nahum now go\IMP[M;SG] house\CONS=DIR Elishib son\CONS Ashiyahu
 ‘For Nahum. Now go **to the house of Elishib son of Ashiyahu**’
 (Arad 17:1-3a)

(b) h-ym h-?nš-m ?t ?lyš ʔ pn t-b? ?dm šm=h
 DEF-day DEF-man-PL with Elisha lest 3F;SG;IPFV[;IRR]-go Edom there=DIR
 ‘Today the men (must be) with Elisha lest Edom go **thither**’
 (Arad 24: reverse 8b-9)

(c) yrd šr h-šb? knyhw bn ?Intn l-b? msrym=h
 descend[3M;SG;PFV] commander\CONS DEF-army Konanyahu son\CONS Elnatan INF-go Egypt=DIR
 ‘The commander of the army, Konanyahu son of Elnatan, went down to go **to Egypt**’
 (Lachish 3:14b-16a)

(d) w-smkyhw lqħ-h šm ʔyhw w-y-ʔl-hw
 and-Semakyahu take[3M;SG;PFV]-3M;SG;OBJ Shemaʔyah and-3M;SG;IPFV-ascend\CAUS-3M;SG;OBJ

h- ʔyr=h w- ʔbd-k ?ynn y-[]šlħ šm=h ?t-h
 DEF-city=DIR and-servant-2M;SG;POSS NEG 3M;SG;IPFV-send there=DIR OBJ-3M.SG.

‘Re: Semakyahu, Shemaʔyah took him and brought him up **to the city**. Now your servant is not sending him **thither** ...’
 (Lachish 4:6b-8a)

As in the BH corpus, the directive *he* is used in Hebrew inscriptions only to mark inanimate goals. These goals may be GNs (*Egypt*), definite common nouns (*the city, the house of Eliashib*), or adverbials (*there*). The goals are usually simple, but may be complex (*the house of Eliashib*).

Nothing here is inconsistent with the CBH evidence, though with so few observations extant, we cannot make much of this. While we see directive *he* appearing mostly in irrealis clauses in inscriptional Hebrew, since most of these epigraphic texts are letters and consist primarily of irrealis clauses this is expected.

3.1.3.2 Goals Marked with the Accusative of Direction

Only one example of a goal marked with the accusative of direction survives in the epigraphic corpus.

(e) w-šlħ-t-m ?t-m rmt ng[b]
 and-send-2M;SG;IPFV;IRR-3M;PL;OBJ OBJ-3M;PL Ramat\CONS negeb-[DIR]
 ‘And you will send them **to Ramat Negeb**’
 (Arad 24:reverse 2)

The goal here is an inanimate, complex GN. If this example appeared in Biblical Hebrew it might well be marked with an accusative of direction, since the goal is prototypical but marked (due to its complexity). Again, nothing here is inconsistent with the CBH evidence.

3.1.3.3 Goals Marked with Directional Prepositions

There are fourteen goals marked with directional prepositions in the epigraphic corpus. Three are in intransitive clauses (all marked with *?e/*) and eleven in transitive clauses (marked with *?e/* or *l/*).

(f) *w-y-lk-w h-my-m mn h-mwš? ?l h-brkh*
 and-3M;PFV-go-PL DEF-water-PL from DEF-spring **DIR DEF-pool**
 'And the waters went forth from the spring **to the pool**'
 (Siloam Tunnel Inscription 4c-5a)

(g) *w-gm kl spr ?sr y-b? ?l-y*
 and-also every letter REL 3M;SG;IPFV-come **DIR-1SG;OBJ**
 'And also every letter that may come **to me**'
 (Lachish 3:10b-11a)

(h) *w-spr ṭbyhw 'bd h-mlk h-b? ?l šlm bn yd'*
 and-letter\CONS Tobiyahu servant\CONS DEF-king DEF-come[M.SG\PTCP] **DIR Shallum** son\CONS Yaddua
 'Re: the letter of Tobiyahu servant of the king, the one coming **to Shallum** son of Yaddua'
 (Lachish 3: rev 3-4)

(i) *w-šlh l-zp mhrh*
 and-send[M;SG]\IMP **DIR-Ziph** quickly
 'And send (it) **to Ziph** quickly'
 (Arad 17:4c-5b)

(j) *w-[t] šlh m-?t-k ?l yḥzyhw [] lh[m] 111 []*
 And-[now] send[M;SG]\IMP from-OBJ-2M;SG **DIR Yahaziyahu** [] bread 3 []
 'And now send from you **to Yahaziyahu** [] 3 (loaves of) bread'
 (Arad 6: 2-3)

(k) *š[lh] l-kt-ym*
 send[M;SG]\IMP **DIR-Kittim-M;PL**
 'Send (it) **to the Kittim**'
 (Arad 10:4b-5a)

(l) *w-šlh-ty ?t h-[k]sp 8 Š l-bn-y g?lyhw*
 and-send-1SG;PFV OBJ DEF-silver 8 Š **DIR-son-M;PL;CONS Ga?alyahu**
 'And I sent the silver, 8 shekels, **to the sons of Gaalyahu**'
 (Arad 16:4-5)

(m) *w- 't h-pqh n? ?t ?zn 'bd-k l-spr ?šr*
 and-now CAUS-open\M;SG;IMP IRR OBJ ear\CONS servant-2SG;M;POSS re:-letter REL
 'And now open the ear of your servant regarding the letter which

šlh-t-h ?l 'bd-k ?mš ky lb [']bd-k
 SEND-2SG;M;PFV-3SG;M;OBJ DIR servant-2SG;M;POSS yesterday for heart\CONS servant-2SG;M;POSS
 you sent **to your servant** yesterday, for the heart of your servant

dwh m-?z šlh-k ?l 'bd-k
 faint;M;SG since send\INF-2SG;M;POSS DIR servant-2SG;M;POSS
 (has been) faint since your sending (it) **to your servant**
 (Lachish 3:4b-8a)

(n) *w-spr tbyhw ... šlh-h 'b<d>-k ?l ?dn-y*
 and-letter\CONS Tobiyahu ... send\3SG;M;PFV-3SG;M;OBJ servant-2SG;M;POSS DIR lord-1SG;POSS
 'And re: the letter of Tobiyahu... your servant has sent it **to my lord.**'
 (Lachish 3: rev 3a, 5b-c)

(o) *my 'bd-k klb ky [š]h-t ?l 'bd-[k] ?t h-[spr-m]*
 Q servant-2SG;M;POSS dog REL send-2SG;M;PFV DIR servant-2SG;M;POSS OBJ DEF-[letter-M;PL]
 'Who is your servant—a dog, that you sent **to your servant** letters

k-]z?[t] h-šb 'bd-k h-spr-m ?l ?dn-y
 like-this CAUS-return[M.SG.PFV] servant-2SG;M;POSS DEF-letter-M;PL DIR lord-1SG;POSS
 like this? Your servant has returned the letters **to my lord.**
 (Lachish 5: 3b-7b)

(p) *h-?l 'bd-k y-? tbyhw zr ' l-mlk*
 Q-DIR servant-2SG;M;POSS 3SG;M;IPFV\CAUS-come Tobiyahu seed for[DEF]-king
 'Is it **to your servant** (that) Tobiyahu will bring seed for the king?'
 (Lachish 5: 9b-10)

Again, there is nothing here that contradicts our findings from CBH. As in CBH, directional prepositions tend to be used to mark animate goals, here doing so in twelve (perhaps thirteen²⁵⁹) cases, the only clear exception being example (a), in which *the pool* is the goal. In this small dataset the preposition *l-* always marks animate goals, making this system more similar to that of CBH than LBH.

As in BH, directional prepositions in epigraphic Hebrew seem to be more likely than other goal-marking strategies to appear in transitive clauses; they are also strongly associated with *šlh*,

²⁵⁹ The status of Ziph in example (i) is not clear. Is it a person or a place? From the Hebrew Bible, we know of Ziph both as a Geographic Name (cf. Josh 15, 1 Sam 23, 2 Chr 11:8) and as a Personal Name (cf. 1 Chr 2:42, 4:16).

a verb that is associated in its turn with the Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Construction (see 5.2.3.5).

3.1.3.4 What Do We Learn about Goal-Marking from the Epigraphic Texts?

When goal-marking strategies are attested in the epigraphic corpus they seem to behave in the same way as in Classical Biblical Hebrew. In particular, directive *he* and the accusative of direction appear only with inanimate goals, while directional prepositions (especially *l-*) usually mark atypical, animate goals. Atypical motion clauses with multiple participants also tend to contain prepositional goal-marking. The strong association of *l-* with animate goals in the epigraphic material is consistent with the goal-marking system of CBH but not with the system of LBH (see 6.3.1.2). However, there are only about 20 examples of Goal Constructions preserved in our current inscriptional corpus, so we must be cautious in our use of this information.

3.2 The Question of Origin

The compositional history of the Hebrew Bible is inarguably complex. Created and redacted over centuries and copied over centuries or millennia more, no text from the Hebrew Bible can, at this late date, be attributed to a single human hand. Many biblical books are not attributed to any author, and even for those which are, the issue of authorship is hotly debated among scholars. It is hardly possible to separate the influences of the copyists and compilers from that of the redactors and the writers; and when we consider that many books (most obviously Kings and Chronicles) draw on earlier written sources, and that many texts include the words or oral accounts of those who clearly did not write them down, pinning down the moment when any given biblical text or book was ‘finished’ becomes a baffling problem.

Yet the fact remains that at some point every biblical text was written for the first time. Someone assembled each biblical book. The relevant questions for this section are, how much of their own unique stamp did this first or primary individual or group leave on the language of the text? How much of that stamp is still discernible? And does it relate in any way to goal-marking strategy choice? It is possible that an individual could, consciously or unconsciously, favor a

certain goal-marking strategy significantly more or less than the synchronic average; and it is possible that these authorial tendencies could be identified in an analysis where different text divisions are compared to one another.

In this study, I include only two types of text divisions: Pentateuchal sources and biblical books. Both book and source were significantly correlated with goal-marking strategy choice; although biblical book, in particular, is very hard to disentangle from era/style. I chose to use these divisions for two reasons. First, for statistical analyses we need divisions that contain a sufficient number of Goal Constructions or it will be impossible to get any significant results. Books and sources are both large divisions whose boundaries are (more or less) well recognized in the field. Second, previous scholars have analyzed the goal-marking alternation in terms of both sources and books and have argued that these are significant.²⁶⁰ In the future, if it becomes desirable to study additional text divisions from the Hebrew Bible, these divisions can be easily coded and analyzed using the dataset already created for this project.

3.2.1 Pentateuchal Sources Part 1

According to many scholars of the past two centuries, earlier sources lie behind the Pentateuchal texts as we have them today. Initial source divisions were suggested based on doublets—stories or laws which are related more than once in the Pentateuch as it stands today—under the assumption that a single source would not tell the same story or relate the same law more than once; or based on tensions in the text between contradictory ideas—under the assumption that ideas perceived as contradictory by a modern scholar were in fact incompatible in their ancient context. Sources have also been divided based on differences in lexical choices, genre and text type, theme, and historical resonances. While scholars' hypotheses regarding source divisions have been useful in bringing to the fore the genuine compositional complexity of the Pentateuch, they have also resulted in some false divisions—or, at least, divisions based on insufficient data

²⁶⁰ See 1.3.

or illogical assumptions.²⁶¹ Source criticism has also been tightly connected to the era/style debate in Biblical Hebrew, as the order in which and the absolute dates at which the sources were created and assembled are critical pieces of information for both secular and confessional Biblicists.²⁶²

In the late nineteenth century, the Pentateuchal sources were usually understood as complete documentary accounts of the Pentateuchal story; more recent conceptions understand the sources as sometimes-overlapping, complementary accounts which cover various portions of the overarching narrative.²⁶³ Sources such as D (the Deuteronomistic source), P (the Priestly source), J (the Yahwist), E (the Elohist), H (the Holiness Code), and post-P (eclectic post-Priestly additions) have been widely discussed.²⁶⁴ In one model, the documents E and J are the earliest, with an editor J combining the two into a document JE. A later editor P added the P material. The Pentateuchal D material was created after JE and either somewhat before or at the same time as P. Because the composition of D has long been tied to the (re)discovery of the 'Book of the Law' during the Josianic reforms in the late 600s B.C. (2 Kings 22:8), this means that J and E were composed before the late 600s B.C. and P in the late 600s or somewhat after. However, alternative histories abound. In the last three decades, far from moving toward a new consensus, source critics have diverged until there are as many compositional histories as there are scholars.²⁶⁵

²⁶¹ For valuable commentary on methods in source criticism, see Schwartz 2011, Sommer 2011, Ska 2011, Baden 2016a.

²⁶² For a review of major approaches to dating the Pentateuchal sources, see Zevit 2014. See also Rendsburg 2006, Fassberg 2012, Polak 2017.

²⁶³ e.g. Baden 2016b, Levin 2016.

²⁶⁴ For the post-Priestly material, see especially Schmid 2016.

²⁶⁵ There are considerable differences in the prevailing opinions of the scholarly communities of Europe, North America, and Israel. For example, European scholars are more likely to be skeptical of E and J as coherent sources, or to abandon these sources entirely, turning their attention instead to e.g. the Moses/Exodus complex or the primeval history; Israeli scholars are more likely to argue for a pre-exilic P (e.g. Knohl 1995: 199, 209; Hurvitz 1974; Polak 2017), and to use comparative evidence; and North American scholars are more likely to consider the Pentateuchal sources in the light of archaeology. While scholars agree that many different types of evidence (linguistic, literary, historical, comparative) should be used in analyses of the relationships between the Pentateuchal sources themselves or between the Pentateuchal sources and other parts of the Bible, the priorities which scholars assign to these different types of evidence varies by region as well as by personal conviction (Dozeman, Schmid, and Schwartz 2011; Gertz, Levinson, Rom-Shiloni, and Schmid 2016). In some cases scholars have identified completely different sets of sources for the Pentateuch (cf. Carr 2011: Chapter 17).

In my analysis, I coded only three separate sources: D (the entire book of Deuteronomy), P, and non-P. My non-P includes both the so-called J and E material, while my P includes both P and H. From a methodological standpoint, the distinction between the P and Non-P material is far more robust than the distinction between J and E or between P and H.²⁶⁶ Coding texts as non-P rather than separating out J and E sources is relatively non-controversial. Many scholars doubt that E ever existed, and some have cast doubt on the independent existence of J as well; other scholars believe that redactional activity has left possible E and J sources so obscured that they cannot be reliably disentangled or isolated.²⁶⁷ Neither Wellhausen nor Noth, perhaps the most famous source critics of all time, systematically separated J and E from one another.²⁶⁸ Thus I follow many scholars in treating these texts merely as non-P.²⁶⁹ For the purposes of this study, I ascribe a minimal set of texts to the P source.²⁷⁰ Note that this set includes the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17-26 and perhaps 27), which a growing number of scholars treat as having a separate origin due to thematic elements and repeated holiness formulae.²⁷¹

²⁶⁶ See for example Carr 2016.

²⁶⁷ Romer 1997, Schmid 1997, Blum 1997, Carr 2016, Levin 2016. Note, however, Baden's cogent defense of an already-fragmentary E being added into the Pentateuch in Baden 2016, as well as his argument in Baden 2011, in which he claims that the Deuteronomist had access to separate J and E documents.

²⁶⁸ Although Wellhausen distinguishes J1, J2, J3, E1, E2, and E3 in his *Composition des Hexateuchs!*

²⁶⁹ *contra* Hoftijzer; see 1.3.

²⁷⁰ Following Kim (2013: 69), I have coded for a minimal list of P texts derived from the list of texts agreed upon as Priestly by S. R. Driver, J. Estlin Carpenter, G. Harford-Battersby, and Martin Noth: Gen 1:1-2:4a; 5:1-28*,30-32; 6:9-22; 7:6,11,13-16a,18-21,24; 8:1-2a,3b-5,13a,14-19; 9:1-17,28-29; 10:11-32; 11:10-27,31-32; 12:4b-5; 13:6a,11b-12a; 16:1a,3,15-16; 17:1-27; 19:29; 21:1b,2b-5; 23:1-20,25:7-11a,12-17,19-20,26b; 26:34-35; 27:46; 28:1-9; 31:18b; 33:18a; 35:9-13,15,22b-29; 36:1-31,40-43; 37:1,2a; 41:46a; 46:6-27; 47:27b-28; 48:3-6; 49:1a,29-33; 50:12-13.

Exod 1:1-5,13,14b; 2:23aab-25; 6:2-30; 7:1-13,19-20a,21b-22; 8:1-3,11b-15; 11:9-10; 12:1-20,28,40-41,43-51; 14:1-4,8,9b,15b,16b-18, 21aab,22-23,26-27a,28a,29; 16:1-3,6-24,32-35a; 17:1a; 19:1-2a; 24:15b-18a; 25:1-31:18a; 35:1-40:38. Lev 1:1-27:35. Num 1:1-10:28; 13:1-17a,21b,25-26a,32a; 14:1a,2,5-7,10, 26-30,34-38; 15:1-41; 16:1a,2b-11,16-23,24*,27a*,35; 17:1-19:22; 20:1a,2,3b-4,6-8aa,8b-13,22b-29; 21:4aa*; 22:1b; 25:6-31:54; 32:2-15,17-32; 33:1-36:13. Deut 32:48-52, 34:1, 34:5b, 34:7-9.

The linguistic characteristics of the P source have been studied by a number of scholars, most notably Hurvitz (1974) and Polak (2017).

²⁷¹ Israel Knohl (with others following) has suggested a much more extensive H—or rather, has suggested much more extensive additions and revisions made by members of the so-called Holiness School (HS) to the 'Priestly Torah' (PT), a text about priests for priests. HS and PT together comprise the P source (Knohl 1995: 200). For a list of HS, see Knohl 1995: 104-106. Note especially that his HS includes texts from Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers as well as Leviticus; that Knohl does not include Lev 27 in HS; and that he sees Lev 23 as a PT text substantially reworked by HS (ibid and 1995: 8-40, 44). For his method for distinguishing between HS and PT, and for the characteristic linguistic/stylistic traits of each, see Knohl 1995: 46-47, 106-110. One could take the dataset that has been generated for the present study, code sources according to Knohl's schema (or that of any other source critic), and fit new models in order to find out whether the source divisions according to Knohl (or another scholar) are significantly correlated with scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies.

In Table 3.2, these three sources are cross-tabulated with the goal-marking strategies. Source was found to be significant in the statistical analysis.

Table 3.2: Goal-Marking Strategies by Source, with column percentages

Strategy	Deuteronomistic	Non-Priestly	Priestly	totals
directive <i>he</i>	49 (32.67%)	126 (25.82%)	36 (12.95%)	211
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	0	0	0
accusative	13 (8.67%)	32 (6.56%)	9 (3.24%)	54
preposition	88 (58.67%)	330 (67.62%)	233 (83.81%)	651
totals	150 (100.00%)	488 (100.00%)	278 (100.00%)	898

In the Pentateuchal sources we find that the directive *he* and accusative of direction are once more behaving as if linked. Although the accusative is much less common than the directive *he* in all sources, both are most common in D, less common in Non-P, and least common in P. Prepositional goal-markers behave in the inverse fashion, being most common in P, less common in Non-P, and least common in D.

The fact that goal-marking choices fall into significantly different proportions in the sources suggests that texts with different origins (~ different authors?) may exhibit different goal-marking preferences.²⁷² However, differing authorship may not be the cause of the differences here.

On the one hand, each of these sources is made up of a different assemblage of genres and text types. In terms of broad text type, D is 3% direct dialogue and 97% narrative-speech; Non-P is 34% direct dialogue, 13% narrative-speech, and 52% narrative; and P is 3% direct dialogue, 65% narrative-speech, and 33% narrative (See section 3.3.1 for discussion of text types). Considered in light of the oracy-literacy continuum (see section 3.3.2), every text in D which has an oracy value assigned was less-oral-like, while P texts were 77% less-oral-like and non-P texts only 35% less-oral-like. In terms of broad genres, D and P both include long sections of legal and ritual instructions, which are less common (though not absent) from non-P. Unless

²⁷² It is also evidence supporting the hypothesis that the sources are linguistically distinct—although, being only a single piece of evidence, it is not a sufficient foundation upon which to construct any theories.

we have thoroughly investigated these variables, we cannot treat goal-marking alternations in sources as the preferences of different ‘authors’ of these sources.

On the other hand, some might suggest that a temporal component is active here. P is often claimed to be the latest of the Pentateuchal sources, composed during the exile or even later. When we examined goal-marking choices in terms of era/style, we found that directive *he* goal-marking was most common in CBH and least common in LBH, while prepositional goal-marking followed the opposite trajectory. Since P has lowest proportion of directive *he* goal-marking and the highest proportion of prepositional goal-marking, we could hypothesize that it is the latest of the sources, with D being the earliest (as it has the highest proportion of directive *he*).

However, this suggestion would be premature for several reasons. First, the frequency of directive *he* use in the D and Non-P sources is well above average for CBH texts, and even in the P source the frequency of directive *he* is only a bit below the CBH average—in the same range as in Samuel. Meanwhile, the frequency of accusative use in all three Pentateuchal sources is far below the average for any era/style category. Until we understand why directive *he* is so much more common and the accusative so much less common across the Pentateuchal sources than we would expect, we cannot use these rates of frequency as a data point for linguistic dating.

Second, the behavior of the individual prepositions in P does not match what we would expect from an LBH text (see 6.3.1 and 6.3.4). For example, in LBH *l-* becomes associated with inanimate goals, though it was previously used primarily for animate goals; yet in P the use of *l-* to mark inanimate goals is extremely unusual, even more unusual than it is on average in the CBH corpus. While P could still theoretically belong to the TBH corpus, it cannot be understood as LBH.

It seems more likely that the differences between proportions of goal-marking strategies in the sources are due to unconscious factors that impact the syntax, such as text type, genre, or authorship, rather than due to differences in the era/style corpus to which the sources belong.

Regarding the relationship between goal-marking strategy variation and Pentateuchal source, we conclude that

- Different sources have significantly different proportions of the three goal-marking strategies.
- The directive *he* and accusative of destination are most common in D and least common in P, while prepositional goal-markers show the inverse results.
- These differences may be due to issues of authorship, text type, genre, change over time, or some combination thereof; the data is not sufficient to make a determination at this time.

I return to a consideration of goal-marking in the Pentateuchal sources in 6.3.4.

3.2.2 Biblical Books Part 1

Biblical books, like Pentateuchal sources, are in large part constructed entities, although unlike the Pentateuchal sources they were constructed in antiquity. Someone decided that the Tetrateuch should be four books; someone decided where these texts should begin and end. Someone collected the Book of the Twelve (some of the component parts of which had been circulating previously in not-always-author-based divisions) and chose how to order the prophetic books.

Many of the same considerations that applied to the Pentateuchal sources also apply to the biblical books: they may have linguistic differences based upon differing authorship, different assemblages of genres and text types, differing styles or eras.

In this study, Goal Constructions were coded for the biblical book in which they were found. Several biblical books were conflated. First and Second Samuel were coded as one book; likewise First and Second Kings and First and Second Chronicles. I also created a ‘miscellaneous’ category into which I put observations for any books with less than 20 prose GCs each—namely Job, Qohelet, Joel, Amos, Jonah, Haggai, Malachi, and Psalms (headings).

Disentangling biblical book from the era/style variable was a serious challenge. Since many books fit into one and only one era/style corpus, the two variables are highly correlated (with a correlation coefficient of 0.81).²⁷³ Due to a combination of this high correlation and the large number of categories in the biblical book variable (20 in all) any models including both book and era/style did not converge; therefore, era/style was omitted from any models that included the book variable. Since the book models explicitly ignore a variable which we know to be significantly correlated with goal-marking strategy variation, the significance results for the individual biblical books should be treated with caution. In models without era/style, all book categories had a significant effect at the 0.01 level except for Deuteronomy, which was significant only at the 0.05 level.²⁷⁴ Drastic variation in the proportions of goal-marking strategies is not unexpected given the books' differing contents and the frequently small (from a statistical standpoint) number of GCs drawn from any given book.

In the following table, biblical books are tabulated against the goal-marking strategies used in each of them. Since book and era/style are such highly correlated variables, books assigned to the CBH corpus are marked in yellow, books that contain a mixture of CBH and transitional texts in green, the transitional corpus in blue, and the LBH corpus in purple.²⁷⁵ Books not assigned to an era/style are in white. Recall that in CBH the directive *he* marks an average of 18% of goals, the accusative 17%, and the prepositions 65% (see Table 3.1). In TBH the directive *he* and accusative are each used for about 14% and the prepositions for 73% of GCs. In LBH the directive *he* marks only 7% of goals, the accusative for 16%, and the prepositions for 77% of GCs. In Table 3.3 below, proportions significantly higher than the above-mentioned averages for the relevant era appear in **bold**, while proportions significantly lower appear in *italics*.

²⁷³ On a scale of -1.00 to 1.00, where a value of 1.00 indicates that the variables are completely correlated. The correlation between era/style and book is significant at the 0.01 level.

²⁷⁴ Note that Genesis was used as the base for comparison because it was coded as book 1 and because it contains numerous GCs. Thus the lower significance result for Deuteronomy suggests that Deuteronomy is the book most similar to Genesis in its proportions of goal-marking strategies.

²⁷⁵ This is only a rough categorization.

Table 3.3 Goal-Marking Strategies by Book, with row percentages

yellow = CBH, green = CBH+TBH, blue = TBH, purple = LBH

Book	Dir he	Dir he & prep	Acc	Prep	Totals
Genesis	103 (32.59%)	0	13 (5.11%)	200 (63.29%)	316 (100%)
Exodus	30 (18.87%)	0	9 (5.66%)	120 (75.47%)	159
Leviticus	4 (3.42%)	0	0 (0.00%)	113 (96.58%)	117
Numbers	22 (13.25%)	0	18 (10.84%)	126 (75.90%)	166
Deuteronomy	52 (32.91%)	0	14 (8.86%)	92 (58.23%)	158
Joshua	27 (18.88%)	0	21 (15.69%)	95 (66.43%)	143
Judges	34 (15.53%)	1	35 (15.98%)	149 (68.04%)	219
Samuel	69 (13.66%)	1	128 (25.35%)	307 (60.79%)	505
Kings	58 (15.43%)	2	88 (21.89%)	254 (63.18%)	402
Isaiah	4 (8.51%)	0	9 (19.15%)	34 (72.34%)	47
Jeremiah	32 (15.53%)	0	58 (28.16%)	116 (56.31%)	206
Ezekiel	21 (12.07%)	1	15 (8.62%)	134 (77.01%)	174
Zechariah	2 (7.41%)	0	4 (15.81%)	21 (77.78%)	27
Ruth	0 (0.00%)	0	11 (47.83%)	12 (52.17%)	23
Daniel	5 (18.52%)	0	6 (27.22%)	16 (59.26%)	27
Esther	0 (0.00%)	0	0 (0.00%)	39 (100.00%)	39
Ezra	0 (0.00%)	0	8 (25.81%)	23 (75.19%)	31
Nehemiah	1 (1.89%)	0	6 (11.32%)	46 (86.79%)	53
Chronicles	25 (9.40%)	0	47 (17.67%)	194 (72.34%)	266
Miscellaneous	7 (15.89%)	2	4 (8.51%)	34 (72.34%)	47

Table 3.3 shows that the various books' proportions of goal-marking strategies are quite diverse. The percentage of directive *he* goal-marking ranges from 0% in Ruth, Esther and Ezra to 32% in Genesis and Deuteronomy, with an average of 12.59%. Accusatives are used 0% of the time in Esther and Leviticus and 48% in Ruth, with an average of 15.82%. While prepositional GCs are used in a majority of cases in all biblical books, they range from 52% in Ruth to 100% in Esther, with an average of 71.46%.

What, if anything, can we conclude from this? We can say only that the scribal choices in each book are significantly different. As with source, we cannot say whether they vary due to authorship, their assemblages of text type or genre, their level of orality, or some other factor.

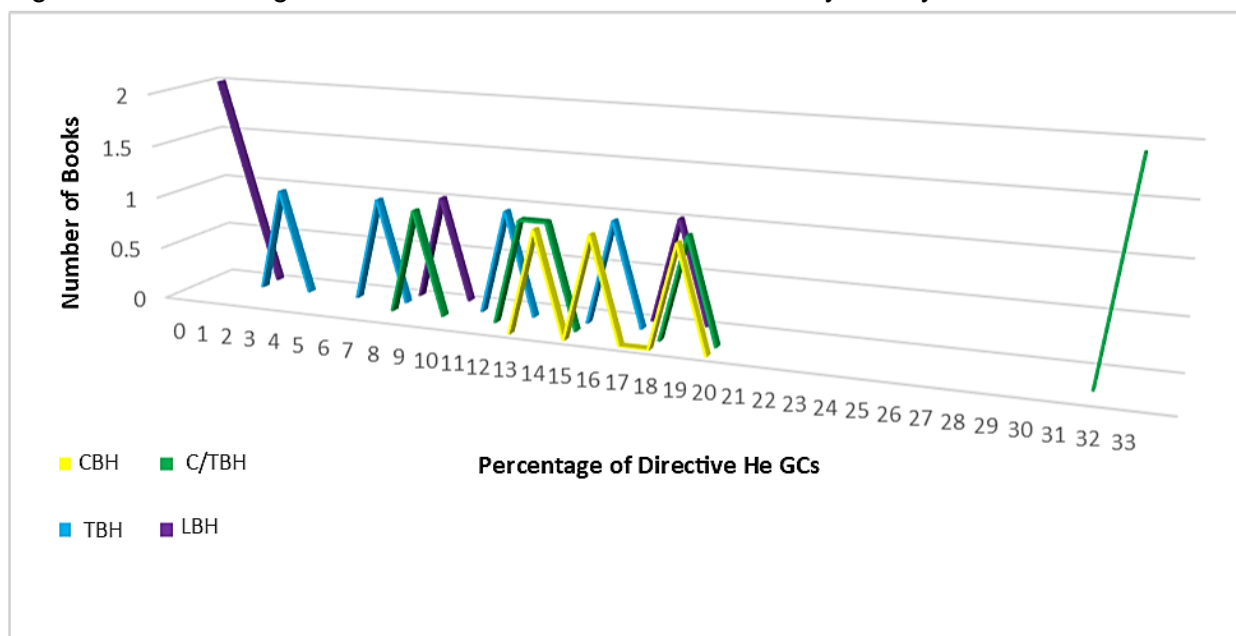
It is probable that some of the differences that we see here are the effect of change over time. Unfortunately, the only method we currently have to connect the biblical books with change over time is to divide them according to styles/eras.²⁷⁶ Two factors complicate any attempt to make these connections. First, the CBH style was used for hundreds of years,²⁷⁷ so texts within that corpus may belong to numerous temporal layers. There may be more temporal distance—and perhaps more unconscious diachronic changes, although linguistic change does not happen at a steady rate—between an early CBH text and a late CBH text than between a late CBH text and a late TBH text. Second, the texts in a given biblical book have sometimes been assigned by scholars to multiple era/style corpora. I have tried to compensate in Table 3.3 by giving these their own category (marked in green), but this obscures the differences between books like Kings and Isaiah, whose GCs have been assigned to CBH in over 90% of instances, and a book like Numbers, where the mix is almost 50%/50%.

In Figure 3.3, we see the distribution of proportions of directive *he* GCs in the biblical books. Each color series represents a different era/style.

²⁷⁶ See 3.1 for caveats. Fredrickson's current work using the interval LASSO to order the biblical books may help to address this problem, but his research has not yet been published (Fredrickson 2019).

²⁷⁷ According to the consensus of the Hurvitz School, with which I agree.

Figure 3.3 Percentages of Directive *He* in the Biblical Books, by era/style



We see that the purely CBH books, in yellow, are the most consistent with regard to directive *he*, using it 14-19% of the time. The mixed books use it, for the most part, between 10 and 19% of the time, with two books (Genesis and Deuteronomy) as high outliers using it 33% of the time. The TBH books show proportions ranging from 3 to 16%. LBH books fall most often in the 0-1% range, with an unusual high of 19% in the book of Daniel. In short, the CBH books have a relatively tight, coherent grouping, but the books of other era/style corpora have a lot of variation with respect to directive *he*.

It is difficult to know what to take away from this. With so many books, many of which contain few GCs, statistical analysis is less helpful. Even an examination of the individual prepositional preferences in each book (for which see 6.3.3) does not create clarity. At this point, we can say only that biblical books do have significantly different proportions of goal-marking strategies, and thus the book divisions do seem to be capturing some kind of compositional difference, although whether this is “authorship” or something else is impossible to determine based only on a study of goal-marking.

3.3 Choosing How to Say It

The scribes of the Hebrew Bible could not choose the time at which they were writing; nor could one author/redactor make his own linguistic choices exactly correspond to the choices of another scribe, however hard he might try. Yet the scribes could make choices about how they packaged the information and ideology that they desired to convey. They chose the style, the genre, and the text type that they found most appropriate to their purposes.

We can see this clearly from the way that certain information is conveyed in different texts using different styles, genres, and text types. For example, Exodus 14 describes Israel's crossing of the Red Sea and the destruction of the Egyptian army in narrative prose form; one chapter later this information is summarized and reframed in a hymn of praise to YHWH. Both Exodus 14 and Exodus 15 convey the information that Israel was divinely brought out of Egypt and that their pursuing enemies were divinely destroyed, but they express this in very different ways. To take another example, Exodus 20:8-11 contains Sabbath regulations framed as part of the legal code, while in Exodus 16 and in Numbers 15: 32-36 there are applications of this law given as narrative prose. All three of these passages encourage their audience to take the Sabbath regulations seriously, but they do so in different ways.

In this section, I consider how the Biblical Hebrew scribes chose to package the texts from which the Goal Constructions in my dataset were drawn. Did these 'packaging choices' have a significant impact on scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies? Two types of choices are discussed here: text type and more-oral versus less-oral style.

3.3.1 Text Type and Genre: A Messy Business

Writers can package texts in many different ways. In biblical studies, text type and genre are two different but entangled systems through which we strive to understand writers' packaging choices. Notions of text type, a discourse linguistics concept, have come into Biblical Hebrew Studies primarily through the work of Longacre (1983, 1987); while ideas of genre, originally a literary concept, have been common in the field for over a century, particularly in form-critical and genre-critical approaches to the Hebrew Bible. **Text type** models classify texts based primarily on

linguistic features including discourse features such as the writer's communicative intent, while **genre** models classify texts based on sociocultural features including topic and literary formulae. While the systems sometimes overlap, they also have substantial areas of discord. Until recently, Hebraists have tended to adopt one or the other of these systems; however, the last few decades have seen a number of scholars striving to find ways of incorporating both of them in linguistic analyses.²⁷⁸

3.3.1.1 Text Type and Speech in Previous Scholarship

Text type (sometimes known in discourse linguistics as text genre) classifies texts or spoken utterances based on the speaker/writer's communicative intent. Some common text types include narrative, in which the writer describes a sequence of events; procedural or instructional text, in which the writer gives instructions about how to do something; expository text, in which the writer explains something; hortatory or persuasive text, in which the writer urges the audience to do something; descriptive text, in which the writer describes something; and repartee, in which the writer "recounts speech exchange."²⁷⁹ To these Longacre adds predictive text, in which the writer describes the future; and juridical text, which contains laws or legal cases.²⁸⁰ Each of these text types is linguistically distinct in at least some languages, although the formal characteristics of each text type vary from language to language.

Longacre and his students have applied this text type model to the Hebrew Bible in an attempt to identify the formal characteristics of each text type in Biblical Hebrew. A summary of each text type's major characteristics appears in Table 3.4. These descriptions are based on the prose versions of each text type. A different set of types with their own formal characteristics have been proposed for poetic texts.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ e.g. Andersen and Forbes 2012, Polak 1998, and especially Polak 2012.

²⁷⁹ Larson 1984: 365-366. These discourse text types are described in more detail in Larson 1984: 367-388. On the value of considering discourse in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, see Buth 1995.

²⁸⁰ Longacre 1992: 181, 189.

²⁸¹ See Longacre 2002, Fariss 2003.

Table 3.4 Some Text Types and Their Formal Characteristics in the Work of Longacre²⁸²

Text Type	Major Characteristics in Biblical Hebrew
Narrative	foregrounded material: wayyiqtol preterite verbs, sequential and punctiliar, agent- and action-oriented backgrounded material: perfect verbs (not necessarily punctiliar); resultative or preparatory in verb-initial clauses, participant-oriented in non-verb-initial clauses
Predictive	weqatal verbs favored (verb-initial clauses), for sequential and punctiliar imperfects when verb non-initial or negated, refer to future
Instructional	weqatal verbs favored for major procedures imperfect in noun-initial clauses for minor procedures
Persuasive	strings of imperative/jussive/hortative clauses, verb or noun initial modal imperfects negative commands with <i>?al</i> or <i>pen</i> weqatal for result (if urged action is completed)
Expository	<i>hyh</i> and verbless clauses rare; persuasive text type often used instead
Juridical	laws with protases/apodoses <i>ki ... ?im</i> structure imperfect verb in protasis nonfinite/modal verb or no verb in apodosis

Miller and Kim work from a different text typical paradigm. Miller defined text types in terms of interactive reported speech, non-interactive reported speech, and narrative.²⁸³ Kim reduces the list of text types even further, dividing Biblical Hebrew texts into two “comprehensive text types,” recorded speech (which includes dialogues and lengthy quoted monologues, including legal and ritual material) and narration.²⁸⁴ He argues that these two text types reflect a basic distinction between the oral and the literate, with recorded speech having features of spoken Hebrew while narration lacks them.²⁸⁵ He suggests that the oral text type changed to reflect unconscious developments in contemporary spoken Hebrew, while any variants in the literate text type which don’t follow corresponding shifts in the oral text type are conscious stylistic changes.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Longacre 1992.

²⁸³ Miller 1996.

²⁸⁴ Kim 2013: 80.

²⁸⁵ Compare 3.3.2 below.

²⁸⁶ e.g. Kim 2013: 89-94, 105-106, 115, 121, 132-133, 139, 149-150. This is again a simplified generalization based on a more complex model from linguistics. Note that the scholars Kim quotes on this issue are arguing about changes

In the present study, I follow Miller in prioritizing the status of direct speech, indirect speech, and narration as text types, rather than following Longacre's more complex model for classifying Hebrew prose. Additional research on the interaction of Longacre's text types with goal-marking would be desirable.

3.3.1.2 A Note on Genre

Scholars interested in the composition of the Hebrew Bible have identified many biblical genres based on their topics, literary features, and sociocultural context (*Sitz im Leben*). These genres include case law, oracles against the nations, proverbs, vision reports, folk tales, hymns, treaties, love poems, and many more.²⁸⁷ Each has its own sociocultural function and setting. Many genres have characteristic linguistic features. For example, some may include first-person speeches or second-person address with a higher incidence of imperative verbs, while others only include third-person subjects and verbs. Of course, some of these linguistic features are ones which have already been shown to be significantly correlated with goal-marking; but it is also possible that the goal-marking strategies themselves could be characteristic features of certain genres. For example, goals in folk tales could almost all be marked with directive *he*, or goals in treaties could almost all be marked with the preposition *?el*. A thorough investigation of this issue could yield valuable information not only about goal-marking strategy variation but also about the ways that biblical genres were linguistically distinguished. However, since the number of biblical genres that have been proposed is large, genre has not been coded in the present study.

introduced via the lower classes rather than the higher classes, not specifically about changes in speech versus writing (ibid 89-94).

While Kim's project is methodologically valuable, it has a number of built-in problems which are not acknowledged in the text. Kim examines a number of variants (dependent variables) which occur relatively few times in the HB (the most common set of variants appears 283 times) and codes each of them for source/book, diachronic period (preexilic, exilic, postexilic), and text type (recorded speech, narrative). His time period assignments are assumed with brief discussion rather than defended. He does not distinguish between prose and poetry, although he omits Proverbs and Psalms from the analysis (ibid 72). The most serious problem here is the fact that he completely ignores any syntactic independent variables which could impact the realization of his variants.

²⁸⁷ For an introduction to form criticism and partial lists of proposed forms, see Tucker 1971, Hayes 1974, Sweeney 2014.

3.3.1.3 Coding Text Type

Which text types or genres should one code in a statistical analysis of Biblical Hebrew? Scholars are still wrestling with this problem. For example, in their 2012 volume *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*, Andersen and Forbes attempted to annotate all of the texts in the Hebrew Bible with phrase-structure tags, sources, and text types. Their text-type coding was, at that time, a work in progress, although their methodology for phrase-structure tagging was well established.²⁸⁸ They identified “four rough-and-ready text types”: narration, indirect speech, dialogue, and exposition (with minor text types not covered by the first three options subsumed under exposition), then addressed a plethora of additional discourse issues including discourse structure, knowledge bases, methods of representing the sentence/phrase, types of analytic procedures, and more.²⁸⁹ They also paid some (non-systematic) attention to genre (e.g. “oracles” and “responses”).²⁹⁰ As they themselves remark, “assembly and labeling of discourse structures [including text types] has scarcely begun.”²⁹¹ While the text-type coding in the work of Andersen and Forbes is incomplete, their methodological outline emphasizes the point that text type should ideally be coded as part of a network of discourse variables.

In the present study, I chose to omit genre considerations and focus on a simplified text type model inspired by the work of Longacre and Miller-Naudé.²⁹² I distinguished three categories: dialogue, narrative, and an intermediate category labelled as narrative speech.

Dialogue is characterized by direct exchanges between participants (interactive speech), often using first- and second-person pronouns. For example, in 1 Samuel 5:8 the Philistine rulers discuss what they should do with the captured ark. Some ask, “What shall we do about (*l-*) the

²⁸⁸ Andersen and Forbes 2012: 356.

²⁸⁹ Andersen and Forbes 2012: 314-318; see also Larson 1984: 389-465.

²⁹⁰ Andersen and Forbes 2012: 316, 357-358.

²⁹¹ Andersen and Forbes 2012: 319.

²⁹² Although I initially planned a complex coding for this variable, with dialogue, indirect speech, and instructional speech distinguished, legal versus cultic law separated, and narrative carefully classified, I soon found that for many observations it was impossible to choose between the various possibilities. cf. the difficulties chronicled by Anderson and Forbes 2012: 313, 318, 356-358.

ark of the God of Israel?” Others answer, “To Gath let the ark of the God of Israel be brought around.” Note the question and answer interactive format and the first plural pronoun (“What shall we do”) in the question.

Narrative, on the other hand, is usually characterized by the third-person description of events (although there is some first-person narration in prophetic books like Ezekiel), often in the form of a sequence of clauses coordinated by *wě-* (*and*). It is the most common text type in Biblical Hebrew prose. For example, consider 2 Chronicles 7. The first eleven verses are almost entirely narrative, with some brief reported speeches in verse 3 and perhaps verse 6. Even these short speeches don’t interrupt the sequence of *wě-* coordinated clauses.

Narrative speech is extended non-interactive speech which includes instructional and historical monologues. It is narrated in first person and normally directed at a second-person addressee (like dialogue) but is often organized into a sequence of *wě-* coordinated clauses (like narrative). Turning again to 2 Chronicles 7, verses 12-22 consist of a narrative speech by God to Solomon. This speech is narrated in first person (“I have heard your prayer”) and directed to a second-person addressee (“As for you, if you will walk before me”) but organized into a sequence of *wě-* coordinated clauses.²⁹³

It was sometimes difficult to distinguish between dialogue (interactive speech) and narrative speech (non-interactive speech). Should a short speech without narrative clause-coordination be classified as dialogue even if no response to this speech is recorded? (I decided that it should.) Should a lengthy monologue be counted as dialogue if there is a brief response to it? (I decided that it should not.) Another scholar might make different judgments about some of these texts.

²⁹³ There are also embedded short speeches from the hypothetical future Israelites.

3.3.1.4 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 1

Although text type was not significantly correlated with goal-marking, there are visible differences between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in the different text types, as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5: Goal-Marking Strategies by Text Type, with column percentages

Strategy	Dialogue	Narr Speech	Narrative	totals
directive <i>he</i>	73 (13.20%)	131 (15.90%)	292 (16.70%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	2	4	4	10
accusative	73 (13.20%)	93 (11.29%)	328 (18.76%)	494
preposition	405 (73.24%)	596 (72.33%)	1124 (65.30%)	2125
totals	553 (100%)	824 (100%)	1748 (100%)	3125

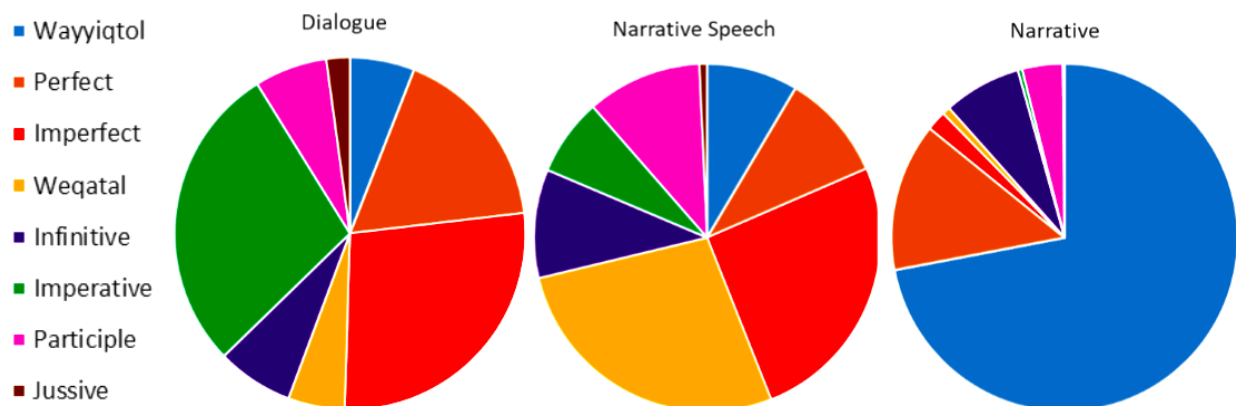
Both the directive *he* and the accusative are most common in narrative texts, where prepositional goal-marking is least common. In dialogue and narrative speech, the balance between prepositional goal-marking on the one hand and non-prepositional goal-marking on the other remains about the same (roughly 73 vs. 27% in both text types); but while the directive *he* and accusative goal-marking strategies are equally common in dialogue, the directive *he* is favored in narrative speech.

The clear difference between narrative and the other two text types was not found to be statistically significant due to the fact that another variable, verb principal part, already accounted for much of this variation. Each text type has a preferred repertoire of verbs and TAM features which help to predict which goal-marking strategy will be used, as shown in Figure 3.4 below.²⁹⁴ In dialogue, imperative and imperfect verbs are the most common (28% and 27% respectively), followed by perfect verbs (17%). In narrative speech, *weqatal* and imperfect verbs are the most common (27% and 25%), followed by perfect, infinitive, and participial verbs (all at around 10%). In narrative, *wayyiqtol* verbs are the most common (72%), followed by perfect verbs (14%), infinitives (7%), and participles (4%). The correlation between text type and proportions of verbs

²⁹⁴ See 5.1.2, and Table 5.4.

is strong and significant at the $p < 0.01$ level (correlation coefficient 0.5232). In other words, narrative texts use mostly perfective verbs (*wayyiqtol* and perfect); these favor non-prepositional goal-marking because completed actions are perceived as more prototypical. In dialogue and narrative speech, imperfective verbs are more common, making the motion situation less prototypical and thus disprefering the directive *he* and the accusative.

Figure 3.4 Text Types and the Verbs Found in Goal Constructions



One other factor may contribute to goal-marking variation between the text types. Scribes could be, consciously or unconsciously, writing the two reported-speech text types (dialogue and narrative speech) in a way that echoes real speech norms where the narrative text type reflects literate norms. In this case, that would mean that real first millennium Hebrew speech favors prepositional goal-marking. For additional evidence and discussion, see 6.3.1.

Regarding the relationship between goal-marking and text types we conclude that

- Differences in text types (defined as dialogue, narrative speech, and narrative) do not have a significant effect on goal-marking strategy choice. (However, as I find in 6.3.2, text type differences do affect which directional prepositions will be chosen for goal-marking.)
- The different verbal configurations of the text types do have a significant effect on goal-marking strategy choice.

- The reported-speech text types may reflect a balance of goal-marking strategies which conforms more closely to spoken norms than does the balance of strategies in narrative.
- The relationship between goal-marking and text type/genre could be reconsidered in future work if text type and/or genre are coded more thoroughly. Additional discourse variables should also be included in future studies.

3.3.2 More-Oral versus Less-Oral Styles

The best-characterized stylistic difference in BH prose is the difference between more-oral and less-oral styles, which has been described and defended in a series of articles by Frank Polak. Well-grounded in linguistic research into the cross-linguistic differences between speech and writing, Polak's work uses an expanding dataset and quantitative methods.

Polak has defined two major styles of prose in the Hebrew Bible: the **less-oral-like style**, which has characteristics of writing in a literate community in which the privileged means of conveying information is writing; and a **more-oral-like style**, which, although written, has similarities to the linguistic expressions common to cultures in which the prestigious means of conveying information is oral. The less-oral-like style (known in Polak's work as the Intricate Elaborate Style or IES) is characterized by numerous subordinate clauses, complex noun strings, more numerous explicit constituents and fewer pronominal or deictic references to constituents.²⁹⁵ These are all ingredients typical of writing in highly literate groups where writing is privileged.²⁹⁶ The more-oral-like style (known in Polak's current work as the Voiced Lean Brisk Style or VoLBS, and formerly as the Lean Brisk Style or Rhythmic Verbal Style) has few subordinate clauses, simpler nouns strings, fewer explicit constituents and more pronominal or deictic references to constituents,²⁹⁷ reflecting a community in which oracy (the art of conveying information through speech) is privileged and where the linguistic strategies of oral performance are well-known to

²⁹⁵ Polak 1998, 2002, 2003.

²⁹⁶ Polak 1998, 2006.

²⁹⁷ Polak 1998, 2002, 2003.

the writer.²⁹⁸ Polak has subdivided the more-oral-like style into VoLBS I and VoLBS II, where VoLBS II shows fewer oral-like characteristics than VoLBS I but still more than IES.²⁹⁹

Did the Hebrew scribes use goal-marking strategies differently when they spoke versus when they wrote? When they reported someone’s speech, did their use of goal-marking strategies shift toward the spoken norm? If so, we might expect to see a difference between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in more- versus less-oral texts.

The Goal Constructions in my dataset were coded as more- or less-oral-like on the basis of Polak’s work. The difference between VoLBS I and VoLBS II was not coded, since many texts described as VoLBS in his published articles are not explicitly assigned to one or the other.³⁰⁰ GCs which fall outside of the texts which have been categorized by Polak were not coded for orality.³⁰¹

Table 3.6 summarizes the correlations of the goal-marking strategies with the more- and less-oral stylistic corpora.

Table 3.6: Goal-Marking Strategies by Oral-like-ness, with column percentages

Strategy	More Oral Like	Less Oral Like	totals
directive <i>he</i>	191 (18.74%)	128 (13.68%)	319
preposition + <i>he</i>	3 (0.29%)	0 (0%)	3
accusative	178 (17.47%)	149 (15.92%)	327
preposition	647 (63.49%)	659 (70.41%)	1306
totals	1019 (100.00%)	936 (100.00%)	1955

According to the available data, directive *he* is more common in more-oral-like texts (where it marks about 19% of goals) than in less-oral-like texts (where it marks only about 14%). The reverse is true for prepositional goal-marking, which is used only 63% of the time in more-oral texts but 70% in less-oral texts.

²⁹⁸ Polak 1998, 2006, 2010, 2015, 2017.

²⁹⁹ Polak 2006.

³⁰⁰ Dr. Polak kindly clarified his position with regards to a number of texts in a series of emails in the spring and summer of 2018. Any disparities between his opinions and my coding are my own errors. The master list of texts-to-level-of-orality assignments which I created based on his work can be found in Appendix 4. In cases where the published articles differed from one another, the text-assignment in the most recent article was taken as correct.

³⁰¹ As of 2018, Polak’s classification of texts into more-oral and less-oral styles covers two-thirds of the Goal Constructions in my dataset (1955 out of 3125 observations).

This small but clear difference was not statistically significant, probably because the differences between more- and less-oral texts could be understood to be motivated by a change in era/style. Of our three era/style corpora, 70%³⁰² of CBH texts are more-oral-like, meaning that since directive *he* is more common in CBH than in other era/style corpora we would expect it to be more common in more-oral texts than in less-oral texts—which is indeed our finding. Then, 87% of TBH texts and 100% of LBH texts are less-oral-like; they have a higher proportion of prepositional goal-marking, so it is no surprise that less-oral texts also have a higher proportion of prepositional goal-marking. The era/style variable is powerful enough to mask any effect that orality might have on the choice of goal strategies.³⁰³ However, in a study of the specific directional prepositions used in more- versus less-oral texts, I found that there is a statistically significant difference in their use of *l-* : *l-* is significantly more likely to be used for goal-marking in less oral texts, whether those less oral texts come from the CBH or LBH corpora (see 6.3.6 for details).

Since we have been discussing the effects that diachrony may have on our understanding of the significance of orality in a study of goal-marking, it is necessary to clarify one important point regarding the relationship between era/style corpora and the more- versus less-oral styles. Texts in the more-oral styles are only found in the earlier Biblical Hebrews, not in LBH, while texts in the less-oral styles are found in all three BH diachronic corpora. In other words, in earlier

³⁰² 70% of the CBH texts which could be coded for orality.

³⁰³ The difference in proportions of goal-marking strategies in the more- versus less-oral texts could also be motivated by some of the syntactic factors that help to define the more- and less-oral corpora in Polak's work. A survey of the syntactic factors coded in this study showed that more-oral Goal Constructions were more likely to have elliptical objects, to have pronominal subjects, to have pronominal Goals, to have simple Goals without adjuncts; less-oral Goal Constructions, on the other hand, are more likely to have subjects or objects which are lists (complex constituents). These are the feature values we expect for more- and less-oral texts as defined by Polak. These linguistic features are a mixed bag in terms of their effect on goal-marking. Pronominal subjects and simple Goals without adjuncts would fit into prototypical Motion Constructions, and thus would promote the use of directive *he* and the accusative; pronominal Goals and elliptical objects, on the other hand, would be atypical ingredients for a Motion Construction and would suggest the use of prepositional goal-marking.

I note also that more-oral texts are significantly more likely to have animate goals (which demand prepositional marking) and to have unmarked (indefinite common or proper, not definite common; singular, not plural) subjects and objects. More-oral GCs are more likely to contain dialogue, and also contain more wayyiqtol and imperative verbs than do less-oral GCs. Again, these linguistic factors would have mixed effects on goal-marking.

Biblical Hebrews both more- and less-oral styles are available for Hebrew writing, while in LBH only less-oral styles are available. There is no evidence which allows us to say that the more-oral-like CBH material is necessarily earlier than the less-oral-like CBH material.³⁰⁴ Many communities across time and space have innovated both texts and elaborate orate utterances at the same time; these forms of expression have tended to support, not to undercut, one another.³⁰⁵ Thus, more-oral-like texts should not be labeled as pre-exilic because they are oral-like *per se*; instead, they may be labeled as pre-exilic because they conform to one of the styles in the CBH pre-exilic scribal repertoire.

Regarding the interaction of goal-marking strategy choice and oral-like-ness, we can say

- Directive *he* goal-marking is more common in more-oral-like texts (VoLBS), while prepositional goal-marking is more common in less-oral-like texts (IES). This is not a significant result.
- The difference in proportions of goal-marking strategies between more- and less-oral-like texts may be an artifact of other linguistic factors, such as era/style.
- This analysis should be redone when the entire Goal Construction dataset can be coded for oral-like-ness.

3.4 Where Did They Come From? Dialect Part 1

Where did the writers of the Hebrew Bible come from? Israel or Judah? Ramoth Gilead or Gaza? City or country? We know that there were distinct spoken dialects in Israel and Judah.³⁰⁶ In Judges 12: 4-6 angry Gileadites were able to recognize fleeing Ephraimites because they pronounced the *šîn* sound as a *sāmek* sound. In Matthew 26: 73, the people in the high priest's courtyard identify Peter as a Galilean on the basis of his accent. Certainly the scribes of the Hebrew Bible would have been raised speaking a variety of Hebrew dialects, which might have

³⁰⁴ contra Polak 1998, 2002.

³⁰⁵ Miller 2015: 182-183.

³⁰⁶ Garr 1985.

impacted their written language either through unconscious interference, conscious decisions, or regional scribal norms. So the scribes' dialects could be a source of linguistic variation in the Hebrew Bible.

However, studying the dialects of ancient Israel and Judah through the surviving texts is a difficult business. How can we be sure that a given linguistic variant is dialect-driven (rather than time-driven, style-driven, or genre-driven)? And how certain are we that dialect differences will even be visible in the Hebrew Bible, which is not only written (which tends to flatten many dialect differences) but almost entirely curated in Judah?³⁰⁷

The dialect distinction which has received the most attention is the divide between Israelite and Judean varieties of written Biblical Hebrew.³⁰⁸ Rendsburg has compiled a list of the suggested Israelite/Northern Hebrew features which include phonological ones (e.g. monophthongization of diphthongs), morphological ones (such as 2fs pronoun *?atti*, feminine noun patterns ending in *-at* or *-ôt*, the non-elision of *he* in *hip'il* imperfects), syntactic ones (such as double plurals in construct chains, or *?al* used to negate nouns), and, most notably, lexical ones (with 153 lexical items identified as Northern).³⁰⁹ While some of these linguistic variants have been cited by other scholars as pertaining to style, genre, or change over time, rather than dialect, the assemblage of features which Rendsburg presents is still intriguing.³¹⁰

Rendsburg identifies several types of biblical texts in which Northern Hebrew elements appear. First, there is a corpus of texts which may be of Northern origin (such as the book of Amos) or based on Northern source material (such as the sections of the book of Kings dealing

³⁰⁷ cf. Schneidewind and Sivan 1997; Pat-EI 2017.

³⁰⁸ Other suggestions include a Benjaminite dialect, "a border dialect, at times sharing features with IH, at times sharing features with JH. The book of Jeremiah and the material about Saul in the book of 1 Samuel are the natural places to look for potential Benjaminite dialectal features" (Rendsburg 2003:7); and Samarian, Galilean, and Transjordanian Northern subdialects (Rendsburg 2013: 339).

³⁰⁹ Rendsburg 2003.

³¹⁰ For a detailed critique of Rendsburg's features, see Pat-EI 2017. On change over time within Northern Hebrew, see Rendsburg 2012. He notes significant constancy in Northern Hebrew from early CBH texts all the way through to Mishnaic Hebrew (Rendsburg 2012: 350-351), but since one of his criteria for identifying a feature as Northern is its attestation in possibly northern texts across time this is a circular argument for some linguistic features (cf. Talshir 2003: 270-275).

with the kings of Israel).³¹¹ Second, there are texts in which the (non-Northern) scribe style-switches into Northern dialect to give an appropriate local flavor when the events he describes are taking place in Northern or Aramaic settings (as in Job, Numbers 22-24, Genesis 24, or Genesis 29-31).³¹² Third, there are texts in which the (non-Northern) scribe style-switches into Northern dialect or Aramaic-like language to give a foreign flavor because non-Judean audiences are being addressed (e.g. in some oracles against the nations in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel).³¹³

In the present analysis, only the corpus of texts which are claimed to be of Northern origin or closely based on Northern source material were coded as Northern. Since there are no guarantees that any Judean scribes style-switching into Northern dialect were doing so accurately and completely, the second and third categories of 'Northernized' texts were omitted from consideration. Texts from the LBH corpus were also not coded for dialect. While Rendsburg has argued for the continuance of Northern Hebrew features into the Mishnaic period,³¹⁴ after the fall of the Northern kingdom there would have been a massive discontinuity in Samaritan scribal culture, just as there would later be for the Judean scribal culture.³¹⁵ Thus after this point it is less likely the texts closely adhering to pre-exilic Northern scribal norms would be produced.

Again, texts identified as of Northern origin or as based on Northern source material were coded as Northern in this study. But texts not coded as Northern are not necessarily fully southern

³¹¹ Rendsburg 2002:149, Rendsburg 2003: 8; Yoo 1999; Noegel and Rendsburg 2009. The list includes blessings on the northern tribes in Gen 49 and Deut 33; Lev 25:13-24; Deut 32; some stories in Judges (e.g. Gideon, Deborah, Jephthah); 2 Sam 23:1-7; 1 Kgs 12:25-35, 13:1-34, 14:1-20, 15:25-34, 16:1-34, 17:1-24, 18:1-46, 19:1-21, 20:1-43, 21:1-29, 22:1-40&52-54; 2 Kgs 1:1-18, 2:1-25, 3:1-27, 4:1-44, 5:1-27, 6:1-33, 7:1-20, 8:1-15&28-29, 9:1-28&30-37, 10:1-35, 13:1-25, 14:11-16&23-29, 15:8-31, 17:1-41; Hosea; Amos; Micah 6-7; Psalms 9, 10, 16, 29, 36, 42- 50, 53, 58, 73-85, 87-88, 116, 132, 133, 140, 141; Proverbs; Song of Songs; Qohelet; Neh 9 (Rendsburg 1990: 51, 73; Chen 2000; Rendsburg 2002: 23-24; Rendsburg 2003: 8).

³¹² Rendsburg 2003: 8; Rendsburg 2015. The attentive reader will note that all of the texts assigned to the ABH era/style (see 3.1) are assumed to be Northern by Rendsburg. See Rendsburg 2009 for a detailed defense of his claim that Deut 33 is Northern, not Archaic.

³¹³ Rendsburg 2003: 8; Rendsburg 2006; see critique in Pat-El 2017: 234.

³¹⁴ Rendsburg 1992; Rendsburg 2012; Rendsburg 2013: 339.

³¹⁵ As noted by Rendsburg himself in Rendsburg 2012: 351. On the disruption in Judean scribal culture, see Talshir 2003; Schniedewind 2017. The disruption of Samaritan scribal culture would have been even more dramatic. Although some Samaritan scribes may have fled south to Judah, and others have been co-opted into Neo-Assyrian service, their status as an independent and respected scribal community sponsored by the Israelite court was gone forever (cf. Schniedewind 2013: 86-90).

The introduction of these Samaritan refugees into the Judean scribal community could have led to a greater prominence of Northern dialect features in LBH (see Wright 2003) although additional analysis is needed to support this claim.

(Judean). Unfortunately, scholars interested in dialect have not been as interested in the Judean scribal norms; thus, when they examine a text and find it to be Judean rather than Northern, this information is not necessarily published. Therefore, texts that have not been classified as Northern may either have been examined and found to be Judean in character, or may not have been examined. The class of unexamined texts may include additional Northern texts. As a result, in my dataset texts are coded as Northern or Undetermined, not as Northern or Judean. In the future, if scholarly consensus supports the existence of a written dialectal difference in the Hebrew Bible and the CBH texts have been completely classified in terms of dialect, this part of my analysis can be recoded and rerun. If, of course, scholars ultimately agree that written dialectal differences cannot be identified in the Hebrew Bible, this part of my analysis can be discarded.

Table 3.7: Goal-Marking Strategies by Dialect, with column percentages, excluding LBH texts

Strategy	Northern	Undetermined	totals
directive <i>he</i>	52 (16.46%)	406 (17.24%)	458
preposition + <i>he</i>	1	7	8
accusative	48 (15.19%)	377 (16.01%)	425
preposition	215 (68.04%)	1565 (66.45%)	1780
totals	316 (100%)	2355 (100%)	2671

The directive *he* and the accusative of direction are slightly less common in Northern texts. The fact that this tiny difference was statistically significant is almost certainly a result of overfitting. This is all the more likely because an analysis of the specific directional prepositions chosen in Northern vs. Undetermined CBH texts found no significant differences (see 6.3.5).

Regarding dialect and goal-marking strategy variation we conclude that

- There is little difference between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in Northern versus Undetermined CBH texts.
- This analysis should be run again when more information is available.

3.5 In Sum

There are many extragrammatical factors which impact the way a person uses language: the time and place in which they live; their age, gender, education, and social class; their purpose in speaking or writing; the audience they expect to have; and more. Unfortunately, while all of these factors would have influenced the scribes who made the Hebrew Bible, many of them are inaccessible to us. In this chapter, I address the effects that a few extragrammatical factors—change over time, authorship (?) of text divisions, linguistic packaging choices, and dialect—had on goal-marking alternation between the directive *he*, accusative, and directional prepositions in Biblical Hebrew. Each of these factors is taken up again in 6.3, where I examine scribes' choices between the directional prepositions.

Scribes' goal-marking choices are significantly different in the Classical vs. Transitional vs. Late Biblical Hebrew corpora. While scribes across time use the accusative of direction in a fairly consistent 13-17% of cases, the directive *he* falls off sharply in Late Biblical Hebrew. Although there are several different possibilities that could account for these results, given the gap between the use of the cognate strategy in Aramaic and the 7% of cases in which it is still used here the most likely possibility is that this lower proportion of directive *he* represents not a conscious attempt to avoid this characteristic CBH feature but a partially successful attempt to hold onto it. In any case, the scribes of at least one of these corpora seem to have been consciously manipulating the proportion of directive *he* goal-marking.

There are also significant differences between goal-marking strategy choices in biblical books (even within era/style corpora) and in Pentateuchal sources. In the Pentateuchal sources, the D and Non-P material has much more frequent use of directive *he* goal-marking than other biblical material, while the P source favors prepositional marking. While it might be tempting to understand this difference as an effect of change over time, various complications make this hypothesis less secure. P cannot belong to the LBH corpus, as *l-* retains its association with animate goals. While P has a somewhat reduced repertoire of goal-marking strategies which matches fairly well with TBH, it is also within the range of possibilities for CBH. Thus, other

possibilities such as difference in genre and text type should be thoroughly investigated before using this data in a diachronic argument.

While not statistically significant, cross-correlation shows that the proportions of goal-marking strategies are different in different text types and in more- versus less-oral texts. Directive *he* and the accusative are more common in narrative than in dialogue or narrative speech, while prepositional marking is least common in narrative. This is partly due to the different verbal configurations of the text types, but may also occur because scribes reporting speech shifted their goal-marking repertoires toward the more limited repertoires in use in real speech. Directive *he* and the accusative are more common in more-oral texts than in less-oral texts, while prepositional marking is more common in less-oral texts; however, this may be an effect of era/style rather than an effect of orality *per se*.

There is little if any apparent difference between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in Northern texts versus texts of undetermined dialect. However, if more texts are assigned to dialects, this result may be revisited.

Why did scribes write things one way and not another? Clearly, some of their choices were based on things of which they were not consciously aware. For example, while LBH-using scribes may have known that they were creating new written norms, they may not have been aware of the ways that Aramaic impacted those norms. Some of their choices may have been due to conscious or unconscious personal preferences (as in the Pentateuchal sources or biblical books?). Still other choices seem to reflect conscious attempts to manipulate language for ideological reasons, as in their use of the directive *he* in later Biblical Hebrews.

But an examination of extra-grammatical factors alone doesn't give us the information we need to say "such-and-such goal-marking choices were conscious and made for ideological reasons." There are many more factors which can impact a BH scribe's use of goal-marking strategies than have been considered in this chapter. In Chapters 4 and 5, I investigate the

syntactic-semantic, morphological, and phonological factors of a Goal Construction which can influence the scribe's choice of goal-marking strategies.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Four: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND PROTOTYPICAL SEMANTIC ROLES

Chapter Outline

- 4.1 *The Data: Goal Variables and Goal-Marking Restrictions*
 - 4.1.1 *The Goal's Final Phoneme: A Restriction on Directive He (and the Accusative)*
 - 4.1.2 *Goal Salience Features*
 - 4.1.2.1 *Animacy and Individuation of the Goal: Restrictions on Directive He and the Accusative*
 - 4.1.2.2 *The Definiteness of the Goal: A Restriction on Directive He*
 - 4.1.3 *The Complexity of the Goal: A Restriction on Directive He*
 - 4.1.4 *Excursus: Lexical and Syntactic Priming*
- 4.2 *Prototypical Semantic Roles*
 - 4.2.1 *What is a Linguistic Prototype?*
 - 4.2.1.1 *Birds and Other Prototypical Categories*
 - 4.2.2 *Prototypical Semantic Roles: Agent and Patient*
 - 4.2.3 *The Prototypical Goal in Biblical Hebrew and Beyond*
 - 4.2.3.1 *Excursus: Goal-Marking and Haspelmath's Proposed Category of Topo-nouns*
- 4.3 *Markedness*
 - 4.3.1 *Goal Markedness Restricting Directive He*
 - 4.3.2 *Markedness, Iconicity, Salience, and the Survival of a Diverse Goal-Marking Repertoire*
- 4.4 *In Sum*
 - 4.4.1 *Can We Predict the Scribes' Choices Based on the Goal's Characteristics?*

In section 1.1, it was explained that a Goal Construction (GC) minimally includes three elements: a subject which is moving and/or causing the motion of an object, a verb which can be interpreted as a verb of motion, and a goal phrase indicating movement to a goal. In Biblical Hebrew, scribes had a choice of three strategies for marking a goal every time they wrote or copied a GC: directive *he*, the accusative of destination, or directional prepositions. In section 2.3.3, it was shown that many syntactic and descriptive variables have a statistically significant impact on scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies. These significant variables include six that have to do with the structure and nature of the goal phrase itself: the goal's final phoneme; its animacy, definiteness, individuation, and complexity; and the presence of adjuncts to the goal. Another variable, the number of the goal, was not found to be significant.

In this chapter, I show the directive *he* and the accusative of destination are restricted or dispreferred in conjunction with some outcomes for these variables, while other outcomes only restrict the directive *he*. Directional prepositions, taken as a class, are not restricted by any goal variables (see 6.2 for an analysis of individual prepositions). Next, I demonstrate that the results for six of these seven variables (excluding the goal's final phoneme) can be explained by referring to prototypical characteristics of the goal role (4.2) and to issues of markedness (4.3). The directive *he* and the accusative are used to mark more prototypical goals, and the directive *he* is strongly correlated with unmarked goals. The findings related in this chapter serve as the foundation for the broader discussion of Motion Constructions and prototypical motion to a goal which is found in Chapter 5.

This chapter makes several contributions to larger discussions of methods and pedagogy in Hebrew linguistics. First, in this chapter I show that syntactic-semantic and phonological variables which have been ignored in previous studies of Biblical Hebrew goal-marking have a powerful impact on the goal-marking strategies which the scribes choose to use in each Goal Construction; not only extra-grammatical factors but also linguistic ones must be incorporated in studies of biblical language if there is to be any hope of balanced and accurate results. Second, I demonstrate that Biblical Hebrew is sensitive to the typical characteristics of NPs filling semantic roles (e.g. Agent, Patient, Goal), suggesting both that BH semantic roles would be a fruitful topic for further study and that they should be given greater (or, indeed, any) attention in the Hebrew grammars.

4.1 The Data: Goal Variables and Goal-Marking Restrictions

Goals come in all shapes and sizes. Some are nouns, some pronouns. They may be singular or plural, places or people. Some are very short, consisting of a single morpheme, while others are very long, consisting of construct chains with a relative clause adjunct. The nature and structure of the goal significantly impacts what strategies can be used to mark it.

4.1.1 The Goal's Final Phoneme: A Restriction on Directive *He* (and the Accusative)

Phonology and prosody have an impact on which goal-marking strategies can be used with a given goal. For example, since Biblical Hebrew does not allow vowel hiatus, we predict that the directive *he* suffix, which begins with a vowel, was not allowed to attach to a goal ending in a vowel, as this would create a hiatus situation.

Table 4.1 shows the correlations of the goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, double-marked goals with preposition and directive *he*, accusative of destination, and directional prepositions) with different options for the final phoneme of the word to which the directive *he* could have added. (In the case of construct chains, the directive *he* would have added to the first word.) The three main categories distinguished were goals ending in vowels, goals ending in guttural consonants (i.e. *?ālep*, *'ayin*, *ḥêt*), and goals ending in non-guttural consonants.³¹⁶ A category for goals including a pronominal element (either because the goal was a pronoun or because it was a noun carrying a possessive pronominal suffix in the slot where directive *he* would be expected to attach) is also distinguished.³¹⁷

Table 4.1: Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Final Phoneme, with column percentages

Strategy	non-guttural consonant	guttural consonant	vowel	pronominal element	totals
directive <i>he</i>	495 (22.91%)	0 (0%)	1 (0.36%)	0	496
preposition + <i>he</i> ³¹⁸	9	0	1	0	10
accusative	441 (20.41%)	6 (15.00%)	46 (16.61%)	1 (0.15%)	494
preposition	1216 (56.27%)	34 (85.00%)	229 (82.67%)	646 (99.85%)	2125
totals	2161 (100%)	40 (100%)	277 (100%)	647 (100%)	3125

³¹⁶ The term “guttural” in BH Studies refers to the four consonants which have uvular, pharyngeal, or glottal articulation. Note that nouns with the feminine *he* ending revert to an historical *tav* ending when directive *he* is added, so these goals were coded as ending in non-guttural consonants. Nouns ending in non-feminine *he* (like *maḥaneh*, “camp”) were coded as ending in vowels, since these final *he*'s are *matres lectionis* and not pronounced.

³¹⁷ Construct chains ending in possessive suffixes are not a problem for directive *he*, as the possessive suffix in these cases comes at the end of the chain, while the directive *he* adds to the first construct noun.

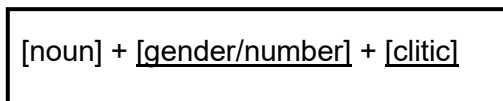
³¹⁸ Note that here and throughout my analysis percentages are not given for the preposition plus *he* option, as there are too few observations to make it statistically relevant. However, this option patterns with the directive *he* GCs throughout.

This table clearly shows that directive *he* can only add to goals ending in non-guttural consonants which do not include pronominal elements.³¹⁹ The accusative of destination is not affected by the final phoneme of the goal which it marks, but is restricted from occurring with goals which include pronominal elements.³²⁰ The directional prepositions are unaffected by the final phoneme of the goal.

The reason for the directive *he*'s sensitivity to the goal's final phoneme is obvious; but why are both the directive *he* and the accusative restricted from applying to goals including pronominal elements? Here it is necessary to distinguish between goals which are themselves pronominal (which will be discussed with goal individuation, below), and goals which are common nouns carrying possessive pronominal suffixes.

The directive *he* cannot add to one-word goals with possessive suffixes because BH has limited slots for suffixation. For a common noun, the first slot is reserved for the gender/number suffix; the second slot may be occupied by either a possessive suffix or the directive *he*. This second slot can be understood as the clitic slot, as the possessive suffix paradigm may have originated as a set of clitics.³²¹

Figure 4.1 Options for BH Noun Suffixation



The reason why possessive suffixes should restrict the use of the accusative of destination is more opaque. There are several possible explanations.

³¹⁹ The only possible exception is in 2 Sam 23:11: "And the Philistines gathered to Lehi (*laḥayyah*)." Although in its bare form this noun ends in a *yod* which is understood as a long $-ī$, when this GN carries the directive *he* suffix the *yod* is interpreted as consonantal, as one can see from the doubling *dagesh*.

³²⁰ The single observation in which the accusative is used for a goal with a pronominal suffix is in Dan 11:28: "Now he will return to his land (*?aršo*) with great wealth." The language of the book of Daniel is atypical for the Hebrew Bible both in general and with reference to goal-marking choices (see 3.2.2).

³²¹ Synchronically, some possessive suffixes in Masoretic pointings of BH can take stress and thus are no longer clitic by most definitions.

Option 1. The use of the accusative is restricted by analogy with the restriction on directive *he*.

Option 2. Before the loss of the case system in Northwest Semitic, the accusative case ending would have been lost or changed to a genitive case ending before a possessive suffix. Since we lack evidence for a “genitive of direction,” it seems that directional prepositions were preferred to mark goals with possessive pronoun endings in order to avoid ambiguity. The overwhelming preference for directional prepositions in this environment was retained even after the case system was lost.

Both options are possible. The second option is perhaps more likely, even though it depends on the retention of a point of historical grammar whose original linguistic motivation has been lost.

The (non-significant) correlation between goal number and scribes’ choice of goal-marking strategies may also be due to the directive *he*’s sensitivity to the goal’s final phoneme. BH scribes use prepositions 88% of the time with plural goals. This is at least partly because masculine plural construct nouns end in vowels (-ē), thus blocking the use of directive *he*.

4.1.2 Goal Salience Features

Are the BH scribes marking a goal which is a living being? Is the goal referred to by name (*Joshua, Jerusalem*) or is it just a common noun (*man, city*) or a pronoun (*he, they*)? Is it definite (*the mountain*) or indefinite (*a mountain*)? The answers to these questions significantly impact scribes’ choices between goal-marking strategies.

Such questions, concerned as they are with animacy, definiteness, and individuation, can all be understood as aspects of a rather nebulous property known as **salience**—the degree to which a constituent is clearly conceptualized.³²² Animate, definite, and individuated (proper and singular) nouns are more salient, easier to conceptualize and more likely to be topical or

³²² cf. LaPolla et al 2011: 475 on the entanglement of these concepts.

foregrounded in a clause. Inanimate, indefinite, and unindividuated (common and plural) nouns are less salient and more likely to function as background in a clause.³²³ Thus, all other things being equal, if a certain constituent needs to be in the foreground in a certain sentence, it will be more salient than if it is background information. For example, in a default transitive clause we expect a subject to act effectively on a object, as in *Jonathan hit the ball*. In this example sentence, both *Jonathan* and *the ball* are fairly salient; both are unique referents that can be easily identified, so we can visualize this event clearly. On the other hand, if the sentence is *Somebody hit something*, where both the subject and object lack salience, we have no idea what has happened. As humans process language assembled by others, we tend to perceive more salient actors as acting more effectively, and salient objects as being more affected. I argue below that we also understand more salient goals as better measures of the success of someone's motion.

Animacy, the first of our salience features, is concerned with the question, "Is this entity/object alive or not?" If it is understood as a binary feature, living nouns/pronouns are animate, while nonliving things are inanimate; but in actual usage animacy is more like a continuum, with some living things perceived as more animate than others. Scholars such as Comrie and Croft have arranged different classes of nominals and pronominals into a universal animacy scale. In this scale, pronouns are considered to be the most animate, followed by human nouns; nonhuman animate nouns are less animate, and inanimate nouns are the least animate.³²⁴

Figure 4.2 Animacy Scale

Most animate Least animate
 1st p. pronoun > 2nd p. pronoun > 3rd p. pronoun > human > nonhuman animate > inanimate

³²³ Similar lists of ingredients are collected under the labels of salience, potency, prominence, topicality, or individuation (defined broadly); however, these labels are not wholly synonymous, arising as they do from different linguistic schools and perspectives (cf. Lyons 1999: 215). Lyons argues for the use of "prominence," a somewhat ambiguous term describing an NP's place in the information structure of a clause (Lyons 1999: 226). Givon, on the other hand, prefers the pragmatic "topicality" (Givon 2001 I:196, 472-474). Naess chooses "individuation" as the most neutral of the available options. Although I follow Naess in much of my terminology, I use salience here in order to avoid confusion with the narrowly defined property of individuation (see below). For an introduction to information structure in the light of Biblical Hebrew, see Hataav 2017: 214-220.

³²⁴ Comrie 1989: 185-200; Bossong 1991; Croft 2003: 128-132, 134, 166-169; Bekins 2014: 5. Note that pronouns referring to inanimate objects should be in their own category, perhaps between nonhuman animate and inanimate in the scale.

Even this complex animacy scale is reductionistic. Lyons notes that “the animacy hierarchy is actually a complex clustering of distinct parameters: person, noun phrase type, animacy proper, and probably definiteness, with first and second person pronouns as the link between at least some of them, since they are pro-nominal, human, and definite.”³²⁵ Animacy and definiteness cannot be disentangled.

Definiteness and individuation, our second and third salience features, are even more tightly woven together.³²⁶ When understood as binary, **individuation** has to do with whether a noun is common or proper, while **definiteness** is concerned with whether a noun is definite or indefinite. However, these two features are usually studied as a composite continuum. Pronouns are the most individuated, followed by personal names, then various categories of common nouns: definite nouns, indefinite specific nouns, and finally nonspecific indefinite nouns.³²⁷ Partitives (“some of, enough of, several of”) are usually understood as indefinite.³²⁸

Figure 4.3 Definiteness/Individuation Scale

Most definite/individuated Least definite/individuated
Pronouns > Proper Nouns > Definite Common Ns > Indefinite Specific Common Ns > Nonspecific Indefinite Common Ns

Once again, these features are more complex than the scale suggests. For example, consider definiteness. Nouns may be marked as definite because they are specific, identifiable, unique, familiar, inclusive, or (usually) some combination thereof.³²⁹ However, not all languages treat these aspects of definiteness equally. Some languages, like Samoan and Maori, mark noun specificity but not other aspects of definiteness.³³⁰ Languages also differ as to which classes of words are considered to require definite marking. The class of generics (e.g. *dogs* in *Dogs enjoy the outdoors*) don't take definite marking in some languages (like English) but must take it in

³²⁵ Lyons 1999: 214; cf. Croft 2003: 169. The potential for agency is also entangled here.

³²⁶ Salience features are best captured in a semantic map. See Croft 2003: 133-139 for prolegomena.

³²⁷ Croft 2003: 128-132, 166-169; Bekins 2014: 5; Grimm 2018. The use of specificity is not uncontroversial. Some scholars would prefer to decompose this scale into several overlapping but distinct hierarchies (Lyons 1999: 215).

³²⁸ Lyons 1999: 36ff.

³²⁹ cf. Lyons 1999: 2-7. Lyons suggests that definiteness may also be a property of some verbs; for example, of verbs in the preterite which have a specific time reference (ibid 45).

³³⁰ Lyons 1999: 58.

others (like French).³³¹ Proper nouns are not considered definite in some languages (although in BH they clearly are).³³² Even personal pronouns vary in their degrees of definiteness.³³³

Distinguishing which nouns are (more) definite can be a complex task. While some version of the definiteness scale seems to be active across languages, its exact realization may vary. For example, in Biblical Hebrew **inclusive** sets occupy an ambiguous position, with sets of “all of NP” being definite, but sets of “every NP” being indefinite (or perhaps belonging to an intermediate class between definite and indefinite).³³⁴ BH users consider possessives to be definite, but users of many other languages do not.³³⁵ In BH, construct chains may be treated as definite or indefinite; yet scholars of Arabic, a closely related language, have argued that the head nouns of all construct chains in Arabic are semantically definite whatever the formal marking may be.³³⁶ Even the use of the BH definite article *ha-* does not always render the matter entirely clear; what do we do with cases in which the presence or absence of the definite article appears to make no semantic difference?³³⁷

One kind of definiteness complexity seen across languages is Differential Object Marking (DOM). DOM comes in two varieties: first, an alternation between marking or not marking an object; second, an alternation between marking an object as a direct object or as an oblique object. Peter Bekins discusses this issue at length in *Transitivity and Object Marking in Biblical Hebrew*. He points out that although grammars have often described the object preposition *?et* simply as a marker of definite direct objects, scribes’ actual use of *?et* was more nuanced. *?et*

³³¹ Lyons 1999: 51.

³³² Lyons argues that proper nouns are a type of generic, which accounts for their ambivalent relationship with definiteness in some languages (Lyons 1999: 121-123, 193-197).

³³³ Lyons 1999: 26-30; Croft 2003: 160-162. Lyons suggests that the grammatical persons are classified as more definite based on the person’s relevance to the speaker. First persons include the speaker and so are the most definite, second persons include someone who is not the speaker but is a participant in the conversation, and third persons are neither speakers nor participants (ibid 318; *pace* Croft 2003: 173). Lyons thinks that the grammatical marking of person and definiteness are in complementary distribution in most languages, suggesting that they are alternate facets of the same underlying linguistic property (ibid 316-318).

³³⁴ cf. Lyons 1999: 31-32, 148; Bekins 2014: 94.

³³⁵ cf. Lyons 1999: 22-26.

³³⁶ Lyons 1999: 131.

³³⁷ Barr 1989: 333. It is probable that other linguistic factors or extra-grammatical factors such as change over time or social variables explain this variation.

participates in both marked vs. unmarked and direct vs. oblique object marking alternations. In the first case, HB scribes varied between marking with *?et* versus leaving the object unmarked based on the covariation of high definiteness, high animacy, and high potency.³³⁸ Bekins concluded that *?et* had originally been used only with highly individuated direct objects (high in definiteness, animacy, and potency, e.g. pronouns and PNs), perhaps as a topic marker, later spreading down the animacy and definiteness scales.³³⁹ In BH, *?et* remained obligatory with highly individuated objects, was optional (though preferred) for definite or animate objects lower down the scale, and tended not to be used for indefinite or inanimate objects.³⁴⁰ Instead, NPs lower down the scale were unmarked. In the second case, when Bekins considered the variation between clauses with prototypical transitive verbs in which objects were marked with *'et* versus marked with prepositions (oblique marking), he found that the variation often correlated with object affectedness and verbal aspect; objects that were affected or appeared in clauses with perfective verbs were more likely to be marked with *?et*.³⁴¹ However, when clauses contained atypical transitive verbs this correlation did not always hold true, especially in the case of motion verbs.³⁴²

While the definiteness and animacy scales capture real cross-linguistic generalizations, the representations of them as separate linear hierarchies leaves something to be desired. Lyons suggests a single hierarchy: "Either [definiteness] complements the animacy hierarchy, or it needs to be combined with it to form a more general hierarchy."³⁴³ Still more desirable would be a semantic map of salience, which would allow the ordering of categories in relation to one another without requiring a single linear progression of increasing individuation/prominence.

³³⁸ Bekins 2014: 14, 139.

³³⁹ Bekins 2014: 75, 204. This explains why *?et* marks subjects on (very) rare occasions.

³⁴⁰ The fact that a formal difference in object-marking is based primarily on different components related to the object is exactly what we expect based on the Relevance Principle (cf. Malchukov 2006: 335-337, 339). The Relevance Principle is as follows: "Mark the Transitivity Parameter on the relevant constituent (i.e. on the constituent to which the feature pertains)" (ibid 337).

³⁴¹ Bekins 2014: 196.

³⁴² Bekins 2014: 196.

³⁴³ Lyons 1999: 214.

Number, the final feature in this section, has a somewhat ambiguous place in the study of salience. Singular nouns are more prominent than plural ones, more individuated and thus more able to be clearly conceptualized. (Consider the sentences *The man went up the hill* and *The men went up the hill*. Which can be visualized more clearly?) Yet this effect is fairly weak, not even perceptible in some languages. Distinguishing the effect of number is made more difficult by the existence of complex number categories. In addition to singular and plural, we also have duals, collectives, subject lists (does the verb agree with the number of the first subject in the list or with the plurality of the list as a whole?), partitives, and several kinds of inclusives (*all* vs. *every*).

In sum, salience includes the deeply entangled features of animacy, definiteness, individuation, and perhaps number. All of these except number proved to have statistically significant effects on differential goal marking in Biblical Hebrew.

4.1.2.1 Animacy and Individuation of the Goal: Restrictions on Directive *He* and the Accusative

Is the goal a living thing (animate) or not (inanimate)? Table 4.2 shows that the directive *he* is never (0%) and the accusative is almost never (0.65%) used to mark animate goals. Instead, directional prepositions are used when the goal is a living thing (e.g. *and he went up to Joshua*).

Table 4.2: Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Animacy, with column percentages

Strategy	Inanimate goal	Animate goal	totals
directive <i>he</i>	496 (22.52%)	0 (0%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	10	0	10
accusative	488 (22.16%)	6 (0.65%)	494
preposition	1208 (54.86%)	917 (99.35%)	2125
totals	2202 (100%)	923 (100%)	3125

Is the goal referred to by name, with a pronoun, or with a common noun? Table 4.3 shows that directive *he* and the accusative are most frequent marking proper nouns, are somewhat less frequent with common nouns, and are restricted from marking pronominal goals.

Table 4.3: Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Individuation, with column percentages

Strategy	common noun goal	proper noun goal	pronoun goal	totals
directive <i>he</i>	283 (14.93%)	213 (24.37%)	0 (0%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	10	0	0	10
accusative	258 (13.61%)	236 (27.00%)	0 (0%)	494
preposition	1345 (70.94%)	425 (48.63%)	355 (100%)	2125
totals	1896 (100%)	874 (100%)	355 (100%)	3125

Note that when the types of goals are ordered along the individuation scale from the least individuated (common noun) to the most individuated (pronoun), goal individuation and the choice of goal-marking strategies have a nonlinear relationship. This is interesting, as it shows that the significant variation which we see here is not driven by individuation *per se*, but by some other syntactic/semantic factor which is partially captured by these outcome categories.

Why are the directive *he* and the accusative of destination so strongly correlated with inanimate proper nouns? In section 4.2.3 below, I argue that, first, inanimate proper nouns are prototypical goals; and second, that directive *he* and the accusative are associated with the marking of prototypical goals in Biblical Hebrew.

4.1.2.2 The Definiteness of the Goal: A Restriction on Directive *He*

In Biblical Hebrew, definite common nouns and adjectives may be marked with the definite article, a prefix *ha-*. (Proper nouns and pronouns do not take the definite article; they are considered to be inherently definite.) There is a statistically significant correlation between definiteness and goal-marking.

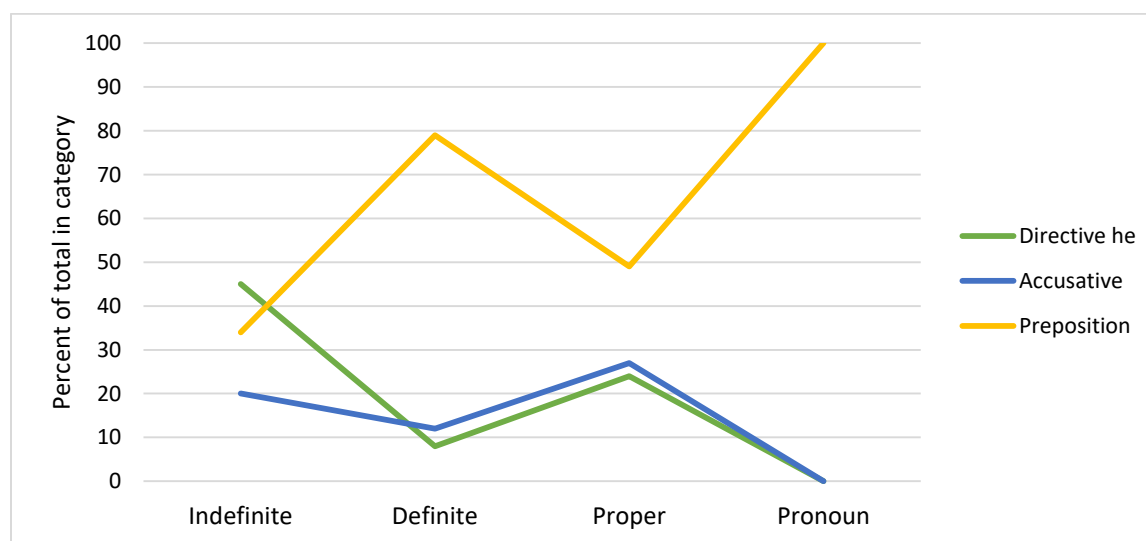
Table 4.4 shows that, when only common nouns are considered, indefinite nouns are more likely to be marked with directive *he* (45% of the time) than with prepositions or the accusative—a rare case in which directional prepositions do not mark the majority of observations in a category. On the other hand, definite common goals are usually marked with prepositions. (Definiteness does not have a significant effect on the use of the accusative).

Table 4.4: Goal-Marking strategies by Goal Definiteness, common nouns only, with column percentages

Strategy	Indefinite goal	Definite goal	totals
directive <i>he</i>	157 (44.86%)	126 (8.15%)	283
preposition + <i>he</i>	5	5	10
accusative	69 (19.71%)	189 (12.23%)	258
preposition	119 (34.00%)	1226 (79.30%)	1345
totals	350 (100%)	1546 (100%)	1896

Once again, although BH scribes are significantly sensitive to the outcomes on the individuation/definiteness scale, the relationships between the goal-marking strategies and the outcomes are not ordered as the scale would suggest. Figure 4.4 shows the relationship between the goal-marking strategies and four individuation/definiteness categories as ordered in the scale. Instead of the trendlines for the goal-marking strategies proceeding steadily upward or downward, they bounce up and down.

Figure 4.4 Goal-Marking Strategies and the Individuation Scale



Note that while the directive *he* and the accusative pattern differently vis-à-vis definiteness—the directive *he* being dispreferred when goals have the definite article and the accusative being indifferent to it—they pattern similarly for the rest of the individuation categories. Therefore, individuation and definiteness will be discussed separately below, individuation in 4.2.3, definiteness in 4.3.

4.1.3 The Complexity of the Goal: A Restriction on Directive *He*

Is the goal simple (being formed of one morpheme) or complex (being formed of multiple morphemes)? And does the goal have any adjuncts, such as appositional phrases or relative clauses, which are dependent upon it? Both of these factors are significant in scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies.

Table 4.5 shows that goals are much less likely to be marked with directive *he* if they are complex; directional prepositions are used instead. The relative proportion of the accusative of destination remains stable regardless of the goal's complexity.

Table 4.5: Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Complexity, with column percentages

Strategy	Simple goal	Complex goal	totals
directive <i>he</i>	466 (24.01%)	30 (2.53%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	7	3	10
accusative	328 (16.90%)	166 (14.02%)	494
preposition	1140 (58.73%)	985 (83.19%)	2125
totals	1941 (100%)	1184 (100%)	3125

In addition to being associated with simple goals, the directive *he* is associated with goals that do not have adjuncts. In Table 4.6, I code observations for four options: the goal had no adjunct; the goal had a dependent appositional phrase; the goal had a dependent relative clause (with or without a relativizer or subordinating conjunction); or the goal had a modifying prepositional phrase.³⁴⁴

Like the directive *he*, the accusative of destination is associated with goals that do not have adjuncts.

Table 4.6: Goal-Marking Strategies by Goal Adjunct, with column percentages

Strategy	no adjunct	app phrase	rel clause	modifying PP	totals
directive <i>he</i>	494 (17.03%)	1 (1.22%)	1 (0.75%)	0 (0%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	10	0	0	0	10
accusative	490 (16.89%)	2 (2.44%)	2 (1.49%)	0 (0%)	494
preposition	1907 (65.74%)	79 (96.34%)	131 (97.76%)	8 (100%)	2125
totals	2901 (100%)	82 (100%)	134 (100%)	8 (100%)	3125

³⁴⁴ For example, the goal in 2 Kings 18:32 has a modifying prepositional phrase (underlined in quote): "... until I come and take you to a land (?el ?ereš) like your land (kě-?arš-kem)."

The reasons for the association of directive *he* with simple, adjunctless goals and of directional prepositions with complex and/or adjunct-governing goals are discussed in 4.3 below, where it is argued that directive *he* is primarily used for unmarked goals.

4.1.4 Excursus: Lexical and Syntactic Priming

The main arguments of this chapter concern the impact that the prototypicality and markedness of a goal have on scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies. However, scribes are also sensitive to issues of **priming**. Priming is, at base, a very simple phenomenon: having used a linguistic form once, the speaker or writer is more likely to use it again shortly thereafter.³⁴⁵ This is the case not only for lexemes (individual words) but also for syntagms (syntactic structures, whether phrasal or clausal). In terms of goal phrases, one might find that using a specific preposition to mark a goal makes it more likely that the same preposition rather than another will be used to mark the next goal (**lexical priming**), or that using a preposition makes it more likely that some preposition (rather than the directive *he* or accusative) will be used to mark the next goal (**syntactic priming**).

Priming works best over short linguistic distances. That is to say, if there are multiple goals in the same clause they are more likely to impact one another than a sequence of goals in adjacent clauses; yet goals in adjacent clauses are more likely to impact one another than goals in distant clauses.

The GCs in my dataset were coded with information about GCs in the same clause and in adjacent clauses. 387 goals were in the same clause as another goal; 323 were in a clause

³⁴⁵ Priming is often invoked in the field of text criticism, although not necessarily under that name. Posit that there are two manuscripts of a biblical text. In verse one in both manuscripts, the phrase “the ark of the Lord” appears. In verse three, manuscript A has “the ark of the Lord” again, while manuscript B has only “the ark.” Which of these readings is original? A text critic might well argue that “the ark” is original, and that the scribe of manuscript A has added “of the Lord” because he was primed to do so by the phrase’s appearance in an earlier verse. Linguists have studied various kinds of priming through experiments with living subjects. For lexical priming, see e.g. the studies collected in Pace-Sigge and Patterson 2017. For syntactic priming, see e.g. Jacobs, Cho, and Watson 2019.

adjacent to another goal.³⁴⁶ Having so few observations to work with made a statistical assessment difficult. However, priming does seem to have a significant impact on scribes' goal-marking choices.

Table 4.7 Goal-Marking Strategies by Same-Clause Sequence, with row percentages

Strategy	same strategy and preposition	same strategy different preposition	different strategy	totals
directive <i>he</i>	7 (8.05%)	0	80 (91.95%)	87 (100%)
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	0	0	0
accusative	12 (20.34%)	0	47 (79.66%)	59 (100%)
preposition	156 (64.73%)	31 (12.86%)	54 (22.41%)	241 (100%)
totals	175	31	181	387 (100%)

In Table 4.7, we see that prepositional goal phrases follow other prepositional goal phrases 78% of the time—64.73% of the time with the exact same preposition. The accusative follows another accusative goal phrase 20% of the time, and the directive *he* only 8% of the time. When we consider that observations with directive *he* make up 22% of this subset of data, the accusative 15%, and prepositions 62%, we can see that the directive *he* is significantly less likely than random chance would suggest to follow another GC with the same strategy, while directional prepositions are significantly more likely to follow other directional prepositions. Thus, it appears that, while priming is active in Biblical Hebrew, it is relatively low in priority; the directive *he*, in particular, has many restrictions which are higher in priority, meaning that even when a directive *he* GC has recently been used it will probably not successfully prime another directive *he* GC.³⁴⁷

The data for adjacent-clause sequences of GCs gives a slightly different picture. Directive *he* follows directive *he* in 33% of cases, accusative follows accusative in 28%, and preposition follows preposition in 77%. Directive *he* and the accusative both seem to be priming more

³⁴⁶ Note that this means that the observation that primes the sequence is coded as missing for these variables. Also, note that clauses were not considered nearby if they were of a different text type (clauses of dialogue were not considered nearby to clauses of narration). This does unfortunately mean that GC's which appeared in command-performance sequences were not coded as nearby.

³⁴⁷ For more on the success of priming with specific prepositions, see 6.1.2, 6.2.6 below.

successfully in this context. However, I would offer a number of caveats. First, more vigorous coding of this variable would be desirable. GCs in adjacent clauses that fell in different verses may not have been correctly linked. Second, 57 observations participated in both same-clause and adjacent-clause sequences. With so few observations in the priming subset, there was no robust way to distinguish between the effects that same-clause and adjacent-clause priming had on these sequences of GCs.

4.2 Prototypical Semantic Roles

In section 4.1, we found that the directive *he* and accusative are associated with inanimate proper goals, and that the directive *he* is also associated with indefinite, simple goals. But why should this be the case? Are these random correlations between the goal-marking strategies and unconnected linguistic variables, or can these results be motivated through syntactic/semantic theory? In this section, I argue that the association of the directive *he* and the accusative of destination with inanimate proper goals is due to the scribes' sensitivity to goal prototypicality.

In the subsections below, I introduce the notion of the linguistic prototype, give examples of how this notion has been used in the study of other semantic roles (especially Agent and Patient), and argue that inanimate proper goals are prototypical goals.

4.2.1 What is a Linguistic Prototype?

Before beginning any argument about the prototypical characteristics of the goal argument in Biblical Hebrew, we must first define what is meant by a prototype in the field of linguistics.

Prototype theory originated in Cognitive Studies.³⁴⁸ It arose from two observations: first, that humans organize concepts into categories that are meaningful to them, and second, that humans seem to “grade” the concepts in these categories based on how typical they are.³⁴⁹ Some

³⁴⁸ See for example Rosch and Mervis 1975, Rosch 1978, Lakoff 1987.

³⁴⁹ “The treatment of two or more distinguishable entities as if they were the same creates a category” (Brown 1990: 17). Rosch 1975 reports the results of an experiment in which she asked about 200 college students from the U.S.A. to rank items from categories like furniture, fruit, birds, toys, and so on in terms of how well each item represents the category. The students tended to agree with one another (especially about the items which they thought best represented the category). For example, from the furniture category, students agreed that chairs and sofas were great examples, while benches and lamps were okay, and ashtrays and telephones were very bad examples or possibly not

members of the categories are “good” (typical), while others are “less good” or “bad” (marginal, atypical). For example, we are all familiar with the category of *birds*. Most of the time we can look at a living creature and easily assess whether it is a bird or not. A robin? A typical bird. A crocodile? Certainly not a bird. However, making this assessment is sometimes more difficult. What about ostriches and penguins, for instance? What about bats? I will unpack this example further below, as we explore how humans put things into categories and how we organize the members of these categories according to their (proto)typicality.

After the popularization of prototype theory in the 1970’s linguists quickly adopted prototype theory,³⁵⁰ showing that language users organize pieces of language (morphemes, words, phrases, clauses) into natural categories in terms of their semantics, syntax, morphology, *et cetera*. Language users also judge these pieces of language based on how typical they are.³⁵¹ In a given language as it is used in a given speech community, members of a category which the language users judge to be “bad” (atypical) may be marked differently; for example, they may be marked with different affixes than “good” members of the category. These typicality judgments can be explored through linguistic experiments. The perfect exemplar or “categorical mean” of a category is referred to as the category’s **prototype**; it functions as a cognitive reference point for language users as they conceptualize the category.³⁵²

Linguists interested in prototype theory have had to confront a number of important challenges. Even if we posit that humans organize pieces of language into categories, how do

examples of this category at all (Rosch 1975: 229). In other words, chairs and sofas were the most prototypical members of the category. There were similar patterns in both human-artifactual categories (furniture, toys) and naturally-occurring-thing categories (birds, fruit) (cf. Taylor 1995: 43-46).

³⁵⁰ cf. Taylor 1995; Givon 2001 1:49; Taylor 2008:40-42; van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 169-170; Taylor 2015. For critiques of how prototype theory has been used in lexical semantics and elsewhere, see e.g. Wierzbicka 1990; Geeraerts 2006; Jodlowiec and Kwasniewicz 1991: 287-289.

³⁵¹ “Prototypical categories exhibit degrees of category membership; not every member is equally representative for a category” (Geeraerts 2006: 144).

³⁵² cf. Taylor 1995: 59-65; Goldberg 2006: 46, Taylor 2015: section 3.1, 3.3. Also described as the “most salient” member (van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 170-171; Taylor 2015: section 3.2). The *exemplar* and *mean* definitions of the prototype arise from different streams of scholarship within semantics; today, many scholars use hybrid approaches (cf. Komatsu 1992).

we know what categories exist, what the structures of these categories are, and which pieces of language fall into which categories?

First, linguists figure out what categories exist by examining raw data from the world's languages. Linguistic prototype theory is concerned with **natural categories**, not categories created for the convenience of linguists or grammarians.³⁵³ Thus it should be possible to demonstrate that any category which is proposed is marked with distinctive formal characteristics in at least some languages.³⁵⁴ For example, many languages have special morphemes which help to distinguish definite nouns from indefinite ones, suggesting that “definiteness” is a natural category. Studies of the real linguistic behavior of speech communities also indicate which pieces of language fall into which categories in the language of that community.

Second, these categories have a complex structure. Rather than being defined by a single feature *x* (such that having *x* feature means that a piece of language is a category member, and not having *x* feature means that the piece of language is not a category member), “membership in a natural category” is determined “by a potentially large basket of features.”³⁵⁵ Some of these features may be more crucial, such that 99.99% of the category members will show the feature; features like this that are almost always present are referred to as **definitional features**.³⁵⁶ These features are generally important because they are contrastive—they are shared by members of category *a* but not by members of the contrasting category *b*.³⁵⁷ However, most linguistic features

³⁵³ “People create categories by assigning the same name or label to different things. When speakers of a language are in general agreement with respect to the different entities to which a single term applies, the pertinent category is a component of natural language” (Brown 1990: 17).

³⁵⁴ “The inventory of categories used in linguistics basically depends on how useful these categories are for the description and analysis of language” (van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 167). Simply because a natural category is formally marked in one language or one language family does not mean that it is expected to be formally marked in all languages or language families. It is marked frequently enough for us to posit that something about it makes it useful for our cognitive processing of language, but it is not necessarily a linguistic universal.

³⁵⁵ Givon 2001 I: 31; cf. Geeraerts 2006: 143, 146.

³⁵⁶ Also known as criterial features (van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 170-171), or, perhaps, as schematic features. The term “schematic features” must be used with great caution as many different understandings of schemas and schematic features exist in the literature (cf. Taylor 1990; Murphy 2002).

³⁵⁷ Taylor 2008: 44. These features, because they are all but ubiquitous to the members of a given category, are also very frequent. There is a continuing chicken-and-egg problem regarding categories and their prototypes. Prototypes are to some extent created by being the “means” of their categories, while categories become oriented in respect to their prototypes; they constantly reinforce and redefine each other (cf. Taylor 2008: 46, 47; van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 174-175).

are not shared by such a high percentage of the category members. Features which a category member is likely to have are known as **prototypical features**. Prototypical features vary in distribution; one may apply to 80% of the category members, one to 71%, one to 53%.

These features, whether definitional or more broadly prototypical, are often closely related to one another, such that having a given value for one feature often entails having a given value for other features, causing certain feature values to covary.³⁵⁸ Real-world pieces of language which have more of the more-common prototypical features of a given category are “better” category members than pieces of language that lack these features. In theory, a piece of language with all of the prototypical features would be the prototype.³⁵⁹ However, real linguistic categories often have a more complex internal structure than this would suggest. A prototype may be centered in a category, the most salient member, the most frequent member, or more commonly a combination of all three.³⁶⁰

Linguists have made several other important observations about the structure of natural linguistic categories. First, if the pieces of language that a given speech community assigns to a category are plotted based on their features, it quickly becomes clear that they tend to cluster together around the categorial mean, with “outliers and ambiguous members” making up a small proportion of the total category members.³⁶¹ Second, these outliers and ambiguous members are likely to be categorized differently across languages or even within different situations in the same language, meaning that prototypical categories have fuzzy, rather than sharply-defined, edges.³⁶² Third, even though speakers tend to conceptualize a given category as unified, actual examination of the category members may show diversity.³⁶³ “That is, each item [may have] one, and probably several, elements in common with one or more items, but no, or few, elements are

³⁵⁸ Givon 2001 I: 31-32.

³⁵⁹ Givon 2001 I: 32.

³⁶⁰ Taylor 2015: section 3.

³⁶¹ Givon 2001 I: 32.

³⁶² Geeraerts 2006: 146-147. cf. Taylor 2008: 43f. Certain marginal words or constructions may be considered to be “in the category” in some languages but not in others (cf. van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 173).

³⁶³ Geeraerts 2006: 151.

common to all items.”³⁶⁴ In other words, the members of category may be members more due to the family resemblance that they have with one another than to any single list of features—in which case, the categorial prototype itself must be flexible.³⁶⁵ Thus, when we define a single prototype for a category, we are, in effect, defining the ‘prototypical prototype’ for the category; language users may not be grading the typicality of pieces of language in that category from that exact prototype at all times.³⁶⁶

The above discussion has highlighted some of the complexities of prototype theory. Despite these issues, prototypical features of categories can be identified, and prototypes can be posited. While defining prototypes does obscure some of the real-world fuzziness of linguistic categories, prototypes can be used productively to explore and explain the behavior of these categories.

4.2.1.1 Birds and Other Prototypical Categories

Let us return to the category of *birds*. We would probably all agree that wings are a definitional feature of birds—a creature must have wings in order to be a bird. This definitional feature is meaningful because many other creatures do not have wings, making wingedness a useful contrastive feature. Birds must also be born from eggs and have beaks or bills; this disqualifies bats from membership in the category.

In addition to the definitional features of the *bird* category, we also associate birds with additional characteristics which are not absolutely required for membership; these are prototypical features, but not definitional ones. For example, most of us expect a prototypical bird to be able to fly, yet we still recognize flightless penguins and ostriches as birds.³⁶⁷

Figure 4.5 gives an analysis of the category of *birds* in terms of seven features. Each feature is represented as a box; any bird that is inside the box has that feature. Note that of the

³⁶⁴ Rosch and Mervis 1975: 575.

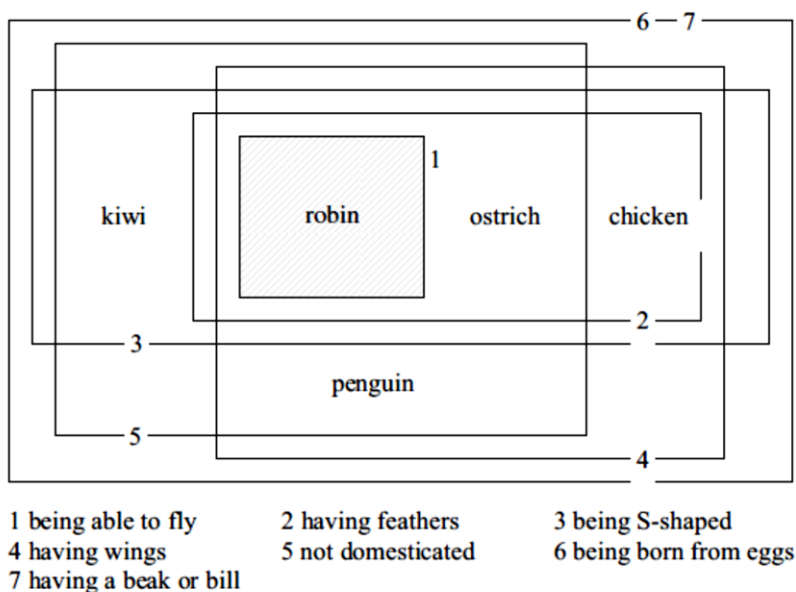
³⁶⁵ Komatsu 1992; Geeraerts 2006: 146-147, 149.

³⁶⁶ Geeraerts 2006: 148, 153.

³⁶⁷ cf. van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 172, 174.

types of birds in the figure, only the robin is inside all of the boxes, making the robin the only example with all of the definitional and prototypical features of birds. Of course, in a comprehensive list of all types of birds, most types of birds would be in the same class as the robin.³⁶⁸

Figure 4.5 A Definitional Analysis of *Bird*, from Geeraerts 2006: 152



We can identify prototypical features for many natural linguistic categories such as nouns, verbs, semantic roles, *et cetera*.³⁶⁹ For example, consider the category of “nouns.” Many of us remember being taught in elementary school that a noun refers to “a person, place, or thing,” but in more recent years this definition has been expanded to “a person, place, thing, or idea.” The fact that the “idea” was neglected in earlier teaching can be ascribed to the fact that nouns prototypically (though not definitionally) refer to material things. Another prototypical (though not definitional) feature of nouns is that they tend to refer to things which are stable and/or do not

³⁶⁸ Note also that the weights given to the prototypical features of such a category as *birds* may vary somewhat across cultures due to their characteristic experiences with that category or due to their intellectual history; in cultures that classify animals using Linnaean taxonomies, being born from an egg is a definitional feature for a bird, but in other cultures it is less important, allowing creatures like bats to fall into the bird category. See for example Leviticus 11:19 // Deut 14:18, in which bats (*'ăṭallēp*) are included in the list of unclean birds. (This is of course assuming that the unusual word *'ăṭallēp* has been correctly translated.)

³⁶⁹ Taylor 1995: 183-196; Langacker 1987; Taylor 2008: 51, 54, 55; van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 169-170. “Noun” and “verb” word-classes can be subdivided and grammaticalized differently across languages (Haspelmath 2012; cf. Miller-Naude 2017).

change their nature. For example, prototypical nouns like “house” and “hand” are static; they remain stable for long periods of time. A noun like “fist” is less prototypical because it endures for only a short time. While English is not terribly sensitive to noun stability, some other languages mark unstable nouns differently from stable nouns. Scholars have devoted significant effort to identifying the prototypical features of word classes, semantic roles, grammatical constructions, and other natural linguistic categories.

4.2.2 Prototypical Semantic Roles: Agent and Patient

While the idea of a prototypical grammatical construction will become critical in Chapter 5, for the moment we are concerned with the idea of the prototypical semantic role.

Many semantic roles and sets of semantic roles have been proposed by scholars. While some of these differences are merely the result of labeling preferences, others occur because the various scholars privilege different features in defining each category. Since semantic roles do not have a one-to-one relationship with syntactic surface cases (a nominative-marked noun, for example, could be an Agent, an Affected Agent, a Theme, *etc.*) or other surface phenomena, they are somewhat abstracted. While linguists believe that the semantic roles do capture real phenomena in natural languages, the borders of each category (i.e. the Agent role, the Goal role) are ambiguous.³⁷⁰

It is beyond the scope of this paper to review all of the semantic roles that have been proposed.³⁷¹ In this section, I will discuss the two most-commonly-studied semantic roles in

³⁷⁰ “In defining each semantic role, we only define a prototype” (Givon 2001 I:107).

³⁷¹ Semantic roles are a field of inquiry in their own right, with numerous theories available in the literature each with their own (often overlapping) sets of cases. See Fillmore 1968 for the classic article introducing case grammar (later known as semantic roles), which would become the mainstay of Frame Semantics. Fillmore assumed that the verb selected the case (semantic role) of its core arguments. This assumption is still a foundational one in lexical semantics and valency studies (cf. Cook 2016). Walter Cook summarized major contributions to case grammar as well as the case frames attributed to various verbs in *Case Grammar Theory* (1989). For a useful introduction to semantic roles in the context of Biblical Hebrew, see Creason’s work on the *aktionsart* of the *binyanim* (1995: 97-135). Winther-Nielsen 2016 examines the semantic roles associated with the hundred most common *qal* verbs in Biblical Hebrew; he follows Van-Valin and LaPolla in using Role and Reference Grammar. Since many of his suggested roles are verb-class-specific (e.g. the subject of a motion clause is a Mover), his suggested role list is perhaps excessively long.

language, the Agent and the Patient, and place them within the context of prototype theory. Possible prototypical features of spatial roles like the Goal will be discussed in 4.2.3 below.

In Indo-European languages, the **Agent** is often the syntactic subject of a clause, the one who performs the action of the verb. In the sentence *Joshua struck the rock*, Joshua is the Agent. There has been a long debate about how to define this semantic role. Some scholars favor a single-characteristic definition in which the Agent is simply *the one who acts*; however, this supercategory is more often labeled as the Proto-Agent or the ACTOR. Most linguists who are interested in case grammar agree that a more detailed definition is needed in order for the Agent category to be productive.

Nominals that are treated as Agents in various languages are likely to have certain prototypical features. Scholars such as Naess highlight three of them. First, prototypical Agents instigate an event by energizing the action of the verb, as in the sentence *Caleb struck the rock*. If the subject is not the one providing the energy for the action, as in *Caleb drove a chariot into the valley*, the subject is less than a prototypical Agent. (In addition, if the subject is not successful in causing the action [*Caleb tried to strike the rock*, *Caleb did not strike the rock*], the subject is a less-than-prototypical Agent.) This quality of Agents can be referred to as **instigation**. Second, prototypical Agents act volitionally; that is to say, they intend to perform the action. In the sentences *Miriam tripped over a rock* and *They forced Miriam to open the door*, Miriam does not act on purpose (does not act volitionally) and thus is less like a prototypical Agent. However, if *Miriam stepped over a rock* or *Miriam chose to open the door*, she is acting on purpose. This quality is known as **volition**.³⁷² Third, prototypical Agents perform the action of the verb but are not affected by it; performing the action does not change their state or their location.³⁷³ In the

³⁷² Naess 2007: 39-41. "The specific choice of the term 'volitionality' is meant to suggest that the exercise of volition in carrying out an event may be seen as the (proto)typical way in which participants involve their cognitive capacity in interacting with an event, even though it is not the only possible way" (ibid 41). Note that simply because a given person or animal is capable of exercising volition does not mean that they should be understood as exercising volition whenever they appear in a sentence (Naess 2007: 40).

³⁷³ This is the most controversial of the three features. Volitional, instigating subjects are frequently affected by the verbal actions that they perform, so must unaffectedness be prototypical for them? Dowty 1991 allows a Proto-Agent

sentences *Samson ran into the cave* and *Samson died*, Samson is affected by performing the verb and thus is not a prototypical Agent.³⁷⁴ This feature is known as **affectedness**. In brief, a prototypical Agent successfully, purposefully causes the action of a verb but is not changed by that action—the Agent has instigation and volition but is not affected.³⁷⁵ Deviations from these three frequent qualities of Agents (instigation, volition, [un]affectedness) are explicitly marked in at least some languages.³⁷⁶

However, the reader should note that treating these three qualities as binary is reductionistic. How unaffected does an Agent need to be to be treated as unaffected in an utterance? Even in a sentence like *Jonathan hit the ball*, the subject *Jonathan*—who would be treated as unaffected in most languages—has to expend energy, and experiences a physical shock from striking the ball. Again, how much volition does an Agent have to use in order to be treated as volitional? If *Miriam let herself be danced around the room*, willingly cooperating with someone else who was deciding on their path of motion, is she acting of her own volition or not? How much of an event must an Agent be responsible for to be considered to instigate it? If *Joshua sent a letter to the king*, Joshua is not providing any of the energy of carrying the letter, only the prior intention that it should be sent.

We can clarify matters somewhat by including a fourth quality of the prototypical Agent: **control**. Control is the quality of deciding what is going to happen. This quality is sometimes seen as part of volition or instigation. Naess, for example, describes volition as *acting willingly*

to move, which is to say, he allows the Proto-Agent to be affected by a change of location; at the same time, he says that the Proto-Agent will almost certainly have volition and instigation (572). Naess distinguishes between Agents, which are unaffected, and Affected Agents, which are affected (2007: 52 and throughout).

³⁷⁴ Samson in *Samson died* is not like an Agent at all despite being the syntactic subject, as he is affected, dies involuntarily, and provided no energy toward dying.

³⁷⁵ Some scholars prefer to treat volition, instigation, and affectedness as clausal properties rather than features of the semantic roles of the participants of a clause, since their feature values result from the interaction of the subject and the verb.

³⁷⁶ Naess 2007: 39–45, Malchukov 2005: 79; Givon 1985: 90; Givon 2001 I:126ff.

Please note that simply because a prototypical Agent is often a subject does not mean that a “prototypical subject” (if that term is even meaningful) should be an Agent. There are languages and language families in which no particular semantic role has achieved the kind of prominence that Agents and Patients have in Indo-European languages (e.g. Abui; see Kratochvil 2011).

and intentionally, which certainly sounds as if volition includes control. However, in another section Naess describes Recipients (e.g. *Joshua sent the letter to the king*, where the king is the Recipient) and other Volitional Undergoers, who willingly undergo something or willingly receive something, as volitional even though Recipients *etc.* do not have control.³⁷⁷ Kudrnáčová, on the other hand, implies that control is part of instigation, as she explicitly decomposes the causing of an action into two parts: prior intention (= control) and energy for completion.³⁷⁸ In a sentence such as *Caleb rode the donkey into the valley*, the control all belongs to Caleb, but the energy belongs to the cooperating donkey. I am inclined toward Kudrnáčová's view. In this study, control and energy will be treated as the two component parts of instigation.

If a prototypical Agent is volitional, instigating, and unaffected, a prototypical Patient is its opposite in every way: it is non-volitional, not instigating, and affected.³⁷⁹ Like the Agent, the prototypical Patient is part of a supercategory, in this case the category of Proto-Patient or UNDERGOER, whose definitional feature is that of being affected—undergoing some kind of change of state.³⁸⁰ In a transitive sentence, a Patient is generally the object, as in *Joshua struck the rock*. The prototypical Patient is affected by the action of the verb, as in the sentences *Caleb built the house* or *Samson sent the letter to his mother*. In fact, the prototypical Patient is wholly affected by the action of the verb. In sentences like *Miriam took a bite of the apple*, where the Patient is only partly affected, the Patient is less prototypical. The prototypical Patient does not act successfully or volitionally, because it does not act. In *Joshua struck the rock*, *the rock* neither wanted to be struck nor instigated the striking. Nor did *the rock* control what was going to be done.

The semantic roles for other NPs can also be understood in terms of these four qualities. For example, if a subject acts successfully and intentionally but is affected by the action of the

³⁷⁷ Naess 2007: 89-93.

³⁷⁸ Kudrnáčová 2013: 41-43; cf. Talmy 2000a: 509-542; Delbecq and Cornillie 2007: 2-3; Naess 2007: 33; Kratochvíl 2011: 626-627.

³⁷⁹ Naess 2007: 39-45, Malchukov 2005: 79; Dowty 1991: 572; Givon 1985: 90; Givon 2001 I:126ff.

³⁸⁰ cf. Dowty 1991: 572.

verb, as in many motion clauses (*Joshua went into the city*), this subject is an **Affected Agent**. Direct or (more frequently) indirect objects that are intentionally affected by the performance of the verb may be **Recipients** (*Caleb gave it to Joshua*) or Beneficiaries (*Miriam did it for Joshua*).³⁸¹

The core semantic features of prototypical Agents and Patients correlate with other linguistic features. Since an Agent must act volitionally, it must have the cognitive capacity to act on purpose—thus an Agent must either be animate or treated as animate (anthropomorphized), since inanimate objects don't have the capacity for volition. This quality is known as **sentience**.³⁸² Agents also tend to be more individuated and definite, since more specific entities can be more easily conceptualized as acting successfully. To instigate an event successfully, a prototypical Agent must appear in a clause whose action has really occurred (*Joshua went up to Jerusalem*, not *Joshua did not go up* or *If Joshua goes up* or *Go up, Joshua!*) and has been completed (not *Joshua is going up*). Since prototypical Agents and Patients have these semantic correlates, they tend to appear in grammatical constructions that accommodate these correlates, such as the Prototypical Transitive Construction.³⁸³

4.2.3 The Prototypical Goal in Biblical Hebrew and Beyond

We have seen that the semantic roles of subjects and objects (mostly notably Agent and Patient) have prototypical values for features like volition, instigation, and affectedness, which are

³⁸¹ Naess discusses all the other possible combinations of volition, instigation, and affectedness, claiming that each is marked differently from prototypical transitivity in at least some languages. According to Naess, the Volitional Undergoer class (+VOL –INST +AFF) includes those who are willingly affected by an action or state they did not instigate and includes experiencers, recipients, and beneficiaries (Naess 2007: 89-91). Forces (-VOL +INST -AFF) include natural forces (like wind) as well as “animate actors unvolitionally involved” in actions (Naess 2007: 93-95). Frustratives (+VOL –INST –AFF) want to complete an action but are unable or are prevented (Naess 2007: 99-101). Instruments (-VOL +INST +AFF) are treated like Agents in some languages and like Patients in others; they “bring about events by being manipulated by an Agent” as in the sentence *I cut the bread with a knife* (Naess 2007: 96-98). Thus this type includes both inanimate tools and animate causees. Neutrals (-VOL –INST –AFF) are of many different varieties, perhaps because they are negatively defined; both the stimulus of an experience and an object that results from an action are Neutral (Naess 2007: 102-106).

While Naess' three binary features capture many linguistic generalizations, they are not adequate in complex situations (cf. LaPolla et al 2011: 475; see also 4.2 above).

³⁸² Or perception. cf. Dowty 1991: 572.

³⁸³ See Chapter 4.

entangled with the constituent’s degree of individuation. While they have other features as well, these features supply the critical contrast between Agents and Patients in the common Transitive Construction and thus have received considerable scholarly attention. But what about semantic roles that do not apply to the syntactic subject or object?

Spatial roles (Location, Source, Route, Goal) have been discussed extensively in motion research. However, scholars of motion have not been interested in situating spatial roles within prototypical construction theory. Thus, while certain features have been discussed which I argue are part of the spatial role prototypes, they have not been explained in relation to prototype theory.

Definitionally, every spatial argument must exist within a physical or mental spatial context (SPACE). While this is obvious, the presence of this feature distinguishes the spatial arguments from Agent, Patient, and Recipient arguments, which have no obligatory relation to space.³⁸⁴ On the other hand, prototypical spatial arguments do not act and do not cooperate with the action of the verb, meaning that they lack volition, instigation, and affectedness. (Animate spatial arguments may be affected and volitional if they are both the Goals of caused-motion and the Recipients of caused-possession, but this is an atypical option.)³⁸⁵

The differences between the spatial roles themselves can be captured if we consider two spatial features. Let’s call these features ORIGIN and ENDPOINT. A Goal is the endpoint of motion but not its origin, while Source is the origin of motion but not its endpoint. The Route by which one travels is neither the origin nor the endpoint of motion. With Location, since the geographic coordinates of the subject remain the same while it performs its action in that location, one can say that the Location is both origin and endpoint, as shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 Spatial Roles Matrix

	+ENDPOINT	-ENDPOINT
+ORIGIN	Location ³⁸⁶	Source
-ORIGIN	Goal	Route

³⁸⁴ Talmy 2000b: 26. Talmy calls this the MOVE or BE_{Iloc} (BE LOCATED) feature.

³⁸⁵ See 4.2.3.5.

³⁸⁶ We may use the MOVE or MOTION feature to distinguish between static Locations (-MOVE, *Miriam is in her house*) and Locations in which non-translational motion occurs (+MOVE, *Caleb jumped up and down in the winepress*).

As was noted above, Agents, Patients, and Recipients that are highly individuated are more prototypical, since they can be more effectively conceptualized as fulfilling their role in a sentence. In the sentence *It went down the hill*, where *it* has no known referent, we may find it difficult to grasp what is going on. The sentence *A man went down the hill* is better—we can picture this—but *Joshua went down the hill* is best of all. The more clearly one can identify or conceptualize a constituent the more effective it can be in its role. What qualities are needed to make a spatial role easy to conceptualize and thus prototypical?

I argue that prototypical spatial constituents are those which contain **intrinsic specific geographic information**.³⁸⁷ To move effectively into (or from, or through) a space, one must have a clear idea of where it is. If a space constituent includes no geographic information, it is very difficult to assess where the mover is in relation to this constituent. For this reason, an animate goal cannot be prototypical.³⁸⁸ Most animate entities are mobile, and none of them contain intrinsic geographic information. I may *bring bread to Joshua* today and find him in a house in Ephraim, but when I *bring more bread to Joshua* next week I may find him on a hilltop near Jerusalem. The Goal in these situations is always *Joshua*, but the geographic position of this Goal can change, and no geographic data are encoded in the goal itself.³⁸⁹ Animate Goals are almost always marked with prepositions; there are only six exceptions, which form GCs with the accusative.³⁹⁰

³⁸⁷ Zlatev distinguishes three types of spatial frames-of-reference which are grammaticalized across the world's languages: the Intrinsic Frame of Reference, in which a landmark *x* has certain intrinsic properties (a front, a back) which determine how the spatial relationships that concrete objects/persons/etc. have to it are to be framed; the Relative Frame of Reference, in which the spatial relationships which concrete objects/persons/etc. have to a landmark *x* are framed based on a non-identical reference point *y*; and the Absolute Frame of Reference, in which "the system is anchored in fixed geo-cardinal positions" (Zlatev 2007: 328). For the purposes of this discussion, this shows us that languages can be sensitive to the difference between absolute and non-absolute geographic reference points and encode them differently in language.

³⁸⁸ *pace* Samuel 2019; cf. Luraghi 2011; Haspelmath 2019: 320-321.

³⁸⁹ *pace* Kittila, cited Haspelmath 2019: 327.

³⁹⁰ Num 10:36, Jud 11:29, 1 Sam 13:20, 2 Sam 17:03, 2 Kings 10:01, and 2 Chr 12:05. Four of these examples have been questioned by scholars. The BHS editors suggest that in Jud 11:29 and 2 Kings 10:01 an *?el* may have been dropped in transmission. There is a possible textual issue in Num 10:36 as well. If the NP in 2 Chr 12:05 (*šārē yēhūdāh*) is part of a compound animate goal still governed by the preceding *?el*, it would be part of a prepositional GC, not an accusative one. Thus only the two Samuel examples are clear.

Pronominal constituents are also atypical in spatial roles. Like animate constituents, they contain no intrinsic geographic information. In Biblical Hebrew, all pronominal Goals are marked with prepositions (see Table 4.3). While this may occur because pronominal Goals are often animate (347 out of 355 pronominal Goals have animate referents), even the eight pronominal Goals with inanimate referents are marked with prepositions.

So then, animate and pronominal constituents make very 'bad' (atypical) spatial arguments. Inanimate constituents, on the other hand, can and do make good ones.³⁹¹ Whether our spatial constituent is *a hill*, *the hill*, or *Jerusalem*, it always contains at least some intrinsic geographic information.³⁹² *The hill* and *Jerusalem* even refer to specific locations; using NPs like these to fill spatial roles makes it easy to assess whether the mover has moved successfully in relation to these locations or not.³⁹³ Thus we expect to find inanimate location nouns (proper or common) filling spatial roles.³⁹⁴

Which is more prototypical, though—a definite common noun or a proper GN? Or are they both equally acceptable? Here the answer differs based on which spatial role is being discussed, because different spatial roles are (prototypically) associated with different types of spaces.

There are three major types of spaces. First, a space may be understood as an **indivisible** single point, which may be either reached or not reached. For these spaces, there is no saying *I am part of the way in*, or *I am moving from sublocation to sublocation within this space*.

³⁹¹ The fact that spatial arguments are usually inanimate and immobile is well known (Aristar 1996, 1997; Lestrade and de Swart 2010). Moveable inanimate objects, like *the cart*, are still dispreferred unless they are reconceptualized as immobile.

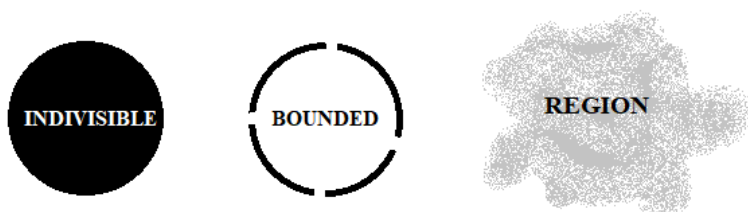
³⁹² The fact that a more specific Goal is desirable can also be deduced from the "general cognitive principle" which states that "an utterance must contain enough linguistic clues to arrive at a complete conceptualization of the event encoded" (Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004: 265). Spatial motion to a goal cannot be fully conceptualized without information about the spatial position of the goal; and the more spatial/geographic information is intrinsic in the goal (rather than having to be deduced from context) the lighter the cognitive burden will be on the hearer.

³⁹³ Givón notes that Location arguments (including Goals) are overwhelmingly definite across languages; he argues that this occurs because Location arguments "are part of the Frame which is set up before the main participants are introduced" (Givón 1991 I:473-474). However, he does not distinguish between definite common nouns and proper nouns in his discussion.

³⁹⁴ Comrie 1986; Haspelmath 2019: 328.

Second, a space may be a divisible **bounded location**, with an external boundary and an internal area within which one can move. Third, a space may be a divisible **region**, with amorphous bounds and (again) an internal area within which one can move. Regions can be problematic because it may not be clear whether someone is in the region or not, although certainty increases as the mover moves closer to the heart of the region. A given real-world location may be conceptualized as a different type of space in different contexts; so, for instance, *Jerusalem* may be conceived of either as a single point or as a bounded location.

Figure 4.7 Types of Locations



Goal arguments are prototypically conceptualized as indivisible. When *Joshua went up to Jerusalem*, a moment when he has not reached it is succeeded by a moment when he has; there isn't necessarily a moment of crossing the boundaries to move inside Jerusalem. However, Locations cannot be conceptualized as indivisible, as an object cannot be understood to be inside a location which does not have an inside. Instead, Locations are bounded or regional. Routes, also, cannot be indivisible, since the mover must be able to pass through them. I suggest that this distinction affects the type of NP that is most often (i.e. prototypically) associated with each spatial role. Because Goals are prototypically single-point locations, they are prototypically proper nouns, which are most easily conceptualized as single points. On the other hand, a divisible spatial argument like a Location is much more likely to be a definite common noun.³⁹⁵

³⁹⁵ Note that in Biblical Hebrew, Goals that are not conceptualized as single points get special marking, usually with the preposition *b-*, which also functions as the default Location marker in BH. These divisible Goals are usually definite common nouns (see 6.2.2).

A preliminary survey of *b*-marked NPs in 1 Kings 1-5 found over 40 Locations and 7 Routes. Of the Locations, all were inanimate except the idiomatic extension in 1 Kings 3:13 (Solomon will be unmatched among the kings). Most are common nouns (although there are some GNs, especially in the list of officials in 1 Kings 4:9-4:18), and all are definite nouns.

Inanimate proper noun Goals encode geographic information that is intrinsic and specific. The GN *Shaaraim*, for example, encodes its unique geographic location in itself. One may ask any knowledgeable stranger the way to Shaaraim and be directed to the same geographic location, no matter where one is starting from or whom one is asking. The same is true of *the Empire State Building* or *Hawaii*. The fact that the inherent geographic information here is (conceptualized as) unique makes these GN Goals even more salient. In my dataset of Biblical Hebrew Goal Constructions, GN goals are significantly more likely to be marked with the directive *he* or the accusative than are other types of goals, with both of these two strategies being used to mark about a quarter of GN goals.

So far, then, we have observed that atypical Goals that are animate and/or pronominal are almost always marked with directional prepositions, while prototypical Goals that are inanimate proper location nouns are good candidates for directive *he*-marking or accusative-marking (see Tables 4.2, 4.3 above).

What of common location noun goals? These goals always contain some intrinsic geographic information (e.g. *hill*, *city*, *sea*) which allows the listener to discount possible locations which do not fit the description. If the goal is definite (*the hill*, *my city*, *the sea*) the listener may be able to determine from context what specific geographic location is meant. However, the specific location information is *not* intrinsic to the goal. In Biblical Hebrew, common location goals can be marked with directive *he* or the accusative, but not as often as GN goals can. Since directive *he* and the accusative seem to be associated with marking prototypical Goals, and to be restricted from marking atypical animate/pronominal goals, this medial frequency of directive *he* and the accusative in common noun goals is evidence that common nouns make less prototypical Goals than GNs do, but more prototypical Goals than animate nouns do, as shown in Figure 4.8.

Of the Routes, six describe metaphoric motion (e.g. 1 Kings 3:6, where David walked in truth, righteousness, and uprightness) and one describes rafts being sent by sea (1 Kings 5:23 [5:9 Eng.]). These inanimate common nouns may be definite or indefinite. Additional work is needed on the prototypical features of spatial arguments other than the Goal in BH.

Figure 4.8 Prototypical Goal-like-ness Continuum³⁹⁶

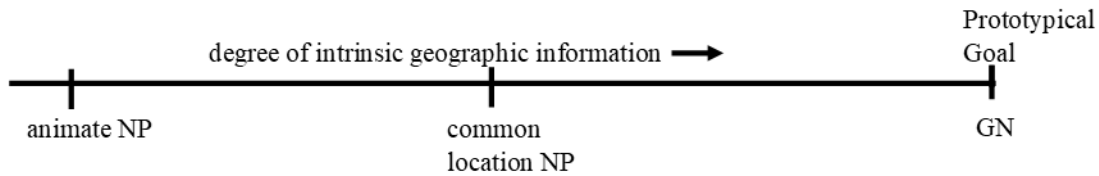


Figure 4.9 Inanimate Goal Matrix

	+SPECIFIC	-SPECIFIC
+INTRINSIC	GN	Common noun
-INTRINSIC	“the place”	Pronoun

What difference does the definiteness or indefiniteness of a common location noun make to its prototypicality? Indefinite common location nouns have some intrinsic geographic information, but it is not specific. *A hill* is not a specific place. Definite common location nouns (e.g. *the hill*), on the other hand, refer to specific places, but the specificity is not intrinsic to the goal. Here the analysis of the Biblical Hebrew dataset leads us to a curious result. We would tend to predict that, if directive *he* and the accusative are associated with more prototypical Goals, and more prototypical Goals include inherent, specific geographic information, then the directive *he* and the accusative would be more likely to mark definite common Goals than indefinite common Goals. However, this was not the case. Directive *he* was more likely to mark indefinite common Goals, and the accusative was not significantly correlated with either definiteness or indefiniteness. There are several ways that we could account for this.

³⁹⁶ Haspelmath arrives at a similar continuum, the “spatial-reference scale,” based on noun types’ relationships to differential place marking (primarily based on answers to the question of how long the place-markers are in language *x*, with the shortest or most integrated place-markers, or the largest set, available for the nouns farthest to the right) (2019: 323).

spatial-reference scale (ibid.)

human noun > common inanimate noun > place name/topo-noun

Haspelmath suggests that GNs and topo-nouns have the shortest/most-integrated place markers because they are the most *frequent* fillers of spatial roles (so the marker should be short for efficiency, versus the longer markers used for infrequent animate fillers of spatial roles) and the most *expected*. Expectedness is of course linked with the semantics of these noun types (2019: 328-329). Haspelmath does not discuss the impact of definiteness.

Option 1. In Biblical Hebrew Goals, it may be more important for geographic information to be intrinsic than for geographic information to be specific.

Option 2. In Biblical Hebrew Goals, a geographic reference may not be understood to be specific unless it is also intrinsic.

Option 3. In Biblical Hebrew, some other linguistic factor(s) may be restricting the directive *he* and the accusative from having a positive correlation with definite common goals.

The first contention—that it is more important in BH for geographic information to be intrinsic than specific for the purpose of choosing a goal-marking strategy—does seem to be the case, although a more comprehensive study of spatial roles in BH should be carried out in order to verify this.

The second suggestion—that a goal may not be understood to be specific unless the specific information is intrinsic—would be unexpected on a linguistic level. Biblical Hebrew has mechanisms that are clearly sensitive to definiteness, most notably the *?et*-marking of definite direct objects. However, even *?et* is sensitive not only to the definiteness of the object it marks, but also the object's inherent salience, to the extent that a definite noun with little salience might not be *?et*-marked, and a very salient indefinite noun might be *?et*-marked.³⁹⁷ Thus common noun definiteness could play a smaller part in goal-marking than would be expected.

The third contention—that some other linguistic feature(s) may be restricting the directive *he* and the accusative—does seem to be true for the directive *he*, which has a negative correlation with marked forms (see 4.3).

To summarize, I argue that the prototypical Goal argument has the following features: it is spatial, is the endpoint and not the origin of motion, contains both intrinsic and specific geographic information, and is conceptualized as an indivisible single-point location. I would expect these

³⁹⁷ See discussion of Bekins 2014, above.

features to be valid across languages. A broad cross-linguistic statistical survey would be necessary to verify (or disprove) this argument.

4.2.3.1 Excursus: Goal-Marking and Haspelmath's Proposed Category of Topo-nouns

In terms of goal-marking, the directive *he* and the accusative of direction are correlated with more-prototypical Goals (inanimate proper goals, and to a lesser extent common noun goals), and are restricted from marking atypical goals such as animates and pronouns. On the other hand, directional prepositions (when viewed as a class) can apply to any type of goal, which leads to their correlation with atypical animate and pronoun goals. To state this from an alternative viewpoint, atypical goals like animates and pronouns can be marked with a more restricted set of goal-markers, all of which are adpositional (i.e. the prepositions), while prototypical goals can be marked with a wider range of goal-markers including zero-marking (accusative) and clitic marking.

These results align with work on differential place marking in Haspelmath 2019,³⁹⁸ which draws on earlier research such as Aristar 1997, Luraghi 2011, Stolz et al. 2014, and Luraghi 2017. Haspelmath demonstrates that, in languages that have **differential place marking** (a blanket term that he uses to refer to differential goal marking, differential source marking, and differential location marking), the marking of the unexpected animate nouns in spatial roles may be special—the marker for an animate goal, for example, could be longer (composed of more morphemes/syllables), or could be less integrated into the goal (e.g. could be an adposition rather than a suffix) than the marker used for inanimate goals; or the set of markers available to mark an animate goal could be restricted.³⁹⁹ In Biblical Hebrew, the set of markers used for animate nouns is restricted (including only *?el*, *l-*, and *`al* with any frequency) in comparison to the full repertoire of eight goal-marking options available for inanimate nouns. Furthermore, the goal-

³⁹⁸ My thanks to Harald Samuel for making me aware of this resource.

³⁹⁹ Haspelmath 2019: 313, 321-322, 327; cf. Croft 2003: 189. Haspelmath also discusses a different iteration of differential place marking in which languages mark proper versus common nouns differently. In languages that do this, proper nouns have shorter or more integrated space-markers than common nouns do.

markers available for animate nouns are all adpositional; and the shortest goal-marking option (accusative zero-marking) is only available for inanimate nouns.

Haspelmath's work also provides a new line of inquiry for examining the relationship between the directive *he*, the accusative, and goal definiteness. Haspelmath draws a distinction between common inanimate nouns and what he calls topo-nouns (as a preliminary label), a subset of common inanimate nouns which often get special treatment in place-marking.⁴⁰⁰ Topo-nouns are "a diverse set of nouns that denote concepts which are commonly used as spatial landmarks, such as '(one's) house', 'village', 'school', 'church', 'beach'" and may also include nouns of spatial relation (axial nouns) such as "'front', 'back', 'underside'." Topo-nouns, like place names, may take shorter or more integrated place-markers than other common inanimate nouns or animate nouns.⁴⁰¹

Is it possible that the special common-noun category of topo-nouns has an impact on the correlation between goal-marking strategies in BH and goal definiteness? If, for example, topo-nouns in BH tended to be indefinite (due to their frequency?), we might then have two competing factors relating to goal-marking and goal-definiteness: an expectation to use the shorter/more integrated markers with topo-nouns, leading to more use of these to mark indefinite common nouns; and a pressure to use the more prototypical goal-markers with more-prototypical goals, leading to more use of these to mark definite common nouns.

To investigate this, we would need to answer three questions.

1. Is there a class of topo-nouns in BH that is treated differently from other common inanimate nouns?
2. If yes, what nouns are part of the topo-noun class?
3. Are the topo-nouns more likely to be indefinite than other common inanimate nouns?

⁴⁰⁰ Haspelmath 2019: 322-323.

⁴⁰¹ Haspelmath 2019: 322.

For a preliminary study of this question, I explored the common noun goals in my dataset. Among the 345 indefinite inanimate common goals, the most common are *?ereş* (land), *şām* (there), *hēnnāh* (here), *māqōm* (place), *?ōhel* (tent), and assorted axial direction words for the cardinal directions, right, left, down, *etc.* Among the 1246 definite inanimate common goals, the most common are *?ereş* (land), *bayit* (house), *har* (mountain), *'ir* (city), *?ōhel* (tent), *midbār* (wilderness), *māqōm* (place), *mahāneh* (camp), *etc.* Note that certain goals are more likely to be definite or indefinite. For example, *şām* (there) is always indefinite while *bayit* (house) is usually definite. For the most part, there is no obvious evidence that nouns which describe common spatial landmarks are more likely to be indefinite than definite.⁴⁰² However, the second type of topo-nouns, axial nouns, are more likely to be indefinite, especially *?ereş* (being used for *downward*) and *ma 'al* (for *upward*), although most axial nouns are definite some of the time. From a semantic perspective, the fact that axial nouns tend to be indefinite is expected, as they do not refer to a specific and/or bounded location; while they refer to an area whose geographic relationship to the speaker is inherent in the axial noun, without knowing the location of the speaker one cannot determine the geographic coordinates which they describe. Thus it is not their status as topo-nouns but their definitional semantics which make them less likely to be definite than other nouns.

4.3 Markedness

The concept of markedness provides a useful explanation for certain differences in the patterning of the accusative of direction and directive *he* (4.3.1). However, a consideration of the markedness of the goal-marking strategies themselves shows that markedness operates in competition with salience and iconicity (4.3.2).

4.3.1 Goal Markedness Restricting Directive *He*

⁴⁰² Certain noun phrases are more likely to appear as definite or indefinite, as I have noted. This is in part due to their particular semantics (e.g. going *habbayt=āh*, 'home,' presumes that one has a specific location in mind and thus is naturally definite). It is also possible that certain nouns were conventionally written as definite or indefinite, although more exploration is needed in order to support this suggestion.

The association of directive *he* and accusative marking with more prototypical goals explains their correlation with inanimate proper goals. However, it does not explain the correlation of directive *he* with indefinite, simple goals.

If directive *he* were correlated only with simple goals and not indefinites and adjunctless goals, it would be tempting to explain this as an integrity restriction. When the directive *he* adds to a construct chain (the most common type of complex goal) it does not attach to the end of the chain as possessive pronoun endings do; instead it attaches to the end of the first noun in the chain. This interrupts the structure of the goal phrase, disrupting its **syntactic integrity**. Languages generally constrain the addition of morphemes in the middle of linguistic units, preferring to add morphemes at the margins of said units (which is why suffixation and prefixation are so common but infixation is rare). This means that, although Biblical Hebrew allows the directive *he* to intervene in an NP (indeed, when adding to a complex NP the directive *he* must attach in this unexpected location) this creates a certain linguistic tension that may lead Hebrew language users to choose other goal-marking strategies for complex goals.⁴⁰³

Figure 4.10 A Construct Chain with Directive *He* Intervening

CONSTRUCT_NOUN[-GENDER;NUMBER]= directive_ <i>he</i> DEF-NOUN[-GENDER;NUMBER] e.g. <i>bêt=âh ha-mmlak-îm</i> , ‘ to the house of the kings’
--

Unfortunately, the correlation of directive *he* with indefinite common nouns cannot be explained via the same pressures. However, both the correlation of directive *he* with simple, adjunctless goals and with indefinite goals can be explained through markedness. (While it is possible that BH scribes’ preference for simplicity and indefiniteness in goals marked with directive *he* have two separate explanations, based on the data currently available there is no reason to reject the most economical hypothesis.)

⁴⁰³ Despite the fact that clitics show this kind of behavior across languages, attaching “after the first constituent ... of the phrase ... they relate to” (Spencer and Luis 2012: 37; cf. idem 17, 48-64), since the directive *he* is the only morpheme in Biblical Hebrew that behaves this way, a tension is still created.

Markedness is a linguistic concept having to do with the evaluative hierarchy of two contrasted forms.⁴⁰⁴ As Battistella explains, “In technical parlance, the term *markedness* refers to the relationship between two poles of an opposition; the terms *marked* and *unmarked* refer to the evaluation of the poles; the simpler, more general pole is the unmarked term of the opposition while the more complex and focused pole is the marked term.”⁴⁰⁵ To give a semantic example, we could refer to a person who writes books as an *author* or an *authoress*. In modern usage, the term *author* is more general—it tells us only that this person is a writer, without any indication of their gender—while *authoress* includes additional information, specifying that the writer is female.⁴⁰⁶ In this pair, *author* is the unmarked term while *authoress* is the marked term. (Note that the marked term, *authoress*, includes an added morpheme –ess which encodes the added semantic element. This phenomenon—the marked form including additional morphemes—occurs frequently in unmarked/marked pairs. Language users tend to associate more-marked meanings with more-marked forms.)⁴⁰⁷

Of course, in many cases we must wrestle with the markedness values of more than two forms. In such cases, the markedness hierarchy is defined as a series of binary oppositions. For example, Korchin explored the markedness relations between verbal paradigms in Canaanite and Hebrew through a multi-level hierarchy. In the Canaanite hierarchy, the *yqtl* preterite was the unmarked form. The *yqtl-u* imperfective was marked in comparison to the *yqtl* preterite, both semantically (imperfectives are marked in comparison to perfectives) and morphologically

⁴⁰⁴ As with many linguistic concepts, there are multiple theories of markedness and the occasional challenge to its existence or its relevance for explaining certain phenomena (cf. de Lacy 2006: xiii; Haspelmath 2019). These issues cannot be addressed in depth in this volume. For a short history of markedness theory, see Battistella 1990: 3-22 or Andersen 1989. Markedness has been most thoroughly adopted in the study of phonology (the subfield in which it originated), but it has also been applied in the study of morphology, syntax, semantics, and beyond.

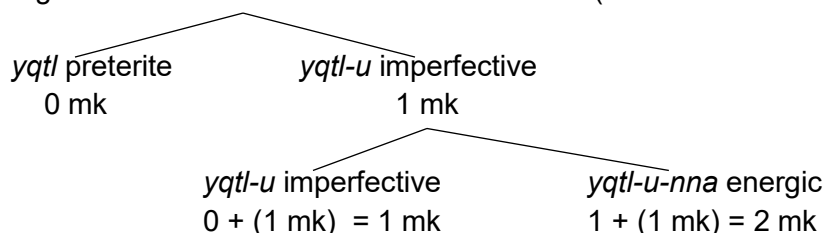
⁴⁰⁵ Battistella 1990: 1, italics original. cf. Korchin 2008: 63: “An overtly-specific form signifies overtly a specific function... A non-overtly-specific form does not overtly signify a specific function.”

⁴⁰⁶ Of course, in specific contexts the terms *author* is taken to convey a specific gender. For example, if the President of the Modern Language Association were to begin a speech with “I welcome all the authors and authoresses...,” we would naturally assume that the term *author* was being used to refer to males. This kind of function of the unmarked form in a pair, as being able to take on the meaning of not-the-marked, is also common (cf. Battistella 1990: 2).

⁴⁰⁷ Battistella 1990: 7.

(carrying the *-u* suffix for “non-anteriority”). The *yqtl-u-nna* was marked in comparison to the *yqtl-u* imperfective, being then doubly marked in comparison to the *yqtl* preterite.⁴⁰⁸

Figure 4.11 Markedness in Canaanite Verbs (Korchin 2008: 323-324)



Markedness is not merely an abstract notion. At a given time, the unmarked form in a given pair will, other factors being held equal, be the more frequent and often the more expected of the two; over time, there is a pressure from linguistic efficiency to erode the less-frequent marked form, conflate it with another form, or drop it altogether.⁴⁰⁹ However, as long as the marked form expresses a useful contrast, there is a competing pressure to preserve it.⁴¹⁰ If the association between the unmarked form and frequency sounds like the association between a prototype and frequency to you, you are not alone: markedness has sometimes been understood as a type of prototype effect.⁴¹¹

Based on the data described above (4.1.2.2, 4.1.3), in Biblical Hebrew the directive *he* correlates with unmarked outcomes (it adds to goals that are singular, indefinite common, simple, and have no adjuncts). The accusative of destination is neutral or preferred for unmarked goals (it is correlated with adjunctless, singular goals). The directional prepositions are not restricted in terms of the markedness of the goals to which they apply; as a consequence, they are especially common with marked goals (that are plural, definite common, complex, and have adjuncts).

⁴⁰⁸ Korchin 2008: 72, 323-325; cf. Battistella 1990: 89-107. For further markedness relations in Canaanite and Hebrew verbs, see Korchin 2008: 323-333. For markedness relations among Modern Hebrew *binyanim*, see e.g. Tobin 1994: 241-288.

⁴⁰⁹ De Lacy 2006: 78, 144-145; Battistella 1990: 151-182; Croft 2003: 87-117.

⁴¹⁰ de Lacy 2006: 146-147, 206-207.

⁴¹¹ Battistella 1990: 41-44; Croft 2003: 162-165. However, although it would seem natural to associate the unmarked with the prototypical, when dealing with constructions, at least, the prototypical may be the marked (Naess 2007: 31-32). Of course, the questions to ask here are “marked in relation to what?” and “prototypical for which category?”

Are these correlations necessarily due to markedness-sensitivity in Biblical Hebrew? Some of them could be consequences of the goal-marking strategies' relations to the prototypical goal. For example, the directive *he* and the accusative of destination are associated with both singular goals and GNs (prototypical goals); place names are almost always singular (although there are occasional GNs that contain an etymological plural, such as *maḥānā'im*). Directive *he* and the accusative are associated with both adjunctless goals and GNs; GNs already contain intrinsic geographic information and do not require further specification in the form of adjuncts.⁴¹² Complex goals, as we saw above, could disprefer directive *he* due to syntactic integrity. But once again the association of directive *he* and indefinite common nouns is a stumbling block. To my knowledge, there is no reason other than markedness sensitivity for directive *he* to be dispreferred for definite common nouns.⁴¹³

4.3.2 Markedness, Iconicity, Salience, and the Survival of a Diverse Goal-Marking Repertoire

Let us posit, then, that the directive *he* is correlated with marking unmarked goals; that the accusative is correlated with certain types of unmarked goals; and that the directional prepositions are correlated with marked goals. Can we say anything about why these correlations occur?

Let us consider the goal-marking strategies themselves from the perspective of markedness. Can we arrange the strategies in a markedness hierarchy that gives us useful information about their patterning in Biblical Hebrew?

If the external sign of markedness is usually the addition of morphemes, then in terms of orthography, the accusative of direction is our unmarked option, while both the directive *he* and the directional prepositions are marked. A goal carrying both a preposition and directive *he* would be orthographically double-marked.

⁴¹² Only 0.34% of proper noun goals in my dataset have relative clause adjuncts, as opposed to 6.91% of common noun goals.

⁴¹³ Across languages, the prototypical clitic applies freely to words in a given class (nouns, verbs); we do not expect arbitrary gaps (Spencer and Luis 2006: 108-109).

As a side note, an analysis in terms of spoken markedness gives the same result. The accusative is unmarked because it requires no addition of morphemes/syllables; while the directive *he* and the directional prepositions are marked, because they do. One could suggest, in addition, that the *l-* and *b-* goal-markers are sometimes doubly-marked in terms of prosody because they can rearrange the syllable boundaries of a goal lexeme,⁴¹⁴ causing the onset of the first syllable to become a coda (e.g. *mā-qō-mô* 'his place' → *lim-qō-mô* 'to his place', Gen 18:33). In the Masoretic reading tradition, the directive *he* can also cause rearrangement when applied to segolate nouns (*?ā-reṣ* → *?ar-ṣâh*), but this would not have been the case during the first millennium B.C. before segolation was applied.⁴¹⁵

Why would we consider prosodic (spoken) markedness as an alternative to orthographic (written) markedness in our analysis of the markedness of goal-marking strategies? Isn't the Hebrew Bible a written text? It is worth considering prosodic markedness for two reasons. First, patterns in speech can influence patterns in writing. See for example 6.3.2 on the restriction of the BH goal-marking repertoire in written reported speech, probably reflecting the limitations of the Hebrew spoken goal-marking repertoire. Second, there is evidence suggesting that ancient Near Eastern scribes sometimes recited or read texts aloud as they copied or composed them. While we do not know if this was always the case, it is possible that this was common practice.⁴¹⁶ If so, then both prosodic and orthographic markedness could have impacted scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies.

Whatever the scribes' practice may have been, the same markedness hierarchy results: the accusative is unmarked while the other options are marked. However, in addition to orthographic and/or prosodic markedness, some more specific types of linguistic markedness may be active. For example, syntactic markedness. The addition of a directional preposition

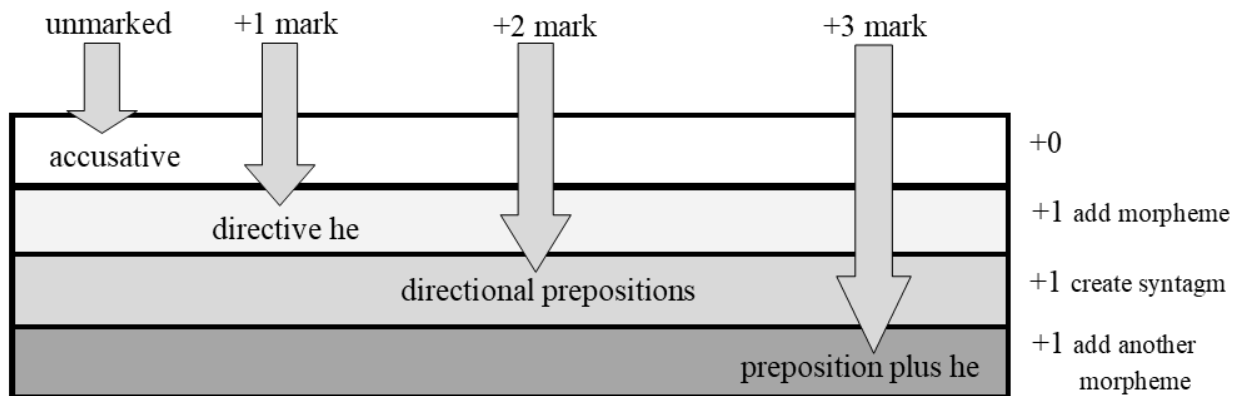
⁴¹⁴ If it does not carry a definite article and has an initial open syllable.

⁴¹⁵ Stress markedness – the markedness of a change in stress caused by the addition of a morpheme – does not apply for any of the goal-marking strategies.

⁴¹⁶ See 2.1.2.2, especially notes.

creates a new syntagm, a prepositional phrase, while the addition of a directive *he* to a goal or the use of the accusative of direction does not. Thus, the goal-marking strategies can be arranged in the following hierarchy:

Figure 4.12 Goal-Marking Strategies in a Markedness Hierarchy



We see that the accusative of direction is unmarked, while the directive *he* is marked, the directional prepositions are doubly marked, and the preposition plus directive *he* strategy is triply marked. However, while this is a tidy model of markedness in the BH goal-marking system, does it align with actual data from the Hebrew Bible?

As was noted above, in a given binary choice between a marked and an unmarked linguistic option, the unmarked option is almost always the more common (e.g. *cat* vs *cat-s*). A less marked option also tends to apply in more contexts. Therefore, we might expect that the accusative of direction would be the most commonly used goal-marking strategy, then the directive *he*, then the directional prepositions, then prepositions plus directive *he*. However, aside from the fact that our most marked option, preposition plus directive *he*, is indeed the least common, this is not what we see at all. The most common option is the directional preposition *?el*, which does 50% of the goal-marking in BH prose and has no restrictions on the contexts in which it can apply; trailed by the accusative and the directive *he*, which are even at about 17% and can only apply to inanimate goals; followed by *l-* (at 9%) and the rest of the directional prepositions. Why isn't the accusative of direction the winner in this contest?

Let us consider the possible binaries one by one. First we have the accusative of direction and the directive *he*. Why do they occur with the same frequency of the corpus, when the accusative is clearly the less marked option? Their equal success appears even more peculiar when we note that the directive *he* is much more restricted in terms of the contexts in which it can apply: it cannot apply to goals which end in vowels, guttural consonants, or possessive pronoun suffixes, and it tends not to apply to marked nouns (definite, plural, complex, or governing adjuncts) (see above). This means that, in contexts where the directive *he* is licensed to apply, it is applying to a much higher proportion of goals than the accusative of direction is. The best explanation for this lies in the relative salience of these two strategies. Salience, as we have seen above, has to do with how meaningful a piece of language is in capturing a particular linguistic contrast, whatever kind of contrast that may be. The directive *he* is a highly salient morpheme because at least 93% of the time it means ‘the element to which I am applying is the goal.’⁴¹⁷ It is also salient because it can be distinguished from other morphemes. Although it is homographic with the common feminine ending and the third feminine possessive pronominal suffix, since it cannot receive stress it is prosodically distinct from both of them. On the other hand, the accusative of direction is low in salience. It has no visual or auditory form, and a noun construed as an accusative of direction cannot, in isolation, be distinguished from a subject, an indefinite direct object, or an ‘adverbial noun’ other than an accusative of direction. So because the directive *he* is so much higher in goal-marking salience than the accusative of direction, it survives and even thrives in the contexts where it is licensed.

Second, we have the accusative of direction versus directional prepositions. The prevalence of *?el* is especially surprising from a markedness standpoint. Salience again has some impact; directional prepositions have a visual/auditory representation, while the accusative of direction does not. *?el*, like the directive *he*, is strongly associated with goals. *`ad*, *b-*, and

⁴¹⁷ See Appendix 1, below, and Medill in prep.

CBH `a/ are also preserved due to their salience: each one captures something unique in the semantics of the Goal Construction.⁴¹⁸

However, our actual goal-marking distribution, with *?e/* most frequent, remains surprising. Even if *?e/* is visually and semantically salient, it is more marked than the directive *he*, which is also visually and semantically salient. Why is it so much more common than both the directive *he* and the unmarked accusative? While the directive *he* labors under various restrictions and the accusative is both low in salience and also somewhat restricted, are these restrictions enough to explain the disparity between the proportions of *?e/* and of the non-prepositional options? And why can *?e/* apply in more contexts, i.e., to both prototypical and atypical goals?

The association between *?e/* (and other prepositions) and atypical goals can be explained in terms of iconicity. In linguistics, an **iconic** piece of language is one whose form has a non-arbitrary relationship to its meaning.⁴¹⁹ The most obvious examples are onomatopoeic words like *chirp*, *arf*, or *boom*. Each of these words is trying to represent the actual sound of its referent.⁴²⁰ Other examples are more abstract, such as the use of reduplication (saying a sound or syllable a second time) as a plural marker, or the use of consonantal doubling to indicate that a verbal action was done several times or that there were more participants in the clause.⁴²¹ Another cross-linguistic association commonly explained through iconicity is the use of more-marked morphemes to mark more-marked nouns. In other words, all other things being equal, unmarked nouns tend to have unmarked morphemes applied while marked nouns tend to have marked morphemes applied. In the case of goal-marking, we have more marked morphemes (*?e/* and other directional prepositions) marking more (semantically) marked goals (that are inanimate,

⁴¹⁸ See Chapter 6. The fact that the most common use of *b-* is for location-marking, not goal-marking, reduces its salience in this context.

⁴¹⁹ Please note that linguistic iconicity is not fully arbitrary; it is viewed as non-arbitrary within a particular speech community. Speakers from other communities may not recognize the connection between the linguistic icon and the physical object or behavior. See Irvine and Gal 2000: 36-37; Sebba 2015: 213-214.

⁴²⁰ Of course, onomatopoeic words are somewhat abstracted. They are not perfect representations, but they are non-arbitrary. *Hiss* would not be accepted as the word for a dog's barking.

⁴²¹ cf. Kouwenberg 1997: 92-109. On rare occasions reduplicative plurals are used for BH nouns; e.g. the plural given for 'hills' in Num 23:7, Deut 33:15, Hab 3:6.

pronominal, etc.). Thus the fact that directional prepositions frequently apply to atypical goals is a predicted outcome.

Biblical Hebrew has a rich repertoire of goal-marking strategies. Many languages have more efficient systems with fewer options. However, for various pragmatic reasons, Biblical Hebrew writers maintained their diverse system. The accusative of direction remained in use despite its low salience because it was unmarked; the directive *he* was used despite its restrictions due to its very high salience; and the directional prepositions were retained despite the fact that they were doubly marked due to a combination of salience and iconicity.⁴²²

4.4 In Sum

In this chapter, I showed that linguistic variables relating to the nature and structure of the goal had a significant effect on goal-marking strategy choice.

- Directive *he* can only add to goals ending in non-guttural consonants (consonants articulated at the velum and forward).
- Neither directive *he* nor the accusative of destination add to goals carrying possessive pronominal suffixes.
- Directive *he* is dispreferred for plural goals, but this result is not statistically significant.
- Directive *he* is never and the accusative is almost never used to mark animate goals.
- Directive *he* and the accusative are most frequent marking proper noun goals, but are restricted from marking pronominal goals.
- Indefinite goals are marked with the directive *he* more often than with any other strategy.
- Directive *he* does not usually mark complex goals.
- Directive *he* and the accusative do not usually mark goals with adjuncts.

⁴²² There also seems to have been a consensus among the CBH scribes that using a variety of goal-marking strategies was an aesthetic feature. See 6.3.1.

In an excursus, I discussed the impact that lexical and syntactic priming had on goal-marking strategy choice. Priming is most visible for prepositional goal phrases, as they do not suffer under the restrictions that make it difficult to create sequences of directive *he* goal phrases, for example.

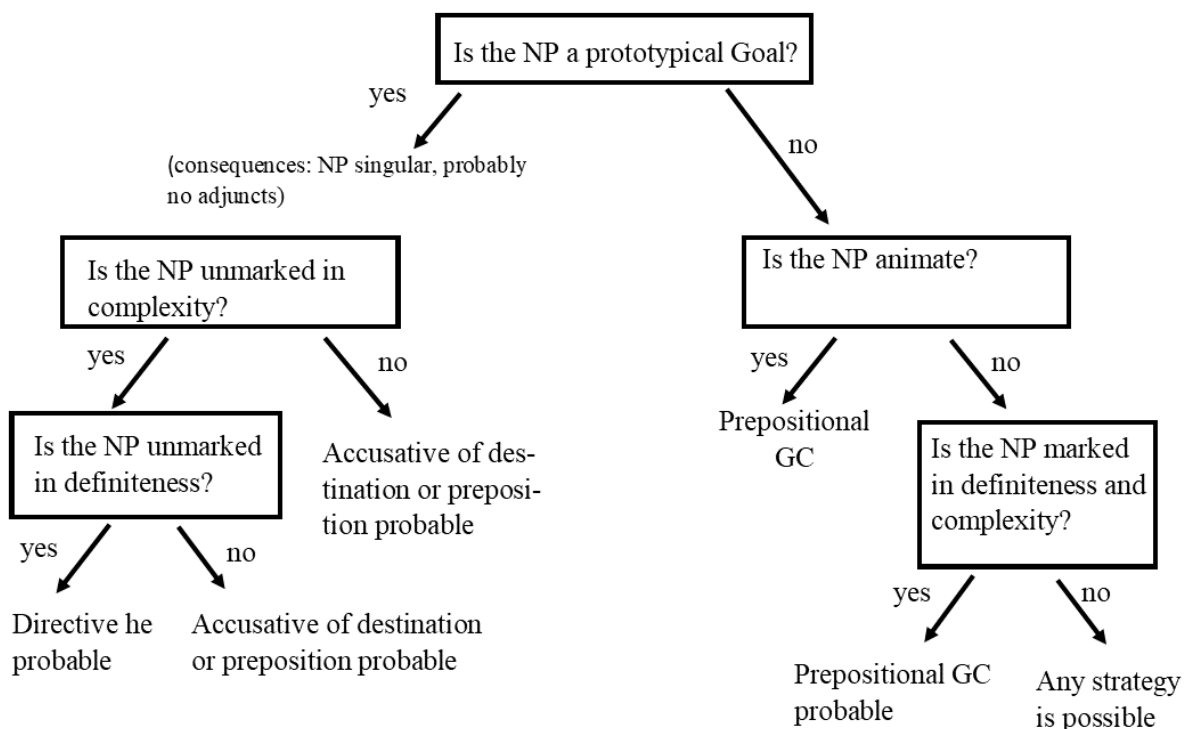
Second, I argued that the Goal semantic role, like other better-studied semantic roles, has prototypical features to which language users are sensitive. Prototypical goals contain intrinsic specific geographic information and are indivisible/single-point locations. Since GNs contain intrinsic specific geographic information, they are prototypical as goals, while common location nouns are less so. Animate or pronominal goals contain no inherent geographic information and thus are atypical. Since the directive *he* and the accusative of destination are associated primarily with GN goals and to a lesser extent with common noun goals, and are unable to mark animate/pronominal goals, I argue that BH scribes use these two strategies to mark prototypical goals. Directional prepositions can mark goals without regard for their typicality.

Third, I showed that directive *he* was associated with goals that were unmarked in terms of complexity and definiteness. The diverse goal-marking repertoire of the BH scribes was retained despite its inefficiency in part due to pragmatic factors like markedness, salience, and iconicity.

4.4.1 Can We Predict the Scribes' Choices Based on the Goal's Characteristics?

Figure 4.13 gives a possible decision tree for scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies based on characteristics of the goal itself. Notice that relatively few combinations of linguistic features lead to the use of directive *he* marking. (The directive *he* is even more restricted than is shown here, due to the fact that it can only add to goals ending in non-guttural consonants.) For unmarked, prototypical goals, the directive *he* is the most common goal-marking choice. Accusative marking is never a majority choice, but it is more likely to occur with prototypical goals. Prepositional marking, on the other hand, is always possible; it is only a minority option for unmarked prototypical goals.

Figure 4.13 Decision Tree for the Choice of Goal-Marking Strategies based on Goal Variables



We can use this decision tree to predict what goal-marking strategy will be used in a given clause. In Numbers 20:22, “The sons of Israel, all the congregation, came to Hor the mountain.” The goal here is the GN Hor. This GN contain intrinsic, specific geographic information, making it a prototypical Goal; thus we proceed down the left-hand branch of the decision tree. Since it is followed by the modifier *the mountain*, this goal is complex; in other words, it is marked in complexity, making it probable that the accusative or a directional preposition will be used to mark this goal. That is indeed what we see; in this passage, *Hor the mountain* is construed as an accusative of destination. To give another example, in 2 Kings 22:14 we read that “Then Hilkiah the priest [and a list of others] went to Huldah the prophetess, the wife of Shallum” The goal here is the prophetess Huldah. Huldah does not have an intrinsic geographic location, so she is not a prototypical Goal; thus we proceed down the right-hand branch of the decision tree. She is animate, so we see that prepositional marking is expected for her. This is in fact the case; in the biblical text she is marked with *?el*. (The fact that *Huldah* is followed by so many modifying

phrases, making her very marked as a goal in terms of complexity, would also tend to promote prepositional marking.)

In brief, the directive *he* is associated with prototypical, unmarked goals and the accusative is associated with prototypical goals. Since directional prepositions as a class are not restricted by goal prototypicality or markedness, they can be used with any kind of goal. In Chapter 5, we will see that these goal-marking strategies are not sensitive to the (proto)typicality of the goal alone but to the (proto)typicality of the entire Motion Construction.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Five: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND PROTOTYPICAL MOTION

Chapter Outline

- 5.1 *The Data: Syntactic Variables and Goal-Marking Strategy Choices*
 - 5.1.1 *Participant Saliency Variables*
 - 5.1.1.1 *Saliency of the Subject*
 - 5.1.1.2 *Saliency of the Object*
 - 5.1.2 *Verb and Clause Variables*
 - 5.1.2.1 *The Number of Participants*
 - 5.1.2.2 *Verb Component Features*
 - 5.1.2.2.1 *Verb Principal Part: A Tense-Aspect-Mood Index*
 - 5.1.2.2.2 *Other Verbal Features*
 - 5.1.3 *Excursus: Word Order*
- 5.2 *Introducing Prototypical Constructions*
 - 5.2.1 *Most Studied: The Prototypical Transitive Construction*
 - 5.2.1.1 *Building the Prototypical Transitive Construction: A Brief Review of Scholarship*
 - 5.2.1.2 *The Prototypical Transitive Construction is Active in Biblical Hebrew and Other Ancient Semitic Languages*
 - 5.2.2 *The Intransitive Motion Construction*
 - 5.2.3 *Caused-Motion and its Siblings*
 - 5.2.3.1 *Caused-Motion Constructions with Patients: The Object is Moved according to the Will of the Subject*
 - 5.2.3.2 *Secondary-Agent Caused-Motion Constructions: The Object Moves under Its Own Power according to the Will of the Subject*
 - 5.2.3.3 *Pursuit Clauses: The Object Functions as the Expected Endpoint of the Subject's Motion*
 - 5.2.3.4 *A Note on Biblical Hebrew 'br "to cross over": The Object as a Route Argument*
 - 5.2.3.5 *Caused-Possession and the Challenge of the Animate 'Goal (?)'*
 - 5.2.3.6 *Excursus: The Issue of Object Individuation*
 - 5.2.4 *A Family of Prototypical Motion Constructions*
- 5.3 *The Choice of Goal-Marking Strategies is Driven by Motion Prototypes in Biblical Hebrew*
- 5.4 *In Conclusion*

In the previous chapter, I showed that the correlations of features of the goal itself with various goal-marking strategy choices could be explained by referring to the prototypical Goal and to markedness. However, many additional linguistic features have a statistically significant impact on goal-marking strategy choice.⁴²³ In this chapter, I discuss the results for other syntactic/semantic variables and situate them in the context of prototypical Motion Constructions. I argue that the directive *he* and the accusative of destination are more likely to be used in more-

⁴²³ cf. Table 2.4.

prototypical motion clauses, while the use of directional prepositions (as a class) is not restricted by the prototypicality of the Motion Construction.

The contributions that I make in this chapter are threefold. First, I continue to show that numerous syntactic-semantic factors which have been neglected in the earlier literature are significantly correlated with the scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies (5.1). Second, I build upon the work of linguists interested in Prototype Theory, Construction Grammar, and motion-encoding to develop descriptions of a family of Prototypical Motion Constructions (5.2). These descriptions have a breadth and detail comparable to the well-known description of the Prototypical Transitive Construction (for which see 5.2.1 below), and have been verified (as far as possible when working with a single language) via usage data from Biblical Hebrew. Third, I demonstrate that the (proto)typicality of the Motion Construction in which a goal appears drives a large proportion of goal-marking strategy variation in Biblical Hebrew (5.3). This is a crucial finding for future students and scholars of Biblical Hebrew. In the past, most scholars of BH and other ancient Semitic languages have paid little attention to any type of prototypical construction; however, a few scholars have demonstrated that several linguistic phenomena in BH (*ʔet*-marking and the choice/functions of certain *binyanim*) are best explained via Prototypical Transitivity (5.2.1.2). Combined with my work, this research shows that in Biblical Hebrew the marking and interpretation of finite verbs, subjects, objects, and core spatial arguments is impacted by the degree to which the clause in which these constituents appear conforms to one of a variety of prototypical constructions. In other words, the relation of a clause to the relevant prototype(s) has a powerful impact on the clause's most important constituents—yet the BH grammars give no attention to Prototype Theory or to Construction Grammar.

5.1 The Data: Syntactic Variables and Goal-Marking Strategy Choices

Numerous syntactic variables were coded in the Goal Construction dataset (see Table 2.2)—not only participant salience variables, such as the definiteness, animacy, and number of the subject and object, but also verb/clause variables such as the number of participants, verb principal part,

clause mode, verb aspect, subject affectedness, verb voice, verb binyan, negation, and word order (verb-initial and GC-fronting). Some of these, like verb principal part and the number of participants, were clearly significant; others, like the subject and object variables, clause mode, verb aspect, and perhaps subject affectedness, have masked significance or a weak effect (see Figure 2.1).

5.1.1 Participant Salience Variables

In 4.1.2 the noun salience features animacy, definiteness, and individuation were introduced. Nouns that are animate, definite, and/or individuated (proper instead of common, singular instead of plural) are more salient than nouns which are inanimate, indefinite, and/or not individuated (common, plural). More salient nouns are more likely to be used as topics or in foregrounded clauses, while less salient nouns are more likely to be used for background information.

Salience features were not only coded for the goal argument itself, but also for the subjects and objects (if any) in the Goal Constructions. The definiteness/individuation of both subject and object participants was significantly correlated with goal-marking strategy choice: the directive *he* and the accusative of direction were more likely to mark goals in clauses with more salient (definite/individuated) participants.

5.1.1.1 Salience of the Subject

Directive *he* and the accusative of destination were more likely to appear in clauses with more individuated subjects. In Table 5.1, the goal-marking strategies are cross-tabulated with degrees of the subject's definiteness/individuation (listed from least individuated on the left to most individuated on the right).

Table 5.1: Goal-Marking Strategies by Subject-Definiteness, with column percentages

Strategy	not explicit	indefinite	definite	PN	pronoun	totals
directive <i>he</i>	275 (14.78%)	21 (14.69%)	79 (16.77%)	73 (16.33%)	48 (23.65%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	5	1	4	0	0	10
accusative	302 (16.23%)	21 (14.69%)	69 (14.65%)	79 (17.67%)	23 (11.33%)	494
preposition	1279 (68.73%)	100 (69.93%)	319 (67.73%)	295 (66.00%)	132 (65.02%)	2125
totals	1861 (100%)	143 (100%)	471 (100%)	447 (100%)	203 (100%)	3125

Note that the directive *he* is least often used to mark goals in clauses with non-explicit or indefinite subjects (~14.8%), is slightly more likely to occur with definite or PN subjects (~16.8%), and is most likely to occur with subject pronouns (23.7%). The accusative of destination is most likely to occur with PN subjects (17.7%), although this correlation is fairly weak. Meanwhile, directional prepositions occur most frequently with non-explicit or indefinite subjects. Thus the directive *he* is correlated with highly individuated subjects and the directional prepositions are correlated with unindividuated subjects.

Subject animacy and subject number did not have a significant effect on goal-marking strategy choice. However, when we recall how entangled the salience variables are with one another (see 4.1.2), it is possible that subject definiteness/individuation is masking their effects or that subject salience as an entangled whole should be regarded as having an effect.⁴²⁴

5.1.1.2 Salience of the Object

The definiteness/individuation of the object, in combination with its animacy, has a significant effect on goal-marking strategy choice. In this case it is clear that we are dealing with the effect

⁴²⁴ Subject animacy may also have failed to reach significance because of the dearth of observations with non-animate subjects. Only 39 subjects in the dataset are impersonal and 84 inanimate, as opposed to 3002 animate subjects. The directive *he* appears to be indifferent to subject number, while the accusative is favored and the directional prepositions disfavored with collective subjects.

of salience as a whole, since object definiteness fails to be significant unless object animacy is also included, and vice versa.⁴²⁵

In Table 5.2 the goal-marking strategies are cross-tabulated with degrees of object definiteness/individuation. Once again, the directive *he* tends to appear with more salient constituents, being least common in clauses with elliptical and indefinite objects, slightly more common with definite objects, and more common still with PN and pronoun objects. The accusative is less common with elliptical and common (indefinite and definite) objects, and more common with PN and pronoun objects. The directional prepositions have the opposite pattern, being more common with less individuated objects.

Table 5.2: Goal-Marking Strategies by Object-Definiteness, with column percentages

Strategy	ellipsis	indefinite	definite	PN	pronoun	totals
directive <i>he</i>	12 (11.65%)	11 (8.27%)	37 (13.75%)	8 (14.81%)	65 (15.15%)	133
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	0	0	0	1	1
accusative	10 (9.71%)	11 (8.27%)	24 (8.92%)	8 (14.81%)	53 (12.35%)	106
preposition	81 (78.64%)	111 (83.46%)	208 (77.32%)	38 (70.37%)	310 (72.26%)	748
totals	103 (100%)	133 (100%)	269 (100%)	54 (100%)	429 (100%)	988

In Table 5.3, goal-marking strategies are cross-tabulated with object animacy. Yet again, directive *he* is more common in combination with a more salient object, being least common with impersonal objects, more common with inanimate objects, and most common with animate objects. The accusative is actually less common with animate objects, as are directional prepositions.

⁴²⁵ I experimented with these variables in enough models to be confident that the significance of object definiteness is not merely an artifact of overfitting.

Table 5.3: Goal-Marking Strategies by Object-Animacy, with column percentages

Strategy	impersonal	inanimate	animate	totals
directive <i>he</i>	7 (8.97%)	35 (11.33%)	91 (15.14%)	133
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	0	1	1
accusative	10 (12.82%)	38 (12.30%)	58 (9.65%)	106
preposition	61 (78.21%)	236 (76.38%)	451 (75.04%)	748
totals	78 (100%)	309 (100%)	601 (100%)	988

Object number was not significantly correlated with goal-marking strategies.

Participant salience does influence goal-marking strategy choices. The directive *he* and accusative are more common in clauses with definite/individuated subjects and objects, and the directive *he* is more common in clauses with animate objects; the directional prepositions, on the other hand, are more common in clauses with unindividuated subjects and objects. In other words, the directive *he* is associated with more salient clause participants; the accusative of destination may be as well; and the prepositions are associated with less salient participants.

5.1.2 Verb and Clause Variables

Many verb and clause variables influence the choices HB scribes make between goal-marking strategies, including the number of participants in the clause, verb principal part, clause mode, verb aspect, and subject affectedness.⁴²⁶ Other variables, such as verb voice, verb *binyan*, and negation, either have no real influence or have too weak an effect for it to be discernible in this limited dataset.

5.1.2.1 The Number of Participants

One basic classifying feature for types of clauses is the number of participants in a clause. Is there only a subject in the clause (one participant, intransitive)? Are there a subject and direct

⁴²⁶ A few Goal Constructions have no verbs and thus were omitted from the analysis. Several clause fragments include only the goal phrase. For example, in 1 Kings 12:16 after Rehoboam fails to win the hearts of the people the Israelites call on one another: "To your tents, O Israel!" These examples include the following:

In dialogue: Ex 32:26, Ex 33:3; 1 Sam 20:28, 2 Sam 2:1, 2 Sam 20:1, 1 Kings 12:16, 1 Kings 22:36, 2 Chr 10:16.

In narrative: an animate subject calls on animate objects to go somewhere (Gen 31:4, Jud 4:10, 1 Sam 10:17, 1 Sam 13:4); in a list (Num 21:16, 21:18, 21:19, 21:20); a noun from a motion verb root appears to carry the action (1 Sam 7:17, Neh 12:31, Est 9:22); the adjective *qareb* carries the action (Num 17:28, 1 Sam 17:41, 1 Kings 5:7, Ezek 42:13, Ezek 43:19); other instances of verb dropping (1 Sam 14:16 [perhaps a textual error], Est 7:7).

Please note that Pursuit Constructions were coded as having multiple participants even when their objects were marked with a preposition (see 5.2.3.3 for discussion).

object (two participants, transitive)? Or are there a subject, direct object, and indirect object (three participants, ditransitive)?

In Table 5.4, I distinguish between single-participant (intransitive) clauses and clauses with two or three participants. Clauses with a single participant are significantly more likely to contain goals marked with directive *he* or the accusative of destination than are clauses with more than one participant. Clauses with multiple participants are more likely to contain goals marked with directional prepositions.

Table 5.4: Goal-Marking Strategies by Participants, with column percentages

Strategy	One participant	More than one	totals
directive <i>he</i>	364 (16.96%)	132 (13.48%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	9	1	10
accusative	388 (18.08%)	106 (10.83%)	494
preposition	1385 (64.54%)	740 (75.59%)	2125
totals	2146 (100%)	979 (100%)	3125

We can confirm this via the results for another variable. In Biblical Hebrew, verbs have a number of “stems” (*binyanim*) which perform various functions.⁴²⁷ One of the obvious features of these “stems” is the number of participants characteristic of each. Verbs in the default *qal* stem may co-occur with any number of participants, but the *pi’el* (factive/intensive) will usually have two,⁴²⁸ the *hip’il* (causative) will have two or three, the *nip’al* (medio-passive) will have one, and

⁴²⁷ In each stem, the consonantal root of the verb is conformed to the stem’s unique template, which may include doubling of the second root consonant or the addition of prefixes as well as templatic vowels. The template carries the stem’s semantic information. The person, gender, and number of the verb are then indicated through the addition of prefixes and suffixes. For an introduction to templatic morphology, see McCarthy and Prince 1990 or Davis and Tsujimura 2014.

Each stem has a limited set of core functions (listed here); certain verbs or verb classes may acquire more specialized functions when they are conformed to the stem. Occasionally, one may find a verb whose meaning appears to be completely inappropriate for the stem in which it appears; some of these became conventionally associated with the stem because of phonological properties that promoted a certain vowel pattern, which happened to be the vowel pattern of the stem. For an overview of the functions of the stems in Biblical Hebrew, see Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 343-452.

⁴²⁸ Like its cognates in other Semitic languages, the *pi’el* stem is a transitivity stem. That is, it adds transitivity. When applied to a verb which was intransitive in the basic *qal* stem, it makes this verb transitive; thus the *qal* ‘to be strong’ becomes the *pi’el* ‘to make x strong.’ This is the most frequent function of the *pi’el* and is known as the factive. However, the *pi’el* can also apply to verbs which were transitive in the basic *qal* stem. Since, in these cases, it cannot simply change the valency of the verb and motivate the inclusion of an object, it increases the transitivity of the clause in other ways. For example, it may increase the effect which the subject’s action has on the object (called in older grammars the intensive use of the *pi’el*). Thus the *qal* ‘to break x’ becomes in the *pi’el* ‘to shatter x,’ and the *qal* ‘to send x’ becomes in the *pi’el* ‘to send x away (permanently).’ Since the particular semantics of the verb constrain the ways that the *pi’el* can add transitivity to the clause, the meanings of *pi’els* that correspond to transitive *qals* may seem unpredictable, leading to a proliferation of suggested labels and categories in the literature; however, almost all of them

the *hitpa'el* (reflexive/ reciprocal/ iterative) will have one with a possible dummy object identical to the subject.⁴²⁹ The *binyan* of each verb was coded in my dataset. Analysis shows that clauses containing *pi'el* or *hip'il* verbs (which require multiple participants) are much less likely to contain goals marked with the directive *he* or accusative than are verbs from one-participant *binyanim*.

5.1.2.2 Verb Component Features

Verb forms have a number of well-recognized component features, including mood, voice, tense, aspect, telicity, and punctuality. Each of these features has outcomes which are distinctively marked in at least some languages.

Expressions of **mood** in different languages come in almost infinite varieties, from the full subjunctive conjugations of Latin and Attic Greek to the *may/might/should/could/would* modals of English. However, at bottom linguistic expressions of mood tend to distinguish between events which are really happening and those which are not. Real events are labelled as **realis** mode, while unreal events are **irrealis**. Events may be unreal in many different ways. Either the action has yet to be done (if it is future tense, imperative, or jussive), is conditional (*If he...*), is counterfactual (*She did not...*), is undesired (*Let him not...*), is prohibited (*She shall not...*), or is a question (*Has he...? Will she...?*).⁴³⁰

Voice is the property that describes how the subject of a clause and the main verb relate to one another. In an **active voice** context, the subject performs the action of the verb (*Joshua ran*). In a **passive voice** context, the action of the verb is directed toward the subject but performed by someone else (*The wine was drunk*). We might describe this in terms of our discussion of semantic roles in 4.2.2, and say that in an active voice context the subject usually acts intentionally and under its own power (has volition and instigation, perhaps being an Agent or Affected Agent) while in a passive voice context the subject lacks volition and instigation and

can be understood as having added transitivity. See Kouwenberg 1997, Bjøru 2014. Note that this relatively tidy association of the *pi'el* with transitivity breaks down in post-biblical Hebrew (Fassberg 2001).

⁴²⁹ In the case of the reciprocal, there is usually a single plural subject encoded, but each of the persons of this plural subject is considered to act on one of the other subject persons.

⁴³⁰ Givon 2001 I:300ff; cf. Cook 2012: 42-47.

is affected by the action of the verb (it is a Patient). Other less well-known voice options, like middle voice, can also be defined in terms of the semantic roles of their participants.

The components tense, aspect, telicity, and punctuality are deeply entangled. **Tense** is the component that codes when something occurred relative to a temporal reference point; most obviously, it includes the marking of verbs as past, present, or future, but may also include past-before-past, distant-past, future-after-future, and so on.⁴³¹

Aspect encodes the status of an action as complete or incomplete with respect to a specific reference time.⁴³² Has the action been completed (*He ran a marathon*) or is it still ongoing (*She is running through the field*) with respect to that reference time? Completed actions are described as **perfect(ive)**, while incomplete actions are **imperfect(ive)**.⁴³³ To no one's surprise, verbs in past tense are most often perfective, while verbs in present or future tenses are usually imperfective.⁴³⁴

The **telicity** of a clause refers to whether the verbal action has or does not have a specified endpoint (Greek, *telos*) and whether the verbal action reaches that endpoint in the clause.⁴³⁵ Motion verbs, as a class, can be either telic or atelic based on the clause as a whole.⁴³⁶ They are telic when the motion has proceeded all the way to its endpoint; but they are atelic if the motion has only proceeded part of the way to its endpoint or if the progress of the motion is unclear.⁴³⁷ For example, motion verbs in sentences like *Joshua ran* are atelic; we can't determine from this sentence how long Joshua ran or where he stopped. However, *Joshua ran until 5:58 PM* and

⁴³¹ cf. especially Cook 2012: 13-17.

⁴³² This is of course a very reductive definition (cf. HataV 1997, Cook 2012: 18-27 and Penner 2015: 15-17, 43-48 for a summary of several major approaches to aspect). For a discussion of issues relating to aspect, see Givon 2001 I:287-299.

⁴³³ In this paper, I use perfective and imperfective for the aspects and perfect and imperfect for the BH verbal paradigms.

⁴³⁴ On aspect in Biblical Hebrew, see e.g. McFall 1982, Gropp 1991, Garr 1991, HataV 1997, Cook 2012, Joosten 2012b, Cohen 2013, Penner 2015. Many of these sources also discuss the entangled category of mode. In post-biblical Hebrew, the verbal system seems to have undergone a typological shift or reanalysis from being primarily aspect-marking to primarily tense-marking; traces of this are visible in later Biblical Hebrew texts (cf. Cohen 2013; Penner 2015: 62-69, 196). Scholars interested primarily in Late Biblical Hebrew and post-biblical Hebrews may describe the perfect and imperfect paradigms as marking past and future (e.g. Jouon and Muraoka 2006: 114, 328).

⁴³⁵ Also referred to as "boundedness" (Talmy 2000a: 50-52).

⁴³⁶ Leavins 2011: 33-38.

⁴³⁷ Dowty 1979, Jackendoff 1996, Beavers 2011: 2.

Joshua ran to En Gedi are telic; the first is temporally bounded and the second is physically bounded. Any motion clause that contains a Goal is telic by nature.⁴³⁸ Some scholars treat telicity as if it can be subsumed in aspect.⁴³⁹ Telic verbs have a specified endpoint—verbs in perfective aspect are actions that have reached their endpoint—the temptation is obvious. However, not all telic verbs are perfective. In my dataset of Goal Constructions, every clause is telic but only 57% have perfective verbs!

Our final verbal component is **punctuality**, which encodes the structure of a verbal action. Does the verbal action occur over an interval of time (**durative**), as when we *bring* or *send* an object, with the beginning and end of the action some distance apart, such that the action could be divided into multiple **stages**? Or does the verbal action occur during a single point in time (**punctual**), as when we *hit* or *throw* an object, with the beginning and end of the action at the same moment?⁴⁴⁰ Given this definition of duration, motion verbs are durative by nature, as motion from one place to another always takes some interval of time. Punctual verbs are telic by nature, since they encode their entire undifferentiated motion from starting point to endpoint.⁴⁴¹

While all verbal clauses have values for each of these components, not all components were meaningfully contrastive in my dataset. Since all of the clauses in my dataset contained Goals, all clauses were telic; thus there was no reason to code for telicity. The majority of verbs in this dataset are motion verbs or motion-related, meaning that most are durative; thus verbs were not coded for punctuality. Finally, verbs were not coded for tense due to the primacy of aspect distinctions in BH.

5.1.2.2.1 Verb Principal Part: A Tense-Aspect-Mood Index

Biblical Hebrew explicitly marks several verb feature contrasts. It has imperfect and perfect verbal paradigms, and has a number of independent irrealis and nonfinite verb forms (imperative,

⁴³⁸ Leavins 2011: 35, Beavers 2011: 13-14.

⁴³⁹ e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252.

⁴⁴⁰ cf. Creason 1995; Leavins 2011: 32-33, Beavers 2011: 15-16. This property may also be referred to as “verbal compactness” (Givon 2001 I:52).

⁴⁴¹ Beavers 2011: 16.

participle, infinitive). However, BH also has several homomorphic paradigms in which verb forms can only be distinguished via semantics. The “imperfect” verb paradigm is either a realis imperfective or an irrealis imperfective. The “preterite” verb paradigm can either be a realis preterite or an irrealis jussive. Each paradigm in BH represents a complex of tense, mood, and aspect features. (Here I include these paradigms under the general label of ‘principal parts,’ by analogy with the principal parts of the Latin or Greek verb.)

I distinguished eight principal parts in Biblical Hebrew: the imperfect, perfect, wayyiqtol preterite, weqatal, jussive, imperative, participle and infinitive, as shown in Table 5.5 below.⁴⁴² Some principal parts are inflected for person, gender, and number information with suffixes only, while other principal parts use both prefixes and suffixes. Note that the BH verbal system did change over time; I include the most common meanings of each principal part from the Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew corpora (see 3.1 on diachrony in Biblical Hebrew).

⁴⁴² Low numbers of observations in certain categories made it difficult to get significant results.

Table 5.5 Characteristics of the Verb Principal Parts in Biblical Hebrew

Principal Part	Example	Inflection	Meaning in CBH	Meaning in LBH
Wayyiqtol preterite	(wa)yyiMLoK '(and) he ruled'	Pre/suffixes for person/gender/number	preterite (almost always realis)	preterite (almost always realis)
Perfect	MaLaK-ti 'I ruled'	Suffixes for person/gender/number	perfect, pluperfect, (past) (usually realis)	past, perfect, pluperfect (usually realis)
Imperfect	Yi-MLoK 'he will rule'	Pre/suffixes for person/gender/number [same as wayyiqtol]	imperfective (irrealis or future)	imperfective (future or irrealis)
Weqatal	(we)MaLaK-ti '(and) I shall rule'	Suffixes for person/gender/number [same as perfect]	imperfective (especially irrealis)	irrealis
Imperative	MLoK 'rule!'	Suffixes for gender/number (2nd person implied)	command '(you) do Y!'	command
Jussive	Yi-MLoK 'let him rule'	Pre/suffixes for person/gender/number [same as wayyiqtol]	jussive 'let X do Y / X must do Y'	jussive (less likely to use form)
Participle	MoLeK 'the one ruling'	Suffixes for gender/number	gerund (more likely) 'the one doing Y', participle	participle/present (more likely) 'doing Y', gerund
Infinitive	(li-)MLoK '(to) rule'	n/a	nonfinite, or implied finite with context determining implied aspect/person/etc.	nonfinite, or implied finite (the latter is less likely in LBH)

Tables 5.6a and 5.6b (appearing as two tables for reasons of space) show the cross-correlations of these eight principal parts with the goal-marking strategies.

Table 5.6a: Goal-Marking Strategies by Verb Principal Part, with column percentages⁴⁴³

Strategy	Imperfect	Perfect	Wayyiqtol	Weqatal
directive <i>he</i>	47 (11.99%)	53 (12.68%)	242 (17.79%)	30 (11.28%)
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	2	2	1
accusative	51 (13.01%)	86 (20.57%)	234 (17.21%)	16 (6.02%)
preposition	294 (75.00%)	277 (66.27%)	882 (64.85%)	219 (82.33%)
totals	392 (100%)	418 (100%)	1360 (100%)	266 (100%)

Table 5.6b: Goal-Marking Strategies by Verb Principal Part, with column percentages

Strategy	Jussive	Imperative	Infinitive	Participle
directive <i>he</i>	1 (4.76%)	30 (13.45%)	46 (18.47%)	46 (24.08%)
preposition + <i>he</i>	0	1	0	4
accusative	7 (33.33%)	28 (12.56%)	49 (19.68%)	22 (11.52%)
preposition	13 (61.90%)	164 (73.54%)	154 (61.85%)	119 (62.30%)
totals	21 (100%)	223 (100%)	249 (100%)	191 (100%)

Note that directional prepositions are more likely to appear in clauses with imperfect, weqatal, or imperative verbs, while the directive *he* and accusative are more likely to mark goals in clauses with perfect or wayyiqtol preterite verbs.

Unfortunately, when we look at the verb principal parts alone it is impossible to tell which component verbal feature(s), if any, are driving this variation. Thus it is necessary to decompose the principal part into individual features, such as mode and aspect.

Clause mode and goal-marking strategy choice are correlated. For this variable, I coded whether a verb was realis (described an action actually done) or irrealis (describing an action that had not been done, might be done, or was desired to be done). Table 5.7 shows that the directive *he* and the accusative are more likely to mark goals in realis clauses.

Table 5.7: Goal-Marking Strategies by Clause Mode, with column percentages

Strategy	Realis Clause	Irrealis Clause	totals
directive <i>he</i>	327 (17.12%)	169 (13.91%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	5	5	10
accusative	350 (18.32%)	144 (11.85%)	494
preposition	1228 (64.29%)	897 (73.83%)	2125
totals	1910 (100%)	1215 (100%)	3125

⁴⁴³ The five verbless clauses are, of course, not represented in this table.

Verb aspect and goal-marking strategy choice are also correlated. For this variable, I coded whether the verbal action was completed (perfective) or not (imperfective). Verbs in the perfect and preterite wayyiqtol paradigms were counted as perfective. Table 5.8 shows that directive *he* and the accusative are more likely to be used in clauses with perfective verbs than in clauses with imperfective verbs; this relationship is much more clear for the accusative.

Table 5.8: Goal-Marking Strategies by Verb Aspect, with column percentages

Strategy	Perfective Verb	Imperfective Verb	totals
directive <i>he</i>	295 (16.59%)	200 (14.90%)	495
preposition + <i>he</i>	4	6	10
accusative	320 (18.00%)	173 (12.89%)	493
preposition	1159 (65.19%)	963 (71.76%)	2122
totals	1778 (100%)	1342 (100%)	3120

5.1.2.2.2 Other Verbal Features

There are a few more verbal features which are not coded in the principal parts *per se*: the affectedness of the subject, clause negation, and verb voice.

Despite its name, the feature “subject affectedness” has to do with both the verb and the subject—specifically, with how the verb interacts with its first participant, the subject. To summarize the discussion of affectedness in 4.2.2, a verb may have no impact on the subject at all, may affect it non-actually (if the clause is irrealis), may affect it partially, or may affect it completely. In this dataset, subjects were usually affected because performing the verb caused them to change their location. For example, in the sentence *Joshua went up the mountain* Joshua is affected by the verb because, having *gone up*, he is no longer in the same place. However, a few verbs in the dataset (e.g. *šlh*, *nkh*) do not affect their subjects. Table 5.9 shows that the directive *he* and the accusative are more likely to be used for goal-marking when the subject is affected, while the directional prepositions are more likely to be used for goals in clauses with unaffected subjects. In the table, subjects are described as “incompletely affected” if the subject would have been affected had the clause been in the realis mode.

Table 5.10: Goal-Marking Strategies by Subject Affectedness, with column percentages

Strategy	S Not Affected	S Incompletely Affected	S Affected	totals
directive <i>he</i>	64 (14.81%)	144 (13.70%)	288 (17.54%)	496
preposition + <i>he</i>	1	5	4	10
accusative	50 (11.57%)	118 (11.23%)	326 (19.85%)	494
preposition	317 (73.38%)	784 (74.60%)	1024 (62.36%)	2125
totals	432 (100%)	1051 (100%)	1642 (100%)	3125

Even though the mode of a clause was a significant factor, whether a clause was or was not negated was not significant. Directive *he* and the accusative account for about 16% of both negative (N=158) and affirmative (N=2967) clauses in the dataset.

Verb voice, the issue of whether a verb was active or passive, was also not a significant factor. However, there are so few passive observations in the dataset (only 127) that it would be difficult to get a significant result.⁴⁴⁴

5.1.3 Excursus: Word Order

Lurking on the edge of our discussion of verb and clause features is the issue of word order. Although Biblical Hebrew prose clauses most often conform to a verb-subject-object (VSO) pattern, many other orders do occur, whether because the clause is appearing in one of the less-common text types or because the scribe desired to highlight a certain piece of information.⁴⁴⁵ Certainly word order is a meaningful linguistic variable in Biblical Hebrew.

I coded only two variables related to word order: whether or not the clause was verb-initial (the default ordering for Biblical Hebrew) and, if not, whether the GC itself came before the verb. Whether the verb was initial or not had no significant correlation with goal-marking; the three goal-marking strategies appeared with the same relative frequencies in both verb-initial (N=2569) and non-verb-initial (N=551) clauses. Whether the GC was fronted (N=89) or not (N=3031) also had

⁴⁴⁴ 90 are *nip'al*, 29 *hop'al*, 1 *pu'al*, and 7 *qal* passive.

⁴⁴⁵ Bandstra 1992; Moshavi 2010: 11-17; Hatav 2017. For an introduction to word order typology, see Comrie 1989: 19-20, 86-103, 211-218. One could say that VSO is the unmarked word order in BH, and that other orders are semantically or pragmatically marked. For a discussion of text type, see 5.3 below.

no significant effect on scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies.⁴⁴⁶ (Note, however, that word order does become important when choosing between directional prepositions. See Chapter 6.)

5.2 Introducing Prototypical Constructions

The directive *he* and accusative marking strategies are more common in clauses with more salient subjects and objects. They are more likely to appear in single-participant, realis clauses with perfective verbs. The directional prepositions, taking up the slack in environments in which the non-prepositional strategies are restricted, are more common with less salient participants or multiple participants, in irrealis clauses, and with imperfective verbs. How do we make sense of these results? Is there an underlying logic which can explain them all? In this section, I argue that we can explain these results by appealing to prototypical motion constructions such as the Intransitive Motion Construction and the Caused-Motion Construction.

In 4.2.1, the basic notion of a linguistic prototype was introduced, especially with regards to semantic roles. However, we can also identify the prototypical features of grammatical constructions.⁴⁴⁷ **Constructions** are the single-clause syntactic-semantic building blocks that make up linguistic structure.⁴⁴⁸ For example, in English we have the caused-possession construction (e.g. *Joshua gave Jacob the spear/ Joshua gave the spear to Jacob*). In a caused-possession construction, a subject transfers an object to a recipient.⁴⁴⁹ Defined prototypically, the construction includes a verb which prefers this kind of argument structure, a volitional subject and recipient who voluntarily participate in the transfer, and an object which at the beginning is

⁴⁴⁶ In non-verb-initial clauses, some other constituent was usually fronted, most often the subject. In clauses where the GC is fronted, the accusative is slightly more likely (19% vs 13%) and the directive *he* slightly less likely (11% vs 18%) than in clauses without a fronted GC. If this is a real result and not simply an artifact of the small number of observations, the directive *he* may be dispreferred in the fronted position due to its effect on the goal phrase's stress pattern (the *he* clitic cannot be stressed, meaning that a one-morpheme goal phrase ending in directive *he* will have a weak ending).

⁴⁴⁷ c.f Taylor 1995: 197-215; Taylor 2008: 55-59; Taylor 2015: section 7.

⁴⁴⁸ Fillmore, Kay, and O'Connor 1988; Goldberg 1995: 6; Langacker 2005: 158. For a defense of the notion of the construction, see Goldberg 1995: 9-21; Goldberg 2006: 19-44. It is not important to this paper to distinguish between constructions as understood in Construction Grammar (*a la* Goldberg, Iwata, Xia) and constructions as construed in Cognitive Grammar (*a la* Langacker, Coleman). For a brief summary of the differences between these characterizations, see Langacker 2005, especially pages 158-164, 168-171. For my own part, I incline toward the Cognitive Grammar perspective.

⁴⁴⁹ cf. Goldberg 1995: 141-142. The caused-possession construction in Biblical Hebrew is discussed in 5.2.3.

possessed only by the Agent and at the end only by the recipient.⁴⁵⁰ However, deviations from the prototype are certainly possible. The caused-possession construction is so common in English that unexpected elements which are inserted into the caused-possession structure may be coerced into a caused-possession reading, as in the sentence *Rachel gave happiness to Isaac*. One cannot really transfer happiness from the possession of one person to the possession of another, but the conventional semantic value of the caused-possession construction allows us to understand this as a transfer of possession.⁴⁵¹

A prototypical grammatical construction will include several characteristic elements. First, it will include a syntactic structure populated with a set configuration constituents. For example, any kind of prototypical clause will include a subject and a verb; based on the type of construction, the subject and verb will be ordered and marked for agreement as appropriate. For example, in English an Interrogative Yes/No Construction requires that the verb come before the subject (e.g. *Did Joshua climb the hill?*), an unusual ordering for usually SVO English. Second, the prototypical grammatical construction has certain requirements for its constituents. For example, an Intransitive Motion Construction will prototypically contain a motion verb. A clause without a motion verb cannot be a prototypical Motion Construction.⁴⁵²

From a broader perspective, a prototypical construction usually “represents the normal observation of a prototypical action.”⁴⁵³ That is, a construction may be frequent and have certain semantic content because it describes a human action which is frequent and has certain qualities. Like other linguistic and cognitive prototypes, prototypical constructions tend to be frequent, productive, and salient.⁴⁵⁴

⁴⁵⁰ Goldberg 1995: 141-151. In *Construction Grammar*, constructions may only be posited when we can show that a construction has been conventionalized enough to coerce unexpected elements to conform with its meaning. However, such a strict adherence to economy is unnecessary. Instead, we can posit constructions based on usage frequency; a very frequent structure with X meaning probably indicates that a construction Y exists (cf. Langacker 2005: 161-164).

⁴⁵¹ Goldberg 1995: 159; Taylor 2008: 57-58.

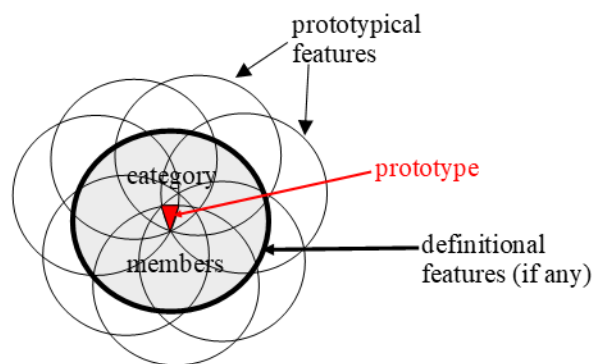
⁴⁵² See for example Bar-Asher Siegal 2012 on reciprocal constructions in Biblical Hebrew, or Petersson 2017 on the indirect command construction.

⁴⁵³ Langacker 1990: 213.

⁴⁵⁴ Winters 1990.

As with any prototypical category, a natural category of constructions may have basic requirements for membership (definitional features) as well as a set of features which “better” members of the category tend to have (prototypical features).

Figure 5.1 Locating the Prototype



In Figure 5.1, the situation of a linguistic prototype is visualized as a complex Venn diagram. The area within the black circle represents a linguistic “space” in which all members share the definitional features of a linguistic category. The lighter circles each represent a prototypical feature of that category. Any construction that

falls within a circle has the prototypical value for that feature. At the center, where all of the circles overlap, we find the linguistic prototype for the category.⁴⁵⁵ Constructions which have more (or more heavily weighted) prototypical features are more prototypical, while constructions with fewer (or less heavily weighted) prototypical features are less prototypical. Constructions that fall outside the definitional features circle do not have the definitional features for the category and thus are not category members, although they may share some of the category’s prototypical linguistic features.

In the following sections, I begin by showing how a set of syntactic/semantic features similar to the set found to be significant in this study has been discussed in studies on the best-known prototypical construction, the Prototypical Transitive. I continue by demonstrating that these significant features can be interpreted as prototypical components of the Intransitive Motion Construction and of other Motion Constructions. As we see below, while scholars have not explicitly situated these motion constructions in the context of linguistic prototype theory, their research can be reinterpreted and expanded using this framework.

⁴⁵⁵ Of course, many categories are complex and have multiple closely related prototypes. This figure depicts a simple situation.

5.2.1 Most Studied: the Prototypical Transitive

One prototypical construction has been more studied than any other: the Prototypical Transitive Construction.⁴⁵⁶ The Transitive construction is one of the most common constructions across the world's languages.⁴⁵⁷ It is so prevalent that some scholars have suggested that Transitive is the prototypical type in the supercategory of "clauses."⁴⁵⁸

A syntactically transitive construction, by definition, is a clause that contains a subject that is conceptualized as acting, a verb of action (fientive), and a direct object that is conceptualized as receiving the action.⁴⁵⁹ *Joshua struck the rock, Miriam saw the vision, and Caleb ate the bread* are all transitive clauses.

A prototypical semantically transitive clause, however, has a number of additional linguistic features.⁴⁶⁰ All of these linguistic features are outgrowths of a central idea: *in the most prototypical transitive clause, the subject will act most effectively on the object.*⁴⁶¹ So, for example,

⁴⁵⁶ For a discussion of prototype theory as it relates to transitivity see Givon 2001 I:109-110; Naess 2007: 4-12; Coleman 2016: 69.

⁴⁵⁷ cf. Hopper and Thompson 2001.

⁴⁵⁸ With all other types of clauses (intransitive, ditransitive, questions, etc.) deviating from it in various ways (cf. Givon 1991 I: 40, 109; *ibid* II:93ff; Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 2-3; Lazard 1989; Langacker 1990; Lazard 2002: 152; Bilous 2012: 9; Garcia-Miguel 2015: 293). However, as linguists consider languages from more language families, this view seems less likely if prototypes must be associated with "the most frequent" and "the unmarked" (of course, these associations are not necessarily required; see Naess 2007, Kittilä 2008). The transitive construction, defined with attention to semantics as well as formal syntax, only applies to a subset of two-argument clauses (LaPolla et al 2011: 485; Kratochvil 2011), and may be the marked option for some ambitransitive verbs (Doron 2003: 6). Vasquez Rozas finds that intransitive and weakly transitive clauses are more common in usage than highly transitive clauses, especially those with perception verbs (2007: 25-27, 30); Garcia-Miguel similarly finds that clauses with verbs expressing mental states in Spanish are just as highly correlated with transitive marking as prototypical transitive verbs (2015). On the other hand, scholars interested in verb classes and constructions have observed that for some verb classes the transitive is decidedly not the normal clause type (see below). Thus, the transitive construction should only be considered to be the normal clause type for certain classes of verbs. Other constructions may be the most common for other classes or groups of classes of verbs (cf. Iwata 2008: 36, 203-209, 212). In fact, in some languages the traditional transitive configuration is quite rare (cf. LaPolla et al 2011: 485).

It is also important to note that transitivity can grammaticalize in different ways and perhaps in multiple surface constructions within a given language (LaPolla et al 2011: 482, 486-487).

For which verb classes is the transitive construction the norm? Givon says that the prototypical verb (circularly understood as the one best suited to appearing in a transitive clause) is punctual, compact, concrete/fientive, and volitionally instigated (Givon 2001 I:52, 287-288). Verb classes with these features are more prototypical and more likely to appear in transitive clauses.

⁴⁵⁹ Note that "receiving the action" is not necessarily the same as being affected by it.

Transitivity is not the same as valency. For a review of the relationship between the two concepts, see Cook 2016; note that "transitivity" in his article is old-school syntactic transitivity as conceptualized through government and binding. Valency Studies wrestles with some of the same issues as semantic transitivity studies. See also Forbes 2017b.

⁴⁶⁰ On the distinction between syntactic and semantic transitivity, see e.g. Garcia-Miguel 2015: 293.

⁴⁶¹ "Each component of Transitivity involves a different facet of the effectiveness or intensity with which the action is transferred from one participant to another" (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252). This claim by Hopper and Thompson

we find that in order for a subject to act effectively it must be successful in planning and carrying out an action (control and instigation);⁴⁶² in order for us to perceive the subject as acting most effectively, we must see it as acting willingly (volition). Then, turning to the object, it must be wholly affected by the action (affectedness).

The prototypical transitive subject must have instigation and volition; the prototypical object must be wholly affected. But in a Prototypical Transitive Construction there is also a prototypical relationship between these constituents—a power relationship in which the subject completely dominates the object. The subject controls all the power—therefore it is completely unaffected by the action. The object has no power—therefore it lacks volition, instigation, and control. The subject has instigation, control, and volition and is unaffected—in short, it is a prototypical Agent. The object lacks instigation, control, and volition and is wholly affected—in short, it is a prototypical Patient.⁴⁶³ (See 4.2.2.)

In order for the Agent to act most effectively on the Patient, there are prototypical requirements for the verb and clause as well. First, the verb should be one which prefers to take an Agent and a Patient. So, for example, the verb *eat* cannot appear in a prototypical transitive clause because any subject that eats is affecting itself and thus is not a prototypical Agent. The verb *walk* is also ‘bad’ because it does not usually occur with an object at all (except in specialized uses such as *Jim walked the dog*). The verb *hit*, on the other hand, usually does well in prototypical transitive clauses. Second, the action of the clause must be really happening (realis mode). An action is not effective if it is negated or hypothetical or situated in the future.⁴⁶⁴ Third,

has been largely accepted in the discussion of the Prototypical Transitive. However, LaPolla et al feel that effectiveness and syntactic transitivity (having a direct object) should be discussed and labelled separately (2011: 474-475); syntactic versus semantic valence should also be discussed separately (2011: 476-477).

⁴⁶² cf. Vasquez Rozas 2007: 21.

⁴⁶³ In addition to arguing that the Agent and Patient in a transitive clause are prototypically maximally semantically distinct in volition, instigation, and affectedness—which seems to be correct—Naess also argues that maximal semantic distinction between participants is in itself a characteristic of the prototypical transitive clause. Even if correct as far as it goes, this characteristic is certainly not unique to transitive clauses. Prototypical Intransitive Motion Constructions also have two core arguments that are maximally distinct in terms of volition, instigation, and affectedness: an Affected Agent (+VOL +INST +AFF) and an inanimate Goal (-VOL -INST -AFF). (See below for discussion.)

⁴⁶⁴ From Naess’ perspective, the subject of an irrealis clause may not be a true Agent, since the subject cannot have succeeded in instigating the action (cf. Naess 2007: 115-117). Many languages are not sensitive to this distinction.

the action must be complete. A complete action is necessarily more effective than an incomplete action, because with an incomplete action the Patient cannot yet have been completely affected.⁴⁶⁵ Consider *He was baking the pies* versus *He baked the pies*. In the first sentence, the pies have not been completely baked.

In short, a Prototypical Transitive Construction will contain a prototypical Agent and Patient and an appropriate two-participant perfective verb, all situated in a realis clause. These prototypical features are tightly connected to one another.

5.2.1.1 Building the Prototypical Transitive Construction: A Brief Review of Scholarship

This formulation of the Prototypical Transitive Construction has grown from decades of scholarly work.⁴⁶⁶ Early conceptions of transitivity defined it as a simple system in which verb valency (whether or not a verb can/does take an object) was the only component.⁴⁶⁷ This binary definition made sense, as in some languages the presence or absence of an object is the only obvious syntactic marker of transitivity.

However, the reconceptualization of transitivity as a continuum concerned with the entire clause, rather than as a binary quality only affecting the verb and object, allowed significant exploration of syntactic/semantic systems across the world's languages. In 1980, Hopper and Thompson published a now-classic article redefining transitivity as a continuum ranging from low transitivity (~ intransitive) to high transitivity (~ prototypical transitivity). They argued that there are at least ten components of transitivity which tend to covary across languages.⁴⁶⁸ Many of these components should be familiar from the discussion above. Some components have to do with the verb (its aspect, punctuality, number of participants, etc.), some with the agent (how individuated is it?), some with the object (how individuated is it?), and some with the clause as a

⁴⁶⁵ Naess 2007: 113, 118-119, 121. Languages differ as to what counts as completely affected (Naess 2007: 112).

⁴⁶⁶ The following discussion of transitivity research is necessarily selective. For a brief review of scholarship on a variety of transitivity issues, see LaPolla et al 2011, Bilous 2012. It is clear the transitivity can be usefully discussed from a variety of perspectives, many of which are not as incompatible as their proponents seem to think.

⁴⁶⁷ Most modern dictionaries still define it this way (LaPolla et al 2011: 470).

⁴⁶⁸ Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252-253.

whole (is it realis or irrealis? Is it negated?). These components with their more- and less-transitive outcomes are summarized in Table 5.10 below. Some components are binary (realis/irrealis) while others consist of multiple ordered categories (as e.g. the degrees of animacy). Hopper and Thompson showed that sentences with two or more participants, fientive/telic/punctual verbs, potent agents and individuated objects are higher in transitivity (= more prototypically transitive), while sentences with one participant, stative/atelic/non-punctual verbs, impotent agents and non-individuated objects are lower in transitivity.⁴⁶⁹ They also made a very important claim: higher transitivity outcomes of one prototypical linguistic component tend to covary with the higher transitivity outcomes of the other components.⁴⁷⁰ That is to say, a clause which is more transitive in one way is more likely to be transitive in other ways. In a series of studies, Hopper and Thompson went on to verify this claim using data from many different languages.⁴⁷¹ Their argument is known as the Prototype Transitivity Hypothesis.

Table 5.10 Transitivity Components, adapted from Hopper and Thompson

Transitivity Component	More Transitive Option	Less Transitive Option
Number of participants	2 or more (transitive/ditransitive)	one (intransitive/stative)
Verb kinesic	fientive (action)	stative
Verb punctuality	punctual	non-punctual
Verb telicity	telic	atelic
Verb aspect	perfect (completed)	imperfect (not completed)
Clause factivity	realis (really happening)	irrealis (not really happening)
Clause negation	Not negated	negated
Volition/Instigation	Subject acts intentionally	Subject does not act intentionally
Subject individuation	Subj more potent/ individuated	Subj less potent/individuated
Object individuation	Object more individuated	Object less individuated
Object affectedness	Object totally affected	Object not affected
Object type	Non-reflexive object	Reflexive object

While this tabular representation captures important generalizations about which linguistic outcomes are more- and less-transitive, it is quite difficult to map onto Hopper and Thompson's

⁴⁶⁹ Hopper and Thompson 1980: 252-253; Naess 2007:4.

⁴⁷⁰ Hopper and Thompson 1980: 254-255.

⁴⁷¹ e.g. Hopper and Thompson 1980; Hopper and Thompson 1982; Thompson and Hopper 2001.

hypothesized continuum. Are we to assume that all of these components are of equal weight, so that a clause with any six highly transitive outcomes is more transitive than a clause with any five highly transitive outcomes? Hopper and Thompson do not speak to the relative importance of the components, except in the fact that they discuss certain variables (like object affectedness) at greater length. For another thing, Hopper and Thompson say very little about the relationships between the components. Are certain highly transitive outcomes especially likely to covary with certain other highly transitive outcomes, while being barely connected to outcomes of other components? (For example, aspect and telicity are tightly entangled, but may be less related to qualities of the subject.)⁴⁷² How do we handle the fact that real-world examples that have every single highly transitive or weakly transitive feature are relatively rare?

One of the most important scholars currently working on Prototype Transitivity is Andrei Malchukov. Malchukov has tried to capture the relationships between components in a Transitivity Scale (Figure 5.2) in which related components are placed next to one another. So, for example, object affectedness is next to individuation not only because both are object features but because more individuated objects are conceptualized as more affected; tense/aspect is next to affectedness, in turn, because past/completed actions can more wholly affect objects than imperfective (uncompleted) actions.⁴⁷³ Malchukov predicts that the highly transitive outcomes of components that are adjacent on the Transitivity Scale will covary, and the highly transitive outcomes of components in longer contiguous strings may also do so.⁴⁷⁴ Thus an animate subject is more likely to have volition, a volitional subject is more likely to act rather than to be in a state, and so on. Based on Malchukov's Scale, we can also assume that if highly transitive outcomes

⁴⁷² Hopper and Thompson readily admit this weakness: "The co-variation takes place whenever two values of the Transitivity components are necessarily present. The hypothesis in its present form does not predict WHEN these values will surface in structure or meaning—but only that, if they DO surface, they will agree in being either both high or both low in value" (Hopper and Thompson 1980: 255).

⁴⁷³ For example, Beavers and Zubair find that alternations in the Sinhala volitive are dependent primarily on the factivity (realis/irrealis mode) of the clause, with the adjacent factors of volition and agent individuation covarying (2010: 70). Beavers has also shown that telicity, object affectedness, and object individuation are closely connected (Beavers 2011b).

⁴⁷⁴ Tsunoda 1985: 392, Malchukov 2006: 334.

from both ends of the scale covary in a given language, highly transitive outcomes in the middle will also.⁴⁷⁵

Figure 5.2 Transitivity Scale with Semantically-Related Components Adjacent (Malchukov 2006: 333)

Agent features	Verb features	Object features
[animacy] [volitionality] [kinesis] [factivity]	[tense/aspect] [affectedness]	[(Object) individuation]

Malchukov's Transitivity Scale has significant advantages over Hopper and Thompson's tabular representation, as it begins to capture the relationships and entailments between the components of transitivity. However, the exact order of components in this scale, as well as their relative importance, varies somewhat from language to language; thus other scholars suggest that the components should be linked in a semantic map rather than forced into a linear scale.⁴⁷⁶

Åshild Næss has revised the Prototype Transitivity Hypothesis to reflect some of the complex interconnections between its linguistic components and their relative weight. In addition to contributions discussed above, Naess has engaged with the ongoing debate regarding the relative salience of the Agent and Patient in a Prototypical Transitive Clause. On the one hand, Hopper and Thompson argued that both the Agent and Patient are highly individuated in a prototypical transitive environment, as in the sentence *Joshua took Ruth to Gibeah*. On the other hand, Comrie has claimed that the true transitive prototype is a clause in which the Agent is highly individuated but the Patient is not individuated, as in the sentence *Joshua took vessels to Gibeah*.⁴⁷⁷ Certainly both options occur across languages, so which is prototypical and which deviates from the prototype? Naess argues that so long as we define the essence of a Prototypical Transitive as a situation in which *the subject acts most effectively on an object*, we must see the highly individuated Patient as prototypical. When we read a sentence containing a specific quantized object, we can more easily assess to what degree the object has been

⁴⁷⁵ Malchukov 2006: 334.

⁴⁷⁶ Beavers and Zubair 2010: 92; cf. van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 188-189. For example, in Sinhala factivity (realis/irrealis mode) is related to both the Verb and the Agent, not merely to the Verb, as it is understood in most languages. See also Givon 2001 I: 25.

⁴⁷⁷ Comrie 1989: 128; cf. Kemmer 1993; Wierzbicka 1995: 198.

affected.⁴⁷⁸ In other words, if we cannot conceptualize the event, we do not know how effective the action of the clause has been.

However, while Naess' defense of a Transitive Prototype with a highly individuated Patient is decisive, the entire debate seems to be based on a flawed assumption—namely, that only one option or the other (highly individuated Patient or un-individuated Patient) can be prototypical.⁴⁷⁹ We know that a prototypical category is a complex thing, that may include several related clusters of members which have a family resemblance to one another (see 4.2.1). My own work on motion constructions (for which see below) confirms the fact that multiple prototypes can coexist in a category.

One issue that has created a significant challenge in studies of Prototype Transitivity has been the lingering assumption that we must situate Prototypical Transitivity on a linear continuum from highly transitive to weakly transitive (intransitive), as if a Prototypical Transitive and Atypical Transitive (Prototypical Intransitive?) are the only prototypical constructions active in our minds. This is fallacious. In particular, the supposed 'Prototypical Intransitive' as defined in the literature has so few specified features that it is all but useless. Naess suggests that the defining concept of this end of the transitivity continuum is that of "a single, indivisible participant." The feature specification of this single participant may be almost any combination of values for volition, instigation, and affectedness.⁴⁸⁰ Thus we seem to have a well-defined Prototypical Transitive which is not opposed to a single Prototypical Intransitive but rather to a variety of other sets of linguistic outcomes.

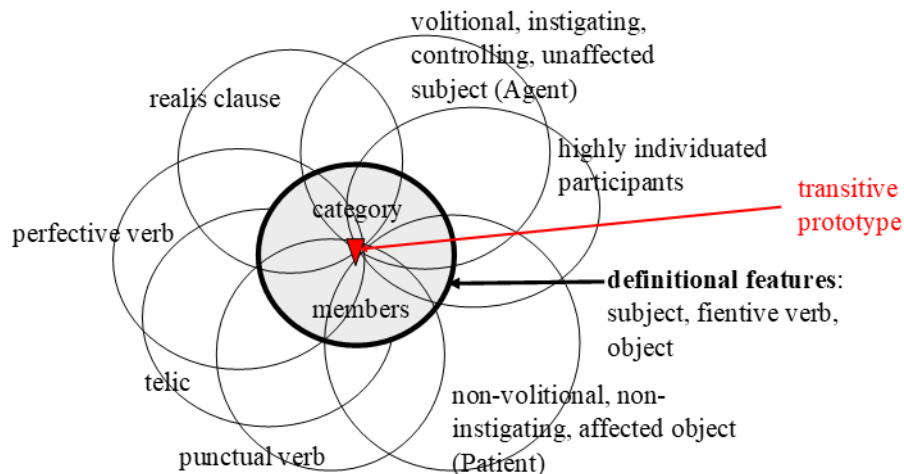
⁴⁷⁸ Naess 2007: 31-32, 111-112, 181.

⁴⁷⁹ The un-individuated Patient transitive prototype is also active. Note also that highly individuated Patients may require more formal marking in transitive clauses in order to disambiguate them from highly individuated subjects (LaPolla et al 2011: 475; cf. the classic article Dixon 1979, but also an argument against this view in Haspelmath 2019: 329-330).

⁴⁸⁰ Naess 2007: 214.

We can improve our visualization of this construction somewhat by returning to the complex Venn diagram proposed for linguistic prototypes in Figure 5.1, now adapting it for the Prototypical Transitive.

Figure 5.3 Prototypical Transitivity as a Venn diagram



This representation leaves us free of the image of a low- to high-transitive linear continuum, although it still has weaknesses. For example, it doesn't account for the relationships between component variables or their relative weight; nor does it incorporate insights regarding the relationships between transitivity and verb classes.

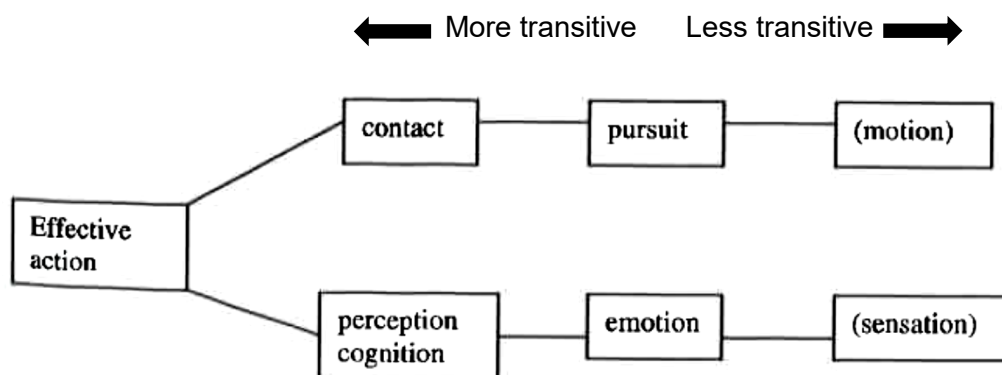
In a study on object affectedness, Tsunoda proposed a hierarchy of verb classes ranging from highly effective (those with a direct effect on the object), to more weakly effective (those in which the object is perceived or pursued), to non-effective (in which the object is merely known, felt, or possessed).⁴⁸¹ As one moves down the hierarchy, one finds that clauses containing verbs of each of these types is less and less likely to select the canonically transitive nominative-accusative or ergative-absolutive case frames, instead selecting a less transitive case frame such as nominative-oblique.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸¹ Tsunoda 1981: 395.

⁴⁸² Tsunoda 1981: 397; Tsunoda 1985: 390.

Malchukov further refined the verb-class transitivity hierarchy. Malchukov demonstrated that each non-canonically-transitive verb class deviates from the transitive prototype in a systematic way, allowing him not only to order the verb classes more effectively but to predict which non-transitive case frame(s) a given verb class is likely to take.⁴⁸³ Figure 5.4 shows Malchukov's hierarchy, with the most transitive verb classes (contact, perception) to the left and the least transitive (motion, sensation) to the right. The top sequence of verb classes is a (sub)hierarchy of object affectedness, with the verbs which affect their objects most strongly at the far left. The lower sequence of verb classes is a (sub)hierarchy of agency, with the most powerful agents again at the far left. Note that (simple) motion verbs are shown here to be more weakly transitive than contact or pursuit verbs, generally having no objects and thus having no effect on an object.

Figure 5.4: Simple Verb-Class Hierarchy (Malchukov 2005: 81)⁴⁸⁴



For the purposes of this paper, the important implications of the hierarchy are these: first, different verb classes are more or less likely to act as prototypical constituents for a given prototype. In this case, verbs of “effective action” are the most transitive—the most likely to fit into a prototypical transitive clause due to the semantics of their verb class. For a different prototypical construction, a different verb class might be the best fit. Second, Figure 5.4 shows

⁴⁸³ Malchukov 2005: 77-78, 80, 96-107. He does not discuss the case frames for motion verbs in this article, although he discusses the case frames for the other classes of verbs in his hierarchy.

⁴⁸⁴ A more complex semantic map for these verb classes is available in Malchukov 2005: 113; see further validation and refinement in Garcia-Miguel 2015.

that a verb-class may be less prototypical than another in multiple different ways; the affectedness continuum and the agency continuum lead in different directions. This lends support to the previously discussed notion that a prototype *x* need not be opposed to a single prototype *not-x*, but that multiple prototypical constructions are active. Third, these multiple prototypical constructions may be defined by exploring the ways in which the semantics of the verb-classes (and their usual case frames) which are prototypically incorporated in each construction differ from the semantics of verb-classes (and their usual case frames) in competing prototypes.

To review, the Prototypical Transitive Construction is conceptualized as a clause in which *the subject acts effectively on the object*. The semantic roles of the construction's two participants (prototypical Agent and Patient) are key, with other linguistic components following from their specification for instigation, control, volition, and affectedness. These contingent components include the salience of the participants, the clause mode, the verbal aspect, and more.

Thus we see that many of the linguistic variables linked to goal-marking strategy choices in Biblical Hebrew have already been connected to one another in discussions of the Prototypical Transitive Construction. The directive *he* and the accusative of destination correlate with the highly transitive outcomes of these variables and the directional prepositions with the weakly transitive outcomes—with two critical exceptions. The directive *he* and the accusative of destination are correlated with single-participant clauses and affected subjects. Since Transitive clauses definitionally contain multiple participants and prototypically contain unaffected subjects, this makes it impossible to explain goal-marking strategy variation in Biblical Hebrew using Prototypical Transitivity.

5.2.1.2 The Prototypical Transitive Construction is Active in Biblical Hebrew and Other Ancient Semitic Languages

However, while goal-marking is not driven by Prototypical Transitivity, other linguistic phenomena in ancient Semitic languages are sensitive to the Prototypical Transitive Construction. This is an important theoretical finding. If the (proto)typicality of transitive clauses—which make up the

majority of clauses in almost all textual corpora,⁴⁸⁵ including the Hebrew Bible—has an effect on linguistic variation in Biblical Hebrew, one may immediately ask, “Why are prototypical constructions never mentioned in the teaching or reference grammars?” And, “What other prototypical constructions might have an impact on linguistic variation in Biblical Hebrew?”

Stems

Much of the functional behavior of the Semitic stems (which are known in BH as *binyanim*) can be described and explained through the lens of Prototypical Transitivity. The first scholar to observe this was N. J. C. Kouwenberg, in his monograph on *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*. Kouwenberg shows that a number of transitivity components (including the number of participants, subject individuation, object individuation, and object affectedness) covaried with the Akkadian scribes’ choices between stems. For example, in cases where both the Akkadian G stem (~ BH *qal*) and D stem (~ BH *pi’el*) of a verb were transitive, D verbs are associated with higher transitivity clauses—that is, D verbs are more likely to be used in clauses with more participants, more-individuated agents and objects, and more-affected objects.⁴⁸⁶ Kouwenberg’s explanation is especially powerful since explaining the functions of the D verb in a unified way is a long-standing challenge in Semitic Studies.⁴⁸⁷ Kouwenberg goes on to explore another transitivizing stem in Akkadian, the Š stem (causative, ~ BH *hip’il*), arguing that it is used for a specific subtype of Transitive Construction.⁴⁸⁸

Bjørn builds on the work of Kouwenberg as he continues to explore verbal stems. Instead of focusing on the transitivizing stems in Akkadian, as Kouwenberg does, Bjørn concerns himself with detransitivizing stems from Biblical Hebrew and other languages: the Biblical Hebrew *nip’al*, Aramaic tD stem, and Amharic T stem. All three detransitivizing stems are used to mark situations

⁴⁸⁵ Specialized corpora of, for example, lexical lists or some economic texts do not include many transitive clauses. (In fact, they are often written in sentence fragments, not complete clauses at all.)

⁴⁸⁶ Kouwenberg 1997: 92-109. Joosten (1998) cites Kouwenberg in his own study of the historical development of the D stem in Semitic, but does not discuss the relevance of Prototypical Transitivity—a missed opportunity.

⁴⁸⁷ See note 428 above.

⁴⁸⁸ Though not in those exact words. See Kouwenberg 1997, especially pages 237-244.

which deviate from the Transitive Prototype. For example, the *nip'al* is consistently used with affected subjects.⁴⁸⁹

?et-marking

Kouwenberg and Bjøru have shown that both the transitivizing and detransitivizing stems in Semitic languages can be elegantly and productively described in terms of Prototypical Transitivity. Other Semiticists have shown that *?et*-marking in Biblical Hebrew is strongly influenced by the prototypicality of the clause and the argument to which *?et* applies.

The primary use of the preposition *?et* is to mark direct objects in Biblical Hebrew (see 6.2.1 for its other, rare functions)—but not all direct objects. Teaching grammars often say only that *?et* marks definite direct objects,⁴⁹⁰ but object individuation is not the only transitivity feature that is relevant to variation in *?et*-marking. Garr showed that *?et* was more likely to be used for objects which were wholly affected and which appeared in telic clauses with perfective verbs—in other words, in a prototypically transitive environment (although he does not discuss *?et* in conjunction with other elements of Prototype Transitivity).⁴⁹¹ Bekins built on Garr's research, showing that not only object definiteness but other aspects of object salience were important for *?et*-marking—*?et* was more likely to be used for more salient objects.⁴⁹² In other words, *?et* is more likely to be used when marking more-prototypical Patients in more-prototypical Transitive Constructions.

It is interesting to note that the association between *?et*-marking and more prototypically transitive clauses still holds in Modern Hebrew. In an excellent study on the variation between *?et*-marked and *b*-marked objects in Modern Hebrew, Halevy found that *?et*-marking correlates with more prototypical Agent subjects, with fully affected Patient objects, and with perfective aspect. *b*-, on the other hand, is used in variety of atypical situations, such as with contact verbs,

⁴⁸⁹ Bjøru 2014.

⁴⁹⁰ e.g. Hackett 2010: §12.8; Pratico and Van Pelt 2019: §6.7.

⁴⁹¹ Garr 1991.

⁴⁹² Bekins 2014. For further discussion of Bekins' work, see 4.1.2.

or when the information focus of the clauses is on the Patient, when the object is only partly affected, or when the aspect of the clause is imperfective.⁴⁹³

Verb classes and the associated semantic roles

A few Hebraists have applied the Prototype Transitivity Hypothesis to less-clearly-connected linguistic phenomena. Coleman examines verb classes which show transitivity alternation in BH, such as verbs of dressing or undressing, verbs of fullness or want, and verbs of dwelling, all of which deviate significantly from the transitive prototype. Although normally understood to be intransitive, these verbs can sometimes take an object without having to change their *binyan*; instead their semantics and usage change when the clause's event structure changes. Coleman is interested in describing these changes and identifying the semantic qualities of these verb classes which allow them to participate in the ambitransitive alternation (in which the same verb form can be used in both transitive and intransitive clauses).⁴⁹⁴ While Coleman discusses the Prototype Transitivity Hypothesis, he is interested only in those aspects of the hypothesis which align with the concerns of Cognitive Grammar: the salience of the subject or object, the number and types of participants, and the idea of a transitive prototype from which different verb classes deviate in systematic ways. Although he attempts to identify the most common constructions in which each verb is used and the linguistic factors that are associated with these constructions, he does not use any statistical tools beyond frequency counts.

Several of the verb classes that Coleman examines can be described in the light of Prototype Transitivity. First, verbs of dressing (as in the sentence *I dressed myself in a white garment*), which usually take syntactic objects (like *myself* in the example), may be more likely to appear in intransitive environments because even when they appear in syntactically transitive clauses their transitivity is very low. Verbs of dressing take Affected Agents and reflexive objects

⁴⁹³ Halevy 2007: 65, 75-76, 78-79. However, while there are restrictions on *?et* it is also the default direct object marker, accommodating less common options such as effected objects (objects created by the verbal action), irrealis situations, and unindividuated objects (2007: 69, 71, 79). These deviations make me wonder whether some of Halevy's data could be driven by another prototypical construction such as a Contact Construction.

⁴⁹⁴ Coleman 2016.

(objects with the same referent as the subject), both of which are qualities that make the clause less transitive.⁴⁹⁵ Coleman argues that verbs of dressing are particularly likely to delete their objects when the scribe wishes to focus on the affectedness of the subject, and are likely to become passive when the scribe intends to background the agency of the subject.⁴⁹⁶ In other words, because verbs of dressing tend to appear in atypical transitive clauses, it is easier for them to be used in intransitive clauses.

Second, verbs of dwelling (as in the clause *Miriam is living in the blue house*) usually mark their complements (the Location in which someone is dwelling, in this case *the blue house*) using prepositions. However, they can also mark their complements as direct objects by using object-marker *?et* or by leaving them unmarked. According to Coleman, when verbs of dwelling mark their objects as direct objects the scribe is foregrounding the Location as more salient in the event structure of the clause or as more like a Patient than a Location is usually expected to be. Marking the Location as a direct object emphasizes it, which can have a variety of pragmatic purposes.⁴⁹⁷ In other words, verbs of dwelling are usually technically intransitive, but they prototypically require a spatial argument, meaning that they require two arguments just like a transitive verb does. Thus, in terms of their syntax-semantics they fall into the ambiguous space just outside the margins of the category of transitive clauses. In clauses that are particularly strong in other transitivity features, the semantics of the clause can shift enough to put it inside the Transitive category.

Word order?

Fariss has attempted to show that certain word orders in Biblical Hebrew are more associated with prototypically transitive environments. However, there are serious methodological problems with this study. After studying a small, select dataset of poetic main clauses from several different

⁴⁹⁵ Coleman 2016: 139.

⁴⁹⁶ Coleman 2016: 140-141.

⁴⁹⁷ Coleman 2016: 147, 155, 168, 185.

text types (defined largely according to Longacre) Fariss found that verb-initial order was more likely to appear in “more transitive” poetic text types, while “less transitive” poetic text types showed more word order variation. However, she situates her poetic text types along a poetic transitivity scale on the basis of assumptions which, for the most part, she does not defend.⁴⁹⁸ She also does not use any kind of statistical significance test, basing her claims on frequency counts and correlation tables (which, again, draw on a very limited dataset); and while she refers to Hopper and Thompson’s original article on Prototype Transitivity, she ignores the extensive literature on this topic dating from the period between the publication of that classic work and the completion of her dissertation. She does not engage with semantics (as she is principally interested in Longacre-style discourse), and while she codes for a few syntactic-semantic transitivity components in her dataset (primarily mood), she does not discuss these in her results section. Most notably, she does not clearly explain why verb-initial word orders would correlate with “more transitive” poetic types. (In my opinion, the only correlation is likely to be in the fact that verb-initial clauses are more likely to contain perfective verbs than are non-verb-initial clauses.)

In short, studies have shown that several linguistic phenomena in Biblical Hebrew, including the distribution/function of verb stems, the marking of objects, and the marking of the complements of marginally transitive verb classes, can be understood via Prototypical Transitivity. The Prototypical Transitive Construction, which includes variables such as participant salience, participants’ semantic roles, and tense-aspect-mood, is a cross-linguistic prototype with tremendous explanatory power that should no longer be neglected in teaching and scholarship.⁴⁹⁹

⁴⁹⁸ Fariss 2003: 6-9.

⁴⁹⁹ Although not on a Semitic language, the work of Christopher Woods must be mentioned. Woods’ 2008 monograph on conjugation prefixes in Sumerian is thoroughly grounded in Prototype Transitivity and theories of event (and motion) encoding à la Talmy. He finds that the prefix *mu-* is used for the “marked active” voice, and correlated strongly with prototypical transitive situations; *ba-* is used for middle verbs that approach the passive domain, occurring in conjunction with Patients; *imma-* is used for middle situations in which “the subject exerts some volition or control,” having some instigation of the event as well as being affected by it; and *-i* is neutral to voice distinctions, often appearing for pragmatic reasons when features of the situation are being backgrounded (Woods 2008: 308-309). However, these tendencies are subject to genre and other pragmatic pressures that make prediction of which prefix will be used in any given case

5.2.2 The Intransitive Motion Construction

While we cannot interpret the results for goal-marking strategy variation based on the clause's relationship to a transitive prototype, the fact that so many of the syntactic/semantic components involved in transitivity are correlated with different goal-marking strategies suggests that another prototypical construction which also unifies these components may be active. Since my dataset consists of Goal Constructions (consisting of a subject which is moving and/or causing the motion of an object, a verb which can be interpreted as a verb of motion, and a Goal phrase indicating "[movement] to a location"), a prototypical construction relating to motion would be a likely candidate.

How should we define such a prototype, and what would its component features be? The simple motion clause in its shortest form (e.g. *Joshua went*) is intransitive and atelic, containing a single argument—the subject. However, this simple motion clause should probably not be understood as our motion prototype. In actual usage, motion clauses consisting only of a mover and a motion verb are relatively rare and tend to be embedded in specific types of conversational exchanges where the path is retrievable from context (e.g. *Who went to Shechem? Joshua went*).⁵⁰⁰ Instead, a motion clause most frequently consists of a moving subject, a motion verb, and a Path argument—either Goal, Source, or Route.⁵⁰¹

Linguists working with English have defined this common motion construction—with moving subject, motion verb, and Path argument—as the Intransitive Motion Construction (IMC).⁵⁰² Some scholars divide IMC clauses into three subtypes based on which Path argument

quite difficult (ibid 309). Intriguingly, Woods understands these prefixes to be part of a larger “focus system” that also includes types of “locative focus” (ibid 310).

⁵⁰⁰ That is to say, it is a contextually optional complement. cf. Leavins 2011: 26; Cook 2016: 61-63.

⁵⁰¹ cf. Goldberg 1995: 160; Talmy 2000b: 25-26; Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004; Stefanowitsch 2018.

There is, however, variation between languages vis-à-vis how overwhelmingly motion clauses with Path arguments are favored over motion clauses without. Working with English and Spanish corpora of elicited stories, Slobin found that Spanish speakers of all ages were somewhat less likely to include Path arguments than were English speakers, and were much less likely to incorporate multiple Path arguments in a single clause (Slobin 1996: 201, 205, 210, 215, 217). Slobin hypothesizes that this occurs because in Spanish more of the path of motion is coded in the verb than in English, meaning that some Path information is already specified even without a separate Path argument (Slobin 1996: 205).

⁵⁰² Goldberg 1995: 160, 207; Stefanowitsch 2018: 147.

is included: the MOTION-TO type when a Goal is used, the MOTION-FROM type when a Source is used, and a MOTION-ACROSS type when a Route is used.⁵⁰³ However, other scholars, recognizing that many clauses contain multiple Path arguments (e.g. *Joshua went up from the valley to Jerusalem, Caleb ran through the forest to the camp, Miriam poured the water from the jar through the cloth into the bowl*), prefer to see the Intransitive Motion Construction as a single type which requires a Path argument but underspecifies which Path argument should be used.⁵⁰⁴

There has been some discussion about the character of the subject of an IMC, although not from the perspective of linguistic prototype theory. For example, Goldberg and Stefanowitsch give the subject the semantic role of Theme.⁵⁰⁵ In terms of the feature specification used in Chapter 3, this means that the subject of an Intransitive Motion Clause lacks volition (it is not moving on purpose). The above scholars suggest this because of the existence of well-formed sentences such as *The water ran through the channel*. The water is inanimate and does not have a will, so it cannot be moving of its own volition. Since Goldberg *et alia* are not operating within a framework of prototype theory, they are forced to designate the subject of the IMC as a Theme in order to reflect the lowest common denominator in a category of 'subjects of well-formed intransitive motion clauses.'⁵⁰⁶

However, in the context of prototype theory, a more potent subject is clearly preferred for the IMC. In terms of frequency of usage, intransitive motion clauses with animate, volitional, controlling, successfully instigating subjects (e.g. *Joshua went to Jerusalem*) are far more common than ones with inanimate (nonvolitional) subjects. Thus I suggest that the prototypical IMC will have a subject which does have volition and instigation.⁵⁰⁷ However, it is still not an

⁵⁰³ e.g. Mosca 2017: 154; Mosca calls these "schemas."

⁵⁰⁴ Goldberg 1995: 78, 160; Stefanowitsch 2018: 155.

⁵⁰⁵ Goldberg 1995: 160, 207; Stefanowitsch 2018: 147.

⁵⁰⁶ Other scholars choose to label the subject with the semantic role of Object because the subject is affected by the performance of the verb. In the sentence *Joshua went up to Jerusalem*, Joshua (the subject) is affected by the verb because performing it has led to his change of location (Leavins 2011: 21). Still others label the subject as both Object (because it is affected) and Agent (because it performs the motion of the verb) (cf. Leavins 2011: 21).

⁵⁰⁷ Motion clauses with inanimate subjects (*The water ran through the channel*) have the *definitional* features necessary to belong to the category of Intransitive Motion Clauses, but they are not prototypical.

Agent (in Naess' model, which I follow here), because the subject of an IMC is always affected by performing the action of the verb. The semantic role for a subject which has volition, control, and instigation and is affected is *Affected Agent*. As in the Prototypical Transitive Construction, a highly individuated subject also makes the most effective actor. The more specifically we can conceptualize the subject, the more clearly we can assess whether it has succeeded in reaching its goal.

The verb of the IMC also deserves consideration. Many different motion verbs (and verbs that can be interpreted as involving motion) can be used in Intransitive Motion Clauses. Their subclasses include **simple motion** verbs (i.e. *to go*) which lack semantic content other than the fact of motion; **manner of motion** verbs (i.e. *to run*, *to skip*) which focus on how the subject is moving; **vehicular motion** verbs (i.e. *to drive*, *to sail*) where the subject is directing movement but not providing the motion himself; **inherently directed** verbs (i.e. *to ascend*, *to enter*, *to leave*) which include information about the path of movement; and others.⁵⁰⁸ But which subclass of motion verbs is most prototypical in the Intransitive Motion Construction, and what semantic features of this subclass make it preferred?

This question is very much entangled with that of the purpose of the Intransitive Motion Construction. We noted for the Prototypical Transitive Construction that the purpose of the category of transitive clauses was for *the subject to act effectively upon an object*; the most prototypical clause has a subject that most effectively acts against a most-affected object. The component features of the Prototypical Transitive followed from this—for example, the need for the subject to be animate so that it could act intentionally and successfully, the need for the object to be specific so that it can be better conceptualized as affected, and the need for a realis mode to indicate that the subject really acted.

⁵⁰⁸ Levin 1993: 263-267; cf. Talmy 2000b: 27-53.

The prototypical purpose of the IMC seems to be for *the subject to move successfully along a specified path*.⁵⁰⁹ Motion verbs which are consistent with this purpose are more likely to be used in Intransitive Motion Constructions. Thus simple motion verbs (*to go*) and inherently directed motion verbs (*to ascend*) do very well in Intransitive Motion Constructions. Other classes of motion verbs are less prototypical.⁵¹⁰ For example, manner of motion verbs foreground information about how the subject is moving without much interest in the path he is taking. Including such a verb suggests that the communicative purpose of the clause may not match the prototypical purpose of the IMC. Indeed, manner of motion verbs are statistically less likely to appear in clauses with Path arguments than are other types of motion verbs;⁵¹¹ we can deduce that they are also less likely in Intransitive Motion Constructions and are less prototypical when present.⁵¹² Vehicular motion constructions are also less prototypical, as they contain subjects which do not provide the energy for the movement and have an implied semantic object even when it is not necessary in the surface syntax (e.g. *He sailed [the boat] to the opposite shore*).

As with the Prototypical Transitive Construction, more-prototypical Intransitive Motion Constructions are ones in which the action of the verb really happened and was successfully completed—that is, clauses in which the mode is realis and the verb is perfective. If the action of the verb never happened or was not completed in an IMC, then the subject was not affected or not successful, meaning that the subject’s semantic role would change away from the prototypical Affected Agent.

⁵⁰⁹ For a defense of a usage-based approach to identifying linguistic norms, see Goldberg 2006: 45-65.

⁵¹⁰ Stamenković and Tasić 2013 empirically tested categories of motion verbs in English to see which were most prototypical, and found that “the more generic verbs” (simple motion verbs) “tend to be closer to the center.”

⁵¹¹ Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004: 256-257. I verified this for BH by considering the *qal* verb *rwš* “to run.” This verb takes a Goal alone 25 times, Route alone 14 times, Source alone 3 times, Goal and Source once, and Goal and Route once, for a total of 44 cases with a Path argument (60%). It appears 29 times without a Path argument, of which *rwš* is an infinitive in three cases and the first verb of a multi-verb sequence (often “run and tell”) nine times, leaving only 17 cases in which no Path is given despite syntactically favorable conditions (23%). Compare with *ʾlh* in note 513 below.

⁵¹² cf. Levin 1993: 263ff; Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004: 255-257; Xia 2017: 277.

So, a prototypical IMC contains an Affected Agent as subject and a simple or inherently directed motion verb. What of its Path argument? Looking at usage across languages, we find that the Goal argument is the most common Path argument in motion clauses.⁵¹³ This is because the Goal is the most important part of most Paths. The whole point of the motion is usually to reach a Goal. Furthermore, while the Source and Route of the movement can be inferred if we have the Goal of the motion, the Source or Route alone are not sufficient to infer the Goal. This means that Goals have a “higher information value” as we strive to conceptualize the complete path of a motion event.⁵¹⁴ Thus, we may say that including a Goal argument in a clause best allows a language user to conceptualize *a subject moving successfully along a specified path*. Therefore, a fully prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction will include a Goal argument. (The prototypical features of a Goal—that the spatial argument should include inherent geographic information, that it should be highly individuated, and that it should be conceptualized as a single-point location—have already been established in 4.2.3.)

In short, the Intransitive Motion Construction definitionally includes a subject, a verb which can be understood as a verb of motion, and a path of movement (which *may* be implied by context). Prototypically, the clause that reflects the purpose of the IMC (that *the subject moves successfully along a specified path*) most effectively is the most prototypical clause. The construction’s prototypical constituents—such as an Affected Agent, a simple or inherently

⁵¹³ We can verify that this is true in Biblical Hebrew by examining all of the uses of the verb *ʾlh* “to go up” in the *qal* stem in the Hebrew Bible. In 76 cases the verb appeared in some sort of idiom (the growth of plants, the coming of the dawn, *etc.*); I set these observations aside. I found that the verb occurred with some kind of Path argument in the vast majority of cases—in 224 a Goal alone, in 65 cases Source alone, in 47 cases Route alone, in 16 cases both Goal and Source, in 5 cases Goal and Route, in 2 cases Goal, Source, and Route, and in 1 case Source and Route, for a total of 360 cases (69% of the 522 non-idiomatic cases). In 162 cases the verb *ʾlh* did not select a Path argument. Out of these 162 observations, *ʾlh* was nonfinite in 31 cases, the first verb in a multi-verb sequence in 55 cases, and the first verb in a verb + infinitive VP in 17 cases—all environments in which any verb’s ability to select Path arguments would be reduced. This leaves only 59 cases in which *ʾlh* lacks a Path argument despite a syntactically favorable environment (11%). These data support the hypothesis that motion verbs tend to appear with Path arguments in BH.

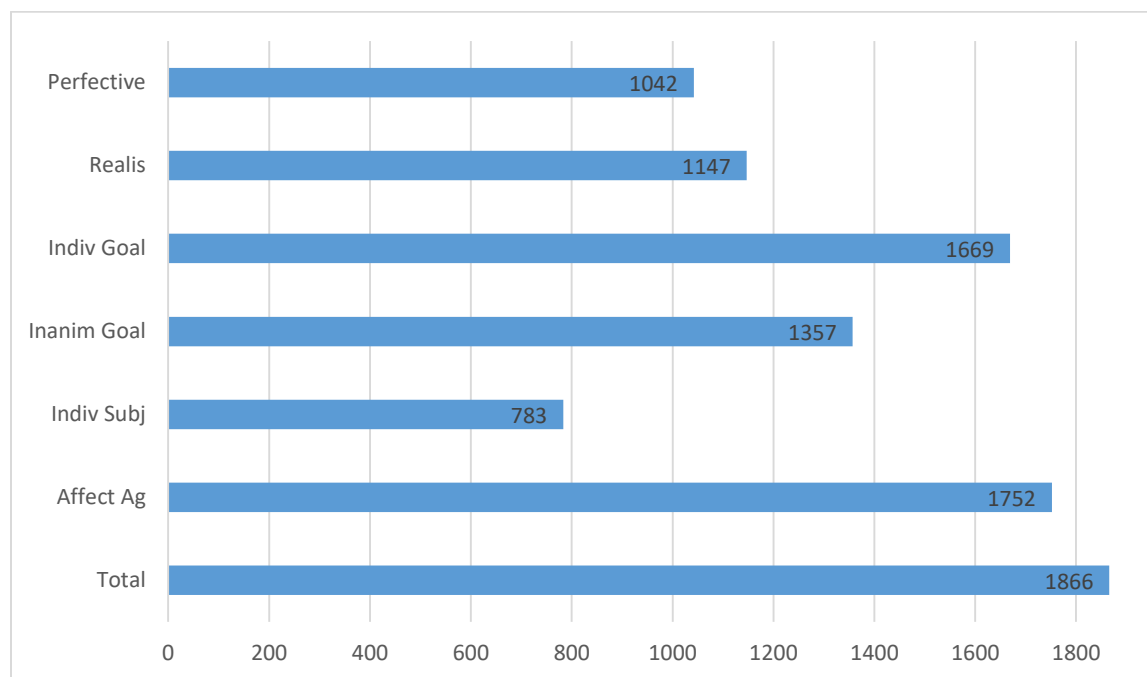
⁵¹⁴ Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004: 251-253, 263-264. Of course, when language users have other purposes in communicating motion, other Path arguments may be favored. In communicative contexts in which speakers are more interested in where an action began, as with Source-oriented inherently directed motion verbs such as *to escape*, the Source is preferred. Verbs of aimless motion like *to stroll* tend to be accompanied by Route arguments (Stefanowitsch and Rohde 2004: 257).

directed motion verb, and a prototypical Path argument (preferably a Goal)—as well as its other features—a perfective verb and realis mode—follow from the construction’s purpose and can be statistically verified.

What of the Intransitive Motion Construction in Biblical Hebrew? Most of the GCs in my dataset (n=2146, or 69% of the total dataset) are in Intransitive Motion Constructions. An analysis of most-frequent values for each of the components of the IMC suggests that the above characterization of the prototypical IMC is accurate for Biblical Hebrew.

Figure 5.5, below, shows the number of unique one-participant motion clauses with each prototypical characteristic in the BH dataset. (Please note that these numbers are calculated based on unique clauses in the dataset [N=1866], not on the total set of GCs, as otherwise clauses which contain multiple Goals would be disproportionately represented. 280 [13%] of one-participant clauses in my dataset contain more than one goal phrase.) The lowest bar (‘total’) shows the total number of one-participant clauses. The next bar up shows that 94% of these clauses have Affected Agents. Then, 783 clauses have highly individuated subjects; that is to say, 89% of the clauses which have explicit subjects have highly individuated subjects. 73% of the one-participant clauses have inanimate Goals, and 89% have highly individuated Goals. 61% of one-participant motion clauses are in realis mode, and 56% have perfective verbs. In each case, the majority outcome is the one we have defined as prototypical.

Figure 5.5 IMCs in Prose Goal-Containing Clauses in BH



In addition to the results shown in the figure, it is also worthwhile to note that over 81% of the verbs in unique one-participant clauses are simple or inherently directed motion verbs, with the six most common verbs being the simple motion verbs *bw?* “to come” (768 observations, or 41% of the verbs in unique IMCs) and *hlk* “to walk/go” (235, 13%); and the inherently directed motion verbs *’lh* “to ascend” (183, 10%), *šwb* “to return” (153, 8%), *yš?* “to go out” (88, 5%), and *yrd* “to descend” (88, 5%).

In this section, I have defined a prototypical IMC and shown that data from Biblical Hebrew supports this definition. Below, I define additional prototypical Motion Constructions, then show how sensitivity to these prototypical constructions in BH linguistic norms impacts scribes’ choices between goal-marking strategies.

5.2.3 Caused-Motion and its Siblings

The Intransitive Motion Construction prototypically requires two arguments, a subject and a goal. Scholars have also discussed factive motion constructions which include an object. Of these, the most studied is the Caused-Motion Construction (CMC), which requires three arguments: a

subject, a goal, and an object which often has the participant role of Patient (-VOL –INST +AFF). CMCs with Patients can be divided into classes based on the affectedness of the subject and the compactness of the verb (see section 5.2.3.1 below).

When the object of a caused-motion construction is animate, a clause may appear as a variant of the Caused-Motion Construction—most often as a Secondary-Agent Non-Coercive ('Leading') Construction, in which the object is a secondary Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [-CTRL + ERG] +AFF); or, less frequently, as a Secondary-Agent Coercive ('Driving') Construction, in which the object is an Instrument (-VOL +INST [-CTRL +ERG] +AFF) (see section 5.2.3.2 below).

Stepping outside of the caused-motion family, scholars have also considered the Pursuit Construction, in which the direct object functions as the semantic endpoint of motion (see 5.2.3.3 below).

The options above are all subtypes of Motion Constructions. However, in some cases a given clause may be functioning not only as a Motion Construction but also as a Caused-Possession Construction (see 5.2.3.5 below).

5.2.3.1 Caused-Motion Constructions with Patients: The Object is Moved according to the Will of the Subject

A **caused-motion construction** (CMC) is, definitionally, a clause in which the subject causes an object to move, as in sentences like *Joshua brought the letter to Jericho* or *Caleb threw the vessels to the ground*.⁵¹⁵ As with the Intransitive Motion Construction, some sort of Path argument

⁵¹⁵ No matter the characteristics of the object, the subject is prototypically understood to be instigating the verbal action, controlling the object (Delbecque and Cornillie 2007: 4-5).

For insight into the semantics of causation, see Talmy 2000a: 471-549, especially 494-495, 499, 502, 509-514; Levin 1993: 26-33; Kittilä 2009: 73-74. For an approach with some attention to semantics but largely generative, see Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 13, 16-17; Dixon 2000; Kittilä 2009.

This common construction includes a certain amount of semantic information in and of itself, so that even an argument which deviates from the expected feature specification can be incorporated (Goldberg 1995: 152; Xia 2017: 270-271; cf. Dixon and Aikhenvald 2000: 20-21). The existence of an independent English Caused-Motion Construction with some semantic content of its own is rarely disputed nowadays; for a defense of its existence, see Goldberg 1995: 153ff. A Caused-Motion Construction has also been posited and characterized in Chinese and Dutch (Goldberg 1995: 155). Caused-Motion Constructions writ large have several additional senses, which include non-motion verbs ("Sam asked/allowed him into the room") or verbs of assistance ("Sam helped him into the room"), for which see Goldberg 1995: 161-162, 167-170; Kittilä 2009. For reasons of space and relevance, I restrict the discussion here to clauses including motion verbs.

(often a Goal) is a prototypical part of the Caused-Motion construction's structure.⁵¹⁶ We can posit the following broad purpose for Caused-Motion Constructions: *a subject successfully moves an object along a specified path.*

Most often, the object in such constructions is inanimate or at least inactive, being moved through space by the verbal action without exercising any volition or control or adding any energy to help with the movement (making it a Patient). (If the object *is* exercising volition and/or instigation, the construction is classified as a Secondary-Agent Caused Motion Construction, for which see below).

Caused-Motion Constructions with Patient objects fall into three main subclasses.⁵¹⁷

Joshua brought the letter to Jericho (CMC Type 1)

In the first type of Caused-Motion Construction, a subject moves both itself and an object along a specified path, as in the sentence *Joshua brought the letter to Jericho*. The verb is durative (not compact, proceeding in stages) and requires a continuous application of force from the subject as the subject carries the object to the goal.⁵¹⁸ Verbs like *bring*, *take*, and *carry* are characteristic of this type.

Since the subject purposefully causes its own motion, it is an Affected Agent, like the subjects in Intransitive Motion Constructions. The object is, as we already noted, a Patient, lacking volition, control, or instigation but being affected by the performance of the verb.⁵¹⁹

Miriam pours the water into the jar (CMC Type 2)

Ditransitive caused-motion verbs also participate in what is known as the locative alternation. This is not the same alternation that is discussed here, but rather the kind exemplified in pairs of sentences such as *I filled it with water* and *I filled* (in English we would say poured) *water into it*, where two arguments can be switched between the direct object and indirect/oblique object positions. For the locative alternation in Biblical Hebrew, see Doron and Dubnov 2017; although note that reading BH as a verb-framed language is somewhat dubious, especially in the light of the breakdown of the satellite-framed/verb-framed model in recent scholarship.

⁵¹⁶ Goldberg 1995: 76, 152, 156, 159-160; Xia 2017: 271.

⁵¹⁷ In CMC+Patient Constructions with a goal orientation, the verb may also be described as a verb of putting; with a source orientation, the verb may be described as a verb of removal (cf. Doron and Dubnov 2017: 323-324).

⁵¹⁸ Continuous causation (CMC Types 1 and 2) is contrasted with onset causation (e.g. CMC Type 3). See Talmy 2000a: 498-499, 502-504.

⁵¹⁹ Levin 1993: 134-135; cf. Xia 2017: 272. In rare (i.e. atypical) cases an inanimate subject may be used, which will be –VOL and thus a Force rather than an Agent (Goldberg 1995: 165; Naess 2007: 93-95).

In the second type of Caused-Motion Construction, the subject must continuously direct the object along a specified path (usually to a Goal), but does not itself accompany the object to that goal.⁵²⁰ When *Miriam pours the water into the jar*, Miriam must continue to guide the water for the duration of the verbal action, but does not crawl into the jar herself. Verbs like *pour* are characteristic.⁵²¹

The subject, which acts intentionally and successfully but does not move, is an Agent, while the object, which is affected but nonvolitional and provides no energy for the verbal action, is a Patient.

Caleb threw the vessels to the ground (CMC Type 3)

In the third type of Caused-Motion Construction, the subject briefly exerts force or intention on the object to cause the object to move along a specified path, but does not accompany the object along that path. After the subject's instantaneous performance of the verbal action, the object continues moving due to the laws of physics (in the case of ballistic motion verbs like *throw*) or due to the agency of other persons (for verbs like *send*).⁵²² As in CMC Type 2, the participants here are an unaffected Agent and a non-controlling Patient.

A Caused-Motion Prototype?

In brief, Caused-Motion Constructions with a Patient contain an Agent or Affected Agent which moves an object along a specified path. In Type 1, an Affected Agent moves both an object and herself via a durative verb of motion. In Types 2 and 3, the subject is an Agent who moves the object but does not move himself. In the second type of CMC, a durative verb is used to indicate continuous causation, but in the third type of CMC, a punctual verb is used to indicate onset causation.

We can use data from Biblical Hebrew both to explore the relative frequency of these CMC types and to decide which one is prototypical. Figure 5.6, below, shows the number of unique

⁵²⁰ Levin 1993: 114ff; cf. Goldberg 1995: 173.

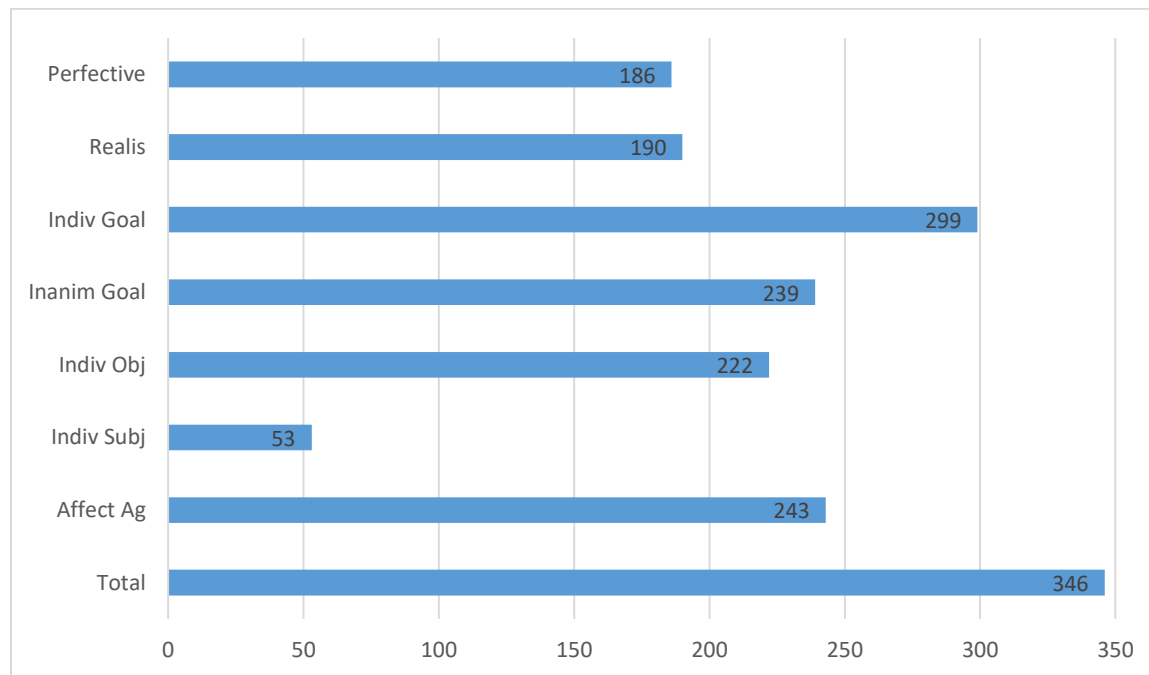
⁵²¹ cf. Goldberg 1995: 161.

⁵²² Levin 1993: 132, 146; Goldberg 1995: 172-173.

Caused-Motion Constructions with Patients that have each prototypical characteristic in the BH dataset.⁵²³ The lowest bar ('total') shows the total number of unique CMCs with Patients. The next bar up shows that 70% of these clauses have Affected Agents. 83% of the set of clauses which have explicit subjects have highly individuated subjects. 64% of CMCs have individuated objects. 69% of the CMCs have inanimate Goals, and 86% have highly individuated Goals. 55% of Caused-Motion Constructions are in realis mode, and 54% have perfective verbs.

In addition to the results shown in the figure, note that the common verbs in these clauses usually affect their subjects (as in CMC Type 1), as for example the caused-motion verbs *bw?* "to bring" (116 observations, or 34% of the verbs in the unique CMC+Ps), *yš?* "to bring out" (16, 5%), and *šwb* "to bring back" (22, 6%). Some verbs that do not affect their subjects (as in CMC Type 3) are also fairly common, most notably *šlh* "to send" (42, 12%) and *šlk* "to throw" (32, 9%).

Figure 5.6 CMCs with Patients in Prose Goal-Containing Clauses in BH



⁵²³ As in the study of the prototypical characteristics of IMCs, above, this figure is based on the 346 unique examples of the construction in question. Note that 60 CMCs with Patients (15%) include more than one goal phrase.

If we admit the assumption that the most frequent value for a given component is probably the prototypical one, a close examination of this data suggests that we can select a prototypical CMC: CMC Type 1, which has an Affected Agent and a durative motion verb that affects the subject as well as the Patient. The second most common option is CMC Type 3, with an Agent and a punctual verb that does not affect the subject. CMC Type 2, with an Agent and a durative verb, is the least common.⁵²⁴

CMCs can vary from this prototype in a variety of ways while still belonging to the Caused-Motion category. Most notably, they can have animate objects which may or may not be cooperating in the performance of the verb.

5.2.3.2 Secondary-Agent Caused-Motion Constructions: The Object Moves under Its Own Power according to the Will of the Subject

In a secondary-agent caused-motion construction, a moving animate subject causes an animate object to move, as in the sentences *Caleb rode the donkey into the valley* or *They swam the goats across the river*. Path information must be present; while it will still prototypically be a Goal, the association between secondary-agent constructions and Goals is a bit weaker than between CMCs with Patients and Goals.⁵²⁵ The intention to move (i.e the control) is provided by the subject, but the object also participates in and provides energy for the movement.⁵²⁶

Secondary-agent constructions come in two major types: those in which the object willingly does what the subject desires (**non-coercive**), and those in which the object's will does not match what the subject desires (**coercive**).⁵²⁷ There are also a number of minor variations. For example, in *Caleb rode the donkey into the valley*, the energy for the movement of both the subject and object is provided by the donkey.

⁵²⁴ *špk* "to pour out" is the most frequent verb in a CM Type 2 Construction, with a total of nine unique observations.

⁵²⁵ Kudrnacova 2013: 31-36.

⁵²⁶ Kudrnacova 2013: 1, 41.

⁵²⁷ Kudrnacova 2013: 59, 62.

Let us begin first with the non-coercive situation. The subject of a secondary-agent construction acts willingly, intentionally, and successfully and is implied to be affected by the performance of the verb. The people who *swam the goats across the river* also crossed the river in the process. Thus the subject of a secondary-agent construction has volition, instigation, control, and is affected, making it an Affected Agent. The object of such a construction is certainly affected—*the goats* in our example have changed location—but what are its other qualities?

Riding: Caleb rode the donkey into the valley

Kudrnáčová discusses this issue in her 2013 monograph on secondary-agent caused-motion constructions. Let us begin by considering the example *Caleb rode the donkey into the valley*. To what extent did Caleb instigate this event? The donkey moves along its path according to Caleb's "prior intention" (control) but the donkey is the one who actually provides the energy for the motion.⁵²⁸ Both Caleb and the donkey are necessary for the performance of the verb.⁵²⁹ Since both participants cooperate to cause the verbal action, I label both participants as having instigation. This makes the subject an Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [+CTRL –ERG] +AFF).

The object (the donkey in our example) has instigation and is affected. But is it volitional? On the one hand, it is clear that Caleb and the donkey are not moving according to the donkey's intention. Yet the donkey must be cooperating with Caleb's purpose, or they would not be moving along the path Caleb has specified. Here we become mired in another theoretical problem: to what extent are nonhuman animate participants conceptualized as capable of volition? Unfortunately, the answer seems to be language-dependant. In some languages, being animate is enough to let a noun be grammatically marked as having volition, while in other languages, a noun must be human to be treated as having volition. Certainly the prototypical noun with volition

⁵²⁸ Kudrnáčová 2013: 43-44. Talmy also uses a model in which instigation is divided into two parts, the initial intention and the realization of intention (e.g. Talmy 2000a: 119-120).

⁵²⁹ Instead of decomposing instigation into the features energy and control, we could also treat instigation as a continuum. Naess herself emphasizes that using binary feature values is a way to highlight some important linguistic generalizations, but that her three features (affectedness, volition, and instigation) are really gradable properties ranging from e.g. unaffected to somewhat affected to wholly affected (Naess 2007: 44).

would refer to a human. For our purposes, I label the object as being volitional because the object must be willingly cooperating with the subject. This would make the object of such a secondary-agent construction a secondary, non-controlling Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [-CTRL +ERG] +AFF).

Leading: Miriam led the Israelites out of the desert

What about cases when the moving animate subject causes an animate object to move but each is providing the energy for their own motion, as in the sentence *Miriam led the Israelites out of the desert*? Once again, the subject is an Affected Agent, although here providing her own energy (+VOL +INST [+CTRL +ERG] +AFF). Once again, the cooperation of the object is key, so the object must have some degree of volition; and once again, the object must provide some of the energy for the movement, making it a secondary Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [-CTRL +ERG] +AFF).

Leavins has studied this specific type of non-coercive secondary-agent construction in Biblical Hebrew by defining a class of verbs which, he says, demand two animate (volitional) participants: **verbs of leading**.⁵³⁰ Leavins identifies a variety of leading verbs in Biblical Hebrew, including *nḥh* “to lead” and *nḥg* “to drive”; as well as the *hip’il* (causative) forms of *bw?* “to come,” *drk* “to tread,” *yrd* “to descend,” *yš?* “to go out,” *glh* “to go into exile,” *hlk* “to walk,” *ngš* “to approach,” *’br* “to cross over,” *’lh* “to ascend,” *qrb* “to approach,” and *šwb* “to return” when they have an animate object.⁵³¹ The fact that Leavins must add so many riders to his description of most of these verbs (‘only in the *hip’il*,’ ‘with animate objects’) points to the fact that this is not properly a verb class, in which certain verbs fill their case frames with nouns with specific characteristics, but rather a clause-level situation. Notably, Leavins finds that the animate objects of leading verbs are overwhelmingly human, neatly side-stepping the problem of the volition of

⁵³⁰ cf. Leavins 3, 15, 24, 45.

⁵³¹ Leavins 2011: 3. Leavins also includes the verbs *ybl* and *nhl* in his list, but these are not represented in my dataset. *drk* and *nḥg* are not used in Leading Constructions in my dataset but do participate in other Motion Constructions.

animal objects. To Leavins' list we may add uses of *lqh* "to take/bring" with an animate object, a few instances of *sbb* "to cause to go around," and *nṯh* "to lead" in 2 Sam 3:27.

Verbs of assembly probably also belong in this category. Consider the sentence *Joshua gathered the Israelites to the city*. The extent to which the subject is affected is ambiguous; has Joshua moved or not? If he is moving, these examples should be understood as Leading constructions. The objects are secondary Affected Agents, as they are cooperating willingly and providing energy for the motion. Hebrew verbs of assembly in my dataset include *?sp* "to gather," *kns* "to gather," *qbs* "to gather," *qhl* "to assemble," and *msk* "to pull" in Jud 4:6.

Driving: Miriam drove the Israelites out of the desert

What changes in the semantics of secondary-agent constructions when the object is not willingly cooperating with the subject's intention (the subject is coercing the object)? In such situations, the object is still, however unwillingly, providing some of the movement energy; a donkey being forced to trot still carries Caleb to his destination, and the Israelites being driven out of the desert still travel on their own feet. Thus the object is still a secondary instigator of the action. However, since the object's intention is now opposed to the subject's intention, its performance of the verb is not volitional (-VOL +INST [-CTRL +ERG] +AFF).⁵³²

For Biblical Hebrew, **verbs of driving** with animate objects include *ndḥ* "to drive/banish," *nḥg* "to drive," *šbh* "to take captive," *ntq* "to draw away," and *lhš* "to press;" *pi'el* forms of *zrh* "to scatter like seed"; and the *hip'il* forms of *brḥ* "to cause to flee," *nws* "to cause to flee," *pwš* "to scatter," and *nṯh* "to turn."⁵³³

Other Animate Objects in Caused-Motion Contexts in Biblical Hebrew

In Biblical Hebrew, there are other examples in which a moving animate subject causes an animate object to move to an inanimate Goal, in addition to the 342 unique observations with non-

⁵³² By Naess' feature specification, this means that a coerced object is an Instrument. However, it would probably be desirable to distinguish between inanimate Instruments which are not willing because they are not sentient and animate Instruments whose intention is contrary to that of the primary Affected Agent.

⁵³³ Verbs of driving are also known as verbs of removal (Doron and Dubnov 2017: 323-324).

coercive ‘verbs of leading’ or ‘verbs of assembly’ and the 20 unique observations with coercive ‘verbs of driving.’ In many of these examples, the animate object is not exercising any volition and is thus a Patient.

- 1 example of vehicular motion – *The servants drove Ahab to Jerusalem* (2 Kings 9:28).⁵³⁴
The object is an unconscious human, a Patient. (CMC Type 1)
- 4 miscellaneous observations where animate objects are Patients
sbb in 2 Sam 20:12; *ns?* in Gen 50:13, Num 11:12, 2 Kgs 4:19. (CMC Type 1)
- Observations with *šlh* “to send” – e.g. *Miriam sent messengers to Moab*.
The subject is an unaffected Agent; the objects are technically secondary Affected Agents, but are so low in salience (indefinite, plural, common) that it is clear they are being backgrounded as unimportant to the clause. The true purpose of such clauses is to convey a covert Patient (a message) to a destination. (CMC Type 3)
- Observations with other punctual verbs – e.g. *Miriam hurled the young man to the ground*.
The subject is an unaffected Agent. The objects are Patients because, though animate, they are not cooperating, nor do they provide any energy for the motion.⁵³⁵ (CMC Type 3)

What is the Secondary-Agent Caused-Motion Prototype?

In 5.2.3.1 above, we saw that the prototypical CMC with a Patient contains an Affected Agent which moves both itself and a Patient along a specified path. Major variants differed with respect to the affectedness of the subject and the duration of the verb. In this section, we have observed that clauses in which a subject causes the motion of an animate object may have different participant roles than the prototypical CMC with a Patient. These participant roles vary based on whether the object is being coerced and whether the subject is providing her own movement energy. Can we identify a prototypical configuration for caused-motion constructions with animate objects based on Biblical Hebrew usage?

⁵³⁴ Vehicular: *rkb*.

⁵³⁵ Punctual verbs: *nkh*, *šlk*, *ṭwl*, *tq*’, *qy?*, *zrh*.

First, situations where the subject and object provide their own movement energy (*Miriam led the Israelites out of the desert*) are far more common than the specialized situations in which the object moves both participants (*Caleb rode the donkey into the valley*). In my dataset, there are no examples of the latter type of construction, as such expressions in BH tend to either omit their objects or their Goals, depending on the focus of the sentence.

Second, non-coercive situations in which the object is willingly cooperating with the subject's intention are much more common than coercive situations where the object's will is contrary to the subject's. In my dataset, there are 342 unique leading/assembly constructions and only 20 unique driving constructions.

Thus, the most common feature configuration for Secondary-Agent CMCs is that found in the leading construction: an Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [+CTRL +ERG] +AFF) which is moving himself incites a secondary Affected Agent (+VOL +INST [-CTRL +ERG] +AFF) to move herself. This is probably the prototypical arrangement.

Of our two caused-motion prototypes, Leading constructions with Affected-Agent objects are actually more common than CM Type 1 Constructions with Patients; there are 342 unique leading/assembly constructions (41% of unique Goal Constructions with objects) and only 243 unique CM Type 1 Constructions (29% of unique GCs with objects) in the dataset.

5.2.3.3 Pursuit Clauses: The Object Functions as the Expected Endpoint of the Subject's Motion

In prototypical Leading Constructions, the object moves according to the will of the subject. But what about cases when the syntactic object moves of its own will, as in sentences like *Joshua pursued the Ammonites to Qadesh*?

A **pursuit clause** is a two-participant clause containing a verb such as *pursue*, *chase*, or *follow* in which the subject and object are both in motion under their own power in a specific spatial

order, as in the sentence *Joshua pursued the Ammonites to Qadesh*.⁵³⁶ If we consider the roles of Joshua and the Ammonites in terms of our volition/instigation/affectedness rubric, we find that both could be understood as Affected Agents.

Joshua, the subject, is purposefully and successfully moving himself through space—so he has volition and instigation, and is affected by the performance of the verb, making him an Affected Agent.

The objects, on the other hand, are implied to be intentionally and successfully moving themselves through space, which could also make them Affected Agents. However, when we look specifically at how the situation is being encoded, we see that they do not have volition or instigation *with regard to the clause verb*. They are not controlling or providing energy for the pursuit, and are not willingly cooperating with the pursuit. In fact, the Ammonites would be quite happy if Joshua went and did something else instead. Furthermore, they are not being affected by the action of the clause verb. Presumably, they started fleeing first and then Joshua started pursuing—his pursuit did not cause their movement, although his pursuit may be motivating them to continue it. Thus, considering these events from the viewpoint of the clause as it is encoded, the Ammonites do not have volition, instigation, or affectedness—giving them the same feature specification as a Path argument (-VOL -INST -AFF). This situation is characteristic of pursuit clauses.

Pursuit clauses often do not include additional Path arguments. Xia suggests that this is because the primary focus of this type of construction is on the order in which the participants move, not on the specific path that they take.⁵³⁷ However, since we expect that the pursuing subject will stop moving once he catches up to the object, the object of a pursuit clause can also be understood as the motion's Goal, meaning that an additional Path argument may be

⁵³⁶ For chase/pursuit verbs, see Levin 1993: 269-270; Xia 2017: 276, 281.

⁵³⁷ Xia 2017: 281.

redundant.⁵³⁸ In Biblical Hebrew the most common pursuit verb is *rdp*, “to chase.” It occurs 131 times in the basic *qal* stem in the Hebrew Bible. In only 10 of these cases (about 8%) does it occur with an added Goal.⁵³⁹ Thus we see that pursuit clauses do not prototypically include Goals other than their object pursuees.⁵⁴⁰

Pursuit clauses encode a complicated situation in which *the subject (an Affected Agent) moves successfully after a moving object with the intention of stopping when he reaches the object (thus the object is his Goal)*. Additional Path information is optional.

In the Biblical Hebrew prose dataset, we find only 12 unique Pursuit Clauses that include an additional Goal. As we would expect, all BH pursuit clauses have an Affected Agent as a subject. When, as here, BH pursuit clauses include a Goal, they most often have the form *rdp* [subject] [object] *`ad* [Goal].⁵⁴¹ The almost incidental status of the Goal—as the endpoint the pursuit happens to have reached when the subject caught up with the object—is usually marked by using the directional preposition *`ad*, “as far as” (see 6.2.3).⁵⁴² Since the object has a peculiar status as the semi-endpoint of the subject’s motion, it is atypical as a direct object and its formal marking is unusual.⁵⁴³ Whether the object is nominal⁵⁴⁴ or pronominal,⁵⁴⁵ it may take the form of a direct object (as a noun marked with *?et* or a direct object pronominal ending on a verb) or an oblique object marked with a preposition (usually *?ahare*, although *b-* is used in one case). The Goal is inanimate in all cases and definite in all but one case.

⁵³⁸ Garr 1991: 121; cf. LaPolla 2011: 479.

⁵³⁹ It does not occur with a Goal in any other *binyan*. In two cases it occurs with multiple Goal phrases.

⁵⁴⁰ cf. Winther-Neilsen 2016: 83-84.

⁵⁴¹ Two pursuit GCs with the verb *dbq*, *to follow*, also occur, in Jud 20:45 and 2 Sam 20:2.

⁵⁴² In four cases a different goal-marker is used: in one case the preposition *`al*, twice an accusative of destination, and once a directive *he*.

⁵⁴³ The Pursuit object’s ambiguous status made it difficult to determine whether they should be coded as having two participants or one. Ultimately, I chose to understand Pursuit Constructions as atypical two-participant clauses, whether the object was treated as a direct or oblique object.

⁵⁴⁴ Nominal object marked with *?et*: 1 Sam 17:52 (two goal phrases). *?ahare*: Josh 24:6, Jud 4:16 (2x), 1 Sam 23:25. *b-*: 2 Sam 20:2.

⁵⁴⁵ Direct object pronoun: Gen 14:15; Josh 7:5, 11:8 (four goal phrases); 2 Chr 14:12. *?ahare* plus pronominal ending: Josh 2:7, Jud 20:45. Object ellipted Gen 14:14.

5.2.3.4 A Note on Biblical Hebrew ‘*br* “to cross over”’: the Object as a Route Argument

In the previous section, it was established that pursuit clauses often do not need distinct Goal arguments because the animate object can be conceptualized as the prospective Goal of the subject’s motion. In Biblical Hebrew, there is another instance in which the argument formally marked as the direct object is understood as a spatial argument. When the verb ‘*br* “to cross over” takes a direct object in the usually intransitive *qal* stem, this direct object must be understood as a Route landmark, as in Numbers 33:51-52a:

kî ?attem `ōbrîm ?et hayyardēn ?el ?ereṣ kēnā `an wēhōraštem ?et kol yōšbê hā?āreṣ
‘When y’all cross over **the Jordan** to the land of Canaan, then y’all shall drive out all of the inhabitants of the land.’

We find additional Goal Constructions like this in Gen 31:52 (in two separate clauses); Num 35:10; Deut 2:29, 4:26, 27:2, 31:13, 32:47; Josh 1:2; and 1 Sam 13:7. Since the object of an ‘*br* clause provides Path information, additional spatial arguments like Goals are less likely to be included.

5.2.3.5 Caused-Possession and the Challenge of the Animate ‘Goal (?)’

Like Caused-Motion Constructions, Caused-Possession Constructions are **ditransitive**, requiring three arguments.⁵⁴⁶ Both types of constructions require a subject, an object, and an endpoint—with the endpoint measuring the point that the verbal action must reach to be considered successfully completed. But where the CMC describes how an object is directed along a potentially multi-part path of motion ending at a locational Goal, the **Caused-Possession Construction** describes how an object passes from the possession of the subject and/or into the possession of an animate Recipient, as in the sentence *Miriam gave a gift to Aaron*.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁶ Caused-motion and caused-possession are the two major types of ditransitive verbs (Beavers 2011: 48). For a list of types of ditransitive verbs, see summary in Beavers 2011: 6-7; cf. Levin 1993: 45-48.

⁵⁴⁷ cf. Givón 2001 I:143; Goldberg 1995: 141-151; Beavers 2011: 30-31; Winther-Nielsen 2016: 88; Winther –Nielsen 2017. See Goldberg 1995: 146 for a few examples of inanimate (extended animate?) recipients, though not in the context of caused-motion/caused-possession.

Dyk discusses the Biblical Hebrew verb *ntn* “to give” in terms of verbal valency, concluding (perhaps unknowingly) with construction grammarians that it is less useful to assign a single inherent valency to a verb and more useful to allow a verb to fall into “multiple patterns” (2016: 48).

Although Caused-Possession Constructions with simple transfer verbs (*give, yield*) do not involve any contingent motion, other caused-possession verbs like *send, throw, or bring* suggest that the object has moved as part of the transfer of possession.⁵⁴⁸ It is these latter possibilities that concern us here. How do we understand sentences like *Jacob sent a letter to the king of Israel*? Is the king of Israel a Recipient and the clause one of caused-possession? Is the king an animate Goal and the clause one of caused-motion? Or is the clause defining a change in both location and possession?

The Goal and Recipient participant roles are quite different in terms of Naess' feature specification. The prototypical Goal is an inanimate place to which someone goes.⁵⁴⁹ It does not intend the verbal action to occur or provide energy for the action, so it does not instigate. It does not willingly cooperate with the subject's motion, so it has no volition. And it does not change state or location when the subject arrives at it; the performance of the verb has no effect on it. Prototypical Goals have no volition, instigation, or affectedness (-VOL –INST –AFF).

In a Caused-Possession clause like *Jacob gave Isaac a letter*, however, while Isaac did not have to provide any energy and thus has no instigation, we assume that Isaac has volition, in that he has willingly accepted the letter.⁵⁵⁰ He is also somewhat affected by the verbal action,

⁵⁴⁸ Goldberg 1995: 89-92; Beavers 2011: 27-28. *Send* and *throw* verbs, punctual verbs which require motion, can be characterized as *loss of possession verbs*, as they encode in themselves the fact that an item is leaving the subject's possession (or at least his location); *throw* verbs identify the subject as the former possessor of the object, while *send* verbs are ambiguous on this point (Beavers 2011: 31-33, 36). *Bring* verbs (*carry, push*), durative verbs which require motion, can be characterized as *arrival verbs*; they are less commonly understood as caused-possession verbs, since bringing an item to a person doesn't necessarily imply that the bringer has lost possession of the item (Beavers 2011: 37-38). Trying to understand these verbs as only conveying caused-motion or only conveying caused-possession when they have animate endpoints is both futile and inaccurate.

Please note that the most common Hebrew *give* verb, *ntn*, has a reading *to place*. With the meaning *to place*, *ntn* usually marks its spatial argument with *b-*, although other prepositions may be used on rare occasions (Winther-Neilsen 2017: 379-380). In my study, I have taken the spatial argument of *ntn* plus *b-* as a Location argument, not as a Goal argument, since *ntn* does not usually require contingent motion and *b-* usually marks Location. However, one could take these arguments as Goals, with *ntn* acquiring a contingent motion reading by analogy with verbs like *šlh*.

⁵⁴⁹ Of course, animate Goals do exist (although Biblical Hebrew, at least, marks them as atypical using directional prepositions). In the Intransitive Motion Construction *Moses went down to the people*, there is no question that *the people* are functioning as the Goal of his movement. Our issue here is specifically with ditransitive clauses (which have three obligatory arguments).

⁵⁵⁰ Compare Beavers 2011: 9, who notes that "the *ability* to possess is a requirement" for recipients of caused-possession scenarios. Animate beings are prototypically able to possess things, although some types of inanimates can also possess certain sets of objects (the way that trees possess leaves, for example). For a discussion of the four types of possession see summary in Beavers 2011: 5-6.

since he now has a new possession; this could be understood as a partial change-of-state.⁵⁵¹ According to Naess' feature system, this makes Isaac a Volitional Undergoer (+VOL –INST +AFF) of the specific type known as a Recipient.⁵⁵² In short, a Recipient is prototypically volitional and affected, while a Goal is prototypically non-volitional and unaffected.

However, in other respects Goals and Recipients are similar. Both of them are endpoints, "measuring arguments" which, when reached, represent a complete change (of state or location) on the part of the object.⁵⁵³ This +ENDPOINT feature in both of them (see 4.2.3 above) seems to be enough to connect them in our cognition. Goals and Recipients are marked similarly in a number of languages, with the preposition *to* being used for both in English and the prepositions *?e/* and *l-* possible for both in Hebrew.⁵⁵⁴

Scholars have put considerable effort into trying to distinguish caused-possession constructions from caused-motion constructions. Since they have understood the contingent caused-motion to be incidental in constructions with verbs like *send*, they have treated caused-possession constructions as a wholly separate category.⁵⁵⁵ They have been helped by the fact that some languages mark caused-possession constructions in a distinctive way. In English, the difference between CMCs and caused-possession constructions is partially indicated via word order and a choice of goal-marking strategies. Rappaport Hovav and Levin show that in the sentence *Rich sent Barry the ball* the purpose of the sentence is to show the transfer of

⁵⁵¹ I say that he is somewhat affected rather than wholly affected because this kind of change-of-state is cancellable (cf. Beavers 2011: 4). He could send the letter (his new possession) to someone else, or throw it away, and he would then have returned to his previous letter-less condition.

⁵⁵² Naess 2007: 89-91, Langacker 2005: 162-164, Malchukov 2017: 182. The object is usually described as a Theme (e.g. Beavers 2011), but I follow Naess in designating it a Patient on the basis of its feature specification.

⁵⁵³ Beavers 2011: 12, 21. That is to say, they are telic when the endpoint is reached (if the object is also specific)(Beavers 2011: 20).

⁵⁵⁴ cf. Beavers 2011: 22. In languages with morphological case such as Old Hittite, Sanskrit, early Greek, and many others, a locative/spatial case and the dative case (which is used for the recipients of caused-possession) are often in complementary distribution, with the spatial case(s) being preferred for non-pronominal inanimate nouns and the dative for animate and/or pronominal nouns (Aristar 1996: 208; Aristar 1997: 319, 347-348). When animate nouns do appear in spatial cases, they are often more marked the higher up the animacy hierarchy they are (Aristar 1996: 213; Aristar 1997: 315, 317-318). The evidence suggests that the association of spatial cases with inanimates and dative cases with animates is "a good typological universal" (Aristar 1996: 209; cf. Aristar 1997: 355).

⁵⁵⁵ Goldberg 1995: 89-94.

possession between Rich and Barry. Barry, the Recipient, is one of the information focuses of the clause, which is marked by placing the unmarked noun *Barry* in the indirect object slot before the object. On the other hand, in the sentence *Rich sent the ball to Barry* Barry may be understood as either a Goal or a Recipient.⁵⁵⁶ In languages which have special marking for Recipients and/or Goals, the status of the endpoint of *send* clauses varies from language to language.⁵⁵⁷

Rather than defining Caused-Motion and Caused-Possession as mutually exclusive categories, scholars like Malchukov and Beavers treat them as overlapping. Malchukov suggests that there is a continuum anchored on one end by the Caused-Motion prototype and on the other end by the Caused-Possession prototype (which he simply labels as “ditransitive”). Clauses with more prototypical caused-motion values for their contrastive features are closer to the caused-motion end of the continuum, while clauses with more prototypical caused-possession values for their contrastive features are closer to the caused-possession end. Constructions with verbs such as *send* fall somewhere in the middle.⁵⁵⁸

Beavers sees no problem with the endpoint of a ditransitive clause functioning as both a Goal and a Recipient.⁵⁵⁹ He states that caused-possession readings can be understood here as augmented caused-motion: “at the point of arrival, receiving may also obtain.”⁵⁶⁰ With verbs such as *bring*, *throw*, or *send*, an animate Goal will indeed be a Recipient, meaning that these clauses encode both caused-motion and caused-possession.⁵⁶¹

We have now reached two important conclusions for the present work. First, ditransitive clauses including animate endpoints and verbs such as *bring*, *throw*, and *send* encode caused-possession as well as caused-motion, so they should be discussed as a distinct category. Second, since such clauses encode caused-motion as well as caused-possession, it is

⁵⁵⁶ Rappaport and Hovav 2008; Beavers 2011: 3-5, 8-9.

⁵⁵⁷ Malchukov 2017: 185-187.

⁵⁵⁸ Malchukov 2017: 184-185.

⁵⁵⁹ Since he does not decompose these roles into component features (volition, instigation, etc.) or define them on such a basis, he has no theoretical problem with a noun’s carrying more than one participant role.

⁵⁶⁰ Beavers 2011: 32-33.

⁵⁶¹ Beavers 2011: 4, 10.

appropriate to include them in a dataset of Goal Constructions. They are simply atypical Goal Constructions, having volitional affected 'goal/recipients' as well as other atypical features.

There is one more issue: what about sentences which include animate objects but otherwise match this Caused-Motion/Caused-Possession constructional template? Is the sentence *Joshua sent messengers to the king of Israel* still a caused-possession construction as well as a caused-motion construction?

Let us consider this issue for each of our main caused-possession/caused-motion verbs: *throw*, *bring*, and *send*.

- a) Darius threw meat to the lions. (inanimate object)
- b) Darius threw the wise men to the lions. (animate object)

Throw is a typical verb of ballistic caused-motion/caused-possession. In examples a) and b), Darius briefly exerts force to throw something edible to the lions (which, lacking divine intervention, they are likely to accept). After the object leaves Darius' location and possession, it travels the rest of the way to its endpoint due to the laws of physics. Neither the meat nor the wise men add any energy to the motion, nor do the wise men willingly participate. Thus we see that with verbs of ballistic caused-motion, it does not make any difference whether the object is animate or inanimate; the object is always a Patient, and the clause can always be interpreted as a caused-possession/caused-motion construction.

- c) Caleb brought silver to/for the king of Israel. (inanimate object)
- d) Caleb brought a wife to/for the king of Israel. (animate object)

Bring is a typical caused-motion verb, but it can be interpreted as also conveying caused-possession if the endpoint of the motion is animate. In examples c) and d), Caleb exerts continuous force to bring an object to the king of Israel (which he probably willingly accepts). The inanimate *silver* is a Patient, not willingly participating or supplying any energy for the movement. The animate *wife* is ambiguous; it is possible that she is willingly cooperating and moving under her own power, in which case she is a secondary Affected Agent, but it is also possible that her

wishes have not been consulted and that Caleb is bringing her slung over his shoulder like a sack of grain, in which case she is a Patient. Without context, both readings seem equally likely. In fact, with a verb like *bring*, the caused-possession reading always seems secondary. I return to this issue below.

e) Jacob sent a letter to/for the commander of the army. (inanimate object)

f) Jacob sent a messenger to the commander of the army. (animate object)

Send is a caused-motion/caused-possession verb. In examples e) and f), Jacob briefly exerts control in order to send an object to the commander of the army, who willingly accepts it. Jacob doesn't supply energy for the motion in either case. In example e), the letter, a Patient, is carried to its destination by someone other than Jacob. Jacob's clear intention is that the letter should go into the possession of the commander of the army. In example f), the messenger supplies his own movement energy and willingly cooperates with Jacob's intention, making him a secondary Affected Agent. Does the messenger pass into the commander's possession? While it is possible that Jacob is sending the messenger to the commander so that the commander may re-deploy him, it is much more likely that Jacob does not intend that the commander should take possession of the messenger, but instead intends that the commander should take possession of what the messenger is carrying, whether it is a physical object or a message. Thus, *send* clauses with an inanimate object directly indicate caused-possession as well as caused-motion; but with an animate object, *send* clauses only directly indicate caused-motion, although they imply that the change-of-possession of *something* (not necessarily the object) will occur. In other words, if the animate object of *send* is the carrier rather than the carried, the purpose of the clause is still to indicate a change-of-possession, but this change is not directly encoded.⁵⁶²

⁵⁶² In Biblical Hebrew, various Agents are constantly sending messengers to other people. These messengers are often coded as low in salience despite their animacy, being indefinite, common, and plural—perhaps because the messengers themselves are only important insofar as they carry messages. The fate of the message is important to the speaker, but not the fate of the messenger. In other cases, Agents “send to Recipient” without any object being specified at all; the passage of the all-important message is understood.

In short, we find the following for ditransitive verbs with animate endpoints: *throw* verbs indicate caused-possession and caused-motion regardless of the animacy of the object, because they enforce a nonvolitional reading for all objects. *Send* verbs indicate caused-possession for Patients (inanimate objects, select animate objects⁵⁶³) but not for agentive animate objects; however, even with agentive animate objects there is a strong caused-possession thrust for the clause. *Bring* verbs always indicate caused-motion and perhaps caused-possession, regardless of the animacy of the object.

Why do these three types of verbs behave so differently? In particular, why do *send* clauses beg for a caused-possession reading while *bring* clauses only tolerate caused-possession readings? I argue that these clauses behave in this way due to their relationships with the Caused-Possession Prototype.

The most common Caused-Possession verb is the verb *give*, which does not encode any caused-motion at all. In a *give* clause, an Agent briefly exerts his intention (and perhaps his energy) to transfer possession of a (probably inanimate) Patient from himself to an animate Recipient, who willingly receives it. This brief description includes six prototypical features of a Caused-Possession construction: 1) an Agent 2) who possesses something 3) performs a punctual transfer action 4) of a Patient 5) to a Recipient 6) who accepts possession. Table 5.11 shows the ditransitive verbs *give*, *throw*, *send*, and *bring* correlated with these six features. Features marked “y” are present. Features marked “?” may or may not be present. Features left blank are not present.

⁵⁶³ *Saul sent slaves to his father.*

Table 5.11 Features of Ditransitive Constructions with Animate Endpoints

Feature	<i>give</i>	<i>throw</i>	<i>send</i>		<i>bring</i>	
			inanim obj	anim obj	inanim obj	anim obj
1. Agent	y	y	y	y		
2. Possessor	y	y	?	?	?	?
3. Punctual	y	y	y	y		
4. Patient	y	y	y	(y) ⁵⁶⁴	y	?
5. Recipient	y	y	y	y	?	?
6. Accepts	y	?	?	?	? ⁵⁶⁵	? ⁵⁶⁶

Caused-Possession *throw* clauses are very similar to *give* clauses. They only differ in their encoding of acceptance. While the Agent of a *throw* clause throws the object with the intention and expectation that the Recipient will accept it, the Recipient may not do so.⁵⁶⁷ *Send* clauses with inanimate objects only differ by one feature more; the Agent of the clause may not have been the possessor of the object, although he had sufficient control of it in order to send it somewhere.⁵⁶⁸ *Send* clauses with animate objects lack the object=Patient identification, but still have a strong caused-possession reading because of the transfer of a covert Patient. *Bring* clauses, however, have a weak caused-possession reading. They have Affected Agents who accompany the object as they perform a nonpunctual verbal action; and, as in *send* clauses, the subject may not actually possess the object. These points of divergence from the caused-possession prototype are enough to throw the status of the endpoint of the clause into question. Thus, *bring* clauses are less likely to be understood as entailing caused-possession than *throw* or *send* clauses because they diverge farther from the caused-possession prototype.

⁵⁶⁴ There is an implied Patient but it is not the animate object.

⁵⁶⁵ If the endpoint is a Recipient, then, all other things being equal, the Recipient should be understood as accepting the object, since *bring* verbs do explicitly encode the arrival of the object at its destination (Beavers 2011: 37).

⁵⁶⁶ See immediately previous note.

⁵⁶⁷ Beavers 2011: 32-33.

⁵⁶⁸ Beavers 2011: 33, 36.

In my Goal Construction dataset, *send* and *throw* verbs⁵⁶⁹ with animate endpoints and inanimate or animate objects were coded as caused-possession/caused-motion, while *bring* verbs with animate endpoints were coded as caused-motion only.

5.2.3.6 Excursus: The Issue of Object Individuation

CMC Types 2 and 3 have the same types of participants as Prototypical Transitive clauses—subject Agents and object Patients. Do they also have the same requirement for highly individuated Patients?

In Biblical Hebrew, definite (individuated) Patients in CM clauses are marked with the object preposition *?et*, just like the Patients of ordinary Transitive clauses. Indefinite Patients, on the other hand, are not marked with *?et*; in fact, these low-salience participants are frequently deleted.⁵⁷⁰ In my dataset, 43% of the 235 indefinite Patients suffered ellipsis.

Table 5.12 summarizes object individuation in the Biblical Hebrew dataset as correlated with different constructions.

Table 5.12 Correlating Unique Constructions with Object Individuation, with row percentages

Construction	Object omitted	Object indefinite	Object definite	totals
CMC Type 1	53 (21.81%)	39 (16.04%)	152 (62.55%)	243 (100%)
CMC Types 2 and 3	15 (14.56%)	18 (17.48%)	70 (67.96%)	103 (100%)
Leading/Assembly	5 (1.46%)	16 (4.68%)	321 (93.86%)	342 (100%)
Driving	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	20 (100%)	20 (100%)
Pursuit	1 (8.33%)	0 (0%)	11 (91.67%)	12 (100%)
<i>'br qal</i>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	11 (100%)	11 (100%)
Caused-Possession	7 (6.25%)	44 (39.29%)	61 (54.46%)	112 (100%)
totals	81 (9.61%)	116 (13.76%)	736 (75.80%)	843 (100%)

Pursuit clauses, leading/assembly clauses, and driving clauses have highly individuated objects over 90% of the time. This is not surprising; these motion constructions have animate objects, which have some degree of salience by definition, and due to the covariance of

⁵⁶⁹ *šlh* “to send” and *šlk* “to throw.” No other verbs of this type appear in my dataset.

⁵⁷⁰ See Naess 2007: 54-57, 124-125.

individuation features also are more likely to be definite, all other things being equal, than are inanimate objects.

Caused-Motion Constructions with Patients, regardless of whether they are Types 1, 2, or 3, have highly individuated (inanimate) objects about two thirds of the time.

The Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions only have highly individuated objects 54% of the time. This is low, but not unexpected. Having three obligatory arguments to process creates a cognitive burden, so an argument that isn't as important will be backgrounded (and therefore coded as less salient) for ease of processing.⁵⁷¹ In a Caused-Possession construction, the Recipient must be highly salient in order for a transfer of possession to take place successfully. If you don't know to whom to deliver an object, the transfer cannot take place. The need for a highly individuated Recipient is even more critical for the successful completion of Caused-Possession than is the need for a highly-individuated Goal in a Caused-Motion Construction. In my dataset, Recipients are highly individuated 100% of the time. Since having three highly individuated arguments would create a higher cognitive load, either the subject or object will probably be backgrounded; the speaker will choose which one to background based on larger pragmatic considerations.⁵⁷² In the Caused-Possession constructions in my dataset, the subject is backgrounded 47% of the time, and the object 46% of the time. There are only 34 cases in which both the subject and object are highly individuated (30%).

5.2.4 A Family of Prototypical Motion Constructions

In 5.2.1, we saw that the Intransitive Motion Construction (IMC) can be understood as a prototypical construction which conveys that *the subject moves successfully along a specified path* and includes an Affected Agent, a simple or inherently directed motion verb, and a prototypical Path argument (preferably a Goal).

⁵⁷¹ "When a concept is backgrounded... its informational content can be included in a sentence with apparently low cognitive cost" (Talmy 2000b: 129).

⁵⁷² A similar negotiation happens in Leading Constructions; it just comes out in favor of the object rather than the subject most of the time.

The other motion constructions discussed above (Caused-Motion Types 1-3, Pursuit, Leading/Assembly, Driving) can also be understood as prototypes—more specifically, as a family of overlapping prototypical categories.⁵⁷³ The constructions have many qualities in common, but also have unique characteristics and special connotations from language to language. Table 5.13 gives a count of the number of each type of construction in the dataset, while Table 5.14, below, summarizes the characteristics of these constructions in terms of feature specifications and semantic roles. Note that Pursuit clauses have an order-of-movement requirement (not shown in the table). Transitives are included at the bottom of Table 5.14 for comparison.

Table 5.13 Unique Motion Constructions with Goals in BH Prose

Construction	Number of unique occurrences	Percentage of dataset
Intransitive Motion Construction	1866	68.88%
Caused-Motion Construction 1	243	8.97%
Leading/Assembly	342	12.62%
Driving	20	0.74%
Pursuit	12	0.44%
<i>'br qal</i>	11	0.41%
Caused-Motion Construction 2 & 3	103	3.80%
Caused-Possession	112	4.13%
total	2709	100.00%

⁵⁷³ cf. Goldberg 1995: 5; Leino and Ostman 2005: 196, 199, 202; van der Auwera and Gast 2010: 175-176.

Table 5.14 Summary of the Prototypical Semantic Features of the Arguments in Constructions Discussed Above

Construction		Arguments	Features	Participant roles
Intransitive Motion Construction	Goal	subject endpt	+VOL +INST +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF	Affected Agent Goal
CMC Type 1	Goal	subject object endpt	+VOL +INST +AFF -VOL -INST +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF	Affected Agent Patient Goal
Pursuit	Goal	subject object endpt	+VOL +INST +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF = object	Affected Agent Neutral (Goal)
Secondary-Agent Non-Coercive (Leading/Assembly)	Path	subject object path	+VOL +INST +AFF +VOL +INST (-CTRL +ERG) +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF	Affected Agent Affected Agent Path
Secondary-Agent Coercive (Driving)	Path	subject object path	+VOL +INST +AFF -VOL +INST (-CTRL +ERG) +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF	Affected Agent Instrument Path
CMC Types 2 & 3	Goal	subject object endpt	+VOL +INST -AFF -VOL -INST +AFF -VOL -INST -AFF	Agent Patient Goal
Caused-Possession Construction	Recipient	subject object endpt	+VOL +INST -AFF -VOL -INST +AFF +VOL -INST +AFF	Agent Patient Recipient/Goal
Transitive Construction		subject object	+VOL +INST -AFF -VOL -INST +AFF	Agent Patient

When only these few characteristics are considered, some constructions appear quite similar to one another. The prototypical Transitive and CMC 2&3 both have an Agent and a Patient, differing only in that the CMC constructions require a Path argument, preferably a Goal, and have an intrinsic motion element.

These constructions are united in other ways as well. I noted above that Transitive Constructions prototypically appear in realis, telic clauses; with perfective, punctual action verbs; and with highly individuated participants. Each of these components increases the effectiveness with which a given clause fulfills the Transitive purpose. Almost all of these components also increase the effectiveness with which a Motion Construction fulfills its purpose. For example, like transitive verbs, motion is performed most effectively when the motion is real, completed, and has a clear end. The Motion family of constructions prototypically appear in realis, telic clauses; with

perfective action verbs; and with highly individuated participants. Thus, one could see both the Transitive and Motion families of constructions as being part of a larger network in which realis, completed action is the norm.⁵⁷⁴ There are only a few differences. First, due to the characteristics of motion verbs, Motion Constructions usually can only become telic by adding a Goal, whereas Transitive Constructions are most often telic based on other considerations. Second, instead of favoring punctual verbs, prototypical Motion Constructions favor durative verbs (*walk, travel, ascend*); Motion Constructions with punctual verbs (*send, throw*) are less prototypical.⁵⁷⁵

The Motion Construction prototypes exist in a complex conceptual space, interconnected and overlapping. Often, as a clause becomes less similar to one prototype, it becomes more similar to a different prototype. For example, when a subject becomes unaffected, it is less like a Motion prototype and more like the Transitive prototype. Although components of prototypical constructions do tend to covary, real clauses often have enough of a mix of features that they are situated somewhere between several prototypes, and could be understood as members of various categories.

Thinking about the relationships between the constructions described above can help us to navigate this conceptual space. Let's start with the most frequent prototypes: the IMC, CMC, Leading, and Transitive Constructions. On the one hand, the CMC prototype (CMC Type 1) can be understood as an augmented version of the IMC. Both have *subjects (Affected Agents) that move to a Goal*. However, in the case of a CMC, the subject also moves an object (Patient) to the Goal along with him, making the CMC definitionally a Transitive Construction (since it has a volitional subject that acts on an affected object). On the other hand, the CMC (Type 1) could be understood as an augmented Transitive – it is a Transitive with motion added, consequently including a moving (Affected) subject, a verb of motion, and a Path argument. Given the way the

⁵⁷⁴ In contrast to interrogative or modal constructions in which irrealis, incomplete action is the norm. The 'realis network' is part of the so-called the energetic modal, "the set of all worlds in which the intended goals are achieved" (Beavers 2011: 11, cf. Koenig and Davis 2001).

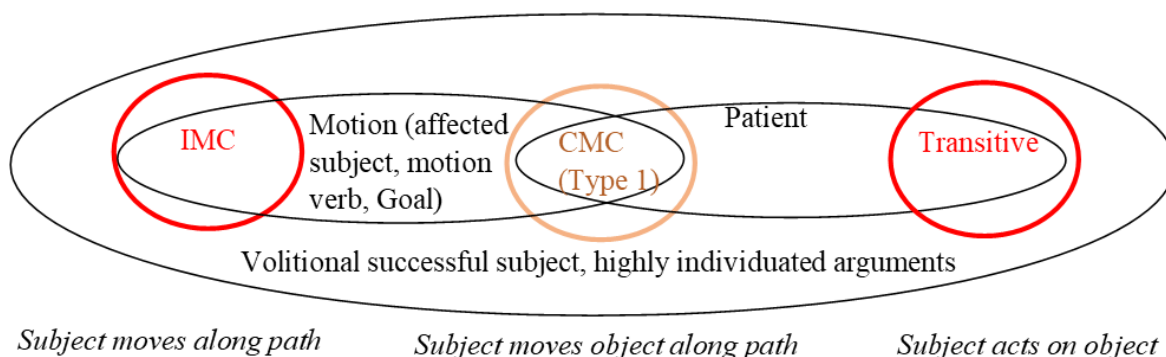
⁵⁷⁵ Punctual verbs in Motion clauses, not coincidentally, are also less than prototypical because they often fail to affect the subject of the clause.

CMC is treated in Biblical Hebrew in terms of goal-marking, however, it seems that it can better be understood as “IMC plus” than “Transitive plus”—although this may vary across languages.

The Leading Construction is also an “IMC plus”—in this case, plus a secondary Affected Agent. It is much less similar to the Transitive Prototype.

In Figure 5.7, we see the prototypical IMC, CMC, and Transitive as defined by their contrastive features. Prototypical constructions of each type would fall within the red circles. Black ovals represent various components, as labelled. A construction falling outside of a feature oval would not have that feature. So, for example, the IMC prototype falls outside of the Patient oval; it would prototypically not have a Patient.

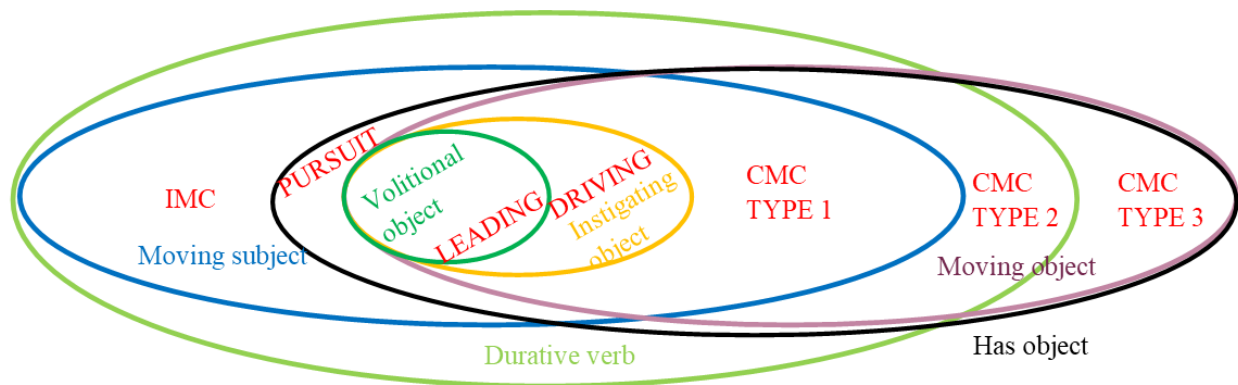
Figure 5.7 The Prototypical IMC, CMC, and Transitive



What of the various three-argument motion constructions? I argued above that CMC Type 1, with Affected Agent and durative verb, was the most prototypical of the Caused-Motion with Patient Constructions. It is similar to CMCs Type 2 and 3 in that it has a moving, nonvolitional, noninstigating object (a Patient). It has a durative motion verb, like CMC Type 2. However, it also has a moving subject, which CMCs Type 2 and 3 do not have. CMC Type 1 also has similarities to the Pursuit, Leading/Assembly, and Driving constructions. Like them, it has a moving subject and object and a durative verb. However, Leading/Assembly constructions have a volitional instigating object, and Driving constructions have an instigating object. Finally, Pursuit Constructions have an object that lacks affectedness. Figure 5.8 shows this complex of relationships. Again, component features are shown as colored ovals with labels in matching

colors. A construction that falls outside of the oval does not have the feature. For example, CMC Type 2 is within the ‘durative verb’ and ‘moving object’ ovals, but not within the ‘moving subject’ oval, meaning that the subject of a CM clause Type 2 does not move.

Figure 5.8 Motion Constructions and their Defining Features



Looking at this figure, it is easy to assess how similar the motion constructions are to one another. Leading clauses are more different from CMC Type 1 than are Driving clauses, having two deviating features rather than one (object +VOL +INST). CMC Type 3 is more different from CMC Type 1 than CMC Type 2, having two deviating features rather than one (subject –AFF, verb +punctual). Prototypes and frequent configurations of features tend to have at least two-feature differences from one another.⁵⁷⁶

5.3 The Choice of Goal-Marking Strategies is Driven by Motion Prototypes in Biblical Hebrew

In section 5.1, I showed that in Biblical Hebrew the directive *he* and accusative goal-marking strategies are more common in clauses with more salient subjects and objects. They are more likely to appear in single-participant, realis clauses with perfective verbs. In Chapter 4, I also argued that the directive *he* and the unmarked accusative are correlated with prototypical Goals—inanimate location nouns with intrinsic, specific geographic information. The directional prepositions, on the other hand, are more common with less salient participants or multiple

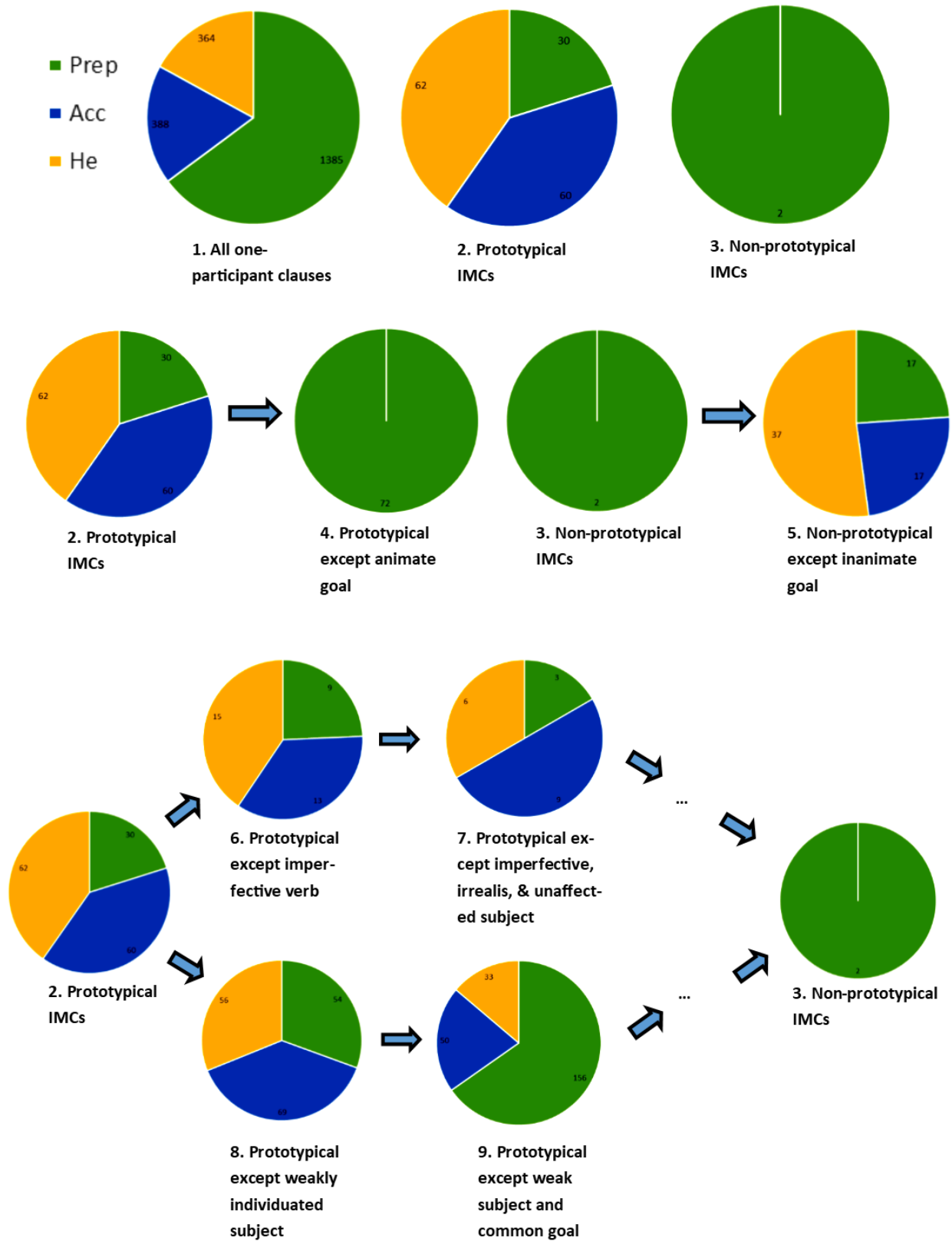
⁵⁷⁶ cf. van der Auwera and Gast 2010: section 3.

participants, with atypical Goals, in irrealis clauses, and with imperfective verbs. After the discussion of prototypical constructions and motion prototypes in section 5.2, we can now interpret these results.

The directive *he* and accusative goal-marking strategies are most likely to be used in clauses that are closest to the Intransitive Motion Prototype. That is, they are most likely to occur in one-participant clauses with highly individuated Affected Agents, perfective simple or inherently directed motion verbs, and prototypical Goals, all in a realis clause, such as *Miriam went down to Shaaraim*. (In clauses that conform to the prototypical IMC in every way, scribes use directive *he* 40% of the time, the accusative 39% of the time, and directional prepositions only 20% of the time!)

The more a one-participant clause deviates from this prototype, the less likely it is that BH scribes will mark the goal with the directive *he* or accusative and the more likely it is that they will choose directional prepositions. Of course, not all components have equal effects. For example, if one considers clauses with weakly individuated subjects that are otherwise prototypical, directive *he* is only a little less common than in wholly prototypical IMCs, accounting for 31% of the 179 observations that fit this profile. However, if one considers clauses with animate goals that otherwise fit the IMC Prototype, all 72 contain prepositional goal-marking. Figure 5.9 shows how changing specific feature values away from the prototypical affects the balance of goal-marking strategies. Proportions of directive *he* are shown in yellow, accusative in blue, and prepositions in green.

Figure 5.9 Intransitive Motion Constructions with Goals (n=2146)



In the first row of pie charts, I show the overall proportions in all one-participant clauses in the dataset (1.), in all of the fully prototypical IMCs in the dataset (2.), and in all of the fully atypical clauses in the dataset (3.). Note that only two observations in the dataset are fully atypical; thus, taken on its own, this datum tells us little about the characteristic goal-marking strategies in atypical clauses. However, in observations in which all but one component is atypical (except when that component is goal (in)animacy) prepositional marking is *always* the strategy chosen.⁵⁷⁷

In the second row of pie charts, I show the extremely strong effect which goal animacy has on the relative proportion of goal strategies. When a clause fits the IMC prototype except for having an animate goal, all goals are marked with prepositions (4.); and when a clause deviates from the IMC prototype in every way except for having an inanimate goal, directive *he* is often used (5.).

In the third set of pie charts, I illustrate the complex effects which combinations of components have on the relative proportion of goal strategies. In the upper curve, I include TAM variables. Changing the aspect of the verb in an otherwise prototypical clause has little effect (6.), but changing the aspect, mode, and affectedness of the subject restricts the directive *he* and (surprisingly) promotes the accusative (7.). In the lower curve, I include noun constituent variables. In clauses that are prototypical except for having a weakly individuated subject, the directive *he* is less likely and directional prepositions more likely than in a fully prototypical environment (8.). If the clause also deviates in the individuation of its goal, we see dramatic restrictions on the directive *he* and the accusative (9.).

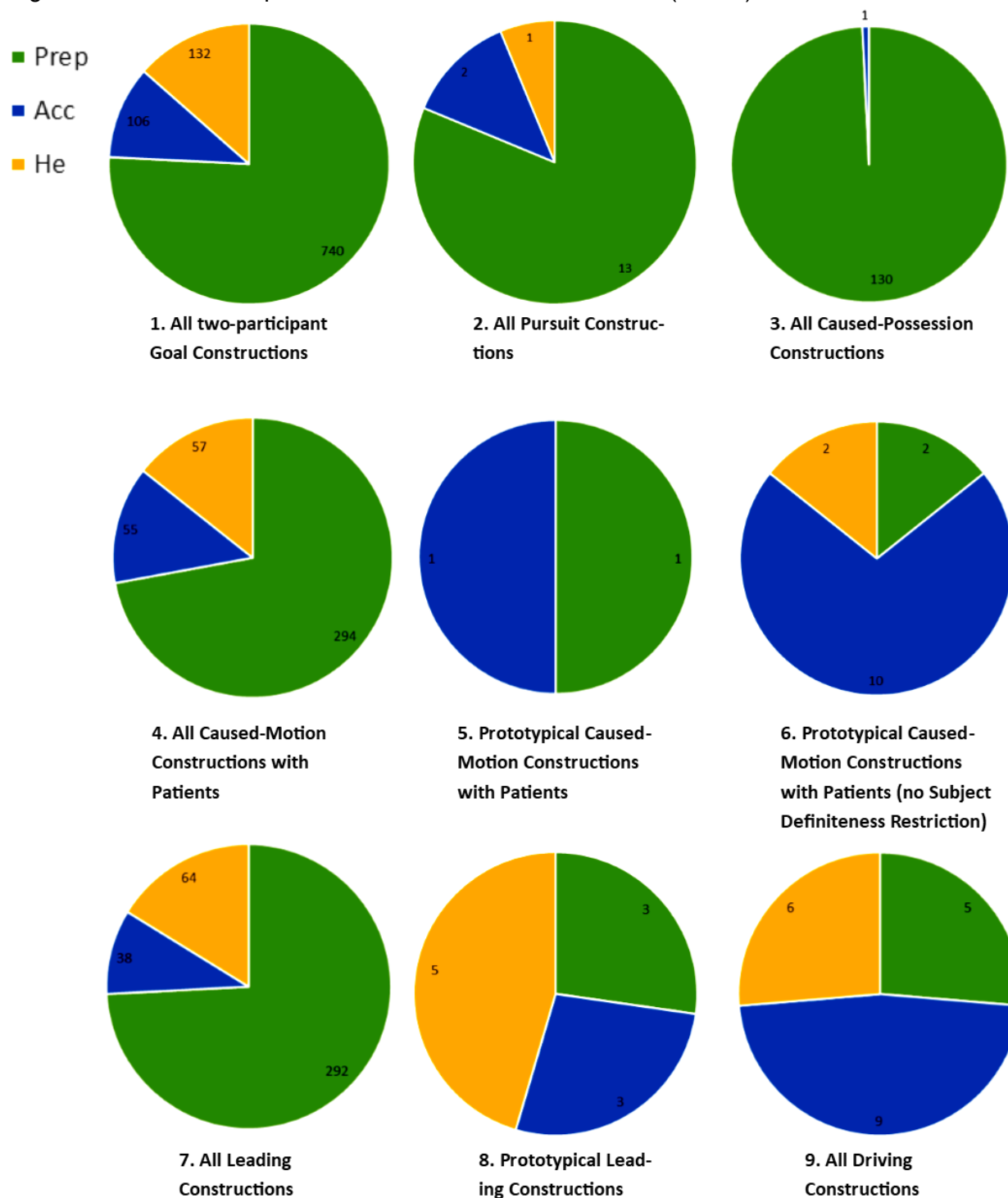
The directive *he* and accusative goal-marking strategies are also more likely to be used in clauses that are close to the Caused-Motion Prototypes, whether these are CMC Type 1 or Leading. That is, they are likely to occur in two-participant clauses with highly

⁵⁷⁷ When the subject is strongly individuated or the goal is definite or the goal is a proper noun. When the aspect is perfective, the clause is realis, or the subject is affected, there are no observations in the dataset that fit the profile.

individuated Affected Agents, perfective durative verbs, and prototypical Goals, all in a realis clause, such as *Joshua carried the box to Shechem* or *Caleb led the camels to Jericho*. The more a clause deviates from this prototype, the less likely it is that the scribes will use directive *he* or the accusative, and the more likely it is that they will use a directional preposition to mark the goal instead.

Figure 5.10 summarizes the proportions of the goal-marking strategies in each kind of two- (or three-) participant motion construction, as well as some of the differences between the proportions for a set of constructions as a whole versus the proportions for the prototypical members of that set. Once again, directive *he* is shown in yellow, accusative in blue, and prepositions in green.

Figure 5.10 Two-Participant Motion Constructions with Goals (n=979)



In the first chart (1.), the total proportions of the goal-marking strategies in all two-participant motion constructions are shown. Note that prepositions (shown in green) are used about three-quarters of the time. In the next two charts, proportions of goal-marking strategies in

Pursuit Constructions (2.) and Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions (3.) are shown. BH scribes' preference for using directional prepositions to mark goals of Caused-Possession is very clear.

In the second row of charts, Caused-Motion Constructions with Patients are examined. In this set of clauses as a whole (4.) the directional prepositions again are used about three-quarters of the time. In chart (5.), fully prototypical CMCs with Patients are shown; however, since only two observations are fully prototypical, we can say little based on this chart. However, the following chart (6.) includes CMCs with Patients that are atypical in only one variable: subject definiteness. Since most subjects in the dataset were not explicit, requiring an explicit definite subject was a limiting factor for chart (5.). In chart (6.), it is clear that more-prototypical CMCs with Patients are more likely to use non-prepositional strategies for goal-marking (here, especially the accusative, shown in blue).

The third row of charts summarizes the data for Leading (Secondary-Agent Non-Coercive Caused-Motion) and Driving (Coercive Caused-Motion) Constructions. In the set of leading constructions as a whole, prepositions are again used to mark goals about three-quarters of the time (7.). However, in prototypical Leading Constructions (8.), non-prepositional strategies are favored, especially the directive *he*. The set of Driving Constructions as a whole also disprefers the prepositional strategy (9.).

So, as with IMCs, more-prototypical Caused-Motion with Patient or Leading Constructions are more likely to contain goals marked with the directive *he* or the accusative, although not quite to the extent that we see in Intransitive Motion Constructions. Merely adding an object to a clause appears to make it a less suitable environment for the directive *he* and the accusative. Motion Constructions which are conceptualized in relation to a non-motion prototype—such as the Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Construction—overwhelmingly favor prepositional marking.

With that in mind, I conclude that the IMC Prototype is the primary prototype in the motion domain. The more similar a clause is to the prototypical Intransitive Motion Clause, the more

likely it is that the directive *he* or the accusative of direction will be used to mark its goals. The directive *he* and the accusative are preferred in prototypical CMC with Patient and Leading Constructions not because they are independently sensitive to these prototypes but because these prototypical constructions are similar to the prototypical IMC.⁵⁷⁸

5.4 In Conclusion

We can draw a number of important conclusions about differential goal marking and the syntactic/semantic system in BH based on the results of statistical analysis of a Goal Construction dataset.

- Much of the variation between goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, accusative of destination, and directional prepositions) in BH can be explained based on whether the clause conforms to or deviates from a Motion Prototype.
- Directive *he* and the accusative are more likely to be used in clauses that conform more closely to the Intransitive Motion Prototype.
- Like the Prototypical Transitive Construction, prototypical Motion Constructions include constituents with specific semantic roles and TAM values.
- The Intransitive Motion Prototype (in BH and elsewhere) contains an Affected Agent that really and completely moves itself to a specific location encoded as a prototypical Goal.
- Caused-Motion Constructions come in two major varieties: CMCs with Patients and Secondary-Agent CMCs with Affected Agent objects. Other varieties can be understood in relation to these two main options.
- Both major CMC varieties can be understood as “IMCs augmented.” Since these prototypes are similar to the IMC prototype, the directive *he* and accusative are correlated with prototypical CMCs as well as prototypical IMCs.

⁵⁷⁸ For more on this topic, including an assessment of whether the CMC with Patient or the Leading Construction is conceptualized as more similar to the IMC, see 6.4.

- The Motion Construction family and the Transitive and Caused-Possession Constructions exist as a network of prototypical categories with overlapping sets of prototypical features and often overlapping sets of feature values. Other prototypical constructions may participate in this network as well.

Analyzing any given linguistic variant in terms of a single prototypical construction yields an incomplete perspective at best. In future work, we must continue to define additional prototypical constructions (as required by the data) and to examine their relationships to one another.

In this chapter, I have shown that many syntactic-semantic factors which have been ignored in earlier studies are significantly correlated with scribes' choices between goal-marking strategies; I have developed descriptions of a family of Prototypical Motion Constructions in Biblical Hebrew which may serve as a launch point for studies of prototypical motion in other languages; and I have established that not only the Prototypical Transitive Construction but also Prototypical Motion Constructions play a powerful role in motivating and constraining linguistic choices in Biblical Hebrew, and thus should be accorded a prominent place in the Hebrew grammars.

In the next chapter, Chapter 6, I focus on the directional prepositions. What syntactic-semantic or extra-grammatical factors correlate with which directional prepositions, and why? This latter study allows us to explore additional nuances of the goal-marking system—such as the impact of goal salience in the larger information structure and the conception of the goal as divisible or as a single point—and to identify crucial differences between the goal-marking systems of the Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew corpora.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Six:

CHOOSING A DIRECTIONAL PREPOSITION FOR GOAL-MARKING IN BIBLICAL HEBREW PROSE

Chapter Outline

6.1 Experimental (Re)Design

6.1.1 The Dataset

6.1.2 Significance Results

6.2 A Repertoire of Directional Prepositions

6.2.1 *ʔet* Marks Definite, Salient Goals

6.2.2 *b-* Marks Divisible Goals

6.2.3 *ʔad* Marks Less-Informationally-Salient Goals in Prototypical Motion Environments

6.2.4 *ʔal* Changes from a Marker of Bounded Location Goals to a Marker of Animate Goals

6.2.5 *l-* as a Goal Marker that Changes over Time

6.2.6 *ʔel* as a Default Goal Marker

6.2.7 Directional Prepositions and Space

6.3 Extra-Grammatical Variables and Goal-Marking Strategies

6.3.1 Era/Style and Changes in Goal Marking Part 2

6.3.1.1 Transitional Biblical Hebrew: A “Less Literary” Corpus?

6.3.1.2 Late Biblical Hebrew: A New Goal-Marking System

6.3.1.3 Excursus: Goal-Marking in Biblical Aramaic

6.3.1.3.1 Goal-Marking in Biblical Aramaic is Driven by Goal Animacy

6.3.1.3.2 A Cognate of Directive *he* in Aramaic?

6.3.2 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 2

6.3.3 Biblical Books Part 2

6.3.4 Pentateuchal Sources Part 2

6.3.5 Dialect Part 2

6.3.6 More-Oral versus Less-Oral Styles Part 2

6.3.7 Prepositions and Extra-Grammatical Variables in Sum

6.4 Directional Prepositions and Goal-Marking across Motion Constructions

6.5 Choosing a Goal-Marking Option

6.5.1 In Review

6.5.2 A Choice in Every Time

In Chapters 2-5 above, I presented an analysis of Hebrew scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies in factive Biblical Hebrew prose as a three-way alternation between goals construed in the accusative of direction or marked with the directive *he* or with directional prepositions. However, as was noted in 1.2.3, a variety of prepositions can be used to mark goals: *ʔel*, *l-*, *ʔal*, *ʔad*, *b-*, and *ʔet*. Are these really a homogenous class with respect to goal-marking? Or, as we

would expect given Bolinger's Principle of No Synonymy,⁵⁷⁹ are there semantic and/or pragmatic differences between these options in the context of goal-marking?

As with the major goal-marking strategies, distinctions between the use of directional prepositions in Goal Constructions can be identified through statistical analysis. This chapter begins with a brief discussion of the design and results of this analysis, then continues with a focused discussion of each preposition in turn. Here I argue that there are semantic/pragmatic differences between the six goal-marking prepositions. For instance, *b-* is associated with divisible spatial arguments, while *`ad* is sensitive both to Motion Construction prototypicality and to the goal's salience in the information structure of the text.

In section 6.3, I continue my discussion of extra-grammatical variables from Chapter 3, this time with a focus on the impact that change over time, book, source, text type, orality, and dialect have on the scribes' choice of directional prepositions. This discussion yields several important findings. First, the goal-marking system changed over time. In 3.1.2, I noted that the use of directive *he* decreased significantly in the Late Biblical Hebrew corpus; in 6.3.1, I demonstrate that in LBH the preposition *l-* became associated with inanimate goals while the preposition *`al* became associated with animate goals—a correlation consistent with that found in Biblical Aramaic (see 6.3.1.3). Taken together, the discussions in Chapter 3 and in this chapter indicate that the goal-marking system in Late Biblical Hebrew is very different from the system we find in Classical and the Transitional BH—evidence that the CBH/TBH and LBH corpora were not written contemporaneously by the same community of scribes.

Second, the set of goal-marking options which are available either in ordinary spoken Hebrew of the first millennium B.C. or more broadly in non-literary text and speech environments seems to be restricted. In 6.3.2, I show that the prepositions *`al*, *`ad*, and *l-* are less available in

⁵⁷⁹ cf. Introduction. In brief, a difference in surface syntax reflects a difference in semantics (meaning) or pragmatics (usage). Syntactic variation is never free.

dialogue while the default goal-marker *ʔe/* is relied upon more heavily. In 6.3.1, I discuss the restricted repertoire of goal-marking options available in Transitional Biblical Hebrew and suggest that fewer options are available because TBH is on average a “less literary” corpus. In other Semitic corpora (i.e. Ugaritic, Old Babylonian Akkadian), “less literary” text types exhibit limited goal-marking options (see below).

Where 6.3 continues the discussion from Chapter 3 of the influence that extra-grammatical factors have on goal-marking, section 6.4 continues the investigation from Chapter 5, focusing on the different goal-marking strategies available in different Motion Constructions, showing that Pursuit, Caused-Motion with Patient, and Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions have distinct prepositional preferences due to their constructional properties. During this discussion, I theorize that in Biblical Hebrew Secondary Agent Caused-Motion (Leading) Constructions are conceptualized as more prototypical than Caused-Motion Constructions with a Patient.

6.5 brings the analysis of Biblical Hebrew prose goal-marking from Chapters 2-6 to a close. In each of the diachronic corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late Biblical Hebrew), what characteristics of the clause led to which goal-marking outcomes? This final section integrates significant results relevant both to the choice of goal-marking strategies (directive *he*, accusative, prepositions) and of directional prepositions to identify crucial factors that impacted the scribes’ decisions during each period.

6.1 Experimental (Re)Design

In the earlier chapters, we observed that prepositions as a class are not restricted by the syntactic-semantic variables studied, but since the other goal-marking strategies are restricted to more-prototypical motion clauses the directional prepositions tend to be correlated with atypical characteristics of motion constructions such as animate and/or pronominal goals, un-individuated subjects and objects, affected subjects, imperfective verbs and irrealis clauses. Directional prepositions also freely mark marked Goals (definite, complex, with adjuncts, plural). In the

context of descriptive variables, directional prepositions are more common in Late Biblical Hebrew than Classical Biblical Hebrew and are more common in some books and sources (see Chapter 3).

But which linguistic variables have a statistically significant impact on BH scribes' choice of directional prepositions for goal-marking? Are directional prepositions differentiated by their orientation toward Prototypical Motion Constructions, with a continuum of options ranging from prepositions most likely to be used in atypical clauses to those least likely to be used in such clauses? Are certain prepositions associated with certain features of atypicality? Or are the prepositions separated by linguistic factors which were not important when distinguishing between the three main goal-marking strategies?

In this study, I use the prepositional observations and coding from the same dataset as the analysis in Chapters 2-5 (namely, examples of factive Goal Constructions from BH prose), with one difference: I now have a new dependent variable, *the preposition chosen* in each case. I analyzed this dataset using the same statistical tools as in the previous study (multinomial logistical regression modeling and postestimation tests). Once again, I used a number of overlapping models in order to examine the effects of all of the independent variables in my dataset. For details on these methods, see Chapter 2.

Since I am using a dataset optimized for my initial study rather than for a study of prepositions, there are a few caveats. First, the set of independent variables examined here is the same as the set of independent variables examined in Chapters 2-5. There may be additional factors which would have a significant effect of scribes' choice of directional prepositions which were not coded because they were not believed to be relevant to the choice of goal-marking strategies in general. Second, the restrictions on and predilections of specific prepositions would have been more clear in a dataset that included examples of these prepositions fulfilling other roles. For example, *b-* is known to be primarily associated with marking Location and Route NPs. Does it mark the same kinds of Location and Route NPs as the Goal NPs it marks? (An initial

exploration suggests that the answer is yes; see below.) *l-* is active outside of the spatial domain; it marks animate indirect objects (usually Recipients) and has a wide variety of other uses. To what extent is its association with certain types of Goal Constructions a reflection of its frequent use in these other contexts? Since this study is exclusively focused on goal-marking, it can only offer preliminary answers to such questions.

6.1.1 The Dataset

The dataset used in this study is made up of 2135 GCs. Of these, about three-quarters include Goals marked with *?el*; *l-* is the next most common, marking 13.2%; followed by *'al*, *'ad*, and *b-* in the 3.5-5.0% range; with *?et* a very uncommon option, used only five times in the dataset.

Table 6.1 Prepositions used to Mark Factive Goals in BH Prose

preposition	status	number of observations	percent of dataset
<i>?el</i>	free	1576	73.82%
<i>'al</i>	free	103	4.82%
<i>'ad</i>	free	94	4.40%
<i>?et</i>	free	5	0.23%
<i>l-</i>	bound	282	13.21%
<i>b-</i>	bound	75	3.51%
total		2135	100%

?el is clearly the default option here. By why should any variation occur? To put it another way, why not always use *?el* to mark goals?

6.1.2 Significance Results

As in Chapter 2, I identified the independent variables which had a significant impact on the choice of goal prepositions using mlogit models. For example, I changed the dependent variable in the main model (see 2.3.2) and ran it with the following results:

Main Prepositional Model (N=1754, Log Likelihood = -1237.216, LR chi2(175)= 953.76, p<0.01)

Goal: Include as many independent variables from the dataset as possible in a model that will converge.

```
mlogit gc_prep i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper
i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb
i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3 & gc_prep!=0
```

Significant at the p<0.01 level: era, gc_add, gc_anim, gc_proper, gc_end, vb_parse, sub_def, vb_binyan, syn_gcb4vb, syn_realis

Significant at the p<0.05 level: text type

Not significant: gc_sgpl, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_vbinit, gc_complex, gc_def, vb_participants

Notes: Observations where the goal was marked with directive he or the accusative of direction are omitted by "if gc_prep!=0".

Some of the independent variables in this model have a different level of significance for goal preposition choice than for goal strategy choice. For example, the verb binyan and the text type are significant for preposition choice but not for goal-marking strategy choice, while the number of participants was significant to goal-marking strategy choice but is not significant to preposition choice.

After running additional models, I achieved the following results:

Variables significant **in this study** but not in Chapter 2: texttype, soc_oral, subaffect2, syn_realis, vb_aspect, vb_binyan, syn_vbinit (marginal), syn_gcb4vb, syn_affneg (marginal)

Significant in Chapter 2 but **not in this study:** obj_def, obj_anim, vb_participants, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_samesame, source, dialect

Significant in Chapter 2 **and in this study:** era, book2, sub_def, gc_end, gc_proper, gc_anim, gc_end, gc_parsame

Not significant in Chapter 2 **nor in this study:** sub_anim, sub_num, gc_sgpl, vb_passive

All of these are interesting results. Variables significant to preposition choice but not to goal-marking strategy choice may illuminate previously unnoticed differences between prepositions, while variables found not to be significant to preposition choice but important to goal-marking strategy choice reinforce the conclusions in Chapters 3-5. Variables significant in both studies are not necessarily significant for the same reasons.

There are a number of variables which are significant in the choice of goal-marking strategies but not in the choice of directional prepositions. For example, directional prepositions

are not sensitive to goal markedness or phonology, which were factors that restricted directive *he* in the earlier analysis. Nor are object variables (which restricted the directive *he* and accusative) relevant to the choice of directional prepositions.

Perhaps more interesting are the priming variables (see 4.1.4 for an introduction to linguistic priming). While the earlier analysis showed that a prepositional goal phrase is more likely to follow another prepositional goal phrase than a non-prepositional goal phrase, the fact that priming is not usually significant for choices among the directional prepositions shows that it is **syntactic priming** rather than lexical priming that is active here. The structure ‘PREPOSITION + GOAL’ primes another ‘PREPOSITION + GOAL,’ but the identity of the preposition is not specified.

6.2 A Repertoire of Directional Prepositions

Six different prepositions are used to mark Goals in the Biblical Hebrew corpus. In this section, each preposition and the factors that affect it will be considered in turn, starting with the least common goal preposition and ending with the most common.

6.2.1 *?et* Marks Definite, Salient Goals

The preposition *?et* is rarely used to mark Goals. Its normal use in Biblical Hebrew is to mark definite direct objects,⁵⁸⁰ especially those that are more affected or more salient; in other words, it usually appears in prototypically transitive clauses—which, as has been noted above, are different from prototypical motion clauses in several ways (notably in the number of participants required and in the affectedness of the subject).⁵⁸¹

?et seems to be used for Goal-marking in five cases: once each in Num 13:17, Jud 11:29, and Jud 19:18, and twice in Ezek 21:25.

⁵⁸⁰ An Accordance search uncovers 10,969 uses of *?et*. While five of these mark Goals and another handful mark other spatial arguments (see Jud 11:29, above), in the vast majority of the remaining cases these *?ets* mark direct objects.

⁵⁸¹ Regarding the connection of *?et* with more affected objects, see Garr 1991 and Bekins 2014. Regarding its connection with more salient objects, see Bekins 2014. For a discussion of object markers in comparative Semitic context, see Khan 1984, Wilson-Wright 2016. Khan also discusses issues of differential object marking.

(a) Num 13:17b

wayyō?mer ?ālēhem 'ālū zeh ba-nnegeb wa 'ālītem ?et hāhār
and:he:said to:them go_up this DIR-Negeb and:you:go_up DIR the:hill_country
'And he said to them, "Go up this into the Negev and go up **to the hill country.**"

(b) Jud 11:29bc

wayya 'ābōr ?et haggil 'ād wē?et mēnaššeh wayya 'ābōr ?et mišpēh gil 'ād
umimmišpēh gil 'ād 'ābar bēnē 'ammôn
and:he:crossed RT the:Gilead and:RT Manasseh and:he:crossed DIR Mizpah\CONS Gilead
and:SRC:Mizpah\CONS Gilead he:crossed [DIR] sons\CONS Ammon
'And he passed through the Gilead and Manasseh, and he crossed **to Mizpah of Gilead,**
and from Mizpah of Gilead he crossed to the sons of Ammon.'

(c) Jud 19:18b

wā?ēlēk 'ad bēt lehem yēhūdāh wē-?et bēt YHWH ?ānī hōlēk
and:I:went DIR beth\CONS lehem Judah and-DIR house\CONS YHWH I go\PTCP
'Now I went to Bethlehem of Judah and **to the house of YHWH** I am going.'

(d) Ezek 21:25a

derek tāšīm lābô? ḥereb ?ēt rabbat bēnē 'ammôn wē-?et yēhūdāh
road you:will:put to:come sword DIR Rabbah\CONS sons\CONS Ammon and-DIR Judah
'A road you shall put in place for the coming of a sword **to Rabbah of the sons of Ammon**
and **to Judah**'

Due in part to the unusual nature of *?et*-marking of Goals, most of these examples are disputed. First, although the *?et*-marked noun in Numbers 13:17 is clearly a spatial argument, Bekins suggests that it may be a Route, not a Goal argument.⁵⁸² Next, the two Judges examples may include scribal errors. In Jud 11:29, the construction *?et* plus Goal GN follows two constructions which are *?et* plus Route GN; the *?et* in our phrase could be an error due to lexical priming from those earlier Route Constructions, when really *?e/* was intended. In Jud 19:18, the status of entire phrase "to the house of YHWH" is unclear; is it meant to be parallel with "to Bethlehem, Judah" or to go with the participial clause that follows? (As an additional wrinkle, the Septuagint reads "to my house" instead of the Masoretic Text's "to the house of YHWH," which would certainly be part of the participial clause; but it is difficult to determine which reading is

⁵⁸² Bekins 2014: 32. *?et* marks a Source argument in Gen 44:4, Ex 9:29, Ex 9:33; it marks a Route in Deut 1:19, Deut 2:7.

preferable.⁵⁸³) In either case the phrase in Jud 19:18 includes *?et* used as a goal-marker, but since we cannot tell which clause it belongs to we can say little about the correlated verbal and clausal features for this example. Last are the two goal-marking *?ets* from Ezekiel, which occur in a verse that is unusual in its word order and verbal structure. The verb phrase *tāšîm lābô?* is composed of a finite imperfect form of *šym* (*to put* or *place*) and the infinitive of *bw?* (*to come*). Despite the fact that *bw?* is nonfinite here, in the phrase “for the coming of the sword to Rabbah” we would usually expect *bw?*’s motion semantics to control the choice of the “to” preposition; however, the syntax of this verse could be interpreted as “for the coming of the sword, to Rabbah of the sons of Ammon,” in which case *bw?* would not be governing the “to” preposition; thus we find *?et* because the governing verb, *šym*, usually selects it. In short, this tiny corpus of verses with *?et*-marked Goals is a problematic one.

So what can we say about the use of *?et* for goal-marking? For the sake of argument, let us assume that the verses from the *BHS* given above are accurate as written. The Goals here are all inanimate, either GNs or definite location nouns—that is to say, they are highly individuated and often prototypical. Looking at each example as a whole, *?et* appears in clauses with a variety of word orders, aspects, and modes, but always with one participant. There are no examples in which *?et*-marked objects appear alongside of the *?et*-marked Goals.

There are too few examples to say anything definitive about the types of texts in which goal-marking *?et* appears. It does not appear to be limited to any specific text type (it appears twice in dialogue, twice in narrative speech, and once in narrative). It appears in both Classical and Transitional Biblical Hebrew, and its absence from our extant Late Biblical Hebrew texts could easily be an artifact of its rarity.

?et is not normally used for goal-marking. It is so rare that we cannot ask, “When is *?et* the preferred strategy for goal-marking?” but rather have to ask, “Why is it used for goal-marking

⁵⁸³ Here, as elsewhere in this study, I have read with *BHS*, making no emendations based on non-Hebrew versions of the Hebrew Bible. See Chapter 2 on my source-text choice.

at all?” The work of Garr offers a possible answer. In a study of the uses of *?et*, Garr finds that all of its uses can fit under the umbrella of a single function: it marks the measuring argument of the verb.⁵⁸⁴ A **measuring argument** is an NP that measures how far the activity of the verb has gone. Goals have often been discussed as measuring arguments. In the sentence *Joshua went to Gibeah*, the presence of the Goal *Gibeah* delimits the verb—it tells us how far Joshua has gone. Similarly, there are temporal measuring arguments, as in the sentence *Joshua walked for an hour*. The argument *an hour* measures the verb, telling us how long Joshua walked. In some sense, the direct object of a transitive verb is also a measuring argument, as the degree to which the object is affected tells us how effective the verb has been. So in the sentence *Joshua threw the spear*, once the spear has been thrown the action is delimited—the verbal action ends. While Garr’s argument seems plausible, the scarcity of data makes it impossible to prove.

Even with so little data, we can conclude that the BH scribes were not choosing to employ *?et* as a goal-marker based on the prototypicality or atypicality of the motion construction in which it appeared. The use of *?et* for goal marking is extremely restricted, but is not restricted by most of the syntactic-semantic or text-descriptive factors in this analysis. While *?et* can only be used with highly individuated Goals, this is not necessarily due to a sensitivity to Goal prototypicality. *?et* is restricted to definite, salient Goals just as it is restricted to definite, preferably salient direct objects.⁵⁸⁵

6.2.2 *b-* Marks Divisible Goals

Like *?et*, the bound preposition *b-* generally fulfills functions other than goal-marking.⁵⁸⁶ In the case of *b-*, its core functions are spatial: *b-* usually marks Location arguments (the place *in* which)

⁵⁸⁴ Garr 1991: 130-132. cf. Naess 2007: 55-57; Beavers 2011b. Garr implies that this explanation works even when *?et* is used to mark the affected subjects of one-participant clauses (Garr 1991: 133; cf. Waltke and O’Connor 182 and Bekins 2014: 33-34 for discussion; examples include Gen 4:18, Gen 7:23, Gen 21:5, Gen 27:42, Ex 10:8, Num 35:7, Deut 12:22, Josh 22:17, Jud 20:44, 1 Sam 17:34, 2 Kings 6:5, Neh 9:19, Neh 9:34 [marking the fronted subject of a transitive clause in preference to the actual definite direct object!]) and about forty more).

⁵⁸⁵ cf. Bekins 2014: 27-34. *?et* is probably also prohibited from marking goals in transitive clauses, as its presence there in two roles would create an undesirable cognitive burden due to ambiguity.

⁵⁸⁶ For a comprehensive discussion, see Jenni 1992. *b-* marks spatial arguments, temporal arguments, instruments, adversaries, distributives, partitives, are more (Waltke and O’Connor 1990: 196-199).

or Route arguments (the region *through* which or path *by* which).⁵⁸⁷ However, in 75 of the 12,800+ examples of *b-* which mark an NP, *b-* does mark a Goal argument.

When *b-* marks a goal, that goal is always inanimate, usually definite (in 67 cases, or 89% of the time) and common (63, 84%), never pronominal. This is intriguing. One might see *b-*'s association with inanimate, definite, non-pronominal goals and think that it is associated with goals that are prototypical. However, the fact that *b-* is much more likely to be used with common than proper nouns does not fit that hypothesis. Instead, I suggest that *b-*, as the default Location marker and common Route marker in Biblical Hebrew, marks NPs which would make prototypical Location and Route arguments.

In 4.2.3, characteristics not only of prototypical Goals but also of prototypical spatial roles in general were discussed. I argued that the prototypical Goal must include intrinsic, specific geographic information. Specific information is needed because otherwise we cannot assess whether the mover has successfully reached her goal. (*Miriam is going to a city? Which one?*) Intrinsic information is ideal because then the location specified will be the same no matter who is mentioning it or when they are mentioning it, so the mover should be able to find it and the rest of us should be able to assess her success. Therefore, GNs like *Jerusalem* make the best goals, definite common nouns like *the city* make fairly good ones, and indefinite common nouns make poor Goals. Animate and pronominal goals are very “bad,” animate nouns because their geographic referent is mobile and pronominal goals both because they include no intrinsic geographic information and because their referents are usually animate.

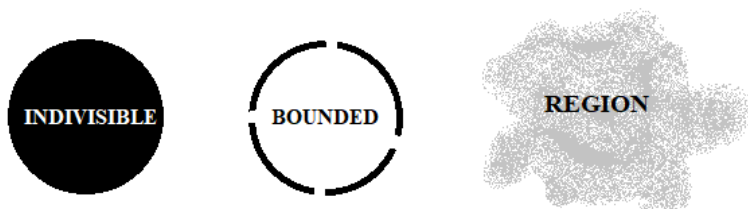
The prototypical preference for an inanimate NP with at least some intrinsic geographic information is common to all spatial roles.⁵⁸⁸ However, the preference for GNs is not universal. In 4.2.3, I noted that Goals are prototypically indivisible, single-point locations. When we consider

⁵⁸⁷ These Location and Route arguments may be spatio-temporal rather than purely temporal, based on the common metaphor TIME IS MOTION. *b-* can also be attached to infinitives to mean *when*. Thus *bēbōʿān lištōt* (literally, *in their coming to drink*) means *when they came to drink* (Gen 30:38).

⁵⁸⁸ See 3.2.3; Lestrade and de Swart 2010.

the action in *Joshua went to Shechem*, we conceive that Shechem is a single point in space, such that Joshua has either arrived or he has not. However, other types of locations exist, as shown in Figure 6.1.

Figure 6.1 Types of Locations (same as 4.7)



Bounded locations are understood to have an outer boundary which can be penetrated; once inside, movers may move around, being closer to the center or the margins. Therefore, bounded locations are divisible—they are conceptualized as containing interior sublocations. Thus, while it is clear whether mover *x* is inside this bounded location or not, it is not clear where the mover is within the location unless this information is specified. *The city (hā'ir)* is a common bounded location in Biblical Hebrew.

Regions are conceptualized as amorphous spaces without clear boundaries. Movers may move around within the region; thus regions are also divisible locations. For movers in the margins of the space, it may not always be clear whether they are in the region or not. As the mover proceeds into the heart of the space, their location within it becomes certain. *The Negeb (hannegeb)* and *the hill country (hāhār)* are common regions in Biblical Hebrew.

While the semantics of a given location NP may make it more likely for language users to conceptualize it as an indivisible single point, a bounded location, or a region, writers of Hebrew clearly reconceptualized given NPs in different contexts. A city may be punctiliar, such that someone has reached it or not reached it; or it may be a bounded location, which one enters through the gates before ascending to its heart (*lēb*) or some other part of its interior (*tōk*). The hill country may be a region with unclear boundaries, or may be a bounded location with a border (*gēbûl*).

While the Goal is prototypically associated with indivisible single-point locations (which tend to be GNs), other spatial roles require divisible locations. In order for an NP to be situated in a Location, the Location must be divisible, although it can be either bounded or a region (e.g. *Joshua is in the house*, *Caleb is in the Galilee*). The Location should still be specific, so that the situation of the NP can be clearly visualized. Thus we expect that Location arguments will prototypically be definite common nouns, since these are the most likely (based on usage frequency) to describe divisible locations with enough specificity. NPs used as Route arguments must also be divisible, as the mover must be able to move through or along them. Route arguments are often regions (*Miriam travelled through the desert*), although bounded locations that stretch from the origin to the endpoint of the mover's motion may also be used (*Joshua went up from the city along the northern road as far as Shechem*). Thus again we might expect common nouns rather than GNs to be used as Route arguments. So we see that while spatial roles are prototypically filled with individuated NPs that include geographic information, proper nouns are most likely to be used for Goals and common nouns for Locations and Routes.⁵⁸⁹

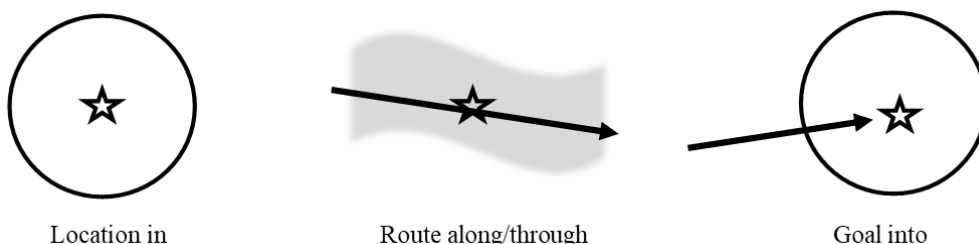
The preposition *b-* is strongly associated with both Location- and Route-marking, being used in the discussion of divisible locations, not single-point locations. Its most frequent use is with Location (the place *in* which), so it could be understood as applying to Route-marking by extension, as a mover travelling along or through a Route moves *inside* that bounded location or region. By further extension, *b-* can mark Goals that are being conceptualized as divisible. Thus a *b*-marked Goal is a place *into* which one moves, not merely *to* which one moves. This is most obvious in examples such as *into the shelter of my roof* (Gen 19:8), *into the midst of the sea* (Ex 14:22), *into my mouth* (Ezek 4:14), *into a basin* (1 Sam 2:14), and *into the grave of Elisha* (2 Kgs

⁵⁸⁹ A preliminary survey of *b*-marked NPs in 1 Kings 1-5 found over 40 Locations and 7 Routes. Of the Locations, all were inanimate except the idiomatic extension in 1 Kings 3:13 (Solomon will be unmatched among the kings). Most are common nouns (although there are some GNs, especially in the list of officials in 1 Kings 4:9-4:18), and all are definite nouns.

Of the Routes, six describe metaphoric motion (e.g. 1 Kings 3:6, where David walked in truth, righteousness, and uprightness) and one describes rafts being sent by sea (1 Kings 5:23 [5:9 Eng.]). These inanimate common nouns may be definite or indefinite.

13:21); but we also have *b-* marking in more standard goal phrases such as *into the land of Judah* (Jer 43:5) or *into Baal-Perazim* (2 Sam 5:20), where geographic designations are being reconceptualized as divisible.

Figure 6.2 *b-* Marks Spatial Roles



In addition to being correlated with divisible, individuated NPs, the use of *b-* for goal-marking is significantly correlated with several more syntactic-semantic factors. First, it is less likely than other prepositions to appear alongside a subject which is encoded as a Personal Name. This is probably just a statistical artifact due to the high number of variable values in play (seven for the dependent variable and five for subject individuation), which create a situation in which few observations appear per “preposition—degree of subject definiteness” pairing.⁵⁹⁰

Second, *b-* is less likely than other prepositions to appear with a verb in the *pi’el* (factitive) or *nip’al* (medio-passive) *binyanim*; it never marks the Goal of a *pi’el* verb and only once marks the goal of a *nip’al*. This is in part because it only goal-marks in clauses with certain verbs (16 out of the 80 total verbs in the dataset); in 46% of cases (35 times), it marks the Goal of the verb *bw?* (to come), which appears in the dataset only in the *qal* and *hip’il* *binyanim*.⁵⁹¹ This may also be in part because *pi’el* and *nip’al* verbs are more rare in the dataset. We have only 43 examples of *pi’el* applied to eight verb roots (29 examples with *šlh*, to send), and 91 examples of *nip’al* applied to 24 verb roots (most often verbs of assembly, with only *’lh*, to go up, representing the verbs of simple or inherent motion). Note that this tells us something interesting about the

⁵⁹⁰ Having too few observations per box decreases statistical reliability.

⁵⁹¹ 10 times, with *’lh* “to go up”; 7 times, with *šlk* “to throw”; 4 times, with *nkh* “to strike”; 3 times, with *yrd* “to go down” or *tq’* “to thrust”; twice, with *hlk* “to go,” *nṯh* “to stretch out,” or *šlh* “to send”; once each with *’br* “to cross,” *hpk* “to turn,” *msk* “to pull,” *ndh* “to banish,” *ntk* “to pour out,” *qrb* “to approach,” *šwb* “to return,” and *šnh* “to go down.”

semantics of these *binyanim*, especially the medio-passive *nip'al*. Passive verbs do not often indicate motion to a Goal; the sole example with *b-* and a *nip'al* is from Isa 27:13, where *the ones banished (ndh - nip'al PTCP) into (b-) the land of Egypt* return to Zion.

b- is not significantly associated with any book or Pentateuchal source. There is, however, a non-significant correlation between *b-* and text orality or text type. *b-* is more likely to be used to mark goals in more-oral texts and in dialogue. See 6.3.2 and 6.3.6 below.⁵⁹²

In short, the preposition *b-* is particularly associated with goals that are conceptualized as divisible locations, whether bounded or regional, and thus correlates with definite common NPs. It occurs in clauses with *qal* or *hip'il* verbs, as these tend to describe more-prototypical motion situations.

6.2.3 `ad Marks Less-Informationally-Salient Goals in Prototypical Motion Environments

In general, the preposition `ad is less common in BH than the other prepositions considered here. Unlike *b-*, which marks nouns of various kinds over 12,000 times, `ad marks NPs in only 567 cases. 94 of these NPs are factive Goals.

The preposition `ad is particularly tied to extent, giving us examples such as “And he pursued his journey from the Negev as far as (`ad) Bethel, as far as (`ad) the place that his tent was there in the beginning” (Gen 13:3).⁵⁹³ In addition to the factive spatial examples, there are also numerous fictive spatial examples, such as the coextension path in “The border of the Canaanite was from Sidon (toward Gerar) as far as (`ad) Gaza, and toward Sodom ... as far as (`ad) Lasha” (Gen 10:19).⁵⁹⁴

⁵⁹² It is not due to *b-*'s association with *bw?*. Examples of *bw?* make up a lower percentage of the verbal corpus in dialogue (31%) than in narrative speech or narrative (39%, 39%); *bw?* makes up 38% of the verbal corpus in both more- and less-oral texts.

⁵⁹³ `ad is also frequently used for the extent of time, based on the metaphor TIME IS MOTION (see discussion of *b-* above). For example, in Exodus 16:19, “Moses said to them, ‘A man shall not cause any from it to remain until (`ad) morning.’” See Barr 1982; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 215-216. Since these temporal goal constructions do not involve movement to a physical location and do involve a metaphoric extension of a motion situation and thus are not part of the factive Goal Construction dataset, they are not treated in this paper.

⁵⁹⁴ For the difference between fictive and factive motion, see 2.1.1.2 and Appendix 1.

In this dataset, *`ad* tends to occur in prototypical Motion Constructions. It is significantly more likely to be used to mark prototypical Goals (inanimate, proper, not pronominal) in clauses that are realis and contain perfective verbs and individuated subjects; it never marks a Goal in a clause with an unaffected (non-moving) subject, and prefers to appear in intransitive clauses. Thus, like the directive *he* and the accusative but unlike the other directional prepositions, *`ad* is sensitive to the prototypicality of Motion Constructions and is more likely to occur in a more-prototypical environment.

But why, then, is a third goal-marking option needed for prototypical motion clauses? The directive *he* is distinguished from the accusative because of the extra restrictions on its use (the final phoneme of the Goal, the markedness of the Goal). As we would expect, *`ad* is not sensitive to the final phoneme of the Goal; and like the other prepositions, it is not affected by Goal markedness, so its distribution is distinct from that of the directive *he*. But what separates it from the accusative of direction?

One difference lies in their sensitivity to word order. Goals construed in the accusative of direction may freely fall before or after the verb. However, *`ad* (like most other prepositions) is less likely to be used when the Goal is fronted. But this is a restriction on *`ad*, not an explanation of why it should be used.

`ad is significantly more likely than other prepositions to be used in certain corpora. It is more common in Classical Biblical Hebrew than in Late (and almost nonexistent in Transitional BH), in narrative rather than dialogue, and in more-oral rather than less-oral texts.⁵⁹⁵ Since these are the same corpora that favor the use of non-prepositional goal-marking strategies, this gets us no closer to distinguishing between the use of *`ad* and of the accusative for goal-marking.

⁵⁹⁵ It is also especially favored in the book of Judges. An authorial quirk?

In the end, it seems that the distinction is semantic. There are subtle differences in how the event described in a Motion Construction with an `ad-marked Goal is profiled.⁵⁹⁶ For example, in most Goal Constructions, like *Joshua went to (?el) Shechem*, our visualization of the scene is focused on the moment of arrival, when Joshua reaches the endpoint of his motion; Joshua's going is a single (though durative) event. However, in some examples with `ad our focus rests on the journey and any events that took place during that journey; the mover's movement is conceptualized as an interrupted event, even though it is conveyed with a single verb. For instance, in Joshua 10:10bcd, "Israel struck [the Amorites] a great blow in Gibeon and chased them via the way of the Beth-horon ascent and struck them down as far as (`ad) Azeqah and as far as (`ad) Maqqedah." The Israelites did not go to Azeqah and then strike down the Amorites; they struck them down at various points along the Route between their starting point and Azeqah. In our visualization of this scene, much more of our focus is taken by the journey itself than is generally the case in Motion Constructions that direct movement toward a Goal; to state it from a different perspective, the Goal in such clauses is less salient than in other motion-to-goal situations.

`ad may also encode the lack of a particular type of **control**. In 4.2.2, we noted that the quality of instigation (i.e. causing an event) has two component parts: control and energy. A participant controls the action of the verb if that action takes place due to her prior intention; a participant energizes the action of the verb if he provides some of the energy needed to perform that action. So in the example *Caleb rode the donkey into the valley*, Caleb is the one exercising control because he and donkey are travelling due to his will and in the direction he has chosen, but the donkey is the only one providing energy for the motion. In a Goal Construction with `ad,

⁵⁹⁶ In a scene with multiple elements, it is possible to arrange these elements in order to emphasize one or another. You might imagine a still life made up of an apple, a vase, and a strand of pearls. One could arrange this still life in a variety of ways and convey a different feeling based on which item was most prominent. In linguistics (especially cognitive linguistics) these arrangements are known as **profiles** (cf. Langacker 1990).

it is often clear that while the Affected Agent is moving due to her prior intention, the specific Goal at which she arrives is not part of that prior intention. For example, in Genesis 11:31, Terah and his family go out “from Ur of the Chaldees to go to the land of Canaan, yet when they had come as far as (*`ad*) Haran, they settled there.” Here the prior intention of Terah and his family is clear in light of the text as a whole: they intended to move from Ur to Canaan. Yet although they proceeded toward that goal they never reached it, instead arriving at the intermediate goal of Haran in Syria. Thus, while Haran functions as a Goal, in the over-arching context it is less salient than it would have been had the arrival at Haran been Terah’s first intention. Again, the Goal in such clauses is less salient than in other motion-to-goal situations.

To summarize, *`ad* is used to mark Goals which for various reasons are less salient in the information structure of the text than the Goal is prototypically expected to be, even though it marks Goals which are prototypical, containing intrinsic, specific geographic information. This is borne out by the strong correlation between *`ad*-marking of Goals and the Pursuit Construction, in which the direct object functions as the primary goal of the motion, while any geographically-defined Goals are merely incidental (see 5.2.3.3 and below).

Because this meaning is more specialized than the meaning of an ordinary Goal Construction, in which the Goal is highly salient in the information structure, *`ad* is less common than most other goal-marking options; yet when a BH scribe did desire to capture this meaning, no goal-marker but *`ad* would do.

So, then, *`ad* is a semantically-restricted option for marking less (informationally) salient Goals in prototypical Motion Constructions. It is also restricted by its dispreference for a position at the beginning of a clause. It is more likely to be used in CBH, narrative, and more-oral texts.

6.2.4 `al Changes from a Marker of Bounded Location Goals to a Marker of Animate Goals

The preposition `al is most often used to mark a spatial role.⁵⁹⁷ Coming into English with translations such as *on*, *upon*, *over*, and *above*, it describes Locations, Routes, and Goals that are horizontally elevated over a reference point—sometimes in contact with the reference point's upper surface, sometimes not in contact but still in the space above it.⁵⁹⁸ Thus one could use `al in examples such as “And darkness was over (`al) the surface of the deep” (Gen 1:2) or “The ark floated upon (`al) the surface of the water” (Gen 7:18). When it marks Locations, `al describes *the place above which*; for Routes, *through the space above a place*; for Goals, *to above a place*. `al also has various extended uses.

However, this semantically-unique portrait of `al (describing place *above which*) is not universally accurate. In some biblical texts, the lines between `al and ?el (the basic *to/toward* preposition) are blurred. `al may be used where ?el is expected and vice versa. This occurs primarily in non-Classical BH texts, especially in Ezekiel.⁵⁹⁹ `al's transcendence of its earlier limits makes it harder to analyze statistically. In order to get a clear picture, `al must be considered in each diachronic corpus.⁶⁰⁰

What kinds of goals appear with `al? First, `al usually marks inanimate goals. However, in the LBH corpus `al-marking of animate goals is significantly more common (accounting for two-thirds of LBH `al-marked goals, as opposed to a quarter of CBH and TBH goals). Second, `al usually marks common rather than proper goals—yet again, it behaves differently in LBH

⁵⁹⁷ These spatial senses can be metaphorically extended to mark objects of excess or addition, as well as objects of responsibility. `al is also used to mark adversaries and objects of interest (meaning *regarding*). See Jenni 1981: 214; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 216-218.

⁵⁹⁸ That is, `al denotes a specific **configuration**.

⁵⁹⁹ Rooker 1990: 127-131; cf. Hornkohl 2014: 227-231. Some have argued that in post-biblical Hebrew `al largely supersedes ?el (Rooker 1990: 130); however, this seems to be an observation on their relative frequencies without an analysis of the kinds of goals to which they apply.

⁶⁰⁰ See 3.1 for an introduction to issues of era/style in Biblical Hebrew.

(occurring with proper nouns 42% of the time instead of the 11-13% of cases in CBH and TBH). Third, *`al* marks definite goals; its occurrence with indefinite goals is extremely rare across corpora. Fourth, unlike *b-* and *`ad*, *`al* marks pronominal goals (in 18% of cases of *`al*); the occurrence of *`al* with pronouns rises slightly in LBH.

In what kind of clauses do *`al*-marked goals appear? *`al* does not appear to be sensitive to clause-factivity or verb aspect. While in TBH it is associated with irrealis clauses and imperfective verbs and in LBH with realis clauses and perfective verbs, this reflects differences in the verbal make-up of these corpora. Finally, across eras *`al* is not preferred for goal-marking if the goal is before the verb.

With what kinds of subjects and objects does *`al* co-occur? *`al* doesn't show any unusual subject preferences in contrast to other prepositions; it is more likely to occur with highly individuated subjects and less likely to occur with inexplicit subjects in LBH, but inexplicit subjects become more rare in LBH in general. *`al* also shows no significant correlations with any types of objects.

In what kinds of texts does *`al* goal-marking occur? *`al* goals are significantly more common in narrative texts across eras; they are a bit more common in LBH than in TBH or CBH; and it almost never marks goals in the Pentateuch.

In short, *`al* goal-marking is licensed for both nominal and pronominal goals and is more common in narrative texts. More importantly, in CBH and TBH it is used for inanimate, common, definite goals like *the hill country*, but in LBH it is more likely to be used for animate, proper, definite goals like *Zechariah*—a dramatic shift!

Why was *`al* originally associated with inanimate, common, definite goals? I would argue that like the preposition *b-*, *`al*'s core use is to mark Location. *`al* is most strongly associated with

bounded locations, as the relevant NP (usually the subject) is located in reference to the location's upper boundary. Locations are prototypically inanimate, common, and definite.

The shift in LBH to licensing `al-marking of animate proper goals is harder to explain. Both `al and l- increase for marking animate goals in LBH, while ?el declines. `al, l-, and b- increase for marking proper goals in LBH, while `ad, the accusative, and the directive he (the three options previously sensitive to Motion Construction prototypicality) decline. See 6.3.1 below.

6.2.5 l- as a Goal Marker that Changes over Time

The bound preposition l- has a wide variety of uses in Biblical Hebrew. In addition to marking Goals, it often marks the Recipients of Caused-Possession Constructions, and marks possessors (especially pronominal ones) in clauses such as *The scroll was his* (*sēper l-o*). These non-spatial uses are much more common than the spatial ones.⁶⁰¹ Out of the 10,000+ instances of l- plus a noun and 4359 instances of l- plus a pronominal ending, only 282 are instances of goal-marking (260 with nominal goals, 22 with pronominal goals).

Like the preposition `al, l- shows changes in distribution over time.⁶⁰² There are several oppositions between CBH and TBH on the one hand and LBH on the other. First, the use of l- to mark goals is significantly more common in Late Biblical Hebrew than in Classical or Transitional Biblical Hebrew, marking 24% of all LBH goals as opposed to 7% (CBH) or 5% (TBH).⁶⁰³ Since l- goal-marking is associated with LBH, it is not surprising that it is also significantly correlated with less-oral-like texts (which are more common in the LBH corpus) and with clauses which are not verb-initial (which are more common in the TBH and LBH corpora).

⁶⁰¹ See Jenni 2000 for a comprehensive survey of the uses of l-. Major uses include marking spatial, temporal, possessive, and comparative arguments; recipient and benefactee; and reflexive subject. See Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 205-212.

⁶⁰² See 3.1 for an introduction to issues of change over time in Biblical Hebrew.

⁶⁰³ This increase has been noted by previous scholars. See Kropat 1909: 43-44; Qimron 1986: 69, 90-91; Saenz-Badillos 1993: 122; Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensverd 2008: 174-175.

Second, in the CBH and TBH corpora *l-* is used to mark inanimate and animate goals in nearly equal proportions—attaching to more animate goals than any preposition except *?e/*. However, in LBH we see a sudden growth in the use of *l-* for inanimate goals.

There are also oppositions between CBH on the one hand and TBH and LBH on the other. For example, in the CBH corpus *l-* marks numerous pronominal goals; this use vanishes almost completely in TBH and LBH (with one exception in LBH). *l-* is significantly less likely to appear with proper nouns in CBH (only about 6% of the time), but in TBH and LBH it is used with proper nouns about 39% of the time.

Thus, in CBH *l-* is significantly more likely than most other prepositions to mark pronominal, animate, or common location goals. In TBH, *l-* is correlated with nominal, animate, common or proper noun goals. In LBH, the use of *l-* becomes more frequent in general, but especially for nominal, inanimate, common or proper noun goals.

What do we make of the diachronic changes in the distribution of *l-*? In CBH, the use of *l-* for pronominal and/or animate goals seems to be a carry-over from its other, more common uses, in which it almost always attaches to a pronominal and/or animate constituent such as a Recipient or possessor. BH scribes' matching of *l-* with common rather than proper nouns is less easy to motivate. While proper nouns make up a larger proportion of LBH goals in general (39% rather than 28% [CBH] or 22% [TBH]), that shouldn't cause a significant effect.

Curiously, *l-* seems to be strongly associated with a particular type of common nouns—namely, those with pronominal endings. *l-* is very likely to be used with common nouns that bear such endings (i.e. *lě-bět-ō*, *to his house*), accounting for 40% of such goals in CBH while marking only 7% of goals in CBH more generally, and accounting for 61% of such goals in LBH while marking 24% of LBH goals in general.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰⁴ *ad* and *b-*, on the other hand, are significantly less likely to mark common nouns with pronominal suffixes than common nouns without such suffixes.

Like *`al*, *-* is also slightly more likely to be used in narrative texts across eras.⁶⁰⁵

Like the preposition *b-*, *-* is significantly correlated with certain *binyanim*. Given its frequency in the dataset, it is significantly less likely than other directional prepositions to appear in clauses with *qal* verbs and significantly more likely to appear with non-*qal* verbs; it is especially common with *pi'el* verbs, where it is in fact the most common goal-marking strategy, marking 35% of goals. This association with the *pi'el* is easy to explain. Most of the *pi'el* verbs in the dataset (29/43 = 67%) are tokens of the verb *šlh* (*to send*), a ditransitive caused-possession/caused-motion verb that frequently marks the endpoint of its action as a Recipient. Since Recipients tend to be marked with *-*, *-* is strongly associated with verbs that take Recipient endpoints, even when those Recipients are also Goals. Thus we expect *-* to be chosen as the goal-marker for verbs like *šlh*.

In sum, *-* is associated in CBH and TBH with pronominal or animate goals or inanimate common goals that carry pronominal endings. In LBH the use of *-* increases, primarily in a new licensing of *-* for more inanimate goals; also in LBH we see a sharp drop in the use of *-* for pronominal goals. (See 6.3.1 below for further on goal-marking option choice and change over time in Biblical Hebrew.) It is associated with non-*qal* verbs, especially the *pi'el*, since the *pi'els* in the dataset are often Recipient-takers. As with other prepositions, *-* shows strong carry-over effects from its other, more common uses.

6.2.6 *?el* as a Default Goal Marker

?el is the default goal-marking preposition. By itself, it accounts for 50% of all factive goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew prose (1576 examples). Goal-marking is also *?el*'s usual function.⁶⁰⁶ Since

⁶⁰⁵ See 6.3.2 below.

⁶⁰⁶ *?el* appears 4496 times marking nouns (2865) or combined with pronominal endings (1631). 35% of these examples are factive Goal Constructions. Many more are fictive Goal Constructions (see 2.1.1.2 and Appendix 1). Other, less common uses of *?el* include the marking of recipients, benefactees, adversaries, comitatives, and so on (Waltke and O'Connor 1990: 193-194). In some cases in TBH and LBH, *?el* seems to have converged semantically with *`al* and picked up *`al*'s configurational element (see discussion of *`al* in 6.2.4).

?e/ is the default goal-marker, it is the majority choice for almost every variable outcome. It is more tolerant of different variable outcomes than any other goal-marking preposition or strategy.

Since ?e/ is the most common directional preposition, in the statistical analyses its distribution was taken as basic—the one to which other prepositions were principally compared. Thus any variable that was noted as significant in the earlier discussion was so because *the distribution of that variable's outcomes for whatever preposition was different from the distribution of that variable's outcomes for ?e/ in a statistically significant way*. Therefore, all variables previously discussed as significant to some preposition also have a significant correlation with ?e/.

?e/ is significantly more common than are some other prepositions in the following environments: it is more common with animate goals, in verb-initial or GC-initial clauses, in negative clauses, in text-types other than narrative, with PN subjects, and following ?e/ GCs in adjacent clauses. With the exception of the last two variable outcome categories (correlation with PN subjects and priming effect), the higher proportional frequency of ?e/ seems due to restrictions on other prepositions which prevent them from being used, forcing default ?e/ to take up the slack. The association between ?e/ and PN subjects is puzzling; there is no obvious motivation for this, yet all other prepositions are dispreferred in this context (though directive *he* and the accusative are not).

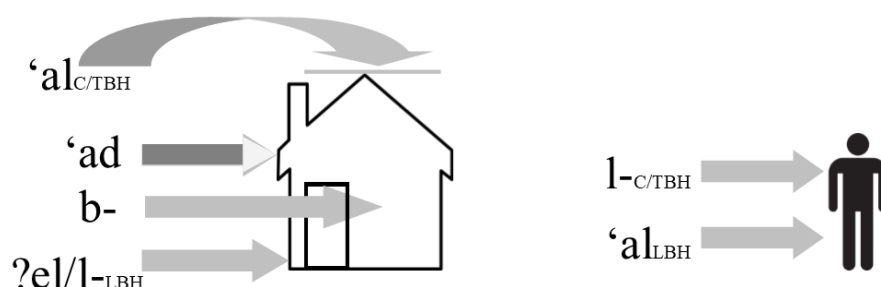
In cases where ?e/ is significantly less likely to be used in clauses containing a given variable outcome, there seems to be a close association between a different preposition and that outcome rather than any restriction on ?e/. For example, ?e/ marks goals in fewer clauses with *pi'e/* verbs because both *l-* and the most common *pi'e/* verb in the dataset are so strongly associated with Recipient-marking.

6.2.7 Directional Prepositions and Space

As we have seen, a variety of prepositions can be used to mark spatial goals. Each carries its own unique semantics. *b-* primarily marks divisible goals, *`ad* marks goals that are less

informationally salient, *ʿal* shifts from marking a particular configuration with inanimate goals to marking animate goals, and *l-* shifts from marking animate goals to marking a wider range of goals. *ʔe*l, the default goal-marker, is unique in its lack of distinctive semantic content. The goal-marking prepositions with their unique features are shown in Figure 6.3. Note that the preposition *ʔet*, which acquires its space-marking function from context, is not shown.

Figure 6.3 Prepositions and their Spatial Relationships with the Goal



6.3 Extra-Grammatical Variables and Goal-Marking Strategies

Although all significant results have been discussed above in the sections dedicated to each preposition, some variables also deserve their own discussions—specifically, the extra-grammatical variables: era/style, text type, book, source, dialect, and orality. Each of these discussions builds on the commentary and analysis in Chapter 3.

6.3.1 Era/Style and Changes in Goal-Marking Part 2

In Section 3.1.2, I observed that the directive *he* was much less likely to be used in goal-marking in the Late Biblical Hebrew corpus, while prepositions as a class become more common in LBH and accusatives of direction remain relatively stable across the three major BH corpora (Classical, Transitional, and Late Biblical Hebrew). I argued that these changes can be best explained as a combination of unconscious change over time and conscious stylistic choice, with scribes of either the TBH or LBH corpora (or both) consciously manipulating their use of directive *he*. While it is possible to imagine several different scenarios to account for these changes in goal-marking, perhaps the most plausible scenario is that scribes of the LBH corpus were attempting to retain directive *he*, which was a stereotypical feature of CBH, but had difficulty using it productively due

to differences in their linguistic background and training. Changes in scribes' choices of directional prepositions yield additional data for this reconstruction.

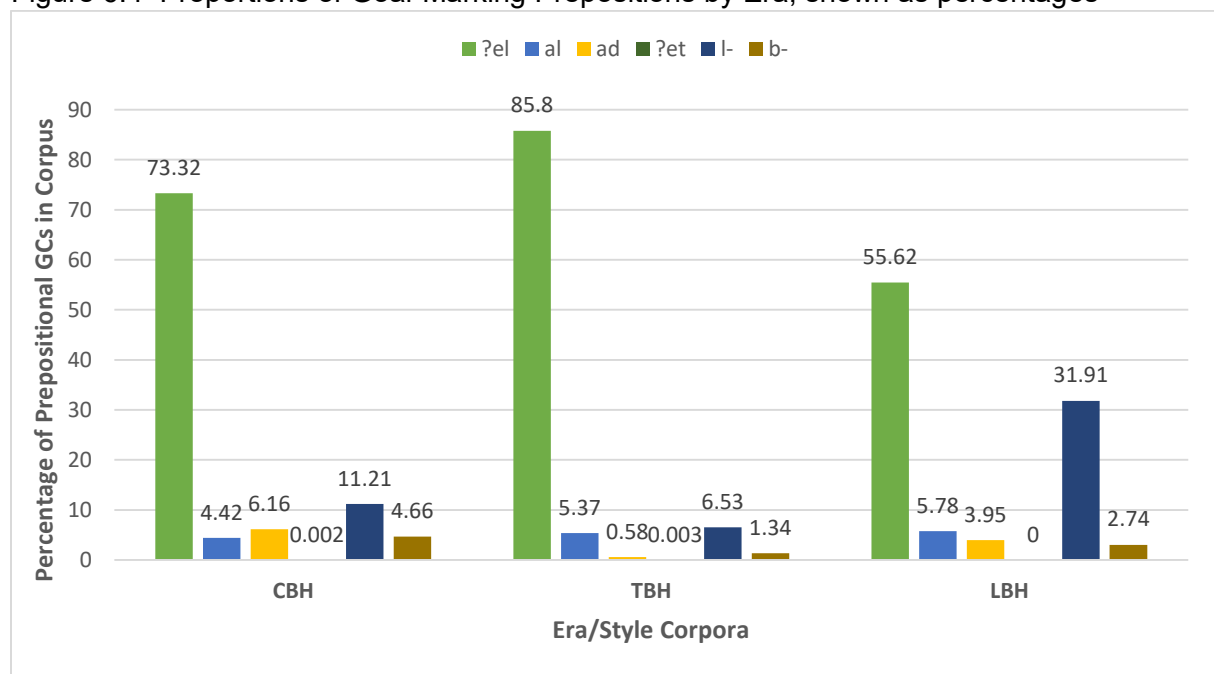
Several prepositions are more or less likely to be used based on which diachronic corpus a text is in. As was noted in 6.2, *l-* is more common in the LBH corpus, while *'ad* is more common in CBH. As the default goal-marker, *?el* picks up the slack whenever other prepositions are restricted, reaching its lowest proportion in LBH.

Table 6.2 shows a cross-tabulation of the prose era/style corpora and the directional prepositions. The significant results are shown in bold. Since *?el* was treated as the base in the model, the distribution of other prepositions was compared to the distribution of *?el*.

Table 6.2 Goal-Marking Prepositions by Era, with column percentages

preposition	CBH	Transitional BH	LBH	totals
<i>?el</i>	929 (73.32%)	447 (85.80%)	183 (55.62%)	1559
<i>'al</i>	56 (4.42%)	28 (5.37%)	19 (5.78%)	103
<i>'ad</i>	78 (6.16%)	3 (0.58%)	13 (3.95%)	94
<i>?et</i>	3	2	0	5
<i>l-</i>	142 (11.21%)	34 (6.53%)	105 (31.91%)	281
<i>b-</i>	59 (4.66%)	7 (1.34%)	9 (2.74%)	75
totals	1267 (100%)	521 (100%)	3329 (100%)	2117

Figure 6.4 Proportions of Goal-Marking Prepositions by Era, shown as percentages



`al, shown in light blue, doesn't vary much across eras, despite the fact that the use of *`al* in cases where *?e/* might be expected became more common in later texts,⁶⁰⁷ and there are too few tokens of *?et* to draw any conclusions about its use; but each of the other prepositions seems to be sensitive to era/style.

6.3.1.1 Transitional Biblical Hebrew: A “Less Literary” Corpus?

The scribes of TBH used a restricted set of directional prepositions. Default *?e/* is used in an overwhelming number of cases, with *`ad*, *l-*, and *b-* all falling to their lowest levels, appearing far less frequently in this corpus than in either of the others. (Recall that the use of the accusative of direction remained fairly stable across eras, while the directive *he* was most common in CBH, somewhat reduced in TBH, and dramatically reduced in LBH.)⁶⁰⁸ Why does TBH have this profile?

One explanation might be that a smaller number of scribes are responsible for a larger portion of the TBH material than in, for example, CBH material. The vast majority of TBH Goal Constructions come from Jeremiah (29%), Ezekiel (24%), Leviticus (16%), and Numbers (13%), the first two of which are traditionally single-author books. If single authors were largely responsible for Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and if both of these authors had an unusually strong personal preference for *?e/* over other prepositions, we could get a distribution such as the one we see. However, this explanation is not satisfying. While the fact that individuals can favor certain nouns or verbs is well-documented, individual preferences for specific function words are less so.

A better alternative might be to see the restricted repertoire of goal-marking prepositions in TBH as a symptom of the exile and/or the breakdown in Hebrew literary norms (c.f. 3.1.2). In various Semitic languages (such as Ugaritic and Akkadian) there is a distinct difference in the goal-marking strategies available in literary texts (such as the Baal Cycle or the Epic of

⁶⁰⁷ cf. Hornkohl 2014: 227-231.

⁶⁰⁸ 3.1.2.

Gilgamesh) versus non-literary texts (such as personal or official letters). (In what follows, please understand *literary* not as an adjective limited to describing features of writing, but a term for *any feature of written or oral communication which is consciously understood and employed as prestigious and aesthetic*.⁶⁰⁹) The non-literary texts have a restricted repertoire of goal-marking options; in Ugaritic and Akkadian, the eight options available in literary texts reduced to three in the non-literary texts that I examined for this study.⁶¹⁰ Especially noteworthy was the reduction in prepositional possibilities: where literary Ugaritic has five goal-marking prepositions, non-literary Ugaritic only has two, and where literary Akkadian has four goal-marking prepositions plus a wide variety of compounds, in non-literary Akkadian only the default goal-marking preposition *ana* and a few compounds based on *ana* are used. Using a variety of strategies for goal-marking seems to be a literary feature in ancient Semitic text corpora, perhaps indicating that, in everyday life, speakers of Semitic languages and writers of mundane documents depended heavily on one or two goal-marking strategies.

This is likely to have been the case in Hebrew as well. In section 6.3.2 below, I show that reported speech in BH has less flexibility in directional preposition use than either narrative speech or (more obviously) narrative. While reported speech in the Hebrew Bible is embedded in literary texts and, perhaps as a consequence, includes all possible directional prepositions, all

⁶⁰⁹ Determining what features are consciously understood/employed as prestigious and aesthetic is, of course, a challenge. One method to identify such features would be to select a subset of texts in text types or genres that are, across cultures, generally considered to be prestigious—such as myths and legends preserved by official scribes—and a subset of texts in text types or genres that are usually not considered to be prestigious—such as the personal letters of private individuals—then to explore the ways in which their linguistic structure is distinct from one another. Next, one could examine texts from outside of the selected subsets, and use the set of distinctive features of prestigious documents and the set of distinctive features of non-prestigious documents to predict the prestige of these texts. If other mythic texts are correctly identified as prestigious and other letters are correctly identified as non-prestigious, then these features may in fact be prestige text-type sensitive.

Prestige and aesthetics have a curious relationship. While across cultures certain prestigious genres tend to be elaborated in ways recognized by that culture as aesthetic, other prestigious genres, such as treaties, have a less-close relationship with aesthetics.

⁶¹⁰ Ugaritic literary options: directive *he*, accusative of direction, dative pronominal suffixes, directional prepositions *l-*, *b-*, *'imma*, *toka*, *'ad*. In Ugaritic letters we find only *l-*, *'imma*, and rare accusatives. See Chapter 7 for details.

Akkadian literary options: rare directive *-iš*, accusative of direction, dative pronouns/pronominal suffixes, directional prepositions *ana*, *ina*, *eli*, *adi*. The ventive marks motion but does not mark a goal. In the literary OB Gilgamesh, six of these possibilities (including prepositions *ana* and *eli*) appear in a dataset of only 29 Goal Constructions. In non-literary OB Akkadian letters, however, only three of these possibilities (including *ana*) appear in a dataset of 70 observations. See Appendix 6 for details.

of these except *?e/* and *b-* are less frequent than in other text types. This may be an echo of real Hebrew speech during the first millennium B.C.

The Hebrew epigraphic corpus (see 3.1.3) also has a limited number of goal-marking strategies. In the epigraphic dataset, there are five instances of directive *he* being used for goal-marking, one of accusative, ten of *?e/*, and four of *l-*. No other goal-marking prepositions appear. Both the reduction in prepositional flexibility in Biblical Hebrew dialogue and the restriction of the set of goal-marking prepositions to *?e/* and *l-* in the epigraphic corpus suggest that non-literary Hebrew had fewer options for goal-marking.

Given the restricted set of goal-marking options in TBH, I suggest that Transitional Biblical Hebrew prose was a *less literary* text corpus than either CBH or LBH. Much of the TBH material had its origin during or immediately after the Judean exile.⁶¹¹ The Judean scribal communiti(es) underwent massive disruption during this time, losing access to most of their previous literature and archives, often being separated from one another (thus losing educational continuity), and eventually switching most of their writing into a new language, Aramaic.⁶¹² These disruptions could have created a situation in which scribes were less able to use the full repertoire of goal-marking strategies that had been available in earlier Hebrew, and perhaps less motivated to consciously employ even the alternative strategies of which they were aware.

Let's unpack this hypothesis further. In what sense might TBH scribes be *less motivated* to employ the full range of literary (prestigious/aesthetic) goal-marking strategies? Scribes writing texts of the TBH corpus and operating during or immediately after the exilic period were not

⁶¹¹ While this is debated, I am in agreement with scholars such as Hendel and Joosten that dating the origin of the TBH material to the exilic period is the hypothesis that best accords with our data. Note, for example, the use of the Egyptian-style dating formulae in Jeremiah and Leviticus (which are used in pre-exilic epigraphic material as well as in Genesis, Deuteronomy, and Kings), which are quite distinct from the Persian-period-style dating formulae appearing in Persian Period Aramaic ostraca and in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah (Gee 2019, see Porten and Yardeni 2014-2018 for the Aramaic ostraca). This indicates that Jeremiah and Leviticus had their origin before Persian-Period dating formulae became the norm for Jewish scribes. Ezekiel has idiosyncratic dating formulae. However, the high incidence of Neo-Babylonian loanwords is a strong support for situating the origins of the book of Ezekiel specifically in the Neo-Babylonian period (Hendel and Joosten 2018: 26, 80-81).

⁶¹² Schniedewind 2017. Akkadian was also used in communities that included Judean exiles, but we have as yet no evidence of Akkadian texts produced by Judean scribes (c.f. Pearce and Wunsch 2014).

supported by the temple or Judahite royal court in the way that pre-exilic scribes working with biblical texts could have been. Instead of interacting with other trained scribes in Jerusalem or participating in an official chancery that created and copied literary texts, the TBH scribes probably lacked resources, comrades, and access to Hebrew archives. Without a community of mentors and rivals, TBH scribes would have had less reason to use literary techniques that would only be fully appreciated by other scribes.⁶¹³

Why might TBH scribes be *less able* to use the full range of goal-marking strategies? Here there are several different possibilities depending on the status of the goal-marking strategy range in pre-exilic written Hebrew.

Option 1: The repertoire and balance of goal-marking strategies in Classical Biblical Hebrew reflects the repertoire and balance of strategies available in spoken pre-exilic Judean Hebrew. In this scenario, both speakers and writers of Hebrew during the pre-exilic period use the same repertoire of goal-marking options, almost certainly without conscious attention. However, scribes of the exilic period live in very different speech communities; in the spoken language of these communities, the full range of Hebrew goal-marking options was not used. TBH scribes might then have an unconscious restriction on their goal-marking repertoires as they work within the narrowing horizons of exilic spoken Hebrew. (If this scenario were correct, the rich repertoire of goal-marking strategies in CBH would not have been a literary feature from a synchronic perspective, but might have been perceived as such by later [LBH] scribes.)

However, the data from the epigraphic Hebrew corpus and even from the analysis of goal-marking strategies and text type, both discussed above, do not fit this scenario. Both the restricted goal-marking repertoire of the pre-exilic epigraphic corpus and the somewhat restricted repertoire of CBH reported speech suggest that even in the pre-exilic period the rich CBH narrative goal-

⁶¹³ Scribes in the ancient Near East put substantial effort into impressing other scribes who might read their texts. See e.g. Vita 2012, Medill 2019.

marking repertoire was a special feature that did not match spoken use or even use in less prestigious genres of text. There is, however, another option.

Option 2: The repertoire and balance of goal-marking strategies in Classical Biblical Hebrew was a literary feature usually acquired by pre-exilic Judean scribes as part of their scribal training, and did not match the repertoire/balance of goal-marking strategies in ordinary speech. As such, a scribe's command of the goal-marking repertoire would have been conscious (or at least partly so). However, TBH scribes did not have the same scribal training or support as pre-exilic scribes. With a probably more limited Hebrew "curriculum," less contact with other scribes, different priorities due to a different sociohistorical situation, and the need to master Aramaic if they interacted with imperial officials, it would not be surprising if these scribes' education failed to include the full set of literary features that had been employed in CBH.

As a side note, I have argued here that TBH is a less literary corpus than CBH or LBH. However, the reader may wonder how TBH can be less literary if its material is *intricate and elaborate* as Polak argues (an argument I accept in 3.3.2). However, even though the TBH material is primarily less-oral-like (87% less oral, 13% more oral), exhibiting the less-oral features identified by Polak (more complex constituents, explicit constituents, and subordinate clauses) and described by him as intricate and elaborate, TBH did not necessarily contain as many prestigious/aesthetic linguistic features as CBH or LBH. There is a difference between the education needed for scribes to learn to use certain syntactic structures for writing versus the education needed for scribes to employ historically aesthetic features of a language.

In order to verify the hypothesis that TBH manifests less flexibility in goal-marking than other BH corpora because it is less literary, other prestigious/aesthetic features of CBH would need to be identified and their use in TBH and LBH examined. However, based on the present data this hypothesis seems plausible.

6.3.1.2 Late Biblical Hebrew: A New Goal-Marking System

The differences that we see in Late Biblical Hebrew goal-marking are even more intriguing in the light of the ongoing diachrony debate. While the drop in the use of the directive *he* and the increase in the use of *l-* in LBH has long been recognized by scholars, this extensive renegotiation of the entire goal-marking system has not been noted. The dramatic shifts in the types of goals marked by prepositions such as *l-* and *`al*, the marginalization of the directive *he* (previously the second- or third-most common option for major motion construction types), and the consequent growth in the use of prepositions for prototypical motion situations all mark LBH as distinct. While the marginalization of directive *he* could be stylistic, it is highly unlikely that shifts in the types of goals marked by *l-* and *`al* would be so. These kinds of unconscious changes are strong support for the theory that the scribes writing LBH were not the same community that wrote most of our CBH and TBH documents, although these data cannot, of course, prove whether the communities were distinct because of temporal distance, geographic distance, or educational difference.⁶¹⁴

Given the data from Biblical Aramaic (see below), it seems most likely that the LBH use of *l-* and *`al* has been transformed through the scribes' contact with Aramaic. In the Biblical Aramaic corpus, only prepositional goal-marking options are available. *l-* marks 88% of all inanimate goals (28/32), with *`al* used for this only once. On the other hand, *`al* marks 62% of animate goals (8/13), with *l-* marking 31%. Thus *l-* dominates inanimate-goal-marking while *`al* is preferred for animate-goal-marking (though *l-* is possible here too). This is very similar to the situation in LBH.

⁶¹⁴ I say "most of our CBH and TBH documents" because these statistical data do not preclude a few individual books (especially short books) or parts of books having been written by the same community that produced the main LBH corpus. The changes in *l-* and *`al* are dramatic and statistically significant, but not complete—*`al* still marks some inanimate goals even in LBH, and *l-* marks some inanimate goals even in CBH. Thus we cannot take the numbers for short individual CBH books or texts and use these to prove that these books or texts were or were not written by the same community that produced LBH. Short books do not contain enough Goal Constructions to do a robust statistical study. Some longer books would have enough GCs for a tentative conclusion, but given the questions raised about the integrity of every biblical book by source- and redaction- critics such a study would have to be pursued with caution.

The topic of goal-marking and its interaction with the era/style corpora is taken up again in 6.5.2.

6.3.1.3 Excursus: Goal-Marking in Biblical Aramaic

Several Late Biblical Hebrew books (Ezra and Daniel) include long sections of Aramaic alongside their Hebrew texts: Ezra 4:8-6:18, Ezra 7:12-26, and Daniel 2:4-7:28.⁶¹⁵ The language of these texts has been reified as Biblical Aramaic (BA), but it is not at all clear that the writers of these texts were aiming at a unified scribal norm. Several different scribal norms or idiosyncratic takes on Aramaic may be represented in this small corpus. However, while BA may not represent a single norm, its component texts have all been Hebraized. That is, when compared to the near-contemporary Assyrian Imperial Aramaic of the Sefire Inscriptions or the Persian Period Aramaic of the letters of Arsames, it is clear that Biblical Aramaic is a Hebraized Aramaic in which Hebrew lexemes and morphemes, as well as Hebrew spellings, sometimes appear.⁶¹⁶ While this substratum interference from Hebrew would make it problematic to make linguistic generalizations from BA to Aramaic writ large, for the purposes of this paper these signs of Hebraization are encouraging, as they support the texts' witness regarding themselves that they were copied and/or created by Jewish scribes. In other words, Biblical Aramaic is Aramaic as it was used by scribes who may have been members of the same scribal community (or even the same individuals) as scribes responsible for the creation of Late Biblical Hebrew texts.

The Ezra sections include historical narratives and quoted (?) Aramaic administrative documents, while the Daniel material includes narratives about oracular interpretation in the court in Babylon.

⁶¹⁵ The TBH book Jeremiah has a single verse in Aramaic (Jer 10:11), which contains no Goal Constructions and thus is not relevant to this study.

⁶¹⁶ cf. Rosenthal 1963: 23, 24, 37; Sokoloff 2012. The degree and type of Hebraization evident in the BA corpus is not sufficient to let us determine whether it is active substratum interference in the written language of scribes who speak some form of Hebrew, or inherited substratum interference reflecting Hebraized Aramaic norms passed down from earlier multilingual language users. For an introduction to issues of substratum interference, see Sankoff 2002. For a list and brief discussion of extant Aramaic texts from the Persian Period, see Dušek 2013. It would be helpful in future to compare the goal-marking system in Biblical Aramaic with the system evidenced in the Persian Period letters from Idumea included in Porten and Yardeni vol. 4 (2020); unfortunately this resource was not available to the author.

6.3.1.3.1 Goal-Marking in Biblical Aramaic is Driven by Goal Animacy

The Biblical Aramaic corpus is a small one, containing only 45 Goal Constructions.⁶¹⁷ The goals in these constructions are unanimously marked with prepositions—mostly with *l-* (33 times), although *`al* is also well represented (10 times), and *`ad* and *b-* are each used once.⁶¹⁸ Although this corpus is too small to use any statistics beyond basic correlation tables, some factors which seem to favor one preposition over another can be identified.

As in Hebrew, the animacy of the goal is a strong predictor of the goal-marking option that will be used. The two most common goal-markers in BA, *l-* and *`al*, do not divide based on Motion Construction prototypicality; instead, animacy seems to be the primary divider, with *`al* marking most animate goals (8 of 13) while *l-* is associated with inanimate goals (marking 28 of 32).⁶¹⁹

In terms of other factors, in this small corpus *l-* appears with definite goals (a more prototypical goal feature) but in atypical motion situations. For example, irrealis clauses tend to use *l-* to mark their goals; the two negative clauses in the dataset also use *l-*. All clauses with imperfect and infinitive verbs contain *l-*-marked goals, as do all clauses with *hitpa'el* verbs. On the other hand, *`al* appears with less definite goals, pronominal goals, and plural goals (atypical features) that tend to be simple and without adjuncts (prototypical features). Without a more substantial corpus, however, these results have little weight.

The single observation with *b-* in BA is consistent with the picture we get from Biblical Hebrew: *b-* is used to mark divisible goals. In Ezra 5:15, Cyrus orders Sheshbazzar to “Lift these

⁶¹⁷ *l-* – Ezr 4:12, 4:23, 5:5 (2x), 5:8 (2x), 5:12, 5:14, 6:5 (3x), 7:13, 7:15; Dan 3:5, 3:11, 3:15, 3:20, 3:21, 3:23, 3:24, 3:26, 5:10, 6:7, 6:11, 6:13, 6:16, 6:19 (2x), 6:21 (2x), 6:25 (2x).

`al – Ezr 4:12, 4:23, 5:3, 5:7; Dan 2:24, 2:34, 2:46, 6:7, 6:15, 7:19.

`ad – Dan 7:13.

b- – Ezr 5:15.

⁶¹⁸ *qadam*, like BH *lipne*, probably marks Location rather than Goal and thus is not included in this list. Uses of *qadam* include Dan 2:24, 2:25, 3:13, 4:03, 4:05, 5:13, 5:15, 5:23, 6:19, and 7:13. The one use of *neged* in the BA corpus denotes fictive orientation or Location rather than a factive Goal (Dan 6:11).

⁶¹⁹ Inanimate goals are usually marked with *l-* (28 of 32 times), although *`al* is used twice and *b-* once. Animate goals show more mixed strategy choices, with *`al* appearing 8 of 13 times, *l-* four times, and *`ad* once.

vessels, go take them down into the temple (*bě-hêkě/ā?*) that (is) in Jerusalem.” Here the temple is clearly a bounded location.⁶²⁰

The use of *`ad* for goal-marking could be a poetic/aesthetic feature; in the small BA corpus, it marks a goal only in the famous Son of Man poem in Dan 7:13 (“he came to [*`ad*] the Ancient of Days”). *`ad* is usually temporal (meaning *until*) in Biblical Aramaic.⁶²¹

There is not enough data in BA to say whether goal preposition choice correlates with any subject or object variables or with the number of verb participants.

Table 6.3 Summary of the Correlates of Goal-Marking Prepositions in BA

Preposition	Correlates (% of that outcome)	Totals in Dataset (N=45)
<i>l-</i>	inanimate goal (88% of) singular goal (83% of) proper goal (90% of) complex goal (83% of), with adjuncts (81% of) irrealis clause (93% of), negative (100% of), imperfects and infinitives (100% of) hitpa'el (100% of)	33 (73% of dataset)
<i>`al</i>	animate goal (62% of), pronominal (100% of) plural goal (100% of) indefinite goal (100% of) simple goal (32% of), no adjuncts (28% of) realis clause (32% of), perfect verb (32% of)	10 (22% of dataset)
<i>b-</i>	Goal as a bounded location	1 (2% of dataset)
<i>`ad</i>	Poetry? (100% of)	1 (2% of dataset)

To summarize, the two main goal-marking options in BA are the prepositions *l-* and *`al*. *l-* is associated with prototypical (though marked) goals in atypical motion situations, while *`al* is associated with atypical goals in more prototypical motion situations. These mixed data show that goal-marking choice in BA does not occur based on prototypical motion constructions the way it does in BH. Instead, the choice is driven almost entirely by the character of the goal: inanimate goals are generally marked with *l-*, animate or pronominal goals with *`al*.⁶²²

⁶²⁰ cf. Sefire (KAI 222) A: 5; Tel Dan Inscription 4.

⁶²¹ Rosenthal 1963: 35; cf. Dan 2:9, 2:29, 2:34, etc. Note *`ad* for result in Dan 4:14. In Panamuwa (KAI 215), *`ad* is used for an animate goal (“and my father Panamuwa... brought [a gift] to (*`ad*) the king of Assur,” lines 6-7); in line 13 of Panamuwa *`ad* is used for a journey-focus (*as far as*) as in BH.

⁶²² cf. *l?šwr* in Panamuwa 18.

So, in the Aramaic produced by scribes belonging to (plausibly) the same scribal community as scribes creating (some of) the Late Biblical Hebrew texts, animate/pronominal goals are often marked with *`al* and inanimate goals with *l-*, just as we see in Late Biblical Hebrew. In other words, the scribes working with cognate prepositions in these closely related languages tended to use the same principles of selection in both languages, even though this resulted in an LBH goal-marking system that was very different from the goal-marking system of Classical Biblical Hebrew. (See 6.3.1.2 above and 6.5 below.)

6.3.1.3.2 A Cognate of Directive *he* in Aramaic?

None of the Goal Constructions in the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel are encoded using the directive *he* (or equivalent). However, there is evidence of a cognate suffix in other contexts.⁶²³

Consider the forms *'ēllā?* (*upward*) and *?āra'ā?* (*below*). Rosenthal groups these with other unusual forms as adverbs with “the ending *-ā*, mostly unstressed, the remnant of an ancient accusative ending.”⁶²⁴ However, these are better understood as fossilized forms of adverbs carrying the directive *he* (*-āh*) clitic, written here as a directive *?alep* (*-ā?*).⁶²⁵

(a) Dan 6:2b-6:3a

wahāqīm 'al malkūtā? la?āḥašdarpēnayyā? mē?āh wē 'eśrīn ... wē 'ēllā? minhôn sārkin tēlātā?
 and:he:raised over the:kingdom for:satrap 100 and:20 ... **and:up-DIR** from:them officials 3
 ‘... that he raise over the kingdom as satraps 120 (men) ... and **above** them three officials’

(b) Daniel 2:39a

ū-bātr-āk tēqūm malkū ?āḥārī ?āra'ā? minn-āk
 and-after-you it:will:arise kingdom another **below-DIR** from-you
 ‘And after you will arise another kingdom **lower (in prestige)** than you.’

⁶²³ We lack evidence for the accusative of direction in BA. However, it did exist in other Aramaics. See Panamuwa (KAI 215) line 14.

⁶²⁴ Rosenthal 1963: 39.

⁶²⁵ The frequent orthographic and morphophonological correspondence between Hebrew *he* and Biblical Aramaic *?alep* can hardly be questioned. Where Hebrew uses *he* as a final mater, Aramaic uses *?alep*. Verbs with *he* as their third radical in Hebrew will be third-*?alep* in Aramaic. Where the Hebrew definite article is *ha-*, Aramaic has *-a?*. Where Hebrew has *hiph'îls*, BA may use *?aphels*.

Although these are not Goal Constructions, these uses of directive *?alep* correspond with some of the metaphorical extensions of directive *he* that we see in Biblical Hebrew, in which *he*-marked words for upward and downward are used to describe social position or prosperity (see A1.1.3). For example, in Deut 28:13, those who obey the commands of the Lord are promised that they will “go upward (*lě-ma 'l-âh*) and not downward (*lě-mātt-âh*).”

While the directive *-a?* suffix was not productive in Biblical Aramaic—occurring only in fossilized forms—and thus its etymology may not have been understood by the scribes, it should not be misanalyzed as a remnant of the accusative case.⁶²⁶

6.3.2 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 2

Text type is a complex discourse concept, as was noted in 3.3.1. Using the text types dialogue, narrative speech, and narrative, I did not find statistically significant differences between the likelihood that a given scribe would use the directive *he*, accusative of direction, or directional prepositions (as a class) in these three text types. (Directive *he* and the accusative were most common in narrative while directional prepositions were least common, but in the statistical analysis this difference was tied to the verbal make-up of each text type rather than to each text type directly [3.3.1.4]). However, text type does become statistically significant in an analysis of scribes' choice of directional prepositions.

Several prepositions—*l-*, *'al*, and *'ad*—are significantly more likely to appear in narrative texts than in other prose text types, as shown in Table 6.4 below. While all directional prepositions are available in all text types, some of them seem to be less available in dialogue and narrative speech. This may be a reflection of the restricted set of goal-marking options in use either in ordinary spoken Hebrew of the first millennium B.C. or more broadly in non-literary text and speech environments (see 6.3.1.1 above and 7.2.2.3 below).

⁶²⁶ The directive *?alep* survives in Qumran Aramaic in fossilized contexts, such as in expressions for *here* and *there*, *upward* and *forward*. See Muraoka 2011: 91, 92-93.

Table 6.4 Goal Prepositions by Text Type, with column percentages

preposition	dialogue	narrative speech	narrative	totals
?el	312 (76.47%)	470 (78.33%)	794 (70.45%)	1576
'al	14 (3.43%)	27 (4.50%)	62 (5.50%)	103
'ad	13 (3.19%)	13 (2.17%)	68 (6.03%)	94
?et	1	3	1	5
/-	49 (12.01%)	72 (12.00%)	161 (14.29%)	282
b-	19 (4.66%)	15 (2.50%)	41 (3.64%)	75
total	408 (100%)	600 (100%)	1127 (100%)	2135

These results highlight the fact that directional prepositions may be sensitive to variables which are not significant in the choice of goal-marking strategies in general. Text type is not significant in the choice between directive *he*, accusative of direction, and directional prepositions, but is statistically significant as scribes chose between those directional prepositions.

6.3.3 Biblical Books Part 2

Considering the language of a given biblical book is as close as we can get to accessing the linguistic preferences (idiolect) of an individual biblical author. While the picture such an analysis yields can hardly be considered reliable (see Chapter 2.1.2 on compositional issues in BH), the fact that in a statistical analysis of goal-marking strategies by book every book is selected as significant suggests that a book-by-book analysis is genuinely capturing *something*, even if that something is not “authorship” as we usually define it in modern Western cultures.

In 3.2.2, I observed that all of the biblical books were significant in a choice between directive *he*, accusative, and prepositional goal-marking. Differences in the proportions of these three major strategies could not be explained by era/style alone. Biblical book is also significant for HB scribes’ choice of directional prepositions.⁶²⁷

Several books showed significant preferences: Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Judges, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Samuel came close to significance. The fact that three of the Pentateuchal books (Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers) were selected is especially intriguing

⁶²⁷ However, not all books show significant variation, and numerous books were knocked out because they contained too few observations or contained only one directional preposition (used multiple times).

because the distribution of directional prepositions in Genesis was taken as the base in the statistical analysis, so a book that was selected as significant is one that is significantly different from Genesis.⁶²⁸

Table 6.5 shows the Goal Constructions with directional prepositions divided by biblical book. For reasons of space, *?et* is not included in the table. (One instance of *?et* occurred in Numbers, two in Judges, and two in Ezekiel.) Books that were selected as significant are in bold.

Table 6.5 Goal-Marking Prepositions by Book, with row percentages
(Significant books in bold)

yellow = CBH, green = CBH+TBH, blue = TBH, purple = LBH

Book	?el	`ad	`al	l-	b-
Genesis	154 (77.00%)	11 (5.50%)	3 (1.50%)	29 (14.50%)	3 (1.50%)
Exodus	108 (89.26%)	0	2 (1.65%)	5 (4.13%)	6 (4.96%)
Leviticus	98 (86.73%)	0	1 (0.88%)	13 (11.50%)	1 (0.88%)
Numbers	112 (89.60%)	2 (2.40%)	2 (1.60%)	3 (2.40%)	5 (4.00%)
Deuteronomy	71 (77.17%)	7 (7.61%)	0	10 (10.87%)	4 (4.35%)
Joshua	73 (76.84%)	7 (7.37%)	7 (7.37%)	7 (7.37%)	1 (1.05%)
Judges	86 (58.90%)	20 (13.70%)	7 (4.79%)	19 (13.01%)	14 (9.59%)
Samuel	215 (69.58%)	19 (6.15%)	12 (3.88%)	44 (14.24%)	19 (6.15%)
Kings	192 (75.00%)	12 (4.69%)	23 (8.98%)	24 (9.38%)	5 (1.95%)
Isaiah	25 (73.53%)	0	5 (14.71%)	0	4 (11.76%)
Jeremiah	95 (81.90%)	1 (0.86%)	10 (8.62%)	8 (6.90%)	2 (1.72%)
Ezekiel	113 (83.09%)	0	12 (8.82%)	9 (6.62%)	2 (1.47%)
Zechariah	20 (95.24%)	0	0	1 (4.76%)	0
Ruth	9 (75.00%)	1 (8.33%)	0	2 (16.67%)	0
Daniel	9 (56.25%)	1 (6.25%)	0	1 (6.25%)	5 (31.25%)
Esther	36 (92.31%)	1 (2.56%)	0	2 (5.13%)	0
Ezra	12 (52.17%)	0	1 (4.35%)	10 (43.48%)	0
Nehemiah	26 (56.52%)	2 (4.35%)	3 (6.52%)	14 (30.43%)	1 (2.17%)
Chronicles	93 (47.94%)	9 (4.64%)	14 (7.22%)	75 (38.66%)	3 (1.55%)
Miscellaneous	29 (80.56%)	0	1 (2.78%)	6 (16.67%)	0
totals	1576	94	103	282	75

In Genesis, our base book, *?el* marks 77% of prepositional goals in factive prose GCs. *l-* follows with 14.5%, then *`ad* with 5.5%, and *`al* and *b-* with 1.5% each. Books that do not have their names in bold have distributions that are not significantly different from this, either because their use of directional prepositions is genuinely similar, because they contained too few

⁶²⁸ The STATA software selected Genesis as the base, both because it is book #1 and because it contains one of the largest numbers of Goal Constructions (316). The only book divisions with more are Samuel (505) and Kings (402). Even Chronicles only has 267.

Goal Constructions for statistical significance, or because their variation has already been captured in the era/style variable (see 6.3.1 above). So, for example, no LBH books were selected as significant here even though their distributions are very different from that of Genesis; this difference was already accounted for as an era/style difference.

- Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers all have significantly different distributions from Genesis. All three of them have higher proportions of *?e/* and lower proportions of *`ad*. Exodus and Numbers also have lower proportions of *l-* and higher proportions of *b-*. The distributions in the Pentateuchal texts are explored further in 6.3.4 below.
- Jeremiah and Ezekiel are similar to Exodus and Numbers, except that instead of having higher *b-* use they show high use of *`a/* (a TBH characteristics).
- Judges has a peculiar profile, perhaps because it uses *?e/* so infrequently (59%, a proportion comparable to that in books like Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles). Instead, the scribe(s) of Judges use *`ad* and *b-* at a rate almost unparalleled.⁶²⁹
- Isaiah also has a very unusual profile. The scribe(s) of Isaiah used a restricted set of directional prepositions, avoiding *`ad* and *l-* altogether. While the proportion of *?e/* remained 'normal,' both *`a/* and *b-* increased dramatically. The avoidance of *l-*, at least, seems like it must be intentional; given how frequent *l-* is as a goal-marker throughout BH, the fact that not a single example of it is found in Isaiah is notable.
- Kings is different from Genesis in its high rate of *`a/* use. Samuel almost achieved significance because of unusual rates of *b-* use.

What do we make of this? We already know that there are systematic corpus differences between CBH, TBH, and LBH. Are the other differences between the biblical books random, or driven by the text types in each book, or shaped by authorial preference? We have already seen

⁶²⁹ Ruth has a high proportion of *`ad* and Daniel of *b-*, but neither of these books contains enough Goal Constructions for its numbers to be statistically sound.

that *ʿad*, *ʿal*, and *l-* are more common in narrative texts and *?e/* in non-narrative texts. However, a survey of the proportions of text types represented in each book shows no obvious correlations between the text types in the book and the directional prepositions in the book. For example, while Judges has unusually high *ʿad* use and an unusually high proportion of narrative texts (75% vs. Genesis' 59%), its use of *b-*, usually associated with dialogue, is also unusually high. Thus, unfortunately, we can only say that more information is needed to explain book-by-book variation.⁶³⁰

6.3.4 Pentateuchal Sources Part 2

In 3.2.1, I showed that certain Pentateuchal sources (D, P, and Non-P) had statistically significant proportions of the goal-marking strategies. The directive *he* and the accusative of direction are both most likely to be used in D, somewhat less likely in Non-P, and much less likely in P, while the directional prepositions as a class trace the opposite trajectory. While this could be understood as variation due to different authorship (/compositional history) or temporal distance between the sources' dates of composition, I argued that the prepositional data (below) show clearly that, even if P is posited to be the latest of the sources, it must have been composed before the changes in goal-marking that we see in Late Biblical Hebrew became the norm.

Pentateuchal source does not have a statistically significant effect on preposition choice, due to the small number of observations of each preposition associated with each source. However, there are clearly visible differences between the use of directional prepositions in D, Non-P, and P. The proportion of *?e/* is lowest in D (76%), climbing in Non-P (80%), and reaching its height in P (91%). This overwhelming preference for *?e/* in P is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible except in the short books of Zechariah and Esther (where high numbers for *?e/* could be an artifact of their small number of GCs).

⁶³⁰ A study that included all fictive as well as factive Goal Constructions from both prose and poetry might shed some additional light, especially on the prophetic books.

`al occurs very few times in the Pentateuch (8 examples), mostly in Non-P (6 times). *?et* occurs once in Non-P.

Where the use of *?e/* increases from D to Non-P to P, the prepositions *`ad*, *l-*, and *b-* show the opposite trajectory, having their highest proportion of use in D, less in Non-P, and less still in P—just like the directive *he* and the accusative of direction. This is especially notable in the case of *`ad*, which is almost entirely dropped from P.

Table 6.6 Goal-Marking Prepositions by Source, with column percentages

preposition	Deut	Non-Priestly	Priestly	totals
<i>?e/</i>	67 (76.14%)	264 (79.76%)	212 (90.99%)	543
<i>`al</i>	0	6 (1.81%)	2 (0.86%)	8
<i>`ad</i>	7 (7.95%)	12 (3.63%)	2 (0.86%)	21
<i>?et</i>	0	1	0	1
<i>l-</i>	10 (11.36%)	36 (10.88%)	14 (6.01%)	60
<i>b-</i>	4 (4.55%)	12 (3.63%)	3 (1.29%)	19
totals	88 (100%)	331 (100%)	233 (100%)	652

Why do the sources seesaw from favoring *?e/* on the one hand and *`ad*, *l-*, and *b-* on the other? Why is *`al* missing? Is this an issue of text type? *`ad*, *`al*, and *l-* are more common in narrative, while *b-* is more common in dialogue (6.3.3); yet Non-P, which has the most dialogue (34%) and the most narrative (52%) does not have the highest proportion of any of these prepositions. Thus, text type variation does not seem to be the correct explanation for this difference between sources.

Again, is this an issue of diachrony? In Table 6.2 above, we found that in CBH prepositional diversity was at its highest, with the minor goal-marking prepositions *`al*, *`ad*, *l-*, and *b-* each accounting for over 4% of prepositional goal-marking. In TBH *?e/* peaked (marking 85.80% of goals), while the use of all other prepositions except *`al* decreased dramatically. In LBH *?e/* dropped to its lowest rate of use (55.45%), while *l-* increased dramatically (31.82%) and *`al* stayed strong at 5.76%.

The proportions of goal-marking prepositions in P strongly favor *?el* (90.99%), while all other prepositions occur at very low rates. Thus it is tempting to see similarity between the goal-marking system in P and that of the TBH corpus. However, the fact that *`al* is missing from P (but accounts for 5% of prepositional goal-marking in TBH) would be a serious problem for any proposed assignment of P to the Transitional corpus.⁶³¹

6.3.5 Dialect Part 2

Dialect is a much debated topic in Hebrew linguistics. Are dialects other than Judahite Hebrew represented in the Hebrew Bible? If yes, are they only in the Classical and Transitional material, or do we see the same (or other) dialect differences in Late Biblical Hebrew? As we saw in section 3.4, the best-studied dialect (or dialect family) in the HB is that of Northern (aka Israelite) Hebrew. Since not all texts have been assessed for their dialect, and some texts include a mixed dialect or an attempt by probably Judahite scribes to reflect non-Judahite linguistic stereotypes, coding for dialect is difficult. For the purposes of this paper, texts were coded as Northern or Unspecified. The Unspecified corpus may well include additional Northern texts.

In my analysis of goal-marking strategy variation, I found that the directive *he* and the accusative of direction are less likely to be used in Northern texts than in Unspecified texts (Table 3.7). This difference is statistically significant even though it is slight. While there is a strong possibility that this difference is only significant due to overfitting (see 2.3), it could be capturing a real difference.

In a study of whether dialect has an effect on the choice of directional prepositions, dialect was not selected as significant. There are relatively few differences between texts that have been designated as Northern and texts that have not been so designated. For texts in the Classical Biblical Hebrew corpus, I note only that Northern texts are more likely to use *`ad* and *b-* (6.4% vs

⁶³¹ The fact that *l-* in the P source is still associated with animate goals (marking 17% of animate goals but less than 1% of inanimate goals) means that P cannot be connected with the LBH corpus. (The high rate of *?el* use in P would also be a problem for any such connection.)

3.5% and 4.8% vs 2.7%) and less likely to use *l-* (3.5% vs 8.0%). Since these differences were not selected as statistically significant, the model has accounted for this variation using other variables. Text type may be a factor. The Northern corpus (as it was coded in this study) contains more dialogue than the Unspecified corpus; since the preposition *b-* is favored in dialogue, the fact that *b-* appears more often in the Northern corpus is not surprising. Differences between the orality of the dialect corpora are also in play. The Northern corpus contains very little less-oral-like material. Since less-oral-like material favors the use of *l-*, we predict that the Northern material will contain less use of *l-*, which is indeed the case. The fact that *`ad* is more common in Northern than Unspecified texts is less easy to account for, especially as all but one Pursuit Construction occur in the Unspecified corpus.

In the end, results for the effect of dialect are inconclusive due to the preliminary nature of the coding of this variable. Once all BH texts—or at least all Classical Biblical Hebrew texts—have been coded for dialect, this variable can be recoded and this analysis run again.

6.3.6 More-Oral versus Less-Oral Styles Part 2

As was described in 3.3.2, there is a well-defined difference in Biblical Hebrew between more-oral and less-oral styles. The more-oral style, as defined by Polak, is used in the CBH and TBH corpora and is characterized by simpler constituents, fewer subordinate clauses, more pronominal and deictic references to constituents, and a greater use of non-explicit constituents, while the less-oral style (which appears in all three BH prose corpora, with an overwhelming presence in LBH) is characterized by the reverse.

In the study of goal-marking strategy variation, orality was not selected as a significant factor. While directive *he* is associated with more-oral texts and prepositional marking is associated with less-oral texts, this seems to be a side effect of era/style. Since directive *he* is strongly dispreferred in LBH, and LBH is made up entirely of less-oral texts, directive *he* is less common in less-oral texts.

However, in a study of the scribes' choice of directional prepositions, a text's oral-like-ness was selected as significant—for one preposition. Table 6.6 shows the goal prepositions divided by whether they were drawn from more- or less-oral texts. Only the distribution of *l-* (as opposed to the base, *ʔel*) was selected as significant. *l-* is significantly more likely to appear in less oral texts than in more oral texts. (*`ad* and *b-*, on the other hand, are more likely to appear in more oral texts, although this result is not significant.)

Table 6.7 Goal Prepositions by Orality, with column percentages

preposition	More oral	Less oral	totals
<i>ʔel</i>	473 (72.77%)	479 (72.69%)	952
<i>`al</i>	28 (4.31%)	26 (3.95%)	64
<i>`ad</i>	41 (6.31%)	26 (3.95%)	67
<i>ʔet</i>	1	1	2
<i>l-</i>	81 (12.46%)	105 (15.93%)	186
<i>b-</i>	26 (4.00%)	12 (1.82%)	38
totals	650 (100%)	659 (100%)	1309

The variation in *l-* between more- and less-oral texts is not purely a function of era, even though less-oral texts are strongly associated with the LBH corpus (in which *l-* is also favored). Even in CBH less-oral texts, *l-* is more likely to be used. We may say, then, that *l-* use is a stylistic feature of less-oral texts.

6.3.7 Prepositions and Extra-Grammatical Variables in Sum

The repertoire and balance of directional prepositions chosen for goal-marking varies across BH diachronic corpora, text type, biblical book and source, dialect, and orality corpora. Of these factors, the diachronic corpus, text type, biblical book, and orality corpus were significantly correlated with particular directional prepositions, while source and dialect were not statistically significant.

As we have seen, diachrony has a powerful impact on goal-marking, from the limited repertoire of the less literary TBH corpus to the complete renegotiation of the system in the LBH corpus (perhaps due to contact with Aramaic; see 6.3.1.3). *l-*, *`al*, *`ad* are more likely to appear in narrative texts; certain biblical books favor certain prepositions (e.g. the high frequency of *`ad*

in Judges), perhaps reflecting authorial (?) idiosyncracies; and *l-* is more likely to appear in less oral texts.

The fact that source was not selected as significant is interesting in itself, as the model is apparently reading the variation between goal-marking in sources as diachronic. The Priestly source, in particular, has an interesting profile that is similar but not identical to what we find in TBH. If the source variation is interpreted diachronically based solely on goal-marking, then D would be the earliest source, followed by Non-P, followed by P. However, dating sources based on a single variant would not be methodologically advisable.

Having addressed the characteristics of individual prepositions in 6.2 and their correlations with extra-grammatical variables in 6.3, in 6.4 I consider prepositional goal-marking in the light of prototypical Motion Constructions. Certain Motion Constructions are more likely to employ certain prepositions, giving us insight into the synchronic syntactic factors and stereotyped constructional elements that played into preposition choice. Then, in 6.5, I put together preliminary predictive models for goal-marking option choice in the periods when CBH, TBH, and LBH were being written. Given *x* linguistic situation, what goal-marking strategy or option would we predict would be used?

6.4 Directional Prepositions and Goal-Marking across Motion Constructions

Even though the linguistic factors that motivate or license the use of certain directional prepositions for goal-marking are not all prototypical features of the Motion Constructions discussed in Chapter 4, the directional prepositions do vary systematically based on which type of Motion Construction they are joining.⁶³²

⁶³² That is to say, certain directional prepositions are more likely to be used with certain Motion Constructions. Due to the impact of social variation, discourse variation, each scribe's idiolect, and particular associations between certain verb roots and certain favored prepositions, there are no constructions which always mark their goals a certain way. For the associations between the verb roots attested in the prose GC dataset and specific goal-marking options, see Appendix 5.

Intransitive Motion Constructions utilize the greatest variety of directional prepositions for goal-marking. *?el* is the default, marking the goal in 47% of cases. *l-* is used in 7%, *`ad* and *`al* in 4%, *b-* in 3%, and *?et* in 0.23% of cases. (The accusative of direction is used for 18% of examples and the directive *he* for 17%. So for IMCs the most common goal-marking option is *?el*, with the two non-prepositional strategies as second and third most common.) Note that all five instances of *?et* in the dataset are in Intransitive Motion Constructions.

Pursuit Constructions present their own idiosyncratic picture, with *`ad* marking the Goal in 75% and *`al* in 6% of cases. (The accusative is mobilized in 13% of examples and the directive *he* in 6%.) Our default goal-marker *?el*, as well as the prepositions *l-* and *b-*, are totally absent. The close association between Pursuit Constructions and *`ad*-marked Goals makes sense. In Pursuit Constructions, the primary endpoint of the subject's motion is in fact the person or persons that they are pursuing. An additional inanimate Goal provides the almost incidental identification of the actual geographic location where the pursuit ended. Thus in a Pursuit Construction, the focus of the clause is on the journey that took place (the subject's actual pursuit of the object) rather than on where the pursuit stopped. This is perfectly consistent with the semantics of *`ad*.

On the other hand, *`br* Constructions in which the object-marked argument is a Route argument contain only goals marked with *?el* (55%), with directive *he* (36%), and with the accusative (9%). These are the three options that were most common for IMC goal-marking. Since there are only 11 examples of this kind of construction in my dataset, the lack of other directional prepositions could be an artifact of the small size of the corpus.

Caused Motion Constructions with a Patient, like IMCs, take *?el* as their default (46%). Like IMCs, they show variety in other goal-marking prepositions, with the proportion of *l-* increasing to 21%, while *b-* holds steady at 3% but *`ad* and *`al* drop to less than 1.5% each. (The proportions of the other goal-marking strategies have dropped somewhat, both now at 14%.) In

other words, the proportion of *l-* for goal-marking increases dramatically in CMCs with Patients at the expense of all options except *?e/* and *b-*.

On the other hand, Secondary Agent Caused-Motion Constructions (aka Leading Constructions), which have a secondary Affected Agent as the object instead of a Patient, show a different pattern. *?e/* now accounts for 63% of cases, with *l-* at 6%, *`al* at 4%, and *`ad* and *b-* at less than 1% each. (The use of the directive *he* is at 16%, with the accusative down to 10%.) *?e/* has increased in Secondary Agent constructions at the expense of *`ad*, *b-*, and the accusative. However, *?e/*, directive *he*, and the accusative are still the three most common strategies.

Thus, for CMCs with a Patient *l-* increases, becoming more frequent than the directive *he* or accusative, while *?e/* holds steady; but in Leading Constructions with a secondary Affected Agent *?e/* increases while *l-* holds steady. This difference between the two major transitive motion constructions is statistically significant. But why does it occur?⁶³³

One possibility is to return to the concept of prototypical motion. I have stated that the core of prototypical motion is for an Affected Agent to move herself successfully to a specified geographic location. In both prototypical CMCs with Patients and Leading Constructions, as I have defined them, this happens—the subject moves himself to a Goal. But we have also seen that the addition of more information in the form of an object is considered to make a motion clause less prototypical. Perhaps the degree to which the object affects the prototypicality of the clause is dependent on the type of object.

The change that occurs in CMCs with Patients is more dramatic than the change in Leading Constructions. Not only does *l-* usage increase, but *l-* jumps from being the fourth most common goal-marker to the second. While Leading Constructions have a higher incidence of *?e/*-

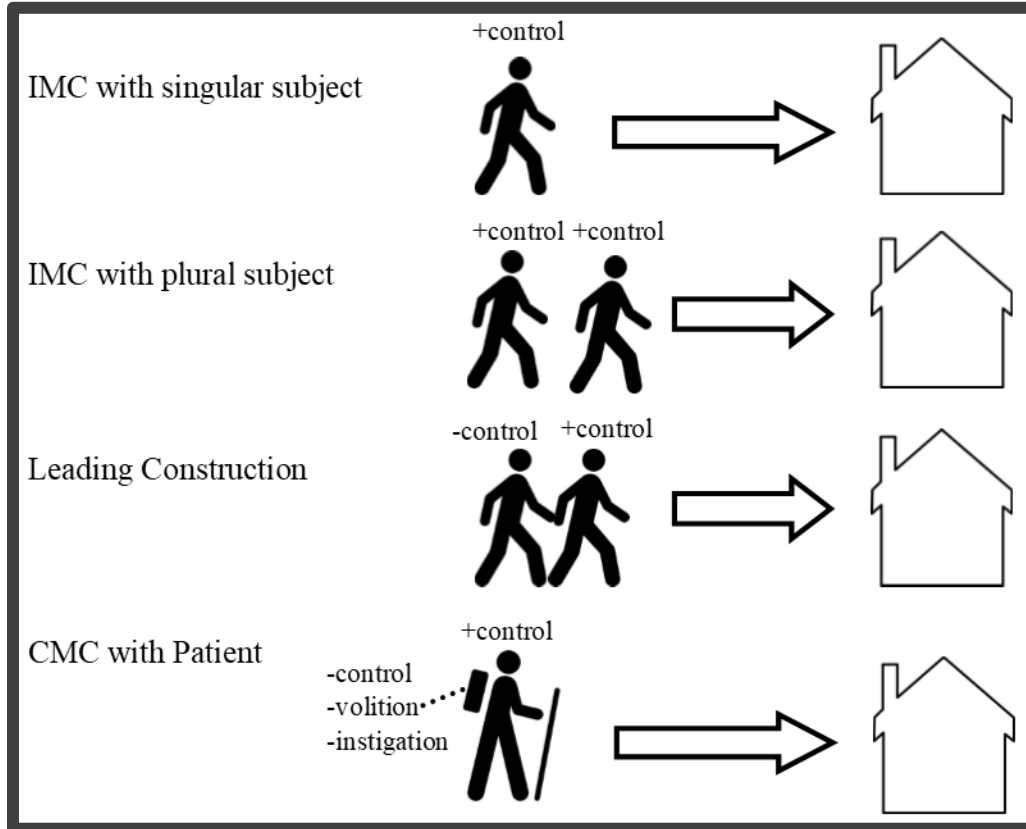
⁶³³ Goal animacy is not the answer. Both CMCs with Patients and Leading Constructions have animate Goals 28% of the time. In CMCs with Patients, *l-* marks 10% of inanimate Goals and 50% of animate Goals. In Leading Constructions, *l-* marks 5% of inanimate Goals and 10% of animate Goals. There also are no obvious correlations between other syntactic-semantic features that are significant in the choice of *l-* and the CMC+P versus Leading Constructions.

marking, however, the order of the first four goal-marking options remains the same as in IMCs. Given the association of *l-* with atypical Goals (especially animate or pronominal ones), I suggest that the growth of *l-* in CMCs with Patients but not in Leading Constructions occurs because motion clauses with Patients are considered to be more atypical than clauses with secondary Affected Agents.

Why should this be? Let's consider how these motion situations are conceptualized. In an Intransitive Motion Clause, a singular or plural Affected Agent intentionally and willingly moves herself or themselves to a Goal. Clauses with singular subjects are a bit more prototypical, as subjects can be more clearly identified and their success more easily assessed. In a Leading Construction, multiple Affected Agents intentionally and willingly move themselves to a Goal. There are only two real differences between IMCs with plural subjects and Leading Constructions: first, in an IMCs the Affected Agents are conceived of as a single group, while in a Leading Construction the Affected Agents are conceived of as multiple groups. Second, in an IMC all of the Affected Agents have control of their own actions, while in a Leading Construction the subject has control while the object voluntarily submits to the subject's control. We still have animate volitional beings providing their own energy for motion to a Goal in both cases.

In CMCs with Patients, on the other hand, the Patient is not volitional, not providing any of the motion, and is probably not animate. If the subject didn't act on it, the Patient would just sit there. Not only that, but the fact that the subject has to carry or drag the Patient along is probably making it more difficult for him to make progress on his journey. Thus a Leading Construction is conceptually quite a bit more similar to the Intransitive Motion Construction than is a CMC with a Patient.

Figure 6.5 Conceptualizing Motion Situations



In sum, then, the fact that the addition of a Patient creates a more atypical motion situation than the addition of another Affected Agent may motivate the dramatic increase in the use of *l-*, which is associated with atypical motion situations, in CMCs with Patients.

There are very few Driving Constructions (Coercive Caused-Motion) in the dataset (N=21). As in IMCs and Leading Constructions, the top three goal-marking options are *?el*, accusative, and directive *he*, but *?el* has dropped to third place. This seems to be largely the fault of the verb *ndh* (*to drive out*), the most common verb of driving (occurring 10 times), which is never followed by a preposition-marked goal. Instead, it favors the accusative of direction. The other verbs of driving represented in the dataset mark their goals with a variety of strategies.

Finally, Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions have a distinctive profile. They overwhelmingly favor the marking of Goals with *?el* (87%), with *l-* in 10% of cases, *`al* in 2%, and

the accusative of direction in less than 1%. In other words, *?el* is preferred in this context, *l-* is possible, and other options are dispreferred. Most of this distribution can be explained with the observation that all of the Goals in these Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion examples are animate, and that *`ad*, *b-*, directive *he*, and accusative do not mark animate Goals. However, the fact that *l-* is not used more frequently is unexpected. It is a common Recipient-marker for Caused-Possession Constructions with classic transfer verbs like *ntn*, so why is it used so little here? More research is needed on this issue.

Table 6.8 Goal-Marking Options by Goal Construction

IMC	CMC+P	Leading	Driving	Caused-Poss	Pursuit	<i>'br</i>
N = 2146	N = 406	N = 394	N = 21	N = 131	N = 16	N = 11
<i>?el</i> 47%	<i>?el</i> 46%	<i>?el</i> 63%	<i>acc</i> 43%	<i>?el</i> 87%	<i>`ad</i> 75%	<i>?el</i> 55%
<i>acc</i> 18%	<i>l-</i> 21%	<i>he</i> 16%	<i>he</i> 29%	<i>l-</i> 10%	<i>acc</i> 13%	<i>he</i> 36%
<i>he</i> 17%	<i>he</i> 14%	<i>acc</i> 10%	<i>?el</i> 14%	<i>'al</i> 2%	<i>he</i> 7%	<i>acc</i> 9%
<i>l-</i> 7%	<i>acc</i> 14%	<i>l-</i> 6%	<i>l-</i> 10%	<i>acc</i> .8%	<i>'al</i> 7%	
<i>'ad</i> 4%	<i>b-</i> 3%	<i>'al</i> 4%	<i>'ad</i> 5%			
<i>'al</i> 4%	<i>'al</i> 1%	<i>b-</i> .8%				
<i>b-</i> 3%	<i>'ad</i> .7%	<i>'ad</i> .3%				
<i>?et</i> .2%						

Across constructions, *?el*, *l-*, the accusative, and the directive *he* are the most common four options, with *?el* usually functioning as the default. The greatest deviations from this are in the Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion constructions, in which goal-markers that are tied to prototypical motion are dispreferred, and in Pursuit Constructions, in which *`ad* becomes the most frequent option.

While there is often a gap between the proportion of goals marked with default *?el* and the proportion marked with directive *he* or the accusative, the fact that the non-prepositional goal-marking strategies occupy the second-most and third-most positions in this repertoire indicates that they have an important role in Biblical Hebrew goal-marking, not a marginal one, despite their prototypicality restrictions. In introductory grammars of Biblical Hebrew, the directive *he* is often given only a paragraph and the accusative of direction given a similarly brief treatment or not treated at all, yet these strategies account for more instances of goal marking than most

directional prepositions.⁶³⁴ However, since spatial arguments, particularly goals, occur very frequently in BH (and across languages), introductory grammars should spend at least as much time discussing spatial argument-marking as they spend on direct-object marking—with the directive *he* and the accusative of direction given equal representation with the directional prepositions.

6.5 Choosing a Goal-Marking Option

6.5.1 In Review

In the sections above I have shown that, while the directional prepositions are often indifferent to the linguistic factors which restrict the uses of the directive *he* and the accusative, there are semantic, syntactic, and extra-grammatical variables that impact each one.

Several of the goal-marking prepositions (*?et*, *b-*, *`al*, and *l-*) are more commonly used for other functions. For each of these prepositions, the types of goals that they usually mark are similar to the types of NPs to which they apply in their core functions.

- *?et* is restricted to marking definite, salient goals just as it is restricted to marking definite, preferably salient direct objects.
- *b-* is particularly associated with goals that are conceptualized as divisible, whether bounded or regional, since its core function is marking Locations (with an extension to Routes). Thus, it correlates with definite common NP goals. It occurs in clauses with *qal* or *hip'il* verbs, as these tend to describe more-prototypical motion situations.
- *`al*'s core use may be with bounded Locations, indicating that the relevant NP (usually the subject) is located in reference to the Location's upper boundary. Locations are prototypically inanimate, common, and definite—and *`al* is correlated with inanimate, common, and definite bounded goals in CBH. (However, in LBH it becomes significantly

⁶³⁴ For example, Simon, Resnikoff, and Motzkin 2005 give half a page to the directive *he* and never address the accusative of direction. Pratico and Van Pelt 2019 likewise, although they have several possible examples of accusatives of direction in their very brief section on “adverbs of place” (248).

correlated with animate, proper goals!) *`a/* can apply to nominal or pronominal goals and is more common in narrative texts.

- *l-* is associated in CBH and TBH with pronominal/animate goals or with inanimate common goals that carry pronominal endings—a carry-over from *l-*'s other functions as a marker of animate/pronominal Recipients and Possessors. The use of *l-* in Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions also stems from this. It is possible that the association of *l-* with atypical goals and motion situations is also expressed in the preference for *l-* in CMCs with Patients. *l-* is associated with non-*qal* verbs—especially the *pi'el*, since the *pi'els* in the dataset are often Recipient-takers. In LBH the use of *l-* increases, primarily in a new licensing of *l-* for more inanimate goals; in LBH there is also a drop in the use of *l-* for pronominal goals.

Two of the goal-marking prepositions have goal-marking as their core function.

- *`ad* is a semantically-restricted option for marking goals in prototypical Motion Constructions, used in cases when the Goal is less salient in the information structure of the text for various reasons. As a result, it is particularly associated with Pursuit Clauses. It is also restricted by its dispreference for a position at the beginning of a clause.
- *?el* is the default goal-marker and has no obvious restrictions.

Most of the directional prepositions are indifferent to motion clause prototypicality *per se*.

The sole exception is the preposition *`ad*, which is used in prototypical motion clauses to shift the focus of the clause away from the endpoint of the motion. A few of the prepositions are sensitive to the spatial prototypicality of the goal itself, preferring goals that are atypical in specific ways. *b-* marks goals which are divisible and would make good prototypical Locations/Routes, while *`a/* prefers bounded goals which would make good Locations. While *?et* and *l-* also prefer certain types of goals, this is not due to any desire to match a spatial prototype (although non-spatial prototypes are probably active).

Several prepositions are impacted by what seem to be diachronic developments in Biblical Hebrew. In addition to frequency effects—*`ad* is most common in CBH, *l-* in LBH—prepositions also show differences in how they are used, with *`al*-marking shifting from being correlated with inanimate common goals in CBH to animate proper goals in LBH, and *l*-marking altering from being correlated with animate or pronominal goals in CBH to inanimate, non-pronominal goals in LBH. Then, the frequency of most prepositions is severely reduced in TBH, suggesting that the breakdown in Judean society and in scribal education during the exilic and immediate post-exilic periods caused the available repertoire of goal-marking strategies to shrink, as the more literary options fell from use. Thus, in different era/style corpora different directional prepositions may be preferred in the same syntactic-semantic context.

Unlike the goal-marking strategies in general, the directional prepositions are sensitive to text type and orality, but not significantly so (given the current data and coding) to dialect or source. Several of them—*`ad*, *`al*, and *l-*—are most common in narrative, the most ‘literary’ of the three text types. In addition, *l-* is significantly associated with less-oral texts, above and beyond any diachronic effect.

6.5.2 A Choice in Every Era

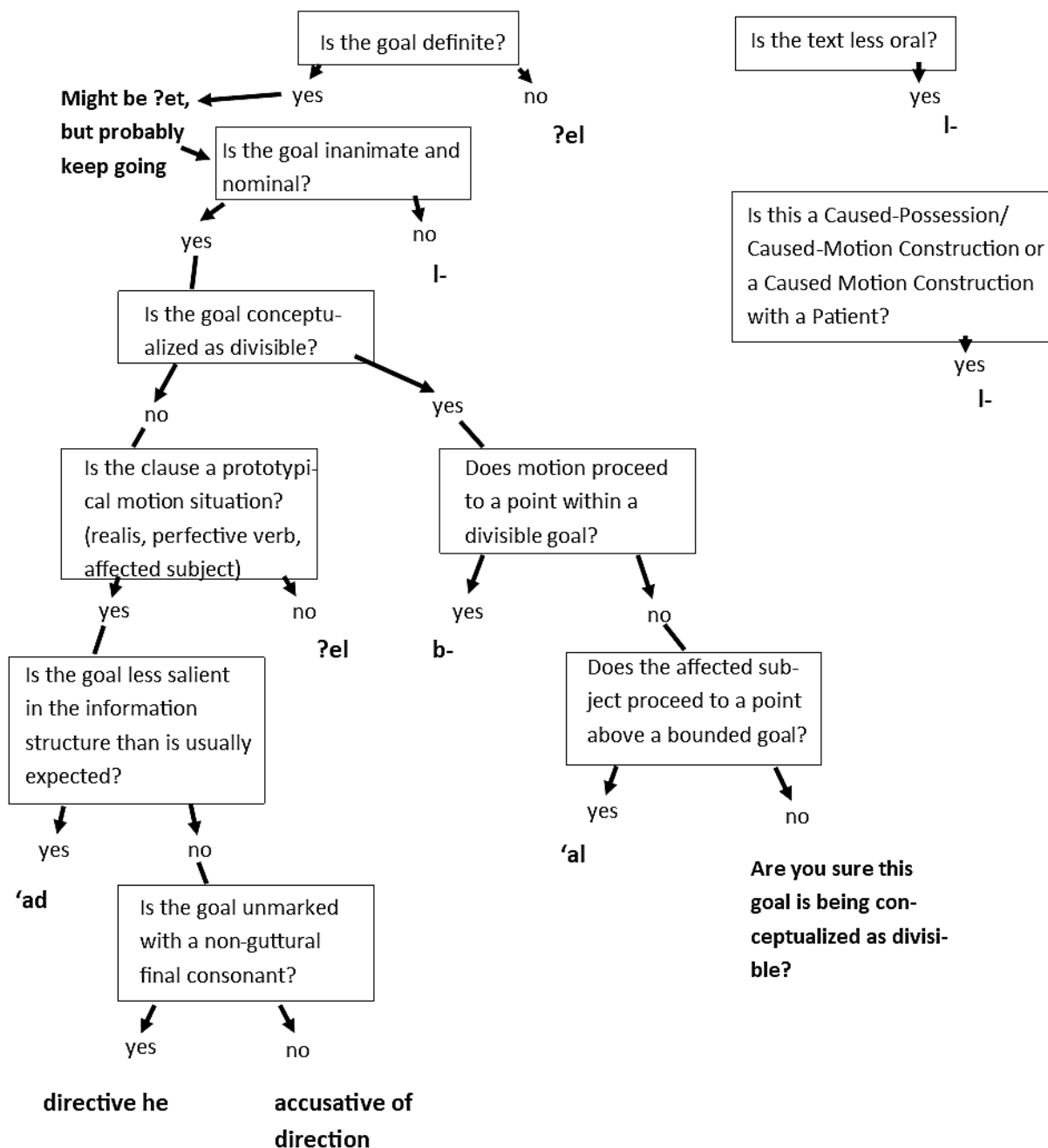
So then, there are distinctions between the directional prepositions, just as there are distinctions between the goal-marking strategies. A BH scribe marking a goal in Biblical Hebrew prose has not just three options but eight. So how can that choice be made?

In BH, the linguistic factors which have the most impact on the choice of goal-marking options (as well as the available repertoire of options and the options that are correlated with specific linguistic factors) change over time.⁶³⁵ Figure 6.6 shows a simplified representation of a scribe’s choice of goal-marking options in Classical Biblical Hebrew. By following the decision

⁶³⁵ Diachronic changes in systems of spatial-role marking may be found across the world’s languages. For changes in Path-marking from Classical Latin through several stages down to Modern Italian, see Mosca 2017.

tree, we can predict which goal-marking options are most likely to appear under given circumstances. Note that linguistic factors affect the probability that a given option will be used, but tend not to license any option 100% of the time. In other words, if we have 100 examples of a prototypical IMC with an unmarked, single-point goal, a significant proportion of these will include goals marked with directive *he*—but not all of them. We cannot predict what goal-marking strategy will be used with complete certainty—but we can predict the strategy the majority of the time.

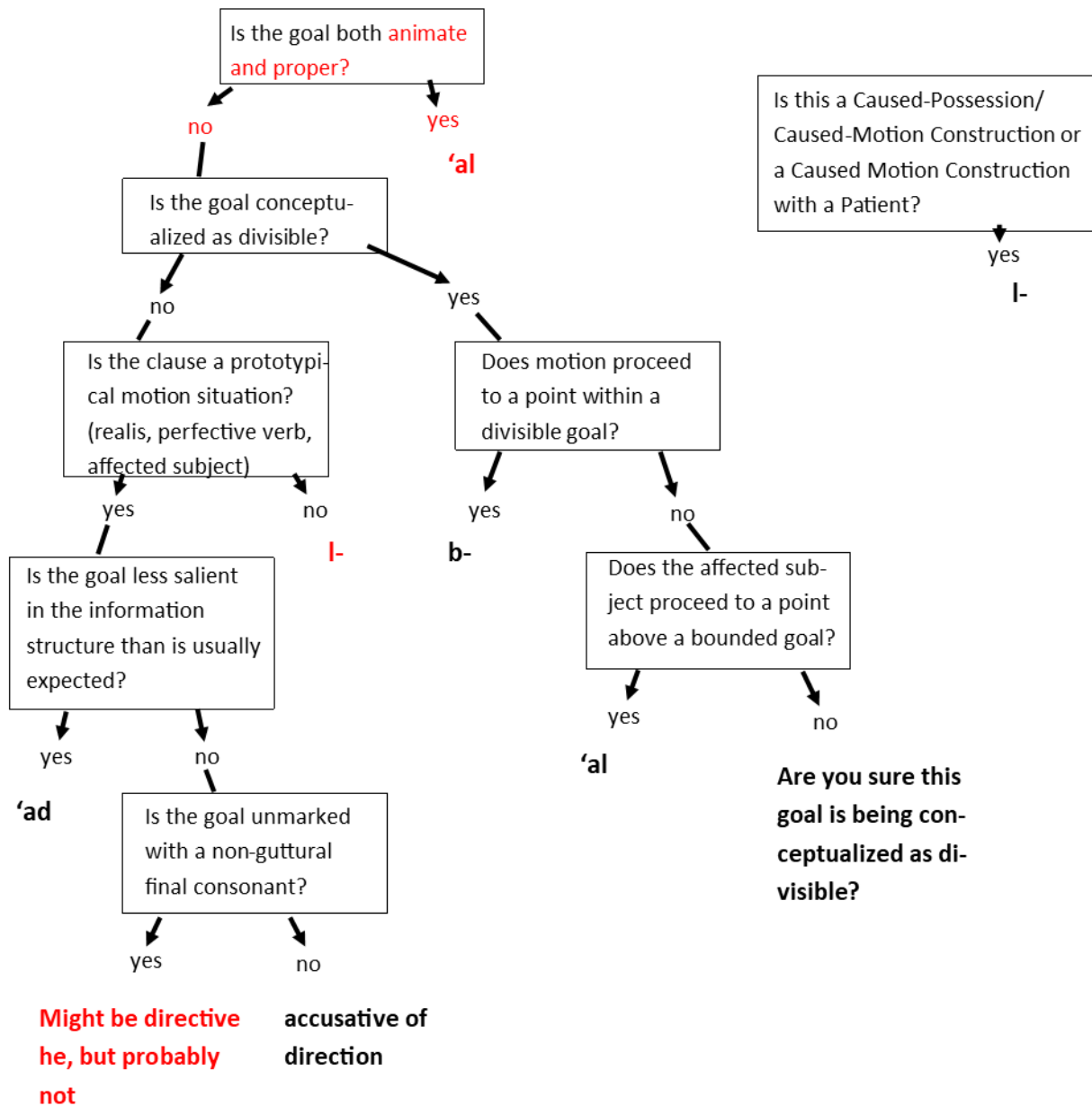
Figure 6.6 A Choice of Goal-Markers in Classical Biblical Hebrew



In Transitional Biblical Hebrew, `ad and b- essentially vanish from the picture, while l- is reduced—in particular, l- becomes less frequent as an animate goal marker and as a marker of the goals of Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions.

In LBH, all of the options (except *?et*) are available once more; however, several have moved to new positions and the directive *he* has been severely reduced, as shown in Figure 6.7. The balance of goal-marking options is being renegotiated as directive *he* is now stylistically dispreferred. *l-* is being generalized to mark inanimate goals as well as animate, while *`a/* is being shifted to specifically marking animate goals. Since more-oral-like texts are not found in this corpus, *l-* is no longer functioning as a contrastive marker of less-oral style.

Figure 6.7 A Choice of Goal-Markers in Late Biblical Hebrew



In this chapter, by extending my study of goal-marking to the goal-marking prepositions I have been able to highlight several issues, such as the distinction between the marking of single-point versus divisible goals, the difference between prototypical goals and other prototypical spatial roles, and the conceptualization of motion events with and without a focus on the endpoint. I have also been able to explore differences in the goal-marking systems of the three prose

corpora in Biblical Hebrew, showing how the choices are reduced in the less ‘literary’ TBH, and the whole system renegotiated in LBH. This last point—the reorganization of goal-marking in LBH—is a strike against the hypothesis that the distinction between CBH and LBH is primarily stylistic, as a difference of this type is almost certainly not stylistic. A scribe would be unlikely to control styles with rules such as “In this style *`a/* marks inanimate goals, and */-* marks animate, but in that style *`a/* marks animate goals, and */-* marks mostly inanimate ones.”

In the next chapter, I conduct a preliminary exploration of goal-marking in verse via a case study of the Psalms. While many of the same linguistic factors affect goal-marking in Hebrew verse as in Hebrew prose, there also seem to be unique features which require special attention. Some of these can be explored through an investigation of verse in Ugaritic, another Northwest Semitic language.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Seven:

DIFFERENTIAL GOAL MARKING IN HEBREW AND UGARITIC VERSE: A FIRST LOOK

Chapter Outline

7.1 Case Study 1: Goal-Marking in Biblical Hebrew Poetry

7.1.1 Challenges

7.1.2 Goal-Marking in Psalms: Introduction

7.1.3 Goal-Marking in Psalms: Linguistic Correlates

7.1.4 Goal-Marking in Psalms: Differences between Verse and Prose

7.1.5 Goal-Marking in Psalms: In Sum

7.2 Case Study 2: Goal Constructions in Ugaritic

7.2.1 Goal-Marking in Ugaritic Prose: Letters and Legal Texts

7.2.2 Goal-Marking in Ugaritic Verse: Baal Cycle

7.2.2.1 The Dataset

7.2.2.2 Linguistic Correlates

7.2.2.3 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 3

7.3 In Review

In Chapters 2-6, I established that Hebrew scribes' choices between goal-marking options in prose were variously motivated, constrained, or influenced by when they were writing, who they were and how they were trained, and the linguistic context of the goal that they desired to mark. Scribes' larger-scale linguistic choices, especially in terms of orality and text type, could also promote certain goal-marking options. These findings can be used as a foundation for future research into Biblical Hebrew stylistic choices, BH spatial arguments, goal-marking in fictive contexts, and goal-marking in verse.

In Chapter 7, I make several introductory attempts at one of these lines of research: goal-marking in verse. Does it operate by the same rules as in prose? If not, what light do these differences cast on goal-marking or on the syntactic-semantic system of verse?

In 7.1, I report the results of an investigation into Biblical Hebrew goal-marking in the book of Psalms. I find that the same linguistic factors are driving goal-marking choices in verse that did so in prose. However, the proportions of goal-marking strategies in verse are quite different than they were in prose. Some of these proportional differences can be tied to specific differences between BH prose and verse syntax, but others remain unexplained. One possible reason for these proportional differences could be text-typical in nature: the Psalms include poems in a

restricted set of genres, many of which (i.e. hymns, laments) do not have prose counterparts, while many genres attested in BH prose have no equivalents in BH verse. Since Psalms and BH prose have so little text-typical overlap, it might be unfair to compare them.

In a second case study, in 7.2, I turn to Ugaritic, a language in which narrative verse is widely attested. Since narrative is the most common text type in BH prose, I hoped to compare goal-marking in similar text types in prose and verse in order to determine whether their goal-marking systems were more similar than in the text-typically-distinct corpora of BH prose and verse. Unfortunately, Ugaritic prose is primarily found in letters, not in narrative, so there was as little text-typical overlap in Ugaritic as there was in Hebrew. However, I was able to explore goal-marking in Ugaritic prose and verse, as well as to confront the methodological adjustments necessary to translate my study of goal-marking into a different West Semitic language. (Many of the same adjustments are needed in my study of goal-marking in Akkadian, an East Semitic language. See Appendix 6.)

While the case studies in this chapter are preliminary in nature, they do make several contributions. First, much of the discontinuity between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in BH prose and verse is tied to specific syntactic differences between prose and verse—which, since studies of BH verse syntax are relatively few, provides welcome confirmation for several contrastive features. Second, the study of goal-marking in Ugaritic prose and verse provides a strong confirmation of a phenomenon also seen in Biblical Hebrew and Akkadian—namely, that ‘less literary’ texts use a much more restricted set of goal-marking strategies than ‘more literary’ texts do, suggesting that using a wide repertoire of goal-marking strategies was considered to be an aesthetic feature in multiple Semitic-writing communities in the ancient Near East (7.2.2.3).

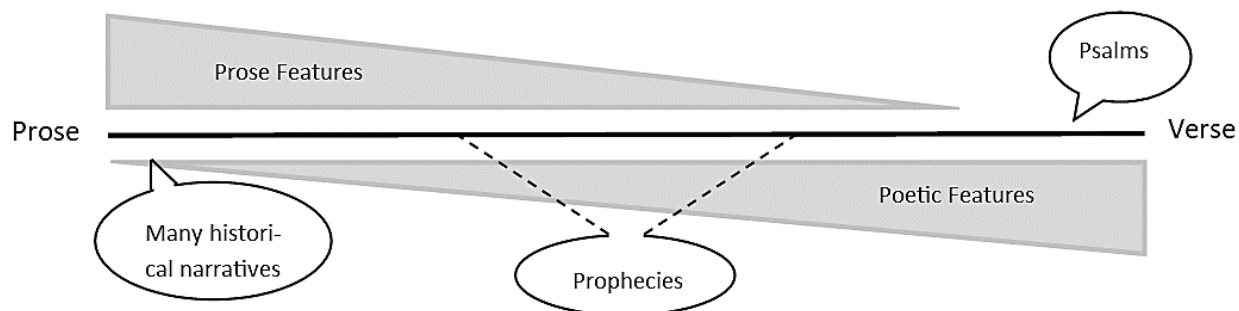
7.1 Case Study 1: Goal-Marking in Biblical Hebrew Poetry

7.1.1 Challenges

Verse in the Hebrew Bible presents special challenges. While scholars agree that some books or texts, like the book of Psalms, are in verse, many other texts—especially in the prophets—are

controversial. Which linguistic features define Hebrew poetry? Are prose and poetry mutually distinct categories, such that the nature of a given text can be decided, or are poetic features so rife in much of Hebrew prose that the texts cannot be separated? The dichotomy of prose and verse has been challenged by scholars like Kugel, who remarks that, “The same traits that characterize Hebrew ‘poetry’ [such as parallelism] also crop up in what is clearly not poetry.”⁶³⁶

Figure 7.1 A Prose-Verse Continuum?



Instead of dichotomous categories, BH texts seem to be situated either on a prose-verse continuum, or—to use the prevailing model of this monograph—to be situated at various distances from text-typical prototypes. On the one hand, we have prototypical narrative prose as in (most of) 2 Kings, which lacks prototypical poetic features but has an abundance of narrative prosaic features such as sequences of *wayyiqtol*s, relative clauses with *ʔāšer*, definite articles, relatively fixed word order, symmetrical clause coordination, object suffixes for verbs, *etc.*⁶³⁷ On the other hand, we have prototypical verse as in Psalms, with characteristics such as terseness (a limit to the length of each line), special morphemes and lexemes, literary images, syntactic gapping of constituents, postponement of constituents (which can also be understood as a relaxation of the word order rules that hold in BH prose), and balance between the syntactic and/or semantic

⁶³⁶ Kugel 1981: 63.

⁶³⁷ Gropp 2017; Patton 2019. Discussions have generally focused on the distinction between narrative prose and verse. Other types of prose, such as the instructional prose of the civil and cultic laws, are linguistically distinct from both narrative prose and verse.

elements in the parallel lines of a verse.⁶³⁸ In the space between prototypical prose and verse we have many texts which contain a mix of prosaic and poetic features.⁶³⁹

Psalm 108:11 [Eng. 108:10] is a classic example of Hebrew verse. Note that each clause consists of only four words (poetic terseness), and the two lines match each other in syntactic structure. (The lines are also very close in semantics, which makes the verb sequence here all the more curious. The first verb is a prefixed form from *ybl* (*to carry*)—which we would usually read as an imperfect—followed by an affixed form of *nḥh* (*to lead*)—which we would usually read as a perfect.⁶⁴⁰ Since the structure of the verse and the larger context suggest that the two verbs should both be understood with the same TAM value, we must either read the first verb as a *wayyiqṭol* preterite or the second verb as a *weqatal* modal. The verb sequence here is all but unknown in Hebrew prose, but well-known in BH verse.⁶⁴¹)

(a) Psalm 108:11

mî yōbilē-nî *'ir mibṣār* / *mî nāḥa-nî* *'ad ?ēdôm*
 who 3M.SG.IPFV:bring-1SG;OBJ **city\CONS fortress-[DIR]** / who lead:IRR-1SG;OBJ **DIR Edom**
 'Who will bring me to the fortress city? / Who will lead me to Edom?'

So the first challenge in working with Biblical Hebrew verse is the problem of distinguishing it. When should a text be understood as verse, and when should it not?⁶⁴²

⁶³⁸ Collins 1978; Alter 1985; Watson 1994; O'Connor 1997; Fokkelman 2001; Watson 2005; Tatu 2008: 5-8; Gropp 2017; Tsumura 2017; Putnam 2019.

⁶³⁹ Prophetic texts can be especially problematic. Many seem to alternate rapidly between prose and poetry. The contrast between the clear-cut poetry of Psalms and the rapid alternation in parts of some prophetic books may arise due to different authorial intent. In the book of Psalms, part of the author's goal for each psalm was to create a poem/song as the end product; but in many prophetic books, the author seems to have no such goal, making the status of each verse a judgment call.

⁶⁴⁰ cf. the tagging of these as imperfect and perfect respectively in Accordance on the HMT (Hebrew Masoretic Tagged) Bible with Westminster Hebrew Morphology, as of 12/24/2019.

⁶⁴¹ Although the proper handling of these verbal sequences is still debated. cf. Tatu 2008: 8-12, 277-318, 471 (although note that Tatu sees the goals in Ps 108:11 as adjuncts rather than complements, which is incorrect in my opinion); Robar 2019.

⁶⁴² As was discussed in 2.1.3, for the purposes of this project text which was treated as prose in the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* is treated as prose in Chapters 2-6. The formatting of BH text as prose or verse in the *BHS* largely follows the Leningrad Codex. However, as I noted previously, the text treated as verse in the *BHS*—particularly in the prophetic books—includes some portions that may be better understood as prose. A thorough examination of goal-marking in BH verse would have to include a portion-by-portion assessment of where on the prose-poetry continuum each textual portion falls.

The second challenge for this study is the fact that factive Goal Constructions are not very common in BH verse. This is the case for several reasons. First, BH poetry tends not to be narrative poetry, so there are relatively few occasions for any beings or objects to be described as moving around.⁶⁴³ Second, much of BH poetry is much more concerned with the singer's emotional and cognitive movement than with their physical movement. In the book of Psalms, for example, there are only 49 factive examples of motion to a goal, but at least 23 fictive examples.

7.1.2 Goal-Marking in Psalms: Introduction

The present study makes a first approach to the question of goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew poetry through a case study limited to factive Goal Constructions in the book of Psalms. The study is restricted to Psalms because these texts are uncontroversially classified as verse.⁶⁴⁴ The study is restricted to factive GCs because Chapters 2-6 were all exclusively concerned with factive GCs, and to suddenly change that here would make it difficult to compare the results for Hebrew prose and verse. However, these restrictions produce a dataset which is too small (49 observations) to yield robust statistical significance results in a regression analysis including more than one or two independent variables.⁶⁴⁵ Therefore, other analytical approaches must be used.

Table 7.1 breaks down the factive Goal Constructions in Psalms by the goal-marking option that is used. Both the major strategies (directive *he*, accusative of direction, directional prepositions) and the prepositional options are shown.

⁶⁴³ To get a rough idea of how the GC density in verse may compare to prose, consider the following: the book of Psalms contains about 2500 verses, so there is about one factive GC per 50 verses. The book of Genesis, on the other hand, contains about 1500 verses and 316 factive GCs, so there is one factive GC for every 4-5 verses.

⁶⁴⁴ While using the Psalms corpus sidesteps most of the prose vs. verse debate, it does introduce other problems. The Psalms were probably composed and edited by a greater variety of composers and scribes at more different points in time than any other group of verse texts in the Hebrew Bible. While some of the Psalms can be grouped into subcorpora and/or perhaps dated (such as the proposed Archaic Biblical Hebrew corpus, or specific Psalms that refer to the events of the exile), many cannot be attributed to a specific subcorpus or era (Tatu 2008: 16; the methodology discussed in Emanuel 2019 may be helpful in the relative and absolute dating of many of these Psalms).

⁶⁴⁵ Also, if fictive motion makes up such a large part of the motion envisioned in the Psalms, omitting it yields an unbalanced picture of motion in BH verse.

Table 7.1 Factive Goal Constructions in the Poems of Psalms

strategy	observations
directive <i>he</i>	0 (0.00%)
preposition plus directive <i>he</i>	1 (2.04%)
accusative of direction	11 (22.45%)
preposition	37 (75.51%)
? <i>el</i>	14 (28.57%)
' <i>ad</i>	2 (4.08%)
<i>l-</i>	14 (28.57%)
<i>b-</i>	8 (16.33%)
totals	49 (100%)

Despite the small size of this dataset, we can observe several important differences between the repertoires of goal-marking options available in Psalms vs. in BH prose. First, directive *he* is dispreferred in the Psalms. While directive *he* is used to mark 16% of goals in the prose corpus, it is never used independently in Psalms, and is only used once in conjunction with the preposition *l-* (*li-š?ôl=âh*, to *Sheol* [Ps 9:18]). A survey of factive Goal Constructions in verse texts outside of Psalms shows that directive *he* is sometimes used in poetry, but much less often than in prose.⁶⁴⁶

As a consequence of the dearth of directive *he* goal-marking in Psalms, the accusative of direction marks a larger share of goals in Psalms than in prose (22% instead of 16%) as does the prepositional strategy (76% instead of 68%).

Secondly, not all prepositions from the prose repertoire are used for goal-marking in Psalms. There are no goals marked with *?et* or, more surprisingly, with '*a/*. '*a/* was used to mark 3.29% of goals in prose, so we might expect one or two '*a/*-marked goals to appear in this dataset. However, the Psalms dataset is so small that '*a/* may be accidentally missing rather than missing due to an actual dispreference on the part of the scribes. A preliminary survey of Goal

⁶⁴⁶ Used in about 14 observations, or less than 4% of the verse dataset, most often in the book of Isaiah. cf. *thither* (Isa 34:15, 55:10; Jer 46:28; Joel 4:11); *outside* (Prov 5:16); *homeward* (Isa 14:17); *threshing-floor-ward* (Mic 4:12); *to the wilderness* (Isa 16:1; Ezek 29:5); *to the gate* (Isa 28:6); *to Tarshish* (Isa 23:6); *to Babylon* (Isa 43:14); *to Qir* (Amos 1:5); *to Harmon* (Amos 4:3).

Constructions in verse texts outside of Psalms shows *`al* being used to mark between 3% and 4% of goals (the same proportion as in prose).⁶⁴⁷

Finally, the proportion of *l-* marked goals in Psalms is much higher than in prose (29% instead of 9%), while the proportion of *?e/*-marked goals is much lower (29% instead of 50%).⁶⁴⁸

We already have some questions to consider.

1. Why would the directive *he* be used less in verse than in prose?
2. Is the accusative still associated with prototypical Motion Constructions?
3. Why is *l-* used more and *?e/* used less in verse than in prose?

Are the differences between the proportions of goal-marking strategies in Psalms and the proportions in prose due to the linguistic factors which were already found to be significant in goal-marking? (For example, if there are proportionally more animate goals in Psalms than in prose we would expect the directive *he* and the accusative to be used less often.) Or are these differences due to other linguistic factors which are specific to Hebrew verse?

7.1.3 Goal-Marking in Psalms: Linguistic Correlates

In the study of Biblical Hebrew prose Goal Constructions in Chapters 2-6, many linguistic variables were found to correlate significantly with the goal-marking strategies.⁶⁴⁹ The set of significant variables included goal variables (goal animacy, goal definiteness, goal individuation, goal complexity, presence of goal adjuncts, the end of the goal, nature of any preceding GCs in the same or an adjacent clause); subject and object variables (subject affectedness, subject definiteness, object definiteness/animacy); verb and clause variables (number of participants, verb principal part, clause mode, and verb aspect); and extra-grammatical variables such as

⁶⁴⁷ 5 in Isa, 3 in Jer, 1 in Ezek, 2 in Job, 2 in Nahum, and 1 in Joel. The verse (?) portions of the book of Isaiah seem to have the most prose-like repertoire of goal-marking strategies of any of the biblical books.

⁶⁴⁸ In other HB verse, *?e/* does appear more often than *l-* (110 observations versus 75), but *l-* is still doing a larger share of the goal-marking than it does in prose. Regarding *b-* and *`ad*, these prepositions continue to fill their semantically unique functions, *b-* primarily marking divisible goals such as pits, tents, nets, hearts, and interiors, and *`ad* marking goals in situations where the goal is less important in the information structure.

⁶⁴⁹ See Table 2.4.

diachronic corpus, biblical book, Pentateuchal source, and dialect. Other variables were not found to be significant. These include goal number, clause negation, word order (whether the verb was first, whether the GC was first), verb voice, verb binyan, subject animacy, subject number, object number, text type, and orality.

While there are too few examples to run any multinomial logistical regression models with the Psalms verse GCs as an independent dataset, it is still possible to assess whether the significant correlations between specific goal-marking strategies and specific variable outcomes still hold in verse. In Table 7.2, I cross-tabulate the goal-marking strategies and independent variable outcomes from Psalms. Each variable name includes asterisks showing the variable's significance in the **prose** dataset. As before, two asterisks indicate significance at the 0.01 level, while one asterisk indicates significance at the 0.05 level. Consider the first entry, for Goal Complexity. Goal Complexity is marked with two asterisks, so it was found to be significant at the 0.01 level in the prose dataset. Its two options are 'simple goal' (one morpheme) or 'complex goal' (multiple morphemes). It is cross-tabulated first with the accusative of direction. Simple goals in Psalms are marked with the accusative 6 times; that is, 25% of simple goals in Psalms are marked with the accusative. Compare this to the 16.9% of simple goals in the prose dataset (given in bold) that are construed as accusative. Goal Complexity is cross-tabulated last with the directional prepositions. Simple goals in Psalms are marked with prepositions 17 times, or in 70.83% of cases. Compare this to the 58.73% of simple goals in BH prose that are marked with prepositions.

Table 7.2 Goal Strategies in Psalms by All Independent Variables, with row percentages (N=49). Prose percentages in bold for comparison.

Variable (*prose significance)	Accusative (N=11)	Prep plus <i>he</i> (N=1)	Preposition (N=37)
Goal-Complexity (**)			
Simple goal	6 25.00% 16.90%	1	17 70.83% 58.73%
Complex goal	5 20.00% 14.02%	0	20 80.00% 83.19%
Goal-Adjunct (**)			
no adjunct	10 22.22% 16.89%	1	34 75.56% 65.74%
appositional phrase	0 0% 2.44%	0	1 100.00% 96.34%
relative clause	1 33.33% 1.49%	0	2 66.67% 97.76%
modifying prepositional phrase	0 0%	0	0 100%
Goal-Number			
singular goal	10 22.22% 16.64%	1	34 75.56% 65.88%
plural goal	1 25.00% 7.82%	0	3 75.00% 88.44%
Goal-Definiteness (**)			
indefinite goal	3 37.50% 19.71%	0	5 62.50% 34.00%
definite goal	8 19.51% 15.32%	1	32 78.05% 72.29%
Goal-Individuation (**)			
common goal	8 18.18% 13.61%	0	36 81.82% 70.94%
proper goal	3 60.00% 27.00%	1	1 20.00% 48.63%
pronoun	0 0%	0	0 100%
GC Same Clause Sequence (**)	not coded (4 obs: 3 ?el/?el pairs, one ?el/acc)		
GC Nearby Clause Sequence (**)	not coded (2 obs, both acc/ `ad pairs)		
Goal-Animacy (**)			
inanimate NP	11 26.19% 22.16%	1	30 71.43% 54.86%
animate NP	0 0% 0.65%	0	7 100% 99.35%
Goal-Ending (**)			
ends in non-guttural consonant	9 29.03% 20.41%	1	21 67.74% 56.27%
ends in guttural consonant	0 0% 15.00%	0	1 100% 85.00%
ends in vowel	0 0% 16.61%	0	4 100% 82.67%
ends in pronominal suffix	2 15.38% 0.15%	0	11 84.62% 99.85%
Clause-Realis (masked)			
realis	3 17.65% 18.32%	0	14 82.35% 64.29%
irrealis	8 25.00% 11.85%	1	23 71.88% 73.83%
Clause-Negation			
affirmative clause	11 22.92% 15.77%	1	36 75.00% 68.05%
negated clause	0 0% 16.46%	0	1 100% 67.09%
Clause Verb-Initial			
verb-initial	6 19.35% 16.12%	1	24 77.42% 68.00%
not verb-initial	5 27.78% 14.34%	0	13 72.22% 68.06%
GC-Fronted before Verb			
GC not before verb	9 20.45% 15.70%	1	34 77.27% 68.00%
GC before verb	2 40.00% 19.10%	0	3 60.00% 68.54%
Verb-Participants (*)			

one participant	8 23.53%	18.08%	1	25 73.53%	64.54%
more than one	3 20.00%	10.71%	0	12 80.00%	75.70%
Verb-Aspect (masked)					
imperfective	7 20.00%	12.89%	1	27 77.14%	71.76%
perfective	4 28.57%	18.00%	0	10 71.43%	65.19%
Verb-Stem					
G	8 25.00%	16.59%	1	23 71.88%	66.81%
D	0 0%	4.65%	0	2 100%	67.44%
C	3 27.27%	13.66%	0	8 72.73%	72.67%
N	0 0%	17.58%	0	1 100%	62.64%
Hitp.	0 0%	14.29%	0	3 100%	71.43%
Verb-Voice					
active verb	11 23.40%	15.61%	1	35 74.47%	68.28%
passive verb	0 0%	20.47%	0	2 100%	61.42%
Verb-Principal Part (**)					
imperative	1 25.00%	12.56%	0	3 75.00%	73.54%
infinitive	0 0%	19.68%	1	3 75.00%	61.85%
participle	0	11.52%	0	0	62.30%
imperfect	6 22.22%	13.01%	0	20 74.07%	75.00%
yiqtol jussive	0 0%	33.33%	0	1 100%	61.90%
perfect	2 25.00%	20.57%	0	6 75.00%	66.27%
wayyiqtol preterite	2 33.33%	17.21%	0	4 66.66%	64.85%
weqatal	0	6.02%	0	0	82.33%
Subject-Affectedness (masked)					
not affected	0 0%	11.57%	0	4 100%	73.38%
affected	3 20.00%	19.85%	0	12 80.00%	62.36%
incomplete (irreal/imperfect)	8 26.67%	11.23%	1	21 70.00%	74.60%
Subject-Definiteness (*)					
subject not explicit	6 17.65%	16.23%	0	28 82.35%	68.73%
indefinite	3 33.33%	14.69%	1	5 55.56%	69.93%
definite	1 33.33%	14.65%	0	2 66.67%	67.73%
PN	1 100%	17.67%	0	0 0%	66.00%
pronoun	0 0%	11.33%	0	2 100%	65.02%
Subject-Animacy					
impersonal	0	15.38%	0	0	71.79%
inanimate	0 0%	17.86%	0	5 100%	60.71%
animate	11 25.00%	15.76%	1	32 72.73%	68.15%
Subject-Number					
impersonal	0	15.79%	0	0	73.68%
singular/distributive	6 24.00%	14.61%	0	19 76.00%	68.86%
collective/list	1 50.00%	24.09%	0	1 50.00%	60.45%
plural	4 18.18%	16.31%	1	17 77.27%	67.69%
Object-Definiteness (**)					
ellipsis	0	9.71%	0	0	78.64%
indefinite	0 0%	8.27%	0	1 100%	83.46%
definite	0 0%	8.92%	0	4 100%	77.32%
PN	0	14.81%	0	0	70.37%
pronoun	4 40.00%	12.35%	0	6 60.00%	72.26%

Object-Animacy (**)					
impersonal	0	12.82%	0	0	78.21%
inanimate	0	0%	0	3	100% 76.38%
animate	4	33.33% 9.65%	0	8	66.67% 75.04%
Object-Number					
ellipsis	0	10.31%	0	0	78.35%
singular/distributive	3	50.00% 10.18%	0	3	50.00% 76.77%
collective/list	0	0%	0	1	100% 69.90%
plural	1	12.50% 11.61%	0	7	87.50% 75.30%
Era (**)					
ABH	0	0%	0	3	100.00%
unknown	11	23.91%	1	34	73.91%
Text Type	prose text types not applicable				
Dialect (**)					
not yet identified as northern	10	29.41% 16.01%	0	24	70.59% 66.45%
Northern Hebrew	1	6.67% 15.19%	1	13	86.67% 68.04%
Orality	information not available				
Book (**)	book = Psalms				
Source (**)	not applicable				

An initial examination of Table 7.2 shows that the results for goal-marking in Psalms are largely consistent with the results for BH prose (except for the lack of directive *he*-marked goals). The accusative of direction is still associated with adjunct-less, proper, inanimate goals in intransitive realis clauses with affected subjects and perfective verbs; and is still indifferent to the goal's complexity, definiteness, and final phoneme. In other words, the accusative of direction is still correlated with prototypical goals in prototypical Motion Constructions.

Note, however, that the accusative is not applying at a rate sufficient to make up for the loss of directive *he*. It applied to 15.8% of goals in prose; here it applies to 22% of goals, which is something of an increase but not enough to make up for the 15.9% of goals that were marked with directive *he* in prose. In other words, while the accusative is still marking prototypical goals in prototypical Motion Constructions, more of the prototypical goals in prototypical MCs are now being marked with prepositions.

7.1.4 Goal Marking in Psalms: Differences between Verse and Prose

Since the small size of the Psalms dataset precludes analyzing the correlations of the goal-marking strategies and the other linguistic variables using the goal-marking strategy as a

dependent variable in a multinomial logistical regression, we need an alternative approach. For example, what are the significant differences between prose and verse Goal Construction datasets? Do these differences explain the lack of directive *he*, or the favoring of *l-* and disfavoring of *?e/* in verse?

In a dataset including both the prose BH data and the Psalms data, I ran a model with prose/verse itself as the dependent variable. Several variables were significantly correlated with prose vs. verse: dialect, verb principal part, verb *binyan*, and goal individuation (at the 0.01 level); subject definiteness and clause negation (at the 0.05 level). Clause mode, verb aspect, and verb-initial word order have masked effects.

The fact that dialect was selected as a significant difference between verse and prose underlines the importance of understanding one's own coding. Dialect is significantly correlated not necessarily because of an actual difference (e.g. CBH verse is more likely to be written in Northern Hebrew than CBH prose is) but because scholars have been able to examine a larger proportion of the Psalms for dialect features.⁶⁵⁰ Recall that texts in the dataset were not coded as 'Northern' vs. 'Not Northern', but as 'Northern' vs. 'Undetermined,' since studies of dialect have not yet covered the entire Hebrew Bible. The way that texts have been categorized as Northern also differs in prose vs. verse. Rendsburg himself says that the northern psalms (of Asaph and the sons of Korah) do not individually have enough "northern linguistic marks" to call them northern, with the exceptions of Psalms 45 and 74; however, "the collection as a whole does reflect northern dialect to a sufficient degree."⁶⁵¹ This means that Rendsburg has used certain texts (Psalms 45 and 74) to posit a northern origin for a given author, and then has decided that all texts ascribed to this northern author should be considered northern. (This is a precarious line of argument. These Psalms are ascribed to authors who were probably resident in Judah during some parts of their adulthood; why assume that they couldn't switch between dialects or at least

⁶⁵⁰ Rendsburg 1990.

⁶⁵¹ Rendsburg 1990: 51, 73.

reduce their northern dialect features?) This method of categorization is different from Rendsburg's method of categorizing prose, since it relies more strongly on authorship rather on the actual appearance of dialect features.⁶⁵²

The significance results for verb *binyan* are also suspicious. An examination of the results shows that Psalms GCs are more likely to contain *hitpa'el* verbs and less likely to contain *qal* verbs than their prose counterparts. *Hitpa'el* verbs account for 6% of the verbs in the Psalms dataset but only 0.22% of the verbs in prose GCs, while *qal* verbs account for 73% of the verbs in prose but only 65% of those in Psalms. However, when we note that the 6% of *hitpa'el* verbs in Psalms equates to only three observations (two instances of *hik* and one of *ddh*), we realize that this may well be an artifact of the small size of the corpus.

The significance of clause negation is, again, probably an artifact of the small corpus. Negated motion clauses make up 5% of the prose GC dataset (158 observations) but only 2% of the verse (1 observation), meaning that negated clauses might be less likely in verse. Yet with so few observations we cannot be certain.

The other differences between prose and verse GC datasets are more promising.

First, some **verb principal parts** are significantly more or less likely to occur in verse than in prose. On the one hand, participial and *weqatal* verbs simply don't appear in the Psalms goal clause corpus. Since participles certainly do appear in other clauses in Psalms, this could be accidental due to the small size of the corpus. The lack of *weqatal* verbs, on the other hand, reflects a genuine difference: *weqatal* is a primarily narrative verb form, and thus rarely appears in verse. On the other hand, imperfect verbs are more popular in Psalms than in prose, accounting for 55% of verbs in Psalms GCs instead of the 13% of verbs in prose GCs. The higher

⁶⁵² Although even in prose the texts to be analyzed seem to have been chosen based first on content (e.g. content related to Israel) (cf. Pat-El 2017: 230). Even content hostile to Israel is treated as more likely to be northern in language (c.f. Pat-El 2017: 238)!

proportion of imperfect verbs in Psalms could contribute to the increase in prepositional goal-marking, as non-prepositional goal-marking tends to be correlated with perfective verbs.

Second, the **individuation of the goal** is a significant predictor of verse vs. prose. 90% of goals in Psalms are common nouns, as opposed to only 61% of goals in prose. There are no pronominal goals at all in the Psalms corpus. Thus verse may have a preference for less individuated goals. (Psalms GCs are also more likely to have indefinite goals than are prose GCs.) This could contribute to the decline of non-prepositional marking, since directive *he* and the accusative tend to mark individuated goals.

Third, **subjects** are less likely to be **definite** in verse than they are in prose. In Psalms, we find that inexplicit subjects represent a higher proportion of subjects than in prose (69% instead of 60%), as do indefinite subjects (18% instead of 5%). Other types of subjects are less frequent in Psalms than in prose. Definite subjects are reduced from 15% to 6%, PNs/GNs from 14% to 2%. Pronouns, an uncommon subject type, remain relatively stable (7% versus 4%). Since the prepositions tend to be used with less definite subjects, this helps to motivate the high proportion of prepositions.

Fourth, **clause mode and verb aspect** correlate strongly with verse vs. prose distinctions, although this effect is masked when verb principal part is included in a statistical analysis or when both mode and aspect are included.⁶⁵³ Where imperfective verbs appear a minority of the time (43%) in prose goal clauses, they appear the majority of the time (71%) in Psalms; similarly, where irrealis clauses are a minority in prose (39%) they are the majority in verse (65%). Thus we see that complete, real actions are a minority in Psalms, while incomplete, unreal actions are favored. This is probably not an issue of verse vs. prose *per se*, but rather an issue of the set of text types that are found in the Psalms: laments, prayers, hymns, and so on. Whatever the reason for the

⁶⁵³ These two variables are deeply entangled and tend to be statistically collinear.

prevalence of unreal, incomplete actions in Psalms GCs, this would also tend to prefer prepositional marking, since it is correlated with unreal, incomplete actions.

Fifth, the presence or absence of **verb-initial word order** is a powerful predictor of verse vs. prose.⁶⁵⁴ Verse clauses are much more likely to have non-verb-initial word orders. The verb is not first in 37% of verse GCs, in contrast to only 18% of prose GCs. Many scholars have observed that Hebrew verse has a much more flexible word order than Hebrew prose; this observation is borne out by the evidence.⁶⁵⁵ Since the accusative and the directional prepositions, as a class, are not particularly sensitive to word order, this should not impact their relative proportions.

In short, clauses in verse that contain GCs are more likely to contain imperfect or imperfective verbs, less-individuated goals, and less-individuated subjects than are their prose counterparts; they are also less likely to follow verb-initial word order or to describe realis situations. With the exception of the word-order flexibility which we see in verse, all of these differences would tend to restrict the use of the accusative of direction or the directive *he*, helping to explain the increase in prepositional goal-marking. However, none of these linguistic differences explain why the accusative survives in verse while the directive *he* is absent from the goal-marking repertoire.

It is also not clear why any of these differences would cause the increase in *l-* and the decrease in *?e/* that occurs in the Psalms corpus. While *l-* is especially associated with common noun goals, the increase in common noun goals in Psalms is not sufficient in itself to motivate such a dramatic shift.

There are several hypotheses that could explain the absence of directive *he*, the increase in *l-*, and the decrease in *?e/* that we see in Psalms, which could be explored in further study.

⁶⁵⁴ It is not, however, statistically significant in a model that also includes verb principal part. The preterite *wayyiqtol* is to blame for this; since *wayyiqtol* verbs almost always appear in verb-initial clauses, verb principal part predicts a large portion of the variation coded in the word order variable.

⁶⁵⁵ On a related note, the GC appears before the verb in 10% of verse clauses but only 3% of prose clauses.

First, it is possible that the lack of directive *he* and high proportion of *l-* goal-marking is a standard stylistic feature of Hebrew poetry throughout the biblical period. This suggestion would be relatively easy to confirm or disprove, by examining all of the verse GCs in the Hebrew Bible. Second, it is possible that the different proportions of goal-marking strategies in verse vs. prose are motivated by another factor (or factors) not coded in this study which correlates with the verse vs. prose distinction.

It might be tempting to posit that the lack of directive *he* and the abundance of *l-* marking point to a late date for the Psalms, as Late Biblical Hebrew shows a similar dispreference for directive *he* and delight in *l-* (directive *he* is used to mark 7% of goals in LBH vs. 18% in CBH, and *l-* is used to mark 25% in LBH as opposed to 7% in CBH). *l-* also marks primarily inanimate goals in the Psalms corpus (marking animates in only 21% of cases), which tends to be an LBH feature.⁶⁵⁶ However, again, a much more extensive study of Hebrew verse GCs should be undertaken before any such conclusion could be drawn.

7.1.5 Goal Marking in Psalms: In Sum

Using a limited corpus, I have examined differences between prose and verse repertoires of goal-marking strategies as well as some of the differences between prose and verse goal constructions. In this small dataset, independent directive *he* was not used to mark goals, while the accusative was used slightly more often than in prose. The proportions of the prepositions are also somewhat different than in prose, with *ʿal* absent, *ʔel* diminished, and *l-* popularized.

The linguistic factors that significantly impact scribes' choices between goal strategies are the same in verse as in prose. Non-prepositional goal-marking strategies are disfavored in Psalms (in comparison to prose) because of the higher proportions of imperfective verbs, irrealis clauses, and less-individuated goals and subjects that occur in these texts. Psalms clauses also have more flexible word order than prose clauses, but this has no evident effect on goal-marking.

⁶⁵⁶ 6.2.5.

The proportions of goal strategies in Psalms are quite different from the proportions in prose. Unfortunately, none of the factors included in this analysis allow us to explain why the directive *he* is abolished and the *l-* increased in verse.

This pilot study has yielded several important conclusions: first, goal-marking alternation in verse is subject to many of the same linguistic pressures as goal-marking alternation in prose; second, systematic differences between prose and verse have an effect on goal-marking; and third, the syntactic-semantic factors from Chapters 2-6 explain significantly less of the variation in BH verse goal-marking than they do in prose. There are clearly missing variables that should be included in a comprehensive future study of goal-marking in BH verse. For example, verse era/style (taking into account era/style subcorpora such as Archaic Biblical Hebrew and any other available era-assignment data) should be coded; the place of dialect in Hebrew verse should be reassessed; and additional syntactic-semantic factors particular to verse should be investigated. In addition, since fictive motion is so important in Hebrew verse, both factive and fictive goal-marking situations should be examined.

In a thorough study, the text types in Hebrew verse would need to be carefully coded. Are the preferences in Psalms for less salient noun constituents and less perfective verbs universal in Hebrew poetry, or are there verse text types whose goal-marking choices would be more similar to those seen in prose? Would narrative poetry be more similar to narrative prose, or to other poetry? While the Psalms data by themselves are too scant to make progress on these questions, we can gain additional insight by considering a cognate literature known for its verse.

7.2 Case Study 2: Goal Constructions in Ugaritic

Thus far, all of the analyses in this paper have been based on datasets drawn from the Hebrew Bible. For the rest of this chapter, however, I turn my attention northward to the 13th/12th century city-state of Ugarit, an important coastal Syrian city in which a Northwest Semitic language,

Ugaritic, was spoken.⁶⁵⁷ The Ugaritic language, written either in the Ugaritic alefbet or in syllabic cuneiform, was used for a wide variety of personal, administrative, and religious texts. In the surviving corpus, literary and religious texts were written in verse while letters, legal texts, and economic documents were written in prose.⁶⁵⁸ The rich corpus of texts excavated at Ugarit is a priceless linguistic, literary, and religious resource for students of the ancient Near East.

Looking at Goal Constructions in another Northwest Semitic language can answer a number of questions for us. If the same linguistic factors have an effect on goal-marking strategy choice in Ugaritic as in Hebrew, the results for Hebrew can hardly be the accidental artifact of the Hebrew Bible's complex transmission and redaction history. What factors significantly influence goal-marking strategy choice in Ugaritic? Were they the same as or different from the linguistic factors active in Hebrew? What does this mean for our understanding of prototypical goals and motion constructions in Semitic languages in general? Ugaritic is known for its narrative poetry; is the balance of goal-marking strategies in narrative poetry similar to the balance in prose?

Ugaritic has a large repertoire of possible goal-marking strategies.⁶⁵⁹ First, there are goals marked with the directive *he*, which appears in Ugaritic as a final *h*, probably vocalized as *ha*. For example, in the incantation KTU 1.169, physical problems (disease-bearing demons?) are driven out of the body *ka ya 'ilima zêra=ha / ka laba?îma sukka=ha* 'like goats **to** the mountain-top / like lions **to** the lair' (line 4).⁶⁶⁰

Second, we find goals marked with the accusative of destination. Unlike Hebrew, Ugaritic retains a system of case markers (nominative singular –u / genitive singular –i / accusative singular –a), but since vowels are not usually written we must again deduce the accusative from

⁶⁵⁷ I follow Lam and Pardee (among others) in classifying Ugaritic as Northwest Semitic rather than as part of the Canaanite subfamily. See Lam and Pardee 2012: 407-408 with bibliography.

⁶⁵⁸ On poetry and prose in Ugaritic studies, see Lam and Pardee 2012: 422-426.

⁶⁵⁹ For transcriptions of all Ugaritic examples in this section, see KTU². Other editions were used as noted below.

⁶⁶⁰ cf. Pardee 2002: 160. Please note that the Ugaritic texts quoted in this chapter are written in consonantal cuneiform; in most cases, vowels must be supplied by the scholar. Indeterminate vowels are written as *v*. For the quotes from KTU 1.3 and KTU 1.4 (part of the Baal Myth) I have used the vocalizations from Smith and Pitard 2009.

context. In KTU 1.100: 62, we see the god Horanu returning ‘to a city of the east’ *’ira dṽ qadmi*.⁶⁶¹

There is no preposition or directive *he* here, but Horanu is clearly moving toward a goal.

Third, we find goals formatted as dative pronoun suffixes on verbs. (This option was not available in Hebrew, as pronoun suffixes for verbs were only used for direct objects. The BH equivalent consists of the preposition *l-* plus pronominal endings, an option used for goals less than 30 times in the HB prose dataset.) These dative pronoun goals are almost always animate, as in KTU 1.4 V:15 ‘Let the mountains bring **to you** much silver’ (*tabilū-ka ḡarūma mu?da kaspā*) or KTU 1.3 II: 41 ‘dew [which] the heavens pour **onto her**’ (*ʔalla šamūma tissaku=ha*).

Fourth, we find goals marked with a variety of directional prepositions, ranging from the default goal-marker *l-* to less common options such as *b-*, *’imma*, *toka*, and *’ad(i)*.⁶⁶²

(a) KTU 1.3 II: 17 – An example with *l-*

wa-halluna ’anatu lē-bēti-ha timḡayuna / tištaqilu ?ilatu lē-hēkali-ha
‘Now behold, ‘Anat **to** her house went / The goddess took herself **to** her palace’

(b) KTU 1.4 V: 13a – An example with *b-*

šūḥ ḡarrāna bi-baḡatī-ka
‘Call a caravan **into** your house’

(c) KTU 1.3 III: 19-20a – An example with *’imma*

’imma-ya pa’nā-ki talsumāni / ’imma-ya tiwtaḡā ?išdā-ki
‘**To** me let your feet run / **to** me let hurry your legs’

(d) KTU 1.3 VI: 14 – An example with *toka*

’iddaka ?al tatinā panīma / tōka ḡiqkupti ?ili kulli-hu
‘Then indeed you shall set your face (= travel) / **to** ḤQKPT (=Memphis) great [and] wide’

(e) KTU 1.5 VI: 3b-5a – An example with *’ad(i)* (and *l-*)

sabban[?] lē-q[?]iṣṣi ?arṣi / ’ad(i) kasāmi mahayāti
‘We went **to** the e[dge of the earth], / **to** the edge of the waters’

⁶⁶¹ cf. Pardee 2002: 178.

⁶⁶² In the prepositional examples, please note that the slash / indicates the poetic line break, not the line break on the tablet. See Smith and Pitard 2009 or Smith 1997 for tablet line breaks.

7.2.1 Goal-Marking in Ugaritic Prose: Letters and Legal Texts

While our primary focus in section 7.2 is on Ugaritic poetry, a brief examination of goal-marking in Ugaritic prose gives us a baseline for comparison. The extant corpus of Ugaritic prose texts consists primarily of letters and legal texts.

About 86 cuneiform alphabetic letters from Ras Shamra (Ugarit) and the nearby Ras ibn Hani have been published.⁶⁶³ Many of these letters are written to or from persons attached to the royal court. While we cannot always identify the sender, we know that each letter was written at a particular moment in time, probably by a single individual or a single individual and his scribe. Thus the Ugaritic letters do not have the layers of possible divergence from their 'original form' that scholars have posited for the biblical texts.

However, the Ugaritic letters present their own challenges. Many are fragmentary; of those that are complete, few contain Goal Constructions. For many of these letters, the majority of the text consists of long formulaic greetings, which are not useful for our purposes. Then, letters that contain unique messages are not guaranteed to include any motion clauses.

The Ugaritic letters exhibit a much more limited repertoire of goal-marking strategies than we find in Ugaritic verse (for which see below). The preposition *`imma* was used to mark goals most often, with *-l-* being almost as frequent; the accusative was used on rare occasions. No other goal-marking strategies appear in the corpus—no dative pronominal suffixes for verbs, no directive *he*, no *b-*, *toka*, or *`ad(i)*. In all, there are only 14 examples of factive motion to a goal and 25 examples of fictive motion to a goal in complete contexts.⁶⁶⁴ Although all discussions of Hebrew above have been limited to factive goal-marking, examples of both factive and fictive goal-marking in Ugaritic will be considered here in order to maximize the dataset.

⁶⁶³ See KTU² section 2. For a brief introduction to the corpus, see Cunchillos 1999; for editions of the letters that include Goal Constructions, see Ahl 1973, Pardee 1983/4, Pardee 1984, Dietrich and Loretz 1984, Knoppers 1993, Cunchillos and Vita 1993.

⁶⁶⁴ See KTU 2.10, 2.11, 2.12, 2.13, 2.14, 2.16, 2.26, 2.30, 2.33, 2.34, 2.36, 2.38, 2.39, 2.40, 2.42, 2.45, 2.46, 2.68, 2.70, 2.71, and 2.82.

The accusative of destination is used to mark goals only five times in this corpus, always in factive contexts. The goals it marks are always inanimate, and include ‘the house of the king’ (*bêta malki*, two times in KTU 2.36); two geographic names, ‘Egypt’ and ‘NS’; and the adverbial *hinna* ‘hither.’

The preposition *`imma* is used 18 times in the corpus, in a mixture of factive and fictive contexts. The goals it marks are animate in every case, usually in the form of pronominal suffixes that combine with the preposition (e.g. *`imma-ya* ‘to me’); but it also applies to PNs (e.g. *`imma tarêlli* ‘to Tarelli’, KTU 2.14) and to animate common nouns (e.g. *`imma malki* ‘to the king’, KTU 2.42; *`imma šapši ba 'li-ka* ‘to the Sun your lord’, KTU 2.39).

The preposition *-l-* marks goals 16 times in the corpus. Most of these examples come from the introductory formulae of the letters, since the preposition *-l-* is the goal-marking strategy of choice both for initial statements of the writer’s submission to the recipient (‘**to** the feet of our lady [*Iê-pa'nê ?adatti-nāyā*] we bow,’ KTU 2.11) and for requests for news (‘return a message [*rugum*] **to** your servants [*Iê- 'abdê-ki*],’ KTU 2.11). However, it is also used outside of the formulae in a few places. In KTU 2.16, one moves *-l-* the presence of the king (*`arabtu Iê-pani šapši*). In a broken context, it is used for travelling ‘**to** Mt. Amanus’ (*Iê-ğūri ?amani*, KTU 2.33). Thus, as in Hebrew, we see that *-l-* is used for both animate and inanimate goals.

Ugaritic legal documents are also written in prose.⁶⁶⁵ While these documents do not often include motion situations, there are a few examples. The tribute record in KTU 3.1 uses *-l-* to mark an animate goal: ‘Here is the tribute which Niqmaddu [brought/sent] **to** the Sun of Arinna’ (*Iê-šapši ?arinnv*; KTU 3.1: 18-19a). In a surety document for the debtor Matenu, the scribe may use the directive *he* to mark an inanimate goal in a fictive motion clause: ‘In his fleeing (= when he

⁶⁶⁵ See KTU section 3. Economic texts are written in prose as well, but they include few to no motion situations and thus are not discussed here.

flees) **to** another country' (*ḥuwwata tittā=ha*, KTU 3.3: 4).⁶⁶⁶ Finally, in another surety document, the scribe includes a GN goal that is construed in the accusative of direction: *mišrêmv timmakirūna* 'to Mšrm [= Egypt] they will be sold' (KTU 3.8: 15-16).⁶⁶⁷

Table 7.3 summarizes the goal-marking strategies used in Ugaritic prose. The directive *he* may occur once or twice in the prose corpora, in what is very likely a fixed phrase ('to another country'); in this one instance, it marks an animate goal. The accusative of direction is used a bit more frequently; it marks only inanimate goals (as in Biblical Hebrew). The preposition *`imma* marks goals frequently; it only marks animate goals in this corpus, and may be restricted to animate goals. The preposition *l-* also appears frequently; there are no evident restrictions on its use.

Table 7.3 Goal-Marking Strategies in Ugaritic Prose

Strategy	Restricted to
Directive <i>he</i>	(insufficient data; perhaps inanimate)
Accusative of destination	inanimate goal
Preposition <i>`imma</i>	animate goal
Preposition <i>l-</i>	n/a

Why is the goal-marking repertoire used in Ugaritic prose—especially the letters—so limited in comparison to the repertoire of options available in Ugaritic poetry? One possible explanation is that the Ugaritic letters were simply not very literary.⁶⁶⁸ The letter writers weren't trying to impress anyone with their stylistic choices, so they used a basic set of options that was probably the same as the set used in speech. (The diversification of options for performing

⁶⁶⁶ Hoftijzer and van Soldt 1991: 190. *t* > *tn* 'two/ other.' If valid, this is a highly unusual placement of directive *he*, as the *he* would normally attach to the noun of a noun + adjective phrase (cf. *hayyāmmāh haggādōl* 'to the Great Sea', Josh 15:12), as Hoftijzer acknowledges (ibid). If this is not a directive *he*, then the goal 'another country' is apparently being construed in the accusative. Directive *he* may be used another time in the legal corpus in the same phrase; Hoftijzer and van Soldt restore lines 9-10 in KTU 3.8 as *b. yših[m] ḥwt. [tth]* 'When they flee to another country' based on the KTU 3.3 example (ibid 191).

⁶⁶⁷ *mkr* 'to sell' is generally a caused-possession verb with no contingent caused-motion, but here the context and the inanimate goal make it clear that caused-motion is occurring along with the transfer of possession.

⁶⁶⁸ KTU 2.81, an Ugaritic version of a letter to the king of Egypt, is an exception, having a number of more elaborate features. A more literary quality may have been a common feature of correspondence with the kings of other cities. cf. the Ugaritic letters KTU 2.38 and 2.39, from the king of Tyre and the king of Egypt (perhaps Ugaritic translations of Akkadian originals).

common grammatical functions often indicates a more elaborated, literary writing style.) Biblical Hebrew and Old Babylonian Akkadian reflect a similar differentiation between the limited repertoires of more mundane text types and the extensive repertoires of more elaborate text types (see 6.3.2 and Appendix 6).

7.2.2 Goal-Marking in Ugaritic Verse: The Baal Cycle

At the end of the Psalms case study, I asked whether the distinctive characteristics of the Psalms dataset represent the difference between prose and verse *per se*, or whether they represent the features of the specific verse text types found in the book of Psalms. Would other verse text types be more or less similar to the prose profile? How would goal strategy choice differ?

In this section, I continue to explore these questions through a case study of a famous text from a very different corpus: the verse Baal Cycle. The Baal Cycle is the most famous mythological text from Ugarit. The text as we have it is written in the local cuneiform alphabet and spread across 6 tablets (KTU 1.1 through 1.6) in varying states of preservation, several of which bear colophons by the court scribe Ilimilku.⁶⁶⁹ It is not known whether the cycle was composed, compiled/redacted, or only copied by Ilimilku; it is also not known whether any earlier sources used by Ilimilku were oral or written, or even what language these sources may have been in.

The Baal Cycle is a narrative poem, being an account of the god Baal's struggle to achieve and maintain a high position in the West Semitic pantheon. As such, it partakes both of the nature of narrative and of verse. On the narrative side, it uses coordinated clauses and finite verbs to tell a complete story; like BH prose narrative, it contains other embedded text types like dialogue and narrative speech.⁶⁷⁰ On the side of verse, it uses parallelism, a poetic lexicon, poetic formulae, and so on.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁹ For the Baal Cycle transcriptions, I referred to Smith 1997 and Smith and Pitard 2009. For other narrative poetry from Ugarit, one may begin with the collected editions in Parker 1997. For a classic commentary on Kirta and Aqhat, see Parker 1989.

⁶⁷⁰ cf. Parker 1989: 61-62.

⁶⁷¹ cf. Parker 1989: 7-59; Huehnergard 2012: 85-87.

7.2.2.1 The Dataset

There are 103 factive Goal Constructions in the surviving portions of the Baal Cycle. However, 27 of these are identical to an earlier Goal Construction, since the Cycle involves a great deal of repetition related both to reports by the characters and to command-performance sequences, leaving only 76 unique observations.⁶⁷²

The scribes of the Baal Cycle use a much larger repertoire of goal-marking options than the writers of the Ugaritic letters and legal texts. Instead of a repertoire of prepositional *`imma* and *l-* marking, with occasional accusatives of destination and one possible directive *he* (a total of four options), there are seven options, summarized in Table 7.4 and Figure 7.2 below. First, 7% of the unique GCs in the Baal Cycle have dative pronoun goals. Then, 18.5% are construed in the accusative of destination. The remaining 75% are marked with prepositions—primarily *l-* (marking 36% of the Baal Cycle goals), while *b-* accounts for 18%, *`imma* for 13%, and *toka* for 7%. There are no factive goals marked with directive *he* in the Baal Cycle.⁶⁷³ Based on usage, *l-* appears to be the default goal-marker, with *b-* and the accusative as common alternatives.

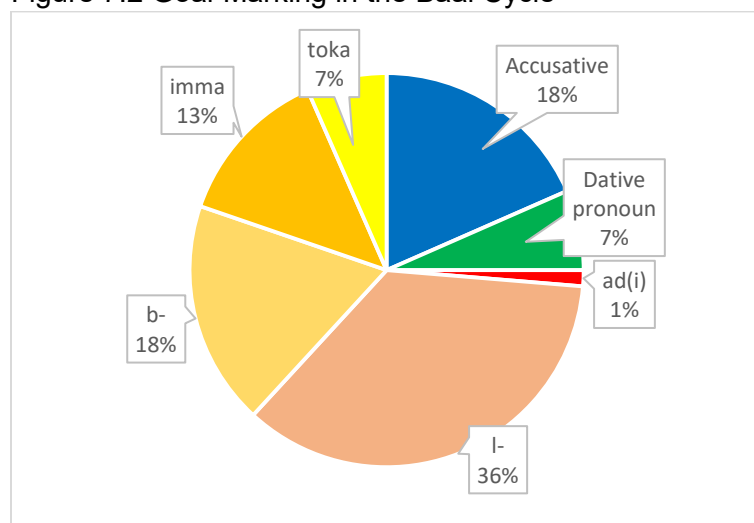
Table 7.4 Goal-Marking in the Baal Cycle, with column percentages

goal-marking strategy	Observations
accusative	14 (18.52%)
preposition	57 (75.00%)
dative pronoun	5 (6.58%)
totals	76 (100%)

⁶⁷² I counted a GC as sufficiently preserved if the goal phrase was fully preserved and enough of the verb was preserved to be sure of its principal part. While many motion clauses which have not been preserved can be reconstructed with confidence on the basis of parallels in the text, these were not included as they are 1) reconstructed and 2) reconstructed as identical with other clauses.

⁶⁷³ Although directive *he* can be used in Ugaritic; see 7.2 above, as well as the entry in DULAT for “-h (II).”

Figure 7.2 Goal-Marking in the Baal Cycle



In the lack of directive *he* goal-marking the Baal Cycle is similar to the book of Psalms, but the presence of a new goal-marking strategy—dative pronoun suffixes for verbs—demonstrates from the beginning that comparing Biblical Hebrew and Ugaritic may be like comparing oranges and grapefruits: while they have a family resemblance and are more similar to each other than different, there are things which are unique about each one.

7.2.2.2 Linguistic Correlates of Goal-Marking Strategies in Ugaritic

What linguistic variables influence the Ugaritic scribes' choice of goal strategies? I analyzed goal-related variables (goal animacy, definiteness, individuation, number, complexity, adjuncts, final phoneme; strategies in parallel or adjacent-clause GCs), word order variables (verb position, GC position), subject and object variables (object animacy, subject and object definiteness and number; subject affectedness), verb and clause variables (verb principal part, clause mode), and a descriptive variable (text type).⁶⁷⁴

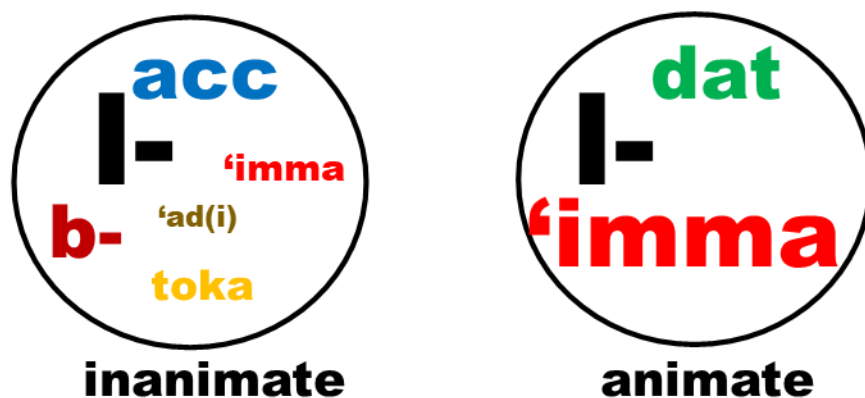
⁶⁷⁴ While I coded some other variables, such as subject animacy, verb voice, verb *binyan*, and clause negation, there was too little variation between the GCs to include these in any models. There are only two inanimate subjects, three passive verbs, and one negative clause in the Baal Cycle dataset. In terms of *binyan*, there are 67 basic G verbs, 2 G passives, 3 Gts, 1 indeterminate verb (N or G), 2 Š verbs and 1 Št. Another variable, object reflexiveness, presents a more interesting picture. Objects are semi-reflexive in about half of the unique observations in the Baal Cycle dataset. These semi-reflexive objects are, in every case, part of a specific motion idiom, "to give (*ytn*) one's face (*prnm*) to." See Baal Cycle 1.2 I: 4, 1.2 II: 14, 1.2 II: 20, 1.3 IV: 38, 1.3 V: 6, 1.3 VI: 14, 1.4 IV: 21, 1.4 V: 23, 1.4 VIII: 2-4, 1.4 VIII: 11, 1.5 I: 10-11, 1.5 II: 14-15, 1.5 V: 11-12, and 1.6 I: 32-33 for preserved examples. This idiom does not require any specific goal-marking strategy; goals of this motion idiom are marked with the accusative, or with prepositions *l-*, *'imma*, or *toka*.

As in Biblical Hebrew, **goal animacy** has a strong and statistically significant effect on the scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies. In the Baal Cycle, the accusative of destination is used only to mark inanimate goals, while dative pronouns only refer to animate goals. Furthermore, most prepositions show clear preferences for either animate or inanimate goals; only *l-* is indifferent to goal animacy. *b-*, *toka*, and *'ad(i)* appear only with inanimate goals, while *'imma* is generally used for animate goals.

Table 7.5 Goal-Marking Options by Goal Animacy, with column percentages

Goal-marking strategy	Inanimate	Animate	totals
accusative	14 (24.14%)	0	14 (18.42%)
dative suffix	0	5 (27.78%)	5 (6.58%)
prepositions	44 (75.86%)	13 (72.22%)	57 (75.00%)
<i>'imma</i>	3 (5.17%)	7 (38.89%)	10
<i>l-</i>	21 (36.21%)	6 (33.33%)	27
<i>b-</i>	14 (24.14%)	0	14
<i>toka</i>	5 (8.62%)	0	5
<i>'ad(i)</i>	1 (1.72%)	0	1
totals	58 (100%)	18 (100%)	76 (100%)

Figure 7.3 Choosing a Strategy Based on Goal Animacy



The **definiteness and individuation of the goal** may also be significant factors.⁶⁷⁵ The accusative of destination is far more likely to be used to mark definite goals (35% vs. of 5% of

⁶⁷⁵ In such a small dataset, including both of these variables causes both of them to drop below significance (0.07) due to their collinearity with one another. Please note that common nouns are less likely to be counted as definite in Ugaritic than in Hebrew due to the apparent lack of a definite article. Thus a common noun is only specified as definite when in construct with a proper noun or when carrying a possessive pronoun suffix.

unique goals) and in this dataset it only marks common nouns. Prepositions can mark both definite (65%) and indefinite (83%) goals; they mark all proper nouns in the dataset, whether they are GNs or PNs, as well as 75% of the common nouns and 38% of the pronouns.⁶⁷⁶ Then, 63% of the pronominal goals occur in the form of dative pronominal suffixes on verbs.

As in Hebrew, the **number of the goal** is not significant. Without any directive *he*'s in the mix, the **final phoneme of the goal** is also not significant.

The **complexity of the goal** and the **presence or absence of adjuncts** do impact which goal-marking strategy can be chosen: dative pronoun suffixes are, by their nature, simple goals and do not take adjuncts. The accusative and prepositional strategies appear to be indifferent to goal complexity. Only the prepositions *l-* and *toka* apply to goals with adjuncts, although since only 10 observations in the set have adjuncts this may well be an accident of preservation.

In the Baal Cycle, **priming** is a powerful motivator of goal-marking strategy choice. 46% of goal phrases are in the same clause as other goal phrases, while 42% are in clauses adjacent to other goal phrases. Same-clause goal phrases match the strategy of the previous goal phrase 70% of the time; adjacent-clause goal phrases match the strategy of the previous goal phrase 40% of the time. These numbers are much higher than in Hebrew prose. (Examples of same-clause and adjacent-clause GCs in the Psalms dataset were too few to draw any conclusions.) In particular, *l-* and *b-* always prime successfully within the same clause.

Word order variables are not significant predictors of goal-marking strategy choice. Like Hebrew verse, Ugaritic verse allows for a wide variety of word orders (48% of observations are not verb-initial, although only 12% put the goal phrase before the verb). Verb-initial and non-verb-initial clauses appear with about equal frequency for each of the goal-marking strategies. Clauses with the goal phrase before versus after the verb show more differences—primarily because dative pronouns, being suffixed to the verb, cannot appear before it.

⁶⁷⁶ All preposition plus pronoun goal phrases in the Baal Cycle use the preposition *`imma*, but this is incidental. In the Ugaritic letters, both *l-* and *`imma* are used with pronoun suffixes (but no dative pronoun verbal suffixes).

The significance of the **subject variables** is difficult to assess. Regarding the definiteness of the subject, the accusative is not used to mark goals in any clauses with indefinite subjects, while dative pronouns are not used as goals in any clauses with PN/GN or definite common subjects. However, due to the scarcity of explicit subjects in the dataset (only 19 out of 76 unique observations have explicit subjects) this may be an artifact of the set's small size. Subject number is again hard to assess due to the small size of the dataset. Accusatives do not appear in clauses with collective subjects, and are less common with plural subjects than singular.

The case of the **object variables** is just as bad, as only thirty clauses in the dataset have objects. Only prepositional GCs appear in clauses with definite objects. Accusatives of destination appear only with animate objects, dative pronouns with inanimate. Accusatives and dative pronouns appear only with collective objects, never singular or plural ones. Yet all of these correlations could be artifacts of the small size of the dataset.

The **clause and verb variables** are in somewhat better case. The accusative is never used for unaffected subjects; nor are the prepositions *'ad(i)*, *'imma*, and *toka*. Accusatives are less common in irrealis clauses, while prepositions are more common (especially *'imma* and *toka*) and dative pronouns are indifferent. In terms of verb principal parts, the accusative of destination is more likely to be used if clauses contain imperative, preterite, or durative verbs, while directional prepositions are more likely to be used in clauses containing jussive, perfect, or prefixed irrealis verbs.⁶⁷⁷

⁶⁷⁷ Since Ugaritic texts are not vocalized, the interpretation of the verbs—especially the prefixed verb forms—may be ambiguous. This occurs for two reasons. First, there are some forms in the various prefixed paradigms that would only be differentiated by a vowel—and this vowel is not written. Second, universal agreement is lacking regarding the meanings which each paradigm may have (cf. Tropper 2000 §73.2, 73.3; Sivan 2001: 96-99; Huehnergard 2012: 52-57; on the other hand, Greenstein 2006), and on the extent to which these meanings may vary based on discourse context. Greenstein, who posits a default meaning for each paradigm which may vary significantly based on context (2006: 91), remarks, “Among the many factors that influence the interpretation of meaning are: [*sic*] genre, discourse context and its various features, syntax, and more. And among the many discourse functions that a verb can serve ... [*are*] foregrounding and backgrounding, integrating and dividing discourse, indicating genre and perspective, and more” (Greenstein 2006: 78-79).

The Baal Cycle contains both narrative and dialogue **text types**. Text type is significant at the 0.05 level as a predictor of goal-marking strategy choice. Accusative marking is more popular in narration, while prepositional marking accounts for a higher proportion in dialogue. Of those prepositional GCs, *'ad(i)*, *'imma*, and *toka* are more common in dialogue while *l-* and *b-* are slightly more common in narration. The repertoires of goal-marking strategies used in dialogue and narration are the same, although the balances of strategies within these repertoires differ.

Over all, what can we say about goal-marking strategy choice in the Baal Cycle? As in Hebrew, the accusative of destination tends to be used to mark goals in clauses which are similar to the prototypical Intransitive Motion Clause: intransitive clauses with inanimate, mostly definite goals to which individuated, affected subjects really move. Again as in Hebrew, the accusative is not restricted by goal complexity. The high correlation of accusative goal-marking with imperative verbs may be an artifact of the small size of the dataset.

Dative pronoun suffixes on verbs are present in Ugaritic but not in Hebrew. This goal strategy has a number of inherent characteristics: it always follows the verb; the goal is always pronominal, simple, and takes no adjuncts. In this limited dataset, the referent of the dative suffix is always animate, and even in Ugaritic at large an overwhelming preference for animate referents would be expected. Dative pronominal goals can be used in any clause mode or text type. They are associated with transitive clauses, and may also be associated with less salient subjects and objects, as they do not appear here with definite subjects or objects and their objects are inanimate, although with such limited data this must remain a speculative suggestion. This phenomenon may occur because dative pronoun suffixes usually function as goals in Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions.⁶⁷⁸

⁶⁷⁸ See 5.2.3.5, 5.2.3.6, and 6.4.

Prepositional goal marking is more common in dialogue, in irrealis clauses and with imperfective verbs. Other correlates vary from preposition to preposition. This variation between prepositions is more clear than in the Biblical Hebrew corpus, where the wide variety of text types as well as change over time tend to muddy the waters.

l- is the default goal-marking strategy in this Ugaritic poem; it is the most common option for most outcomes and is indifferent to many linguistic variables, such the animacy, definiteness, and complexity of the goal; the presence of adjuncts; and subject affectedness. Like *?e/* in Hebrew, it primes itself very effectively, exhibiting perfect same-clause priming. In this dataset, *l-* does not mark any pronominal goals.

b- is also a frequent goal-marking strategy, with a higher proportionate use than in Hebrew. Like *l-*, it enjoys perfect same-clause priming. *b-* is indifferent to the number of participants in a clause, and often appears with unaffected subjects; yet it prefers to attach to more-prototypical goals which are inanimate, common, mostly definite, and not pronominal. As in Hebrew, it is most often used with goals that are divisible, usually bounded locations such as bowls, dwellings, and mouths. Sometimes the fact that these goals are being conceptualized as divisible is underlined by including *qrb* ('the middle') in the goal phrase, as e.g. ***bi-qirbi hêkali-ka*** 'into the midst of your palace.'⁶⁷⁹

`ad(i) only appears once in the dataset, in a near-prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction with an inanimate, common, definite (though complex) goal and an affected subject, in a realis clause with a perfect verb. This is just the sort of environment where *`ad(i)* would be expected in Biblical Hebrew.

`imma tends to mark highly salient but non-prototypical goals which may be animate, pronominal, and/or proper, in mostly two-participant clauses with affected subjects. It usually marks simple goals and is indifferent to clause mode. Although the cognate of this preposition in

⁶⁷⁹ KTU 1.4 V: 14 // KTU 1.4 V: 30 // KTU 1.4 V: 37.

Biblical Hebrew (*`im*, 'with') is not used for goal-marking, much of the description of the function of this Ugaritic preposition is familiar: it is specialized for the marking of atypical animate and/or pronominal goals, like *-* in Hebrew. While Ugaritic and Hebrew have slightly different repertoires of goal-marking prepositions, these prepositions mark the same major distinctions. Since Ugaritic did not share the innovative (?) use of *?e/* as a default goal-marker, *-* remained the goal-marking default, and a different preposition was used to mark animate, atypical goals.

toka marks three GN goals and the goal 'his town' (*qariti-hu*, two times). That is to say, in this dataset it marks definite, inanimate, complex, nominal goals. More importantly, in every instance when it appears it is part of the idiom 'to set one's face toward' (= 'to travel').⁶⁸⁰ Since *toka* means 'midst' in other environments, we might wonder whether it is associated with divisible goals when outside of this idiom.⁶⁸¹ An examination of a larger dataset might help to define the uses of this preposition.

In sum, the accusative of destination and *`ad(i)* are used for prototypical goals in prototypical Intransitive Motion Clauses; *b-* is used for divisible, fairly prototypical goals in less prototypical clauses (especially with unaffected subjects); *toka* marks goals in the idiom 'to set one's face toward'; and *`imma* is used for animate and/or pronominal goals. *-* may be used in any situation, although it is less likely with animate/pronominal goals or in irrealis clauses. Dative pronoun goals are used in situations in which the goal/recipient is salient but the other participants are backgrounded, perhaps because dative pronominals tend to appear in Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions.

7.2.2.3 Text Type and Goal-Marking Part 3

In 3.3.1, I showed that BH prose could be roughly classified into three text types: dialogue, narrative speech, and narrative. In 6.3.2, I demonstrated that, while all BH goal-marking options

⁶⁸⁰ Thus, it always appears in transitive clauses with affected subjects and semi-relexive objects.

⁶⁸¹ DULAT lists only one example of *toka* goal-marking in which it is not part of the idiom *yn pnm tk*; in this example (KTU 1.12 I: 21) the addressee is being directed to travel into the heart of a regional location, the desert of TN (see entry '*tk*').

are available in all three of these text types, some options are less available in dialogue and narrative speech, perhaps reflecting a difference between literary and non-literary (whether written or spoken) environments.⁶⁸² Below, I claim that differences in goal-marking in Ugaritic prose and verse also reflects a non-literary/literary distinction.

Like Hebrew prose, the Ugaritic Baal Cycle contains both narrative and dialogue text types. Are the Goal Constructions in this verse epic more similar to those in Hebrew prose narrative and dialogue, or to those in Hebrew poetry, specifically the Psalms, which fall primarily into other text types? In other words, is the prose vs. verse distinction more important in the choice of goal-marking strategies in Northwest Semitic languages, or is the text type distinction more important?

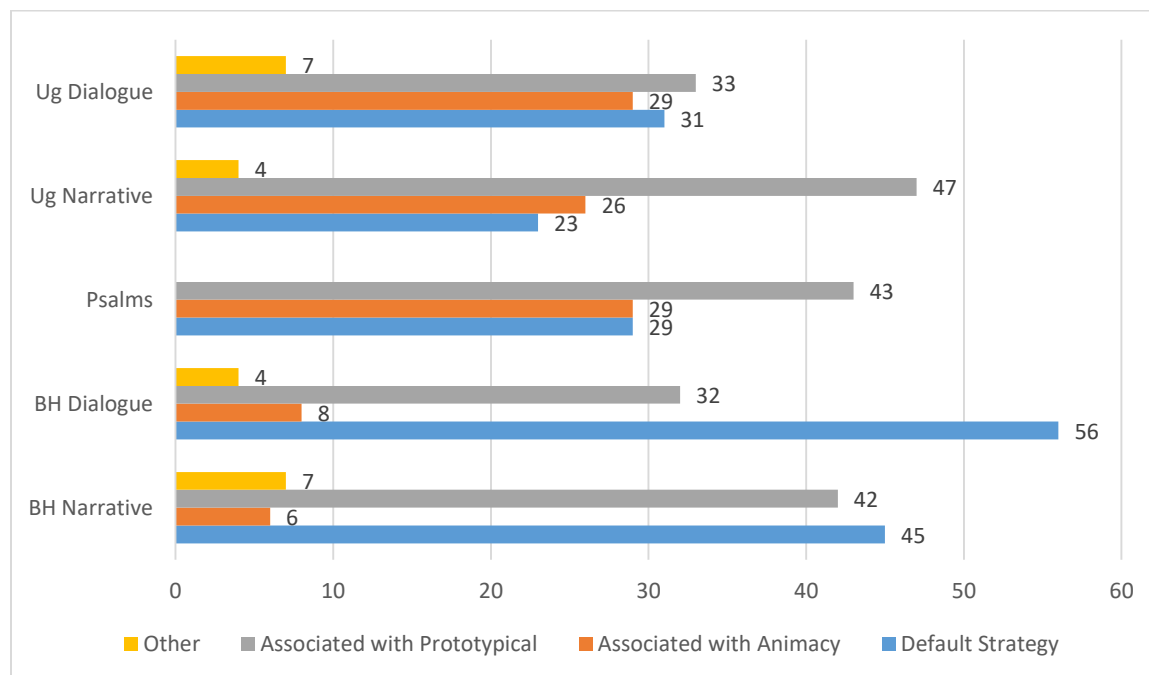
In Biblical Hebrew, the Psalms have higher proportions of imperfective verbs, irrealis clauses, and less-individuated goals and subjects than the prose texts do. They have more flexible word order than prose. In Ugaritic, the prose letters have higher proportions of imperfective verbs and irrealis clauses than the Baal Cycle does, so these qualities appear to be text typical features rather than features particular to verse. As in Hebrew, Ugaritic verse has a more flexible word order than prose.

Figure 7.4 contrasts the goal-marking repertoires of BH prose narrative, BH prose dialogue, Psalms, Baal Cycle narrative verse, and Baal Cycle verse dialogue. Since the exact contents of their repertoires vary, the goal-marking options are roughly charted by function, not by identity. So, for example, the blue bars indicate the percentage of goals in each corpus that are marked with the default goal marker. For Biblical Hebrew, the default is *?e/*, while for Ugaritic, the default is *l-*. Orange bars indicate the percentage of goals in each corpus that are marked with goal markers that are primarily associated with animacy (examples of *l-* for BH in the CBH and TBH eras, *`al* in LBH, *`imma* and dative suffixes for Ugaritic). Gray bars indicate the

⁶⁸² See also 6.3.1.1.

percentage of goals in each corpus that are marked with strategies associated with prototypical goals and prototypical motion constructions. Finally, yellow bars indicate the percentage of goals in each corpus that are marked with strategies that do not fit into any of the above categories.

Figure 7.4 Percentages of Types of Goal-Marking Options in Different Corpora



What can we say about goal-marking and text types based on this figure? First, in both Hebrew and Ugaritic dialogue, the goal-marking repertoire becomes less diverse, with the default strategy being used more often even in prototypical motion constructions. This probably represents a shift toward (though not all the way to) the limited repertoire of goal-marking strategies used in mundane speech and writing.

Second, in Ugaritic dialogue and narrative and Hebrew Psalms (the three verse sets), strategies associated with marking animate goals are more common while use of the default strategy is less common. In fact, the over-all balance of functions in the Hebrew Psalms are much more similar to the options in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle than to the balance of options in Hebrew prose. Additional study would be needed to confirm this as true for all of Hebrew and/or Ugaritic verse.

In short, it seems that both text-typical considerations and verse/prose issues are impacting the Hebrew and Ugaritic corpora-sets in similar ways. Dialogue contains less variety in goal-marking, while verse contains more animate-goal-markers and fewer default goal-markers.

7.3 In Review

This chapter contains an initial investigation into goal-marking in Hebrew and Ugaritic verse.

In a dataset of factive GCs from the book of Psalms, there is an over-all growth of the proportion of prepositional goal-marking—perhaps due to the higher proportions of imperfective verbs, irrealis clauses, and less-individuated goals and subjects in Psalms—compared to BH prose. There are also several unexplained changes in the balance of goal-marking strategies. In the Psalms dataset, the directive *he* and the preposition *`al* are not used, while the preposition *l-* is used more than in prose and the preposition *?e/* is used less.

Section 7.2 includes an examination of data drawn from Ugaritic prose and verse. The Ugaritic prose corpus is small and includes a limited repertoire of goal-marking strategies, perhaps due to the less ‘literary’ nature of the epistolary and legal text types. The Ugaritic verse corpus is much larger and includes a wide variety of goal-marking strategies. In a dataset of GCs drawn from the Baal Cycle, the directive *he* was absent, while *l-* acted as the default and *`imma* as the animate-goal marker. When this dataset was analyzed using multinomial logistical regression, many of the same linguistic factors that were significant in the BH prose analysis were once again found to be significant: goal animacy, definiteness, and individuation; same-clause and adjacent-clause priming; subject definiteness (?); clause mode; verb principal part; and text type. The accusative and the preposition *`ad(i)* (and to a lesser extent *b-*) mark prototypical goals in clauses that are more similar to the prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction, just as they do in Biblical Hebrew.

The Ugaritic verse data parallels the Psalms data in important ways, suggesting that the peculiar balance of goal-marking strategies in Psalms may be partially due to the book's verse composition. However, additional study of Hebrew (and Ugaritic) poetry is needed in order to confirm this.

All in all, the pilot studies of Hebrew and Ugaritic verse in this chapter have raised more questions than they have answered. Yet it is only after our research questions have been defined that thorough study can begin.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Chapter Eight: CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Outline

8.1 Finding Scribal Choices in the Hebrew Bible

8.1.1 Future Directions: Handling Textual Fluidity

8.2 Linguistic Norms

8.2.1 Describing the Linguistic Norms of Biblical Hebrew with Respect to Goal-Marking

8.2.2 Future Directions: Prototypical Constructions, Motion, and Space

8.3 Scribes' Goal-Marking Choices across Time and Space

8.4 Scribal Education, Textual Prestige, and Goal-Marking Strategies

8.5 Scribes Making Use of Goal-Marking

8.5.1 Future Directions: Diachrony and Style in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East

8.6 Finale: Choice Implies the Chooser

The linguistic choices made by a scribe can potentially tell us a great deal about the norms of the written language in the time and place where he lived, his own training, the communitie(s) to which he belonged, and his conscious use of language to construct social meaning. In this study, I focused on ancient Judean (and Israelite?) scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies, using this alternation as an entry point into the study of the Biblical Hebrew linguistic system and its social background. Why did the biblical scribes choose the goal-marking option that they did in each Goal Construction? Was it a conscious decision, or one reflecting unconscious impacts of their education or sociohistorical circumstances? What semantic/pragmatic factors influenced their decisions?

In this chapter, I discuss what the goal-marking choices of the ancient Judean (and Israelite?) scribes reveal about the norms of the written languages in the times and places when they lived; about the norms for the text types and styles Hebrew scribes chose to use; and about ways that the scribes consciously manipulated their use of goal-marking as a social marker. I also review the development of the goal-marking system in Semitic and outline several directions for future research.

8.1 Finding Scribal Choices in the Hebrew Bible

Every phrase in any of the extant texts of the Hebrew Bible is there because of layer after layer of scribal choices—choices to create it, to place it, to use this word and not that, to use this

construction and not that; perhaps to add to it, to alter it, to delete something from it. Each of these choices signifies something, although what it signifies may be small or great. Even the choice to copy a phrase without change is a socially significant one.

Unfortunately, in individual cases these choices are hard to assess. A comparison of our extant manuscripts shows frequent minor instabilities and occasional more major instabilities in the text. Among biblical scholars, it is often difficult to reach a consensus about the 'original' reading of a text or even to which redaction of a text a certain phraseology belongs (see Chapter 2), making it challenging to assign it to a sociohistorical context and introducing the possibility that a given clause may include components authored by scribes with different linguistic norms.

However, while individual choices are difficult to handle, the choices of the scribes can be investigated in aggregate. When we construct large datasets of the scribes' linguistic choices, we find that the probabilities that scribes will make certain choices change significantly based on various factors. We can identify and weigh these factors by using statistical tools such as multinomial logistical regression (mlogit). Given a maximal dataset, the significance results of statistical models should be correct despite a certain amount of data which is problematic due to textual fluidity. In the statistical analysis described in Chapter 2, I was able not only to weigh the significance and effects of dozens of variables on scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies but also to outline some of the dependencies between these variables.

In the past, Hebraists (with a few notable exceptions) have tended to rely on simple statistical tools, such as frequency tables, correlation tables, and perhaps chi-squared tests; but with the advances in statistical software and the growing number of affordable software packages and training materials, using statistical models and tests has become an accessible option. There are many linguistic issues in Biblical Hebrew which have not yet been addressed precisely because they require the multivariate analysis of large datasets; today, we have the resources to attack these problems. The research reported in the current paper could not have been done without the support of statistical analysis.

8.1.1 Future Directions: Handling Textual Fluidity

Over the past decade, one important debate about time, style, and the Hebrew Bible has hinged on the issue of whether HB texts are too fluid for diachronic linguistic analysis or not. While the ideal solution to this problem would be to use text critical methods to define an 'original' version for each text, doing this with certainty for any complete BH text is impossible (see 2.1.2). However, there are at least two other ways of handling textual fluidity. First, as was noted above, if we analyze large BH datasets using statistical methods, we can still achieve robust significance results despite a certain amount of miscoded or junk data.

Second, we can pursue a quantitative measure of textual fluidity for different BH texts. How fluid are these texts, what kinds of fluidity do we see, and what problems do specific types of fluidity present? Imagine that we examine all of the extant Hebrew manuscripts of a text dating to before 1100 A.D. and find that there are at least three instances of textual variation in every single verse. This seems to be a serious level of fluidity which would compromise any attempt to conduct a linguistic analysis on this text. However, what if, on reviewing these instances of fluidity, we find that 96% of them are orthographic, 3% are morphosyntactic (verbs as third singular vs. third plural, for example), and less than 1% consists of switched lexical items, addition or deletion of elements, and larger syntactic changes? While we may want to avoid drawing any conclusions from this text's orthography (unless, of course, the differences between manuscripts are systematic), other types of linguistic analysis may still be feasible. In short, simply showing that a text is fluid does not mean that linguistic analyses will be invalid.

To create a quantitative measure of textual fluidity, we would need to collect data from all ancient exemplars of a given text. The text should be of sufficient length for statistical study. After coding all examples of stability or instability in the text—that is, coding the status of every element from each exemplar—all exemplars should be coded according to type (orthographic, lexical, morphological, etc.). Then we can analyze which components of language are most and least likely to be fluid and whether this fluidity tends to be systematic (for instance, all exemplars of one

tradition tend to have *plene* spellings while exemplars of another tradition have *defectio* spellings). After performing this process for multiple texts, we can assess which of our biblical texts are more or less fluid, and make informed judgments about which types of linguistic analysis may be valid for each text.

8.2 Linguistic Norms

The statistical analysis of a dataset including all examples of Goal Constructions describing factive motion in BH prose gives us excellent evidence of the linguistic norms reflected in Biblical Hebrew corpora. A brief review of the norms relevant to goal-marking are given in 8.2.1 below. In the following section, the value of these findings for studies of prototypical constructions, motion, and space is discussed.

8.2.1 Describing the Linguistic Norms of Biblical Hebrew with Respect to Goal-Marking

Biblical Hebrew is a complex language with many entangled parts. Numerous linguistic variables, including the animacy and definiteness of the goal, the definiteness of the subject and object, the paradigm of the verb, the factivity of the clause, and many others, were correlated significantly with scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies (see Chapter 2). Past explorations of the goal-marking alternations in Biblical Hebrew have tended to rely on small sets of variables—often explaining GC variation primarily through extra-grammatical variables like diachronic corpus or Pentateuchal source. However, this study has taken a more holistic approach, incorporating linguistic variables from phonology, syntax, and syntax-semantics that could (according to linguistic theory) reasonably be expected to have an effect on goal-marking, as well as the extra-grammatical variables that have previously been noted as important. Previous studies of differential goal marking in BH have tended to marginalize syntax-semantics, so, in an attempt to address this gap, many syntactic-semantic variables have been included here. These have proven to have a more powerful effect on goal-marking than even influential extra-grammatical variables like diachronic corpus.

Examining goal-marking in the light of only a few of these variables might have made it impossible to systematize these results. Most of the linguistic variables which are entangled with goal-marking are also entangled with one another in an integrated network, as they are part of or linked to prototypical goals and prototypical Motion Constructions (see Chapters 4 and 5). The directive *he* and the accusative of destination were largely restricted to more-prototypical motion constructions, while the directional prepositions as a class could mark goals without regard for the prototypicality of the clauses in which they appeared.

Additional variation between the goal-marking strategies could be explained through reference to linguistic factors such as priming (4.1.4), and extra-grammatical variables such as diachronic corpus, biblical book, Pentateuchal source, dialect, text type, and orality (Chapter 3), discussed further below.

Table 8.1 summarizes all of the factors which were found to be significantly correlated with the scribes' choice of goal-marking strategies in this analysis.

Table 8.1: The Factors that Correlate with Goal-Marking Strategy Variation in BH Prose

Strategy	Restricted to or strongly favored by
Directive <i>he</i>	Prototypical Motion Construction (Affected Agent, realis clause, perfect verb, individuated subject [and object], prototypical goal [i.e. inanimate GN] encoding intrinsic specific geographic information) Unmarked goal (no definite article, simple, no adjuncts) Goal ends in non-guttural consonant (not uvular, pharyngeal, or glottal) and not a possessive suffix Classical Biblical Hebrew corpus D Source
Accusative	Prototypical Motion Construction (Affected Agent, realis clause, perfect verb, individuated subject [and object], prototypical goal [i.e. inanimate GN] encoding intrinsic specific geographic information) D Source
Prepositions	Environments from which other strategies are restricted Late Biblical Hebrew corpus P Source Priming effects

In terms of distribution, the directive *he* is the most limited of the goal-marking strategies, having phonological, morphological, and syntactic-semantic restrictions.⁶⁸³ However, in contexts where it was licensed it was highly productive, even becoming the most common goal-marking strategy. Use of the directive *he* was a stereotypical characteristic of CBH writing (whether conscious or unconscious) and was recognized as such by the scribes of at least one of the later corpora, who manipulated their use of directive *he* as a social or ideological marker (see Chapter 3 and below).

The accusative of direction was favored by many of the same linguistic factors as the directive *he*, especially by more-prototypical motion environments. The accusative seems to have been an unconscious or socially neutral option for goal-marking for BH scribes of all eras.

The directional prepositions, as a class, did not have any restrictions. However, as individual lexemes they are each associated with certain linguistic environments—often with different types of atypical motion situations (see Chapter 6)—as shown in Table 8.2.

⁶⁸³ Since goals marked with both directive *he* and a preposition also had to obey these restrictions, double-marked goals behaved in the same manner as goals with directive *he* alone.

Table 8.2 The Factors that Impact a Choice of Directional Prepositions in BH Prose

Preposition	Restricted to or favored by
?et	Definite, salient goal Intransitive clause
b-	Divisible location goal (definite common nominal goal) Qal and hip'il verbs
`ad	Prototypical Motion Construction (Affected Agent, realis clause, perfect verb, individuated subject [and object], prototypical goal [i.e. inanimate GN] encoding intrinsic specific geographic information) Goal is less salient Pursuit Constructions Not fronted Narrative text type
`al	[CBH] - Focus on upper surface of goal (specific configuration) (bounded location goal - inanimate, common, and definite) [LBH] – animate, proper goal Narrative text type
l-	[CBH] – ~ prototypical Recipient (pronominal/animate goals or inanimate goals with pronominal endings) [LBH] – inanimate nominal goals Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions Caused-Motion Construction with Patient Narrative text type Late Biblical Hebrew corpus Less oral texts
?el	Environments from which other strategies are restricted

Goal-marking options that are sensitive to the prototypicality of the motion situation (directive *he*, the accusative of direction, and the preposition *`ad*) are most likely to appear in a prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction, a clause in which *an Affected Agent willingly and successfully moves herself to a specified Goal*. These goal-marking options are also favored in other prototypical Motion Constructions, with their frequency varying based on how similar these Motion Constructions are to the prototypical IMC (see 5.2.3, 5.2.4, 6.4, and below).

The linguistic norms for goal-marking in Biblical Hebrew verse—at least, in a case study on the Psalms—involve the same entangled factors as in BH prose (see 7.1). However, the proportions in which the goal-marking strategies are used are different: the directive *he* is marginalized, the preposition *l-* is promoted, and the preposition *?el* is diminished. While the marginalization of directive *he* can be partially explained by other differences in the linguistic norms of BH verse and prose (in Psalms, imperfect verbs are more common, subjects and goals

are less likely to be individuated, and clauses are more likely to be irrealis than in BH prose, all of which are linguistic factors that disprefer directive *he* goal-marking) most of the differences in goal-marking between Psalms and prose are still unexplained.⁶⁸⁴ A more thorough exploration of goal-marking in Hebrew verse which includes all of the Goal Constructions from the verse portions of the Hebrew Bible, distinguishes between verse text types and possible diachronic strata (ABH vs. others), and includes linguistic variables particular to verse (such as the favoring of matched numbers of elements or similar numbers of syllables in parallel lines), may shed light on these issues.

8.2.2 Future Directions: Prototypical Constructions, Motion, and Space

This study of scribes' choices of goal-marking strategies contributes not only to scholarly conversations on the Biblical Hebrew language, but also to larger conversations about syntax and semantics. Across languages, strategies for encoding motion and space are as common as strategies for encoding viewpoint and time. Thus, the constructions that encode motion and the nominals that encode space deserve as much scholarly attention as do tense and aspect—yet the various Motion Constructions have often been described superficially and in isolation from one another, while the spatial roles themselves have often been ignored in favor of yet another examination of Agents and Patients.

The results of this study should impact the way that we understand and teach Biblical Hebrew grammar. As we have seen, the Biblical Hebrew linguistic system includes great sensitivity to prototypical semantic roles (spatial roles as well as Agents and Patients) and prototypical constructions (Prototypical Motion Constructions, the Prototypical Transitive, and perhaps other prototypes as yet un-studied), but semantic roles and grammatical constructions are rarely given attention either in the Biblical Hebrew grammars or in language teaching.

⁶⁸⁴ Psalms clauses are also much less likely to conform to verb-initial word order, but this does not seem to have a significant effect on goal-marking.

Students should be shown how to treat Biblical Hebrew as a holistic system, not as a list of morphemes or paradigms.

In this study, the prototypical characteristics of the spatial roles—especially the Goal, although the Location and Route also receive some attention—have been investigated. In Chapter 4, I demonstrated that the prototypical goal (according to the Biblical Hebrew data) is a single-point location nominal that includes intrinsic, specific geographic information. Thus a Geographic Name makes an ideal goal. A preliminary study shows that where spatial goals prototypically include intrinsic geographic information, for Location and Route arguments—which are by nature divisible, whether bounded or regional—common noun arguments are preferred over GNs, and Route arguments have a relatively weak preference for definite noun goals.

The characteristics of the prototypical goal have been well-established for Biblical Hebrew, but there is much research left to be done on the other spatial arguments. While Biblical Hebrew scribes had the richest repertoire for goal-marking strategies, they also had multiple choices when marking Routes and Locations. What linguistic and sociohistorical factors impacted these choices? What kinds of Motion Constructions are most likely to include Route or Source information, and why? What kinds of Constructions include Location arguments as core elements? Are there special types of Constructions which include Routes but not Goals?⁶⁸⁵ Can we use Biblical Hebrew data to define the prototypical Source, Route, and Location in the same detail with which we have defined the prototypical Goal? These are all topics which I hope to explore in future.

In this study, a number of Motion Constructions have been proposed or elaborated in the light of linguistic prototype theory, ranging from the Intransitive Motion Construction, which captures most of the motion events in Biblical Hebrew; to the Pursuit Construction, in which the pursued person acts as the endpoint of the pursuer's motion; to the Caused-Motion Construction

⁶⁸⁵ Routes have been particularly under-studied in motion research, with the possible exception of manner-of-motion studies.

family, which conform to several sub-prototypes based on the semantic roles of the nominal constituents (subjects, goals, and objects if present) and the semantic class of the verb.

The subjects of Motion Constructions are almost always volitional controllers; prototypically, they provide motion energy (which, in combination with their control of the event, makes them full instigators) and are affected by the motion described in the clause. However, in certain types of CMCs with Patients as well as Caused-Possession/Caused-Motion Constructions (i.e. *throwing*, *pouring* and *sending* clauses) they are unaffected by the motion in the clause; and in a restricted set of Secondary-Agent Constructions they do not provide any movement energy either (i.e. *riding* clauses).

The goals of Motion Constructions are prototypically non-volitional; inanimate places, of course, have no volition. However, if the goal is animate, willingly accepting an object which is being conveyed to them via a verb of transfer, then the goal may be a Recipient and the construction a Caused-Possession/CMC.

The objects of Motion Constructions vary quite a bit in their volition and instigation, but all (except the syntactic objects of Pursuit Constructions, which are treated as semantic goals from the viewpoint of the clause) are affected by the verbal action. Non-volitional, non-instigating objects are Patients, moved through space by the subject without cooperating in any way; volitional animate objects that provide some of their own movement energy are secondary Affected Agents (i.e. *leading* clauses). In restricted semantic situations, animate objects provide their energy unwillingly (i.e. *driving* clauses). While all of these constructions have been described by previous scholars, the present study's elaboration of each one as a full prototype with constituent and TAM features—similar to the semantic definition of the Prototypical Transitive Construction by Naess and her predecessors—is a new contribution to the fields of Construction Grammar and motion-encoding.

The model constructed in Chapters 4 and 5 for Biblical Hebrew factive Motion Constructions can also be tested in other languages. Studies by previous scholars have shown

that cognate Motion Constructions exist in other languages and can be distinct in form from other Motion Constructions in these languages. Are the same prototypical characteristics active in these other languages? Do other languages with goal-marking alternation choose a goal-marking strategy based on motion prototypicality? What additional Motion Constructions might be part of this family in other languages? Having thoroughly outlined the network of factive Motion Constructions in Biblical Hebrew in prototypical terms, scholars can more easily pursue answers to these questions.

Having established the norms of factive motion in BH, we may use them as the foundation of a study of fictive motion in Biblical Hebrew.⁶⁸⁶ Across languages, fictive motion and factive motion are often expressed with the same or similar sets of constructions or morphemes. This is certainly the case in the Hebrew Bible, where the directive *he* is used almost as frequently to mark fictive goals as it is to mark factive ones (see Appendix 1). How do the Motion Constructions in BH fictive motion compare to those in factive motion? How do the mechanisms for marking fictive Goals, Sources, Routes, and Locations compare to the strategies available for marking factive ones? These are questions which I hope to address in future.

8.3 Scribes' Goal-Marking Choices across Time and Space

Scribes writing Semitic languages at different times or in different scribal communities across the ancient Near East were working with different initial repertoires of goal-marking strategies. By examining the goal-marking strategies that were available to each set of scribes, we can sketch an outline of the development of goal-marking in ancient Semitic languages.

In this paper the primary focus was on Biblical Hebrew, a Northwest Semitic literary language of the early to mid first millennium B.C. that had multiple diachronic varieties; but attention was also given to Epigraphic Hebrew, which was attested in letters and inscriptions in the early to mid first millennium B.C.; to Biblical Aramaic, of the mid first millennium; to Ugaritic,

⁶⁸⁶ See Medill in prep.

a Northwest Semitic language of the mid to late second millennium; and to Old Babylonian Akkadian, an East Semitic language of the early second millennium B.C.⁶⁸⁷ (Figure 8.1 shows the reconstructed genetic relationships between these languages.) While these studies of differential goal marking in languages other than Biblical Hebrew could certainly be expanded in future work, we can sketch some preliminary conclusions based on the analyses given here.

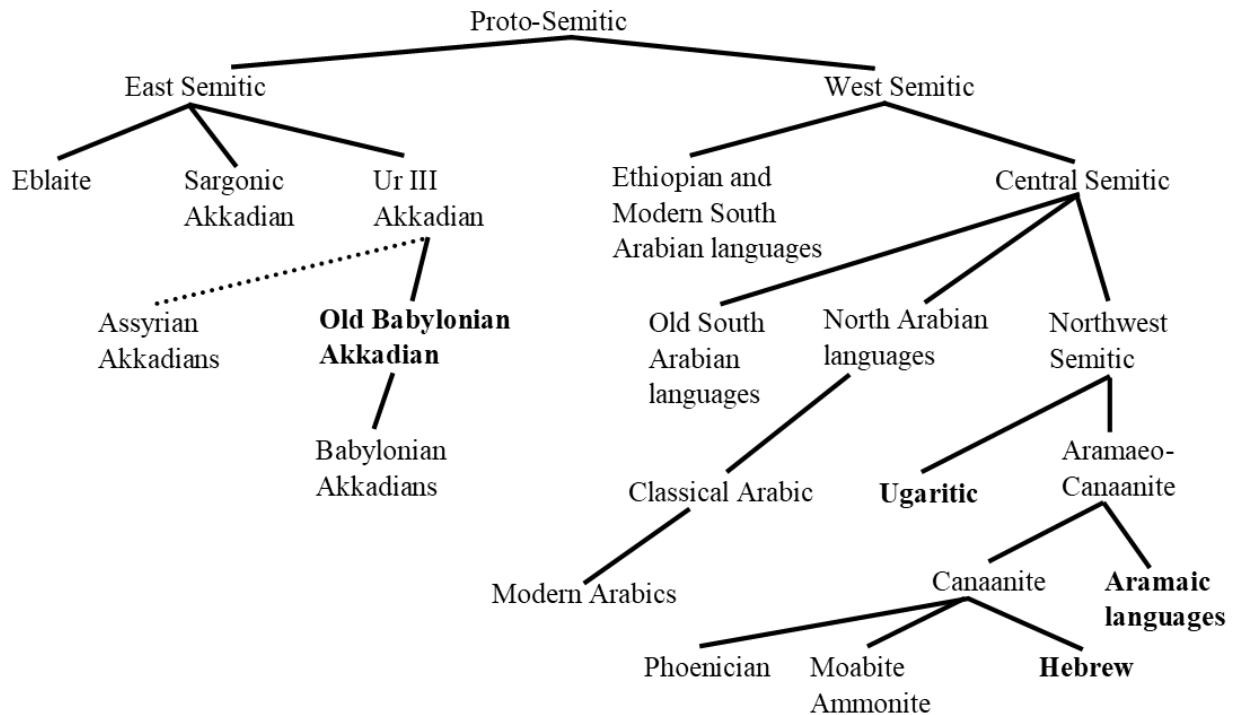
First, there is evidence that East and West Semitic (ES and WS) took different paths in the development of the goal-marking functional domain. While there is evidence of a shared past—both use accusatives of direction, terminative clitics, directional prepositions and dative pronominals, with a directional preposition as the default goal-marker, the accusative connected to prototypical goals, and atypical goals marked with pronominals or specific prepositions—not only are their actual clitic and prepositional morpheme sets very different, but East Semitic relies almost entirely on prepositional and pronominal marking, while West Semitic makes more productive use of non-prepositional goal-marking.⁶⁸⁸ We may hypothesize that pronominal, prepositional, and non-prepositional strategies were all available in Proto-Semitic, but the non-prepositional strategies quickly lost any distinctive functional productivity in East Semitic.⁶⁸⁹

⁶⁸⁷ See Chapters 3, 6, 7 and Appendix 6. Data from other Canaanite languages (e.g. Phoenician, Moabite, Ammonite) would be very helpful as we strive to identify features of goal-marking that are unique to Hebrew versus shared by the Canaanite language subfamily. Unfortunately, our Iron Age inscriptional evidence from these languages is scant and rarely includes Goal Constructions. In the Mesha Inscription (our longest inscription in Moabite) we have only three possible GCs, including instances of dragging (*šhb*) something before (*lpny*) the god Kemosh to/in (*b-*) Kiriath and one instance of going up to/against (*b-*) Yahaš. In Phoenician, the evidence is again limited. In King Ittobaal's coffin inscription, a curse is proclaimed on any enemy who goes up (*`ly*) against Byblos (no marking; accusative of direction) and disturbs his burial. On the Arslan Tash plaque 1 (of uncertain linguistic classification, but perhaps a variety of Aramaicized Phoenician), several inanimate goals are marked with *l-* (lines 21-23). On the second Arslan Tash plaque (again a linguistic puzzle), a divine being causes fire to go out (*yš?*) into (*b-*) the fields. The Deir 'Alla plaster inscriptions, which are written in an Aramaeo-Canaanite language, seem to have a fairly Canaanite-like goal-marking system, with examples of *?e/* plus pronominal ending (for an animate goal)(Combination 1 lines 3,12 in the numbering given in Levine 1981), *l-* plus an animate goal (Combination 1 line 40), and an unmarked *šm* for 'thither' (Combination 2 line 6).

⁶⁸⁸ In terms of morphemes/lexemes used for goal-marking, WS and ES seem to share only *`ad(i)* and *`al/eli*. They do not share their default goal-marking prepositions. Whether the WS directive *he* and the ES terminative *-iš* are cognate is still being debated; from a syntactic-semantic perspective, there is no conclusive evidence on this point.

⁶⁸⁹ Although only Old Babylonian Akkadian was systematically surveyed here, my sense is that this overwhelming reliance on prepositional marking, especially marking with *ana*, continues in later Akkadians.

Figure 8.1 The Semitic Language Family⁶⁹⁰



Second, the various Semitic languages have different levels of sensitivity to prototypical motion. All of the languages surveyed are sensitive to the animacy of the goal—an issue related to whether the goal includes inherent geographic information, or is mobile and thus geographically ambiguous. Alternations in goal-marking in Akkadian are almost entirely motivated by this issue, with pronominals, *eli*, and *ana*-compounds marking animate goals, while the default *ana* marks primarily inanimate goals. In Ugaritic we find a similar split, with pronominals and *`imma* associated with animate goals, but non-prepositional marking strategies and prepositions *b-*, *toka*, and *`ad(i)* associated with inanimate goals, with default *l-* neutral with respect to goal animacy. In Classical and Transitional Biblical Hebrew and Epigraphic Hebrew, animate goals are marked primarily with *l-*, while inanimate goals are marked with non-prepositional marking strategies and other directional prepositions, with default *?e/* neutral. In Late Biblical Hebrew, animate goals are specially marked with *`al*, and inanimate goals with other strategies, with default *?e/* still able to

⁶⁹⁰ Rubio 2006; Huehnergard 2010 §1B; Huehnergard 2019: 3. For an alternative taxonomy, see Lipinski 2001: 48-51.

mark animate or inanimate goals but now tending to mark inanimate ones, and *l-* now marking primarily inanimate goals. Finally, in Biblical Aramaic, animate goals are often marked with *`al*, with default *l-* being neutral with respect to animacy.

The West Semitic languages are sensitive to prototypical motion more generally. In Ugaritic poetry, the accusative of direction tends to be used not just for inanimate goals but for goals which are definite and nominal in intransitive realis clauses with affected subjects (in other words, in more-prototypical Intransitive Motion Constructions). Of course, in Biblical Hebrew the accusative of direction and the directive *he* are strongly correlated with prototypical IMCs.⁶⁹¹

Each of the languages surveyed has a method for marking divisible locations when they are used as goals. In Old Babylonian Akkadian, certain *ana* compounds are used; in Ugaritic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, *b-* is used. Since goals that are being conceptualized as divisible are less common than goals being conceptualized as single points, they receive special marking.

Third, the prestigious position of the directive *he* in Classical and Transitional Biblical Hebrew is quite unusual. In West Semitic, the directive *he* is a widespread but generally marginal feature, with occasional use in Ugaritic literary texts, fossilized axial and adverbial use in (literary) Biblical Aramaic (as directive *?ālep*), and rare attestations in Ethiopic and Arabic languages.⁶⁹² Yet in Iron Age Biblical Hebrew the directive *he* was a frequent and productive part of the goal-marking system, even becoming the most favored option for goal-marking in clauses that fit its restrictions. In Classical Biblical Hebrew, it marked 18% of goals. Directive *he* was so popular among the pre-exilic scribes that it was even used productively in official letters from the Epigraphic Hebrew corpus to mark adverbials, GNs, and common location nouns. Even the 7% of goals marked with directive *he* (though primarily axial and adverbial) in Late Biblical Hebrew is a higher proportion than in cognate languages. While there is not yet sufficient evidence to show why the directive *he* became so popular in Biblical Hebrew, this clitic's unusual status in the pre-

⁶⁹¹ There is insufficient data for Epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Aramaic.

⁶⁹² Lipinski 2001: 269.

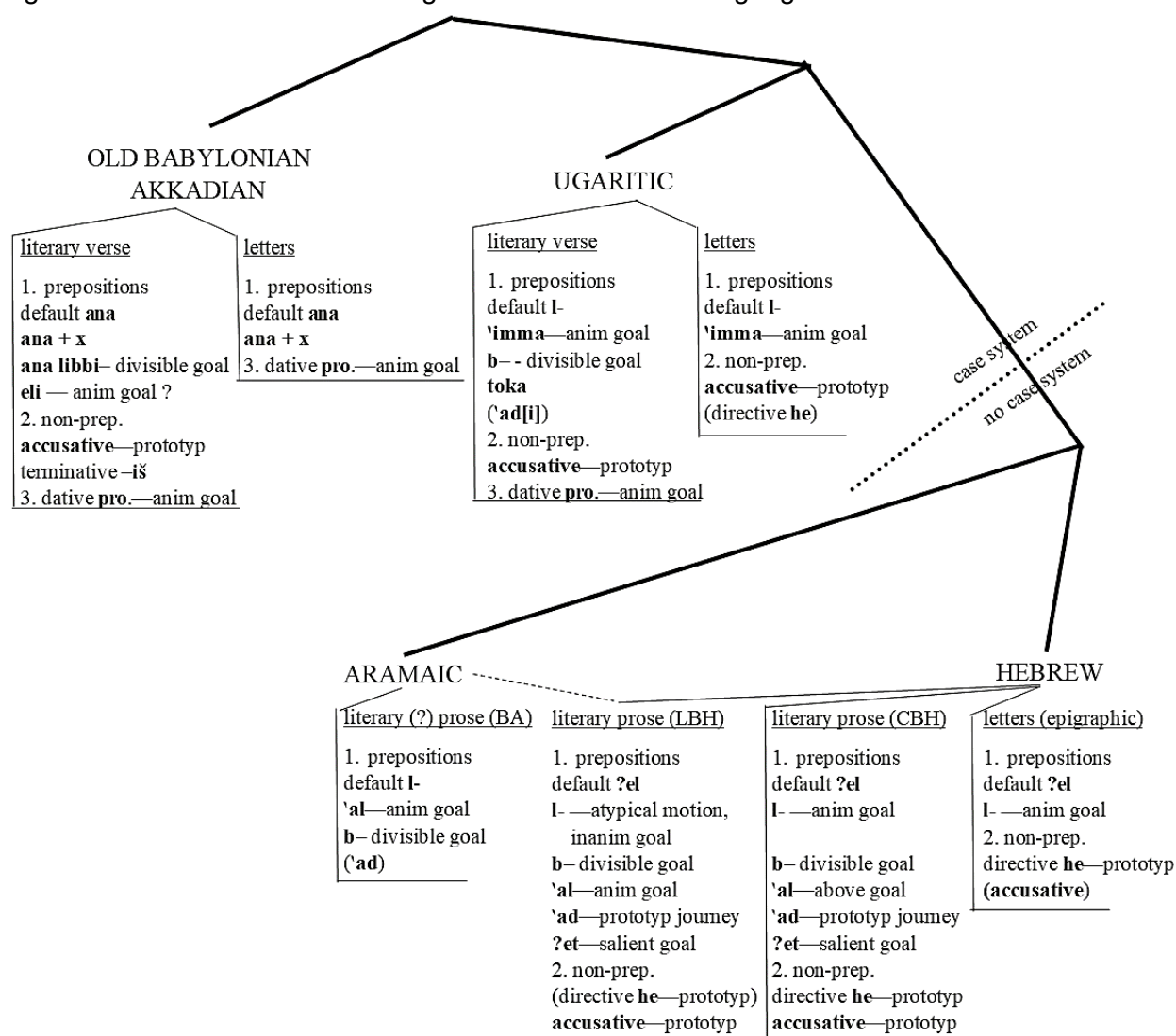
exilic corpus makes it all the more likely that Hebrew scribes who were familiar with multiple Semitic languages would be aware of the directive *he* as a stereotypical Classical Biblical Hebrew feature. Additional studies in Aramaic and in later Hebrew (e.g. in texts from Qumran) might shed light on this issue.

The frequency with which scribes used the accusative of direction may also be unusually high in Biblical Hebrew. Even in the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, where the accusative appears as a marker of prototypical motion constructions, it does not reach the 13-17% rate of goal-marking seen in Biblical Hebrew. Since the accusative and the directive *he* seem to pattern together, it would not be surprising if an unusually high rate of directive *he* use and an unusually high rate of accusative use were found in the same language. Again, additional studies in Ugaritic, Aramaic, and later Hebrew could aid in the exploration of this issue.

Fourth, the prepositional repertoires used for goal-marking are flexible and fluid between languages. The East and West Semitic prepositional repertoires are almost completely different; even within West Semitic, there is considerable variation. The WS languages have found different ways of marking the same important distinctions, such as inanimate vs. animate goals, single-point vs. divisible goals, and configuration with respect to the goal. In Biblical Hebrew, the preposition *?e/* (an Aramaeo-Canaanite innovation?) has advanced to become the default goal-marker, allowing the earlier WS default *l-* to become an animate goal marker.⁶⁹³

⁶⁹³ In Mishnaic Hebrew, the preposition *?ese/* (*near*) takes over as the default, despite not really being available as a goal-marker in Biblical Hebrew (Hardy 2014: 124); see two examples in Daniel 8:7 ('and I saw him coming near to [*?ese/*] the ram') and Daniel 8:17 ('and he came to [*?ese/*] my standing-place').

Figure 8.2 Differential Goal Marking in Selected Semitic Languages



All in all, the history of differential goal marking in the Semitic languages involves both continuity and change. In languages with a productive case system and dative pronominals (like Akkadian and Ugaritic), dative pronominals (whether independent or bound) were able to carry much of the burden of animate-goal marking. However, the Aramaeo-Canaanite languages lost their case system, retaining only subject and direct object pronominals. This must have caused renegotiations of the goal-marking system, with various prepositions being shifted to take over

the marking of animate goals.⁶⁹⁴ The semantic movement of the prepositions could have created a pull chain that led to the promotion of the non-prepositional goal-marking strategies in Biblical Hebrew. The users of Biblical Aramaic, on the other hand, seem to have chosen a different solution, allowing their repertoire to shrink to prepositional options only, each with a fairly well-defined role in the system. The post-exilic scribes who were trained in Aramaic but also wrote in Late Biblical Hebrew use a hybrid goal-marking system in LBH, reshuffling the prepositions to match their Aramaic roles but aspiring to much the same repertoire diversity as in Classical Biblical Hebrew.

8.4 Scribal Education, Textual Prestige, and Goal-Marking Strategies

As we saw above, the scribes working in different Semitic languages at different times had access to varying repertoires of factive goal-marking strategies. Some repertoires included dative pronominals, while others included non-prepositional strategies such as the accusative of direction or directive *he*; some included both, and some, apparently, neither.

However, while the repertoires themselves are diverse, the ways in which the scribes approached these repertoires have important similarities (see also 6.3.1.1, 6.3.2). In all of the supercorpora surveyed (except for that of Aramaic, where data is lacking) there is a clear distinction between the goal-marking repertoires used in more 'literary' texts versus in mundane texts.⁶⁹⁵ In the two oldest languages discussed here—East Semitic Old Babylonian Akkadian and West Semitic Ugaritic—the literary verse texts include many different goal-marking options (7+ for Akkadian, 7 for Ugaritic) while the mundane letters use a restricted set of options (3+ for Akkadian, 4 for Ugaritic).⁶⁹⁶ The contrast between the literary prose of Classical Biblical Hebrew

⁶⁹⁴ Comparable renegotiations occurred in the Romance languages with the loss of the historical Latin case system (Mosca 2017).

⁶⁹⁵ For a definition of my use of the term 'literary,' see 6.3.1.1.

⁶⁹⁶ From a diachronic perspective, it is not clear whether this is a difference between literary and non-literary texts or a difference between prose and verse. In Old Babylonian, variegation in goal-marking strategies is a marker of literary verse in particular (the so-called hymnic-epic dialect); this variegation is not seen in other prestige texts such as royal inscriptions (according to my survey of the OB royal inscriptions from Babylon contained in RIME IV). In Ugaritic, it is not clear whether the difference is primarily literary vs. non-literary or prose vs. verse, as the extant literary texts are in

and the letters of Epigraphic Hebrew is similar: the CBH goal-marking repertoire includes 8 options while the letters only give evidence of 4. In each of these cases, the literary goal-marking repertoire is about twice the size of the non-literary one.⁶⁹⁷

Why do we see this distinction in the data? I suggest that the limited repertoires seen in mundane texts approximate the goal-marking repertoires available in the speech of these communities. The Biblical Hebrew data supports this suggestion, as an examination of the goal-marking in dialogue vs. narrative text types shows that, even in reported speech which the scribes have embedded in a larger literary text, there is a significant drop in the diversity of the goal-marking repertoire, with a much higher reliance on the default option *ʔe/* than in the adjacent narratives.

Why do the literary texts show so much more diversity in goal-marking? Why not use the smaller set of goal-marking options available in speech and in mundane texts? There is a twofold explanation. First, in these scribal communities diversity in goal-marking was considered to be a prestigious and/or aesthetic feature which was desirable to include in literary texts. For a parallel example, consider the lexical diversity we see in verse corpora from all of the Semitic languages. They use a much wider variety of lexical items than we tend to see in prose. While this is in part due to the parallelistic structure of much Semitic poetry, both those who recite or write these verses and their well-informed audiences appreciate the variety of words which are used. Linguistic variety can be an aesthetic, prestigious feature in Semitic texts. Second, scribes in Semitic-using communities across the ancient Near East whose work would include the copying or creation of prestigious, aesthetic texts were trained in these diverse goal-marking repertoires as part of their education. Whether this training took place via oral instruction from a master scribe, through written exercises, through deduction or oral commentary when the scribal students

verse and the extant non-literary texts are in prose. However, in Hebrew the difference is decidedly not prose vs. verse, as the book of Psalms in Hebrew has a restricted goal-marking repertoire.

⁶⁹⁷ Transitional Biblical Hebrew, like Epigraphic Hebrew, has a reduced repertoire of goal-marking options, perhaps because the scribes were not trying to create literary texts or because they lacked the educational resources needed to learn the aesthetic features of earlier literature. See Chapter 6.

were presented with a literary text to copy, or through some other method, there is not sufficient data to say.

Differences between scribes' choices of goal-marking options in literary versus non-literary texts, or, indeed, in narrative versus reported speech, reflect the larger norms and linguistic ideologies of the scribal communities to which they belonged. For them, the use of diverse goal-marking strategies was a beautiful and powerful thing, by which they marked both their own competence and the value of the texts that they presented.

8.5 Scribes Making Use of Goal-Marking

Ancient Judean scribes chose goal-marking strategies based on a wide variety of factors: the options available to them at particular times and places, the kind of training they had received and the type of text they intended to create, and the larger norms of the Biblical Hebrew linguistic system. These influential factors predict what choice a scribe will make in a given Goal Construction the majority of the time. However, what happens when the scribe consciously desires to control their use of goal-marking for sociolinguistic purposes?⁶⁹⁸

In Chapter 3, I argued that the most likely explanation for the particular trajectory of goal-marking across time is that a group of scribes made a conscious decision to manipulate the frequency with which they used directive *he*. While it is possible that they were trying to avoid directive *he*, it is more likely that the LBH-using scribes were trying to preserve it despite dramatic differences between their sociohistorical circumstances and education and those of their predecessors. Directive *he*, along with other features, had become for them a stereotypical marker of Classical Biblical Hebrew which they mobilized in order to proclaim the continuity of their own identities and society with the pre-exilic kingdom of Judah. Other features, which had

⁶⁹⁸ A scribe may also choose based on apparently unsystematic personal preference. This can be hard to quantify, as I noted in Chapter 3 and 6 in the discussion of the Pentateuchal sources and biblical books, but does have an effect. Witness the unusual goal-marking profile of the book of Judges.

not become part of the linguistic stereotype, changed and were reshaped as the scribes reached equilibrium regarding the norms of Late Biblical Hebrew.

The fact that the scribes were indeed consciously trying to preserve the directive *he* in LBH is supported by my examination of the use of directional prepositions across time in Chapter 6. In Late Biblical Hebrew, a dramatic renegotiation of the goal-marking system has taken place, as seen particularly in the way that the preposition *l-* has switched from a marker of animate goals to one which marks mostly inanimate goals, while the preposition *ʿal* has shifted in the opposite direction and the CBH default *ʔe/* has become somewhat restricted. Given this marked convergence with the Aramaic goal-marking system, the fact that the LBH-using scribes maintained the directive *he* (whose cognate directive *ʔālep* appears only rarely and in fossilized forms in Biblical Aramaic) is all the more remarkable.

8.5.1 Future Directions: Diachrony and Style in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East

The scribes' conscious manipulation of directive *he* and the renegotiation of the goal-marking system are relevant to the ongoing debate in BH linguistics regarding the diachronic versus stylistic explanations for variation between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew (see 3.1). On the one hand, the scribes are making conscious stylistic choices in these corpora as they construct social meaning. Any diachronic model of Biblical Hebrew which does not allow for such choices is too reductive to be useful. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that the dramatic and probably unconscious differences between the CBH- and LBH-using scribes' handling of the semantics of the directional prepositions could have been accommodated in a single scribal community at a given moment in time. Any model citing the stylistic hypothesis which situates the composers of both CBH and LBH texts together in Jerusalem during the post-exilic period has not weighed these issues.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁹ Other problems with such a model include many other syntactic/semantic differences between CBH and LBH (see note 240), the fact that CBH itself includes multiple styles, and the lack of functional differentiation between the two varieties.

Of course, for those of us who believe that the diachronic model best explains the Biblical Hebrew data and who would like to seriously address each of the challenges which have been put forward as part of the stylistic hypothesis, there remain several possibilities which have not been falsified on a sociolinguistic basis.

Possibility 1: The last of the CBH texts were composed by a scribal community that lived after the exile. The LBH texts were composed by scribal communiti(es) living contemporaneously but in other location(s).

Potential questions include

- What evidence do we have regarding where the biblical texts were composed? (Due to the texts' own accounts and their ideologies, most CBH texts and some LBH texts have been tied to Jerusalem by scholars.)
- Were there any Judean communities that existed through and after the exile which had the financial and educational resources needed to maintain CBH and not to switch to Aramaic as their primary language of writing?

Possibility 2: The scribal communities which composed the LBH texts and the last of the CBH texts lived at the same time in adjacent locations but considered themselves to be separate from one another for ideological or historical reasons (i.e. they had a serious ideological disagreement or one group had moved in recently from elsewhere and thus had different training and sociohistorical background) and marked those distinct identities by maintaining differences in their use of language.

Potential questions include

- If the CBH-using and LBH-using communities considered themselves to be ideologically distinct, what evidence do we have of such a disagreement in their texts?

- If the CBH-using and LBH-using communities considered themselves to be ideologically distinct, why did the LBH-using community promote the use of the directive *he*, which is a CBH marker?
- If the CBH-using and LBH-using communities considered themselves to be sociohistorically distinct, how long did these parallel communities maintain separation? How long did they continue using language to mark their differences, and for how long did the Judeans remember that the different BH varieties grew out of different communities?

The final possibility is the most similar to the classic version of the stylistic hypothesis.

Possibility 3 – CBH and LBH were used in a single scribal community in which the scribes were consciously aware of the differences between them and conceptualized them as different varieties with different social functions.

Much of the significance of my data regarding the renegotiation of the roles of the directional prepositions in LBH comes from my claim that for the ancient scribes these differences from the CBH system were unconscious. If the scribes were conscious of differences between the varieties and/or saw them as fulfilling different social functions, the situation becomes much less certain. An English speaker who conceives of both Standard American English and, for example, African American Vernacular English as functioning under the same set of norms will find it difficult to make the necessary syntactic and lexical shifts between them, but if they consciously recognize that they are aiming at two distinct norms with distinct social connotations it becomes easier to switch completely into one or the other. Many educated speakers of Arabic can switch between regional colloquial Arabics and Modern Standard Arabic, despite the fact that these are in some sense the same language, because they conceive of them as distinct: they are acquired differently and have different social functions.⁷⁰⁰ In general, as varieties become more

⁷⁰⁰ Bassiouney 2009: 18-27.

similar and/or as differences in their social connotations become smaller, the less conscious speakers become of differences between the varieties and the less likely they are to mobilize both of them in their own speech or writing.

Potential questions include

- If scribes' conceived of CBH and LBH as having different social functions in their community, what were those functions? Both varieties cover the same topics, seem to address similar audiences, and have similar levels of aesthetic/prestige features, so there are no obvious functional differences.⁷⁰¹
- What kinds of social functions did style-switching scribes in other ancient communities mark with different styles or varieties, and how linguistically different were those varieties from one another? Are these functional or linguistic distinctions paralleled in CBH vs. LBH? See 3.1.1. This is a question which I hope to investigate in future research.

8.6 Finale: Choice Implies the Chooser

As biblicists, we are intimately familiar with Biblical Hebrew, but the study of this language is not an end in itself. Language is a system—but not a closed and impersonal one. It only exists when it is spoken or written by its users. These users constantly transform, preserve, and recreate it according to their needs and intentions. Thus, Biblical Hebrew texts have value to us as they reflect the choices of ancient scribes. Why did they make the linguistic choices that they made? What were their linguistic norms, their community norms, their sociohistorical circumstances? What were they trying to do with their words?

⁷⁰¹ While many styles may be used in a given community, they will tend to perform different functions. (There may be some overlap in function, but not complete overlap.) For example, in English one written style could be used when texting a friend, a different style when emailing one's boss, and yet a different style when writing an academic paper for publication, with each style marking a different level of formality and prestige. Alternatively, there could be one written style for non-literary texts (administrative, legal, etc.) and one for literary texts, as we have seen in many Semitic languages above; or one written style which is more-oral-like, signaling authenticity, and one which is less-oral-like, signaling authority, as in BH.

Scholars often pursue answers to these questions entirely through a study of the content of the texts. Yet, as we have seen, even a linguistic variant so apparently minor as the alternation between goal-marking strategies is caught in a web of choices, many of which had social meaning for the scribal communities of ancient Judah—from the scribes' choices of goal-marking strategies in literary vs. non-literary texts, with their implications about the strategies available in speech and the scribal curriculum; to later scribes' conscious manipulation of the directive *he* as they defend and recreate their Judean identities. By studying Biblical Hebrew linguistics, we are seeking not only to paint a picture of the language as a holistic system but to create a vision in which the language, worldviews, and goals of the scribes are fully integrated and situated in their sociohistorical context.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix One:

A COMPREHENSIVE SURVEY OF THE USES OF DIRECTIVE *HE* IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Appendix Outline

A1.1 Directive He Marks Spatial Arguments

A1.1.1 Goals of Factive Motion

A1.1.2 Goals of Fictive Motion

A1.1.3 Goals of Motion Metaphors

A1.1.4 Directive He and Spatial Arguments Other than Goal

A1.2 Directive He Outside of the Contexts of Space and Motion

The use of the directive *he* in factive Goal Constructions (usually referred to in the literature as the locative-terminative or *goal of movement* use) is well known. However, other uses of this clitic tend either not to be treated systematically or even to be ignored.⁷⁰² Because these uses have not been addressed systematically, a large number of possible functions have been suggested by scholars. These functions include 'location where' (locative/Location), 'location from which' (separative/Source), 'time when,' 'motion through time,' 'accusative of intention' (in poetry), other irregular uses in poetry, and various non-functions—cases in which the directive *he* is classified as being meaningless, inappropriate, or redundant.⁷⁰³

There are about 1121 occurrences of directive *he* in the Hebrew Bible. A search of tagged Hebrew Bibles in Accordance 12 yields 1098 constructions with directive *he* in the Hebrew Masoretic Text Tagged (HMT-T) or 1095 with the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia Tagged (BHS-T).⁷⁰⁴ The HMT-T lists one construction that the BHS-T does not in each of the books of Joshua, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, and Ezekiel, each of these being a *Kethiv-Qere* variant.⁷⁰⁵ The BHS-T lists one construction that the HMT-T does not in the book of Psalms (*nhlh* in Ps 144:4). To these

⁷⁰² For example, the influential reference grammar by van de Merwe et al. only refers to the terminative use (§28).

⁷⁰³ GKC §90a-i; Sarauw 1907: 184-185; Lambert §246-249, 253-254; Meek 1940: 224-233; Speiser 1954; Bauer and Leander §65n-x; Juoun and Muraoka (2006): §93c-f; Waltke and O'Connor (1990): §10.5; Arnold and Choi 2003: 142; Seow (1995): 152-153; van de Merwe, Naude, and Kroeze (1999): §28; Meyer (1992): 169-70; Blau 2010: 269; Williams 2007 § 61-64b; Hornkohl 2014: 203.

⁷⁰⁴ To search for all tokens of directive *he* using Accordance 12 or 13, set search text to a tagged Hebrew Bible and set search type to 'words.' Using the Search tab, select 'enter tag,' then 'suffix...' In the dialogue box, use the drop-down menu under 'class' to select 'directional *heh*.' Hit search.

⁷⁰⁵ Josh 19:22; 1 Sam 9:26; 2 Sam 21:12; Ezek 25:9.

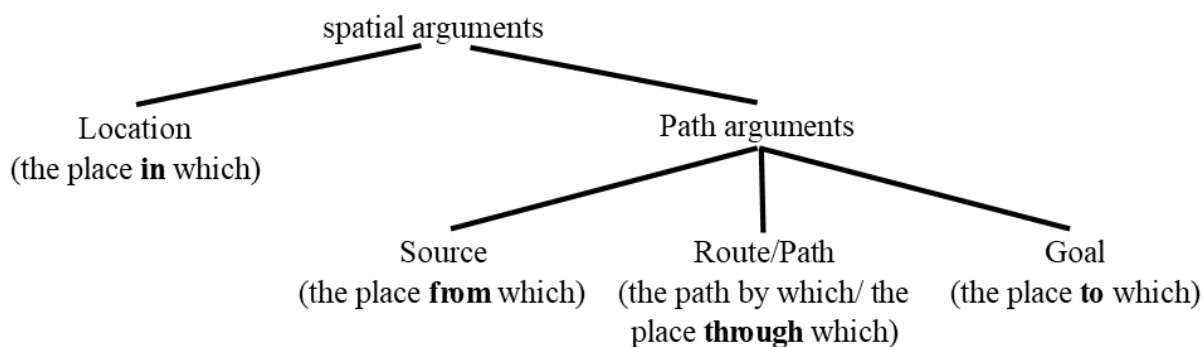
1090+ observations one may add fossilized examples of directive *he* in forms such as *hēnnâh* (*hither*).⁷⁰⁶

The 1121 supposed examples of directive *he* can be divided into two classes: those in which directive *he* is marking a spatial argument and those in which it apparently is not. (Many of the members of this second category are, in fact, not examples of directive *he*, but are addressed here because they were tagged as examples of directive *he* in Accordance.) I address the first category in section A1.1 and the second category in section A1.2. For further discussion, see Medill (in prep).

A1.1 The Directive *He* Marks Spatial Arguments

The directive *he* can mark spatial arguments. Recall that there are several types of spatial arguments. In addition to the Goal, there are Location, Source, and Route/Path. The directive *he* usually marks goals, but previous scholars have also associated it with Source and Location arguments.

Figure A1.1 Spatial Arguments (same as Figure 1.1)



As was noted in 2.1.1.2, the analyses in Chapters 1-7 focused entirely on **factive motion**—the real motion of a physical being or object along a physical path to a physical goal, as in the sentence *Joshua went to the hill country*. However, language users also extend the semantics of motion to include many different types of **fictive motion**—motion in which there are still constituents conceptualized as a mover, a motion verb, and a goal/path, but one or more of

⁷⁰⁶ cf. Rezetko and Young 2014: 376 (note 84).

these is non-physical or non-actual. There are also examples of **metaphorical motion** (sometimes classed as a subtype of fictive motion), in which motion is being used as a structuring metaphor to capture a thought that has nothing to do with motion. The directive *he* can be used to mark the goals of fictive and metaphorical motion as well as the goals of factive motion.

The types of fictive motion relevant to this discussion are as follows:⁷⁰⁷

- Emanation paths – “A fictive entity emerges from a factive source object, moves in a straight path through space (and [optionally] impinges on a distal factive object).”⁷⁰⁸ In other words, an entity which is not a physical object or being is imagined to start from a real physical starting point and move through space. There are a number of subtypes of emanation paths.
- Orientation paths – “The fictive entity is a continuous line emerging steadily from the front of the source object.”⁷⁰⁹ This description is rather obscure. Practically speaking, a physical object or being is understood as facing toward or away from or past some geographic reference point, as in the sentences *The temple faced toward the east* or *The arrows pointed away from the palace*.⁷¹⁰
- Radiation paths – “The fictive entity is an intangible line of radiation emerging ... from an energy source.”⁷¹¹ Talmy uses this label for continuous radiation such as light, sound, and smell (*The light shone into the house, I shouted through the window, The smell of the cookies wafted up the stairs*).

⁷⁰⁷ For a cogent summary of types of fictive motion, see Talmy 2017: 9-10. For a more in-depth discussion, see Talmy 2000: 100-183 for the theory, Matlock and Bergmann 2015 for fictive motion in experiment design, Blomberg 2017.

⁷⁰⁸ Talmy 2017: 9; Talmy 2000: 105-106.

⁷⁰⁹ Talmy 2017: 9; Talmy 2000: 106-110. There are various subtypes of orientation paths, but these need not concern us here.

⁷¹⁰ It can be difficult to distinguish these from Access paths, the ‘depiction of a stationary object’s location in terms of of a path that some other entity might follow to the point of encounter with the object.’ The object is real and stationary, but the entity’s movement to the object is fictive, as in sentences such as *The bakery is across the street from the bank* (Talmy 2000: 136-137). The difference is that in an Orientation path the fictive movement starts from this stationary object and is the perspective of the stationary object whereas in an access path the movement ends at the stationary object and is performed by a separate fictive entity.

⁷¹¹ Talmy 2017: 9; Talmy 2000: 111, where these are called Radiation paths. cf. Leino and Ostman 2005: 198.

- Sensory paths – “The fictive entity is a continuous sensory probe that moves from an experiencer along a straight path through space ([optionally] to an experienced object).”⁷¹² A physical being (an experiencer) is perceiving something, and their perception is described as if their eyesight (or other sense) is moving along a path to what they are perceiving, as in the sentence *Joshua looked down toward Jericho*. To simplify a bit, a given sense path is a sensory path when conceptualized from the point of view of the experiencer but a radiation path when conceptualized from the point of view of the experienced.
- Advent paths – “The location of a factively stationary object is represented in terms of its fictive arrival at that location.” Talmy gives the examples *The palm trees clustered together around the oasis* and *Termite mounds are scattered/spread/distributed all over the plain*.⁷¹³ This type of fictive motion path is tricky because it seems similar to a Location statement such as *The palm trees are around the oasis* or *Termite mounds are in the plain*. However, advent paths include verbs which imply motion and may include other formal elements of motion encoding.
- Coextension paths – “The form, orientation, or location of a factively stationary extended object is represented in terms of a fictive path over the object’s extent.”⁷¹⁴ In other words, an extended object like a road or a border can be described as if its own course is the route it is travelling, as in the sentence *The road went up to the hill country*.

To these types of fictive motion we can also add instances of metaphorical motion—sentences in which motion is being consciously used as a metaphor, e.g. “Let none of his words fall to the ground” (meaning “Let none of his prophecies fail”).

⁷¹² Talmy 2017: 9; Talmy 2000: 115.

⁷¹³ Talmy 2017: 9; Talmy 2000: 134-136.

⁷¹⁴ Talmy 2017: 10; Talmy 2000: 138-149.

In the remainder of this section, all examples of directive *he* as the goal of motion are classified by the type of path in which they occur. Note that instances of directive *he* in poetry are marked with an asterisk.

A1.1.1 Directive *He* Marking the Goal of Factive Motion

The most common use of the directive *he* is to mark the goals of factive motion—motion in which a physical object or being really moves along a physical path. This motion is usually translational—that is, the physical object or being moves horizontally to a new set of geographic coordinates. An entity may also move in a circular path, such that horizontal motion has taken place but the origin and endpoint of motion are the same, or may move vertically, or may move vertically by changing body position slightly (i.e. change-of-position; see A1.1.1.3 below).

A1.1.1.1 Translational Movement in Prose

In 496 cases in BH prose, directive *he* marks the goal of factive, translational motion, as in the sentence “and Jonah arose to flee to Tarshish” (Jon 1:3). These observations were included in the analysis in Chapters 2-6, with the exceptions noted below. For a list, see Appendix 2.

- In some of these cases, factive motion to a *he*-marked goal is implied even though the clause has no verb, as in Num 21:16 (“From there [they went] to Be`er”), 1 Sam 7:17, and 2 Sam 2:1. Due to the lack of a verb, these clauses were omitted from the logistical regressions in Chapters 2 and 6.
- In some cases, the caused-motion of a physical or non-physical object to a *he*-marked goal is implied even though the object has been omitted (or is understood). The construction *šlh* (*to send*) + *goal* is often used to mean *to send [a message]* even though the object (*message*) is not overt. The messengers who carry the message may also be covert. For this idiom with *he*-marked Goals, see Josh 10:6; 2 Sam 13:7, 14:2; 2 Kgs 14:19, 18:14; Isa 43:14*; and 2 Chr 25:27. Since the actual movers were not encoded in these clauses, these constructions were omitted from the analysis in Chapters 2-6.

A1.1.1.2 Translational Movement in Verse

Directive *he* also appears in factive Goal Constructions in verse. However, such observations are not very common—perhaps because of the genres usually represented in Hebrew verse—appearing only thirteen times: in Psalm 9:18*, Psalm 74:5*, Micah 4:12*, Amos 1:5* and 4:3*, Joel 4:11*, Jeremiah 46:28*, Ezekiel 29:5*, and Isaiah 11:14*, 14:17*, 16:1*, 23:6*, and 55:10*.

- Note the peculiar but factive Ps 74:5*: “he was known to be like the one bringing upward (*lě-mā’l=âh*) in a forest of trees.” The idea seems to be that the ones attacking the temple and Jerusalem in previous verses were destroying it like someone using an axe to cut down trees, but the lack of an object makes this verse enigmatic. Was “bringing upward” a known idiom for wood-cutting, or is this a bit of original poesy?

A1.1.1.3 Change-of-Position (Non-Translational Motion)

Factive motion usually involves the translocation of a physical being or object from one set of geographic coordinates to another. But an entity may stay at the same geographic coordinates, merely adjusting their vertical position. This type of motion is known variously as **change-of-position** or **non-translational motion** and is generally treated as distinct from translational factive motion (cf. Levin 1993, Winther-Neilsen 2016: 83; though note counter-example in Bosque 2015). However, change-of-position is still a type of motion and directive *he* may still be used to mark it.⁷¹⁵

- Bow to the ground (various verbs): If the actors actually touch the ground with something other than their feet, it is a factive Goal; if not, it is the Goal of an orientation path. With the verb *šth*, see Gen 18:2, 19:1, 24:52, 33:3, 37:10, 42:6, 43:26, 48:12; 1 Sam 25:41; 2 Sam 14:33, 18:28, 24:20; 1 Kings 1:23; 2 Kings 2:15, 4:37, 5:18; Ruth 2:10; Neh 8:6; Ezek 8:16; and 1 Chr 21:21. With the verb *qdd*, see Ex 34:8, 1 Sam 24:9, 1 Sam 28:14, and 2 Chr 20:18. With the verb *kr*’, see 2 Chr 7:3, where the Israelites are certainly prostrate on the ground. For the expression *natan paneh*, certainly an orientation path, see Dan 10:15.
- Lie down (*škb*): The place where they lie (a factive Goal) may be marked with directive *he*, as in Josh 2:1; 2 Sam 8:2, 12:16, 13:31; and 2 Kgs 4:11, 9:16.
- Other non-translational motion in the HB is rarely marked with directive *he*. Solomon spreads (*prś*) his hands toward the skies in 2 Chr 6:13; the cherubim spread (*hyh prś*) their wings upward (*lěmā’l=âh*) in Ex 25:20 and 37:9 as they do *milmā’l=âh* in Ezek 1:11 and 2 Chr 5:8.

It is not entirely clear whether the verb *npl* (*to fall*) belongs in the non-translational category or not. *npl* takes a goal about 37 times in factive contexts in the HB; twenty of those times the goal is marked with directive *he*. In 18 of these twenty instances the goal phrase is *?arsâh* (*to the ground/downward*), and in two it is *šammâh* (Gen 14:10, 44:14; Ex 21:33; Josh 5:14, 7:6; Jud 3:25, 13:20; 1 Sam 5:3, 5:4, 17:49, 20:41, 26:20, 28:20; 2 Sam 1:2, 14:4, 14:11, 14:22; Job 1:20;

⁷¹⁵ In prose, at least. There are no verse examples.

Dan 8:10; 2 Chr 20:24). Clearly falling can be conceptualized as motion toward a goal. But should it be understood as translational or non-translational motion?

Here it is necessary to begin to define a non-translational motion verb prototype. In addition to the definitional component (that the mover should not move horizontally, so that the Source and Goal of their movement are identical), most of these verbs designate voluntary action on the part of the subject (e.g. *I sat down, I lifted my hands*), and they describe how a subject enters a new bodily posture which requires energy to maintain (Kudrnacova 2013: 71).

The verb *npl* does not fit this prototype very well. While one may fall to the ground voluntarily (in worship, for example), falling is often involuntary or even coerced. Furthermore, a sprawled position on the ground does not require energy to maintain. We are left, then, only with the definitional component. Has someone who has fallen moved horizontally or not? If they have, the distance is very short; yet the complete change in bodily orientation is dramatic. For the purposes of this paper, I have classified instance of *npl* + goal as translational motion.

A1.1.1.4 Mismatches in Spatial Arguments between Hebrew and English

Certain verbs in Biblical Hebrew tend to mark their spatial arguments as Goals. While some of these verbs—like motion verbs—also take their spatial arguments as Goals in English, the equivalents of other verbs take Locations in English.⁷¹⁶

The burial verb in BH, *qbr*, frequently takes a Goal-marked complement. This goal-marking may be achieved with directive *he*, as in Gen 23:13: “I have offered the price of the field; receive it from me, that I may bury (*qbr*) my dead there.” See also Gen 25:10, 49:31 (3x), and 50:5. Note that the use of directive *he* with *qbr* is limited to instances of *šamm=âh* in Genesis; elsewhere *qbr* usually takes complements marked with spatial prepositions. Why would the verb “to bury” ever take a Goal instead of a Location? Probably because it does involve translocation—a corpse is brought into a grave. Just as the HB scribes can write “he went up to Joshua to the

⁷¹⁶ The goals of these verbs were not always included in the analysis in Chapters 2-6.

camp to the tent of meeting” they also write “they brought him into the grave thither.” In addition to taking complements marked with directive *he*, *qbr* can take complements marked with *b-*; while it is tempting to understand these as Locations, if we consider the *qbr* corpus as a whole, it may be best to understand the complements of *qbr b-* as Goals as well, explicitly divisible ones.

Verbs that denote the offering of sacrifices frequently mark the place where the sacrifice is offered (the altar) as a goal. Of these, *qtr* (“to burn as a sacrifice/ to offer up in smoke”) is the most likely to mark its complement with directive *he*, as in Ex 29:13, 29:18, 29:25; Lev 1:9, 1:13, 1:15, 1:17, 2:2, 2:9, 3:5, 3:11, 3:16, 4:19, 4:26, 4:31, 4:35, 5:12, 7:5, 7:31, 8:16, 8:21, 8:28, 9:10, 9:14, 9:20, 16:25; Num 5:26; and 2 Kgs 23:8.⁷¹⁷ The verb *ʿlh* marks its goal this way once when it means “to bring up (as a sacrifice)” in Lev 14:20. Perhaps by analogy with the more common *qtr*, the verb *hʿt?* “to offer a sin offering” marks the altar with directive *he* in 2 Chr 29:24. Again, these verbs entail the translocation of an object (the sacrifice) onto the altar.

Verbs for the destruction of persons or property may also take goals. Of these, by far the most frequent is *nkh*, “to strike/kill,” although it usually marks its Goals with directional prepositions. However, directive *he* is sometimes used. In 2 Sam 18:11, Joab asks “Now why did you not strike him there to the ground?” Again, in 2 Kings 13:18 the prophet tells the king to strike the ground.⁷¹⁸ The verb *šht* “to destroy/waste” can also mark its goal (the ground) with directive *he*, as in Gen 38:9; Jud 20:21, 20:25; and 1 Sam 14:32. (See also Jer 52:10, although this is a Location argument)

Verbs of hiding may also take *he*-marked Goals. While hiding is usually conceptualized as a static activity in English (you hold still and hide in one Location), hiding in BH seems to be more of a continual retreat, making verbs of hiding marginal motion verbs. Examples with directive *he* include Jer 13:7 “that I had hidden (*tmn*) it there” and Josh 2:16 “Go into the hills... and hide (*hb?*) there three days.”

⁷¹⁷ Hornkohl describes this use of the directive *he* as “non-standard” (2014: 209).

⁷¹⁸ *nkh* also occurs with fictive “extent of territory” coextension paths in 1 Sam 14:31 and 1 Chr 14:16 (see below).

Verbs of putting or placing, which usually take a Location argument, can be conceptualized as verbs of getting into position or putting into a divisible location, which thus take a goal argument. In Isa 22:7*, horsemen get into position (*šwt*) at the gates. In Ex 16:33, Aaron is commanded to put (*ntn*) manna into a jar; water is put (*ntn*) into a jar in Ex 30:18 and 40:30; and money is put (*ntn*) into a chest in 2 Kings 12:10. Compare Hab 3:11* (see below).

The verb *y'd* “to meet” is sometimes conceptualized as a verb of assembly, in which case it, like the verbs *qhl* or *?sp*, can take a goal. See Ex 29:42, 29:43, 30:6, 30:36; and Num 17:19. The goal is always *šāmm=âh* “thither” in these examples.

In Josh 7:3, the verb *yg* “to toil” is used as a manner of motion verb, describing how the army would go up to the city.

As was noted in Chapter 4, the verb *šlh* (*to send*) straddles the border between caused-possession and caused-motion. Other verbs in Hebrew can also cross this border. For example, *mkr* “to sell” usually describes caused-possession alone, but may sometimes describe caused-motion, as in Gen 45:4, when Joseph remarks “I am Joseph your brother whom you sold into Egypt.” See also Joel 4:7.

A1.1.2 Directive *He* Marking the Goal of Fictive Motion

Directive *he* is frequently used to mark the Goals of orientation paths, sensory and radiation paths, advent paths, and coextension paths.

A1.1.2.1 Directive *He* Marking the Goals of Orientation Paths

In an orientation path a physical object or being is understood as standing in a physical relationship with a physical location. Directive *he* can be used to mark the Goals of these paths.

Orientation paths in BH may or may not have explicit verbs. Full orientation paths with verbs have the structure “NP is-oriented toward-Goal” while verbless orientation/advent paths act much like adjectives, having the structure “NP [is-oriented] toward-Goal” or “NP [has-moved] to-Goal.”

Full orientation paths with verbs are the less common option.

- Full orientation paths are often encoded in Hebrew using the verb *pnh* “to turn” plus directive *he*. Humans are oriented (*pnh*) toward locations in Deut 2:3 and Isa 8:21; objects and geographic features like gates, chambers, metal oxen, and the mouth of a bay are oriented toward locations in Josh 15:2; 1 Kings 7:25 (4x) / 2 Chr 4:4 (4x); and Ezek 9:2, 11:1, and 46:19.
- The verb *hnh* “to camp” can also be used with *he*-marked arguments in orientation paths, although it more commonly appears with *b*-marked Locations. See Num 3:23, 3:29, 3:35, 3:38 (2x), 10:5, and 10:6.
- Note the unusual Jud 7:13: “A loaf... came to the tent and struck it so it fell and it turned (*hpk*) it upside down (*lě-mā 'l=âh*).”
- God’s audience is called upon to lift (*nś?*) a banner toward Zion in Jer 4:6.*

Verbless orientation/advent paths are very common in BH. It is often difficult to tell whether specific instances of these are really orientation paths (with fictive motion understood as occurring) or are locative descriptions (with no motion understood as having occurred). For example, consider Numbers 2:18, “The flag of the camp of Ephraim to/by their hosts (is) to the west,” or 2 Chr 4:4 describing the metal oxen under the bronze sea, “And all their behinds (were) to the inside.”

- Verbless orientation paths marked with directive *he* include Gen 25:18; Ex 26:18 (2x), 26:22, 26:27, 26:35, 27:9, 27:13, 28:26, 36:23, 36:27, 36:32, 38:9, 38:13 (2x), 39:19, 40:22, 40:24; Lev 1:11, 1:16, 16:14; Num 2:3 (2x), 2:10, 2:18, 2:25, 32:19, 34:10, 34:11, 34:15 (2x), 34:3, 35:5; Deut 3:17, 4:41, 4:49; Josh 5:1, 12:1 (2x), 12:3 (2x), 12:7, 13:3, 13:8, 13:27, 13:32, prp 15:1, 15:4, 15:5 (2x), 15:11, 15:12, 15:8 (2x), 16:1, 16:5, 16:6, 16:8, 17:9, prp 17:10 (2x), 18:7, 18:12 (2x), 18:13, 18:14, 18:15, 18:16 (2x), 18:18, 18:19 (3x), 18:20, 20:8, 22:7; Jud 21:19; prp 1 Sam 9:2, prp 10:23; 1 Kgs 6:6, prp 7:25, prp 7:31, 7:39; 2 Kings 13:17, 16:14; Jer 1:15, 31:40, 46:6*, 52:23; Ezek 1:27, 8:2, prp 8:14, prp 8:16, 21:2, 40:6, 41:7 (4x), 43:15, prp 44:17, 45:7 (2x), 46:9, 46:19, 47:2, 47:15, 47:17, 47:18, 47:19 (3x), 48:1, 48:2, 48:3, 48:4, 48:5, 48:6, 48:7, 48:8 (2x), prp 48:10 (4x), 48:16, prp 48:17 (4x), prp 48:18 (2x), 48:21 (4x), 48:23, 48:24, 48:25, 48:26, 48:27, 48:28, 48:32, 48:33, 48:34; Hab 1:9*; Job 37:12*; Dan 8:18, prp 10:9; 1 Chr 9:18, 9:24 (3x), 26:14 (2x), 26:15, 26:17 (2x), 26:30; and 2 Chr 4:4, 4:10 (2x), 24:8, 31:14, 32:5, 32:30, 33:14, and 34:4.
- In some cases, the object which is understood to be oriented toward *x* must be supplied, as in 1 Chr 26:14 and 26:15.
- Instances of *mi-l-mā 'lâh* “above” in Jer 31:37*; Ezek 1:22, 1:26, 10:19, and 11:22 may also fit into this category.

A1.1.2.2 Directive *He* Marking the Goals of Sensory and Radiation Paths

In a sensory path, a physical being is perceiving something, and their perception is described as if their eyesight (or other sense) is moving along a path to what they are perceiving. In a radiation path, light or sound or another intangible thing is directed along a path. As with other types of fictive motion, directive *he* can mark sensory paths.

- Looking toward a goal - Gen 13:14 (4x), Gen 15:5; Deut 3:27 (4x), 4:19; Ezek 8:5 (2x); 1 Kings 8:8 // 2 Chr 5:9.

Directive *he* can mark radiation paths. In BH, this is usually sound radiation, when someone is directing sound toward a goal or into a space.

- Sound radiation – 1 Sam 9:26, “Samuel called (*qr?*) toward Saul, toward the roof.” Jer 3:12, “Go and proclaim (*qr?*) these words toward the north.” Possible extensions of this occur in Isa 8:23 (2x, Eng 9:1), 33:7*, Jer 18:2, Hos 2:17*.

A1.1.2.3 Directive *He* Marking the Goals of Advent Paths

In an advent path, a physical object or being which is factively immobile is conceptualized as if it is currently moving into an area. Directive *he* can be used to mark the goals of advent paths, especially when the mover has factively arrived at a site (though it is not currently doing so). The examples of directive *he* in this section have often been controversial, as the arguments to which they attach have been misunderstood as Locations rather than as Goals. Advent paths in BH may be full or verbless. For verbless advent paths, see A1.1.2.1 above.

1 Chr 5:9 can be understood as including an advent path: “And to the east [the tribe of Reuben] settled (*yšb*) as far as the entrance of the wilderness (*'ad lě-bo? midbārâh*).” The settlement pattern of the Reubenites is conceptualized as moving in a path that ends at the entrance of the wilderness. Other settlement-as-advent examples include Ps 68:7* and Ps 122:5*.

Other possible examples of advent paths with directive *he*-marked goals include 1 Chr 4:41 “the Meunites who were found there”; Isa 34:15* “There the owl nests (*qnn*)”; and Isa 65:9*

“My servants will dwell (*škn*) there.” These could also be understood as Locations, with the directive *he* occurring because *šām* (*there*) is usually marked with directive *he*.

A1.1.2.4 Directive *He* Marking the Goals of Coextension Paths

In a coextension path, an extended object like a road or a border can be described as if its own course is the route it is travelling. Directive *he* is frequently used to mark the goals of coextension paths.

- Roads-as-coextension-paths have destinations marked by *he* in Gen 38:14, Josh 12:7, Jud 20:31, Jud 21:19, Isa 19:23*, Prov 15:24* (this last is also a motion metaphor). Gen 46:28 may also belong in this category with its implicit assumption of a road (“He sent Judah ... to show (*yrh*) [the way] before him to Goshen”).
- Borders-as-coextension-paths have Goals marked by *he* in Gen 10:19 (2x); Num 34:4 (2x), 34:5 (2x), 34:8, 34:9, 34:10, 34:12; Josh 15:3 (3x), 15:4, 15:7 (2x), 15:10, 15:11 (2x), 16:2, 16:3 (2x), 16:6 (2x), 16:7, 16:8, 17:9 (2x), 18:12, 18:13 (2x), 18:14, 18:15, 18:18, 19:11, 19:12, 19:13 (3x), 19:26, 19:27, 19:29, 19:34 (2x); Jud 1:36; 1 Sam 13:18 (this is a combined sensory and coextension path); Ezek 45:7, 47:15. Five of these are combined coextension and orientation paths (Josh 15:11, 16:3, 18:12, and 19:29; Ezek 45:7).
- A ladder-as-coextension-path occurs in Gen 28:12 where we find that the top of the ladder reaches (*ng*) to the skies.

In Biblical Hebrew one also finds what can be called “extent of territory” coextension paths.

In these expressions, the extent of a territory is defined as if one is moving from source to goal, but there is no one-dimensional line-shaped path (such as a road or border) implied. Instead there is a two-dimensional field-shaped path with undefined edges but a defined Goal and usually a defined Source.

- See also Gen 10:30 (could be understood as an advent path); prp Gen 6:16 and 7:20;⁷¹⁹ Num 35:4; Josh 13:4, 15:46; 1 Sam 14:31 (with the verb *nkh*), 27:8; 2 Sam 5:9;⁷²⁰ Ezek 6:14, 21:3, 25:13 (this last could alternatively be understood as factive motion); probably Hos 6:9* (with the verb *ršh*); Zech 14:4 (2x); 1 Chr 14:16 (with the verb *nkh*); and 2 Chr 4:17. *hamātâh* in 1 Chr 18:3 can also be understood as the goal of a (verbless) coextension path (see A1.2.4).

⁷¹⁹ Gen 6:16 could also be seen as a pattern path. See note 720. Gen 6:16 and 7:20 both use *mi-l-mā'î-âh* as their Goal.

⁷²⁰ 2 Sam 5:9 (“And David built the city roundabout, from the Millo and inward”) can also be understood as a pattern path. In a pattern path, “a factive pattern exhibits fictive motion because components of the pattern have moved factively.” Talmy gives the example *As I was painting, paint spots slowly progressed across the floor* (Talmy 2017: 9). 2 Sam 5:9, from which one could envision a circle of buildings expanding inward as more are built, fits this category.

- *ma 'l=āh* in 1 Sam 9:2 and 10:23 may describe Saul's height as if his body is a coextension path. In 1 Kings 7:31, some of the temple furniture is described this way.

A1.1.3 Directive *He* Marking the Goal of Metaphorical Motion

Directive *he* is used in a number of motion idioms and metaphors.⁷²¹

- “You will bring down my gray hair with sorrow to Sheol.” – Gen 42:38, Gen 44:29. This idiom could be understood as factive motion.
- “Let none of his hairs fall to the ground.” – 1 Sam 14:45, 1 Kings 1:52. This idiom could be understood as factive motion.
- “Should your springs be scattered outward?” – Prov 5:16*. This idiom can be understood as a coextension path.

Often a fictive object moves to a factive Goal.

- “Let none of his words fall to the ground.” – 1 Sam 3:19, 2 Kings 10:10.
- “It will throw truth to the ground.” – Dan 8:12.
- Perhaps “YHWH of armies will be... strength to those who turn back the battle to the gate.” – Isa 28:5-6*.

Directive *he* has become fossilized in some metaphors, especially those involving the word *ma 'al* (“above”).⁷²² Examples of directive *he* in *ma 'al* metaphors include **Ex** 13:10, 30:14, 38:26; **Lev** 27:7; **Num** 1:3, 1:18, 1:20, 1:22, 1:24, 1:26, 1:28, 1:30, 1:32, 1:34, 1:36, 1:38, 1:40, 1:42, 1:45, 3:15, 3:22, 3:28, 3:34, 3:39, 3:40, 3:43, 4:3, 4:23, 4:30, 4:35, 4:39, 4:43, 4:47, 8:24, 14:29, 26:2, 26:4, 26:62, 32:11; **Deut** 25:5, 28:13, 28:43 (2x); **Jud** 11:40, 12:9, 21:19; **1 Sam** 1:3, 2:19, 16:13, 30:25; **2 Kings** 3:21; **Hag** 2:15, 2:18; **Prov** 15:24*; **Ezr** 3:8, 9:6; **1 Chr** 14:2, 22:5, 23:3, 23:17, 23:24, 23:27, 29:3, 29:25; and **2 Chr** 1:1, 16:12, 17:12, 20:19, 25:5, 26:8, 31:16, 31:17.

A few parallel examples occur with *mātt-* (down): **Deut** 28:13, 28:43 (2x); **2 Kings** 19:30 / **Isa** 37:31.

See also Ezek 16:29 and Job 34:13*.

⁷²¹ On metaphorical motion, see Caballero 2017.

⁷²² Though note the single instance in which the *ma 'al* of *lě-mā 'l=āh* is treated as a fixed location in its own right in Isa 7:11*: “Ask for yourself a sign from YHWH your God, to be deep unto Sheol or to be high unto the height.” Perhaps *lě-ma 'alāh* (*ascent*) was originally meant here and was mispointed by the Masoretes. Hornkohl discusses *ma 'al* constructions, arguing that *mā 'lāh* is preferred for “upward” in CBH while *mil mā 'lāh* becomes the preferred option in later Hebrew (2014: 211-212).

A1.1.4 Directive *he* and Spatial Arguments Other than Goal

Some grammars say that there are separative (Source-marking) or locative (Location-marking) uses of directive *he*. In most cases these unexpected uses of directive *he* for marking spatial arguments other than the goal occur in conjunction with a spatial preposition which overrides the usual goal-orientation of the clitic.

A1.1.4.1 In Conjunction with Spatial Prepositions

In 26 cases, the directive *he*, which usually marks Goals, is combined with the preposition *min*, which usually marks Sources. While *min* overrides the directive *he* in some cases, in fictive contexts the combination is used a number of times in ways indistinguishable from directive *he*'s normal fictive goal-marking behavior.

- Combined with *min* - Gen 6:16, 7:20; Ex 25:21, 26:14, 36:19, 39:31, 40:19, 40:20; Num 4:6, 4:25, 33:47; Deut 10:7; Josh 3:13, 3:16, 10:36, 15:10, 16:7; Jud 21:19; 1 Kings 6:15, 7:11, 7:25, 8:7; 2 Kings 17:24⁷²³; Jer 1:13, 23:8, 27:16, 31:37*; and Ezek 1:11, 1:22, 1:26, 10:19, 11:22, 40:40, 40:44, 45:7⁷²⁴, 48:1, 48:3, 48:4, 48:5, 48:8, 48:23, 48:24, 48:25, 48:26, 48:27; and 2 Chr 4:4.
- In Josh 15:10, directive *he* marks *the north* in a fictive orientation/coextension context such that *the north* is indistinguishable from a goal; the examples in Jud 21:19, 1 Kings 6:15, Ezek 40:40, Ezek 40:44 are indistinguishable from goals of orientation paths.
- Compare Jer 1:13, for the genuine source of an orientation path (*a pot facing away from the north*). Ezek 48:1 contains the source of a coextension path (and so throughout this chapter of Ezekiel).
- Most examples of *milmā 'lâh* (Ex 25:21, 26:14, 36:19, 39:31, 40:19, 40:20; Num 4:6, 4:25; 1 Kgs 7:11, 7:25, 8:7; Jer 31:37*; Ezek 1:11, 1:22, 1:26, 10:19, 11:22; and 2 Chr 4:4) can be understood as fictive orientation paths, usually meaning “on top of *x*” but in Ezek 37:8 meaning “on the outside of *x*.” In Gen 6:16 and 7:20 *milmā 'lâh* is the goal of a fictive coextension path.

In 1 Kings 4:12, directive *he* is combined with the preposition *?ešel* (*near*) in the phrase “near Zarethan.” In this context, Zarethan could be understood as part of an extent of territory coextension path, which could explain the presence of directive *he*.

⁷²³ The final *he* tagged here as directive *he* may simply be part of the GN.

⁷²⁴ Scribal error?

In seven cases, directive *he* is combined with the preposition *b-*, the usual Location marker in BH. As we have seen, *b-* is associated with divisible locations, whether they are Locations, Routes, or Goals.

- Combined with *b-* Num 33:46; Josh 15:21; Jud 14:1 and Jud 14:2; 1 Sam 31:13; 2 Sam 20:15; and Jer 52:10.
- In Num 33:46, the spatial argument ‘Almon Diblathaim describes where the Israelites were camping (*ḥnh*). The verb *to camp* seems to take both real Location arguments (marked with *b-*) and fictive orientation/advent goal arguments (marked with goal-markers including directive *he*) at various times; here the scribe is doing both at once.
- Josh 15:21 – fictive orientation/advent goal or Location?
- Jud 14:1 and 14:2 - In both verses Samson sees one of the daughters of the Philistines in Timnah (*bě-timnātâh*). Why would the directive *he* be used alongside *b-* here? There are three possibilities. First, this GN could be understood as a sensory goal (*Samson looked toward Timnah*), in which case the use of directive *he* is not unexpected. Second, this might not be directive *he* at all, but rather an alternative form of the GN (see also Josh 19:43 and the discussion of it in A1.2.1). Third, this could be a scribal error due to priming. “He went down to Timnah (marked with directive *he*, normal use) and he saw a woman in (b-) Timnah (marked with directive *he*).”
- 1 Sam 31:13 – “And they buried [them] under the tamarisk in (b-) Yabesh (marked with directive *he*).” The fact that the clause verb is *qbr* (*to bury/to put into a grave*) probably explains the directive *he* here; *qbr* frequently marks the burial place as a goal.
- Jer 52:10 – This seems to be a classic Location argument. Directive *he* may appear because the verb *šht* (*to slaughter*), which often takes a goal argument, is used.

In sum, directive *he* can be combined with other spatial markers in a variety of spatial contexts. While directive *he* is sometimes overridden by the marker it combines with, sometimes directive *he* does the overriding, especially in fictive contexts. There are very few cases in which directive *he* marks a Source or Location argument without their being some contextual justification for its presence; thus, positing a separate Source-marking or Location-marking function for directive *he* seems unnecessary.

A1.1.4.2 Goal or Location?

In a number of cases, directive *he* marks a spatial argument that may be either a Location or a Goal.

- In Ezek 48:35, the new holy city is named *YHWH šāmm=âh*. Most translations interpret this as “YHWH [is] there,” with a Location argument, but given the context in Ezekiel it

could be “YHWH [has returned] thither,” with a factive Goal, or “YHWH [has come to dwell] there,” with a fictive advent Goal.

- In Hab 3:11* “The sun [and] moon stood still (*`md*) in [their] place (*zēbul=âh*),” according to the English Standard Version; this seems like a Location argument. But are the sun and moon really standing still? In the next line they are travelling swiftly (*pi’el* of *hlk*). And the spatial argument here, *zēbul*, usually means *border*—the outer boundary of a space. This line might be better understood as “The sun [and] moon moved to take a position on the border,” in which case the border could be understood as a goal argument.⁷²⁵ While this use of *`md* is nonstandard, it could be acceptable in poetry.
- In Ezek 32:29, we read “Edom (is) there... they lie down with the uncircumcised and the pit-descenders.” The spatial argument here seems to be a Location, but if we consider the context and take the implied verb not as “to be” but “to go down,” we get “Edom (has gone down) thither,” which is a regular use of directive *he*. Ezek 32:30 is a similar example.⁷²⁶
- In Gen 28:12, “behold, a ladder caused to stand (*nšb* in the *hop’al*) on the earth.” If we envision the ladder being extended down from the skies until it reaches the ground, then the directive *he* on *?ereš* is quite normal. This may be more likely because the the next clause explains that “its top was touching the skies (marked with directive *he*).” Thus the earth and skies could be acting as the ends of a (coextension?) path, with the source and goal not clearly distinguished.
- In Qoh 3:16 (2x), we find a sentence usually translated “(in) the place of justice there was wickedness.” But there is no explicit “in.” Could we translate instead “(to) the place of justice, thither (goes) wickedness/the wicked”? This may seem like a stretch; however, the Location reading also would be unusual, requiring a rare accusative of location.⁷²⁷
- In Jer 29:15, “YHWH caused prophets to arise (*qwm* in *hip’il*) for us in Babylon.” This is either a Location or (less likely) the Goal of an advent path. Jeremiah 29 has many instances of Babylon used as a factive goal and marked with directive *he*, so it may be best to see this directive *he* as a scribal error due to priming.
- In Isa 22:18, God promises to throw Shebna into a broad land, where Shebna will die and “there (will be) the chariots of your glory.” Given that God has just stated that he will cast Shebna into a new location, can we read this as “thither (will go) the chariots of your glory”? Although, given the fact that the *there* of “you will die there” is also marked with directive *he*, perhaps we should understand *šāmm=âh* as becoming fossilized with the directive *he*.
- In several verses we find *šāmm=âh* (*there/thither*) governed by a verb that has nothing to do with motion and apparently marking a Location, yet the sentence as a whole is much concerned with motion. Could there be such a thing as motion-coloring, in which the presence of a Motion Construction attracts motion-marking to adjacent clauses? Or are these examples of directive *he* priming? Consider Gen 43:30, “and he entered (*bw?*) into the room (marked with directive *he*) and wept there”; Ruth 1:7, “she set out (*yš?*) from the place that she was (*hyh*) there”; Jer 27:22, “To Babylon (marked with directive *he*) they were brought (*bw?*), and there they will be (*hyh*) until the day of my visiting them”

⁷²⁵ This could also be understood as an advent path, but the possibility given above is more likely.

⁷²⁶ These could also be advent paths, but the possibility given in the text is more likely.

⁷²⁷ These could also be advent paths.

There are several examples for which only a Location reading seems to be possible. In poetry, Song 8:5* (2x), “There your mother labored to give birth (*hbl*) to you, there the one bearing you labored to give birth to you”; Psalm 76:4*, “there he broke the flashing arrows.” In prose narrative, Ezek 23:3 (fossilization of *šāmm=âh?*). Then, in two prose lists, we have the directive *he* marking what seem to be Location arguments: in 1 Chr 27:21, an entry in the list of David’s commanders reads, “for (*l-*) the half of Manasseh (in) Gilead, Yiddo son of Zecharyahu”; in 1 Kings 4:14, an entry in the list of Solomon’s officials reads, “Abinadab son of Yiddo, (in) Mahanaim,” parallel with other entries in which the officials’ origins are marked with *b-*.

A1.2 Directive *He* Outside of the Context of Space and Motion

There are a number of supposed occurrences of directive *he* which appear in the grammars and/or are tagged as “directive *heh*” in Accordance 12 which appear to have nothing to do with space or motion. Some of these are not really examples of directive *he*; others actually are appearing in a spatial context. Only a few are certainly problematic.

A1.2.1 Directive *He* in GN Lists

Directive *he* may sometimes mark GNs in lists of GNs which are otherwise not marked for motion. Instances include Josh 19:29 (Achzib), Josh 19:18 (Jezreel), Josh 19:22 (Shaḥaṣum), Josh 19:43 (Timnah), 2 Kings 15:29 (the Galilee), and Ezek 25:9 (Kiriathaim).

Some of these could be reinterpreted as occurring in motion contexts. Josh 19:18 could be understood as including an implied coextension path: “And their border was (=went up) to Jezreel.” In Josh 19:29, Achzib may have been misunderstood by a scribe as the end of an “extent of territory” coextension path: “And the boundary turns to Hosah, and its going-out is toward the sea, from Hebel to Achzib.” Likewise in 2 Kings 15:29, the Galilee is the last in a list of GNs which could be seen as an implied “extent of territory” coextension path: “Tiglath-Pileser came-and-captured (from) Lyon, (past) Abel-bet-maacah, ... and to the Galilee.”⁷²⁸ In Ezek 25:9,

⁷²⁸ Given that each of the GNs in this list are marked with the object preposition *?et*, an “extent of territory” interpretation is a stretch here. However, if even one early scribe reanalyzed the verse this way, the directive *he* would be explained.

Kiriathaim is the last GN in a list which could be understood as an “extent of territory” coextension path: “Therefore I will lay open the flank of Moab from ... Bet-Hayeshimot, (past) Baal-me`on, to Kiriathaim.”

The form of Timnah in Josh 19:43 is inexplicable unless the scribe was familiar with another form of the GN (Timnātâh), in which case no directive *he* is present here. This seems quite possible; see Jud 14:1-2 and the discussion of these verses in A1.1.4. The GN in Josh 19:22, Šaḥaṣumâh, may also have an *-âh* ending in its own right, with no directive *he*.

A1.2.2 Ḥālîlâh

In Gen 18:25 (2x), 44:17; Josh 22:29, 24:16; 1 Sam 2:30, 12:23, 14:45, 20:2, 20:9, 22:15, 24:7, 26:11; 2 Sam 20:20 (2x), 23:17; 1 Kings 21:3; Job 27:5, 34:10; and 1 Chr 11:19 a common Hebrew idiom appears: “Far be it from [pronoun] that [pronoun] should [do x].” The element translated as “far be it” is *ḥālîlâh*, sometimes analyzed as *ḥālîl* plus directive *he*. Bauer and Leander connect this word to the root *ḥll* “to be profane,” and say that *ḥālîlâh* originally meant “to that which is profane.” Unfortunately, the cognate data from Aramaic and Arabic is not enlightening. Given our currently available information, there is no way to know whether the directive *he* is really present here or not. If the directive *he* is present, it is fossilized, as *ḥālîl* never appears without its final *-âh* in Biblical Hebrew.

A1.2.3 Yahṣâh Mistagged as Yahaṣ

In a number of places Accordance tags Yahṣâh as Yahaṣ plus a directive *he*, despite the fact that there is no motion context. While the GN Yahaṣ is certainly known, these instances are better understood as a GN Yahṣâh, which may or may not be the same geographic location as Yahaṣ.⁷²⁹ See Josh 13:18, 21:36; Jud 11:20; 1 Chr 6:63; and Jer 48:21.

A1.2.4 Other Curiosities

⁷²⁹ *pace* Hornkohl 2014: 216.

Only a few supposed instances of directive *he* remain to be considered. In all but the first of these examples, I suggest that the tagging of the final *he*'s of these words as directive *he* are mistaken. Unfortunately, evidence is often lacking for these suggestions beyond the fact that these clauses do not describe motion situations, making these claims rather circular. Additional study, especially in Comparative Semitic context, could be helpful in these cases.

In 1 Chr 18:3, we read “And David struck Hadadezer king of Zobah-to-Hamath.” Hadadezer's kingdom is described elsewhere as Zobah, bordering on but not necessarily including Hamath (1 Chr 18:9); a generation later in the time of Solomon the GN is given as Hamath-zobah (2 Chr 8:3). Given these facts, I suggest that the compound forms of the GN—whether Zobah-to-Hamath or Hamath-Zobah—are in fact abbreviated “extent of territory” coextension descriptions of Hadadezer's land. He is king from Zobah to Hamath or from Hamath to Zobah.

In 1 Chr 1:7 we are in the midst of the Table of Nations, a list of the descendants of Noah. It is often unclear whether the proper nouns in this list are to be understood as persons, tribes, or places. 1 Chr 1:7 reads, “The sons of Yavan: Elishah and Tarshishah, Kittim and Rodanim.” Accordance tags Taršišâh as Tarshish (a well known GN) plus directive *he*, but since there is no motion context, it may be better to understand Taršišâh as an acceptable alternative form of this GN/PN.

In several cases, Accordance 12 tags a clause's subject as carrying the directive *he*. In Judges 3:22 we read “and the dung (*happarsēdōn=âh*) came out;” similarly, in Judges 14:18 we find “before the sun (*haḥars=âh*) went down.” A subject carrying directive *he* is very unexpected; it is not any kind of spatial argument. I doubt that these are really instances of the directive *he*. They are either alternative (archaic?) forms of known lexemes (note that the Judges 14:18 clause also includes a *yiqtol* preterite without an attached conjunction, an archaic feature); or the *-âh* suffixes here are some other morpheme, perhaps some kind of detransitivizing marker for middle

situations or inanimate nonvolitional actors (An archaic use of the Proto-Aramaic-Canaanite –a accusative? This would be very surprising.).

Again, in Psalm 124:4*, we read that “the river (would) have passed over our souls (=have overwhelmed us).” Accordance tags the subject of the sentence, the river (here written *naḥlāh*), as *naḥal* plus directive *he*. However, lacking other evidence it may be better to understand *nḥlh* as *naḥālāh*, *brook* (see Ezek 47:19 and 48:28, although these examples could themselves be fictive path descriptions genuinely using *naḥal* plus directive *he*).

In one case, directive *he* appears on the object of a clause. In Josh 10:39, we read “thus he did (`śh) to (l-) Debir and to its king.” Unless this is a scribal error due to the many final *he*’s in this verse or a remnant of the accusative case (!), I have no explanation.

In Psalm 116 verses 14* and 18*, we read “My vows to YHWH I will pay before (*negdah-na?*) all his people.” Accordance 12 tags *negdāh-nā?* as *neged* plus directive *he* plus the modal marker *nā?*. However, this etymology is irregular in several ways. First, directive *he* does not apply directly to prepositions. Second, *nā?* applies to verbs (and sometimes other predicates) but *neged* is not a predicate. It is better to see this tagging as spurious and to understand *negdāhnā?* as a rare poetic alternative to *neged*.

Again in the psalms, we find the form `ezrātāh several times. This word has been understood as `ezrāh “help” plus the directive *he* (e.g. GKC 590). Psalm 44:27 says, “Arise (*qwm*) to help for us” or “Arise to our help.” Psalm 63:8 says “[I remember you...] for you were (*hyh*) help to me.” Psalm 94:17 reads “If YHWH had not been (*lûlê*) help to me...” Although Psalm 44:27 can just barely be understood as a motion context, the other two instances cannot. Rather than positing an obscure “accusative of intention” or some such thing, it is probably better to treat `ezrātāh as an independent lexeme meaning something like “(military) aid/support.”

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix Two:

LIST OF FACTIVE GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN BIBLICAL HEBREW PROSE

This appendix lists all of the factive Goal Constructions in BH Prose, all of the observations used in my statistical analyses in Chapters 2-6 of this dissertation. Due to issues of space and formatting, only basic descriptive information is provided here. To see the full dataset with coding of all independent variables, see the file "Appendix 2 Full Dataset" on my Academia page.

reference	GP	reads	means
Gen 01:09	prep	?el ma:qom exad	to one place
Gen 02:19	prep	?el ha?adam	to the man
Gen 02:22	prep	?el ha?adam	to the man
Gen 04:03	prep	le-YHWH	to YHWH
Gen 06:18	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 06:19	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 06:20	prep	?eleyka	to you
Gen 06:21	prep	?eleyka	to you
Gen 07:01	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 07:07	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 07:09	prep	?el noax	to Noah
Gen 07:09	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 07:13	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 07:15	prep	?el noax	to Noah
Gen 07:15	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 08:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 08:09	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 08:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 08:09	prep	?el hate:bah	to the ark
Gen 08:11	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 08:12	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 10:11	acc	?assur	to Assyria
Gen 11:31	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 11:31	prep	ad haran	to Haran
Gen 12:01	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Gen 12:05	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 12:05	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 12:06	prep	ad meqom shexem	to the place Shechem
Gen 12:06	prep	ad ?eylon moreh	to the oak of Moreh
Gen 12:08	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Gen 12:09	hey	hannegba:h	to the Negev
Gen 12:10	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 12:11	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 12:14	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 12:15	acc	beyt par'o	to the house of Pharaoh
Gen 13:01	hey	hannegba:h	to the Negev
Gen 13:03	prep	ad beyt ?el	to Bethel
Gen 13:03	prep	ad hamaqom	to the place

Gen 13:04	prep	?el maqom hammitsbeax	to the place of the altar
Gen 14:07	prep	?el 'eyn mishpat	to En Mishpat
Gen 14:10	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 14:10	hey	hera:h	to hill country
Gen 14:14	prep	ad dan	as far as Dan
Gen 14:15	prep	ad xobah	to Hobah
Gen 14:17	prep	?el 'emeq shaveh	to the valley of Shaveh
Gen 15:05	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 15:16	hey	henah	hither
Gen 16:09	prep	?el gebirtek	to your lady
Gen 18:05	prep	ad 'abadkem	to yalls servants
Gen 18:06	hey	ha:?ohela:h	to the tent
Gen 18:06	prep	?el šarah	to Sarah
Gen 18:07	prep	?el habbaqqar	to the herd
Gen 18:10	prep	?eleyka	to you
Gen 18:14	prep	?eleyka	to you
Gen 18:22	hey	sedoma:h	to Sodom
Gen 18:33	prep	la-meqomo	to his place
Gen 19:01	hey	sedoma:h	to Sodom
Gen 19:02	prep	?el beyt abadkem	to the house of your servant
Gen 19:02	prep	le-darkekem	to yalls road
Gen 19:03	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 19:03	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Gen 19:05	prep	?eleyka	to you
Gen 19:05	prep	?elenu	to us
Gen 19:06	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 19:06	hey	happetxa:h	to the door
Gen 19:08	prep	?alekem	to yall
Gen 19:08	prep	be-tsel qaroti	to/under the shelter of my roof
Gen 19:10	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 19:10	hey	habbayta:h	into the house
Gen 19:17	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 19:17	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Gen 19:19	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Gen 19:20	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 19:20	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 19:22	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 19:22	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 19:23	hey	šo'ara:h	to Zoar
Gen 20:01	hey	?arša:h hannegeb	to the land of Negev
Gen 20:13	prep	?el kol hammaqom	to every place
Gen 20:13	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 20:14	prep	l-o	to him
Gen 21:32	prep	?el ?erets pelisitim	to the land of the Philistines
Gen 22:02	prep	?el ?erets hammoriya	to the land of Moriah

Gen 22:03	prep	?el hammaqom	to the place
Gen 22:05	prep	?alekem	to yall
Gen 22:09	prep	?el hammaqom	to the place
Gen 22:19	prep	?el na'arayv	to his young men
Gen 22:19	prep	?el be'er sheba	to Beer sheba
Gen 24:04	prep	?el ?artsi	to my land
Gen 24:04	prep	?el moladti	to my birthplace
Gen 24:05	prep	?el ha?arets hazzo?ot	to this land
Gen 24:05	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Gen 24:06	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 24:08	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 24:10	prep	?el ?aram naharayim	to Aram of the 2 rivers
Gen 24:10	prep	?el 'ir nahor	to the city of Nahor
Gen 24:16	hey	ha:'ayna:h	to the spring
Gen 24:20	prep	?el hashoket	to the trough
Gen 24:20	prep	?el habe'er	to the well
Gen 24:27	acc	beyt ?axe ?adoni	the house of my master's brothers
Gen 24:29	prep	?el ha?ish	to the man
Gen 24:29	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 24:29	prep	?el ha'ayin	to the spring
Gen 24:30	prep	?el ha?ish	to the man
Gen 24:32	hey	habbayta:h	to the house
Gen 24:38	prep	?el beyt abi	to the house of my father
Gen 24:38	prep	?el mishpaxti	to my family
Gen 24:41	prep	?el mishpaxti	to my family
Gen 24:42	prep	?el ha'ayin	to the spring
Gen 24:45	hey	ha:'ayna:h	to the spring
Gen 24:49	prep	al yamin	to the right
Gen 24:49	prep	al semol	to the left
Gen 24:54	prep	la-?adoni	to my master
Gen 24:56	prep	la-?adoni	to my master
Gen 24:67	hey	ha:?ohela:h ša:ra:h ?immo:	to the tent of Sarah his mother
Gen 25:06	hey	qe:dma:h	to the east
Gen 25:06	prep	?el ?erets qedem	to the land of the east
Gen 26:01	prep	?el abimelek melek pelishtim	to Abimelek king of Ph
Gen 26:01	hey	gera:ra:h	to Gerar
Gen 26:02	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 26:23	acc	be'er sheba'	to Beer sheba
Gen 26:26	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 26:27	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 27:03	acc	hasadeh	to the field
Gen 27:04	prep	l-i	to me
Gen 27:05	acc	hasadeh	to the field
Gen 27:09	prep	?el hatso?n	to the flock
Gen 27:10	prep	le-?abika	to your father

Gen 27:13	prep	l-i	to me
Gen 27:14	prep	le-'immo	to his mother
Gen 27:18	prep	?el ?abiv	to his father
Gen 27:22	prep	?el yitsxaq ?abiv	to Isaac his father
Gen 27:25	prep	l-i	to me
Gen 27:25	prep	l-o	to him
Gen 27:25	prep	l-o	to him
Gen 27:31	prep	le-?abiv	to his father
Gen 27:33	prep	l-i	to me
Gen 27:43	prep	?el laban ?ahi	to Laban my brother
Gen 27:43	hey	xa:ra:na:h	to Haran
Gen 28:02	hey	paddena:h ?ara:m	to Padden Aram
Gen 28:02	hey	beyta:h betu:?e:l ?abiy ?immeka:	to the house of Bethuel your mother's father
Gen 28:05	hey	paddena:h ?ara:m	to Padden Aram
Gen 28:05	prep	?el laban ben bethu?el ha?arami &c.	to Laban son of B the Aramaean &c.
Gen 28:06	hey	paddena:h ?ara:m	to Padden Aram
Gen 28:07	hey	paddena:h ?ara:m	to Padden Aram
Gen 28:09	prep	?el ?ishma'?el	to Ishmael
Gen 28:10	hey	xa:ra:na:h	to Haran
Gen 28:14	hey	ya:mma:h	to the west
Gen 28:14	hey	qe:dma:h	to the east
Gen 28:14	hey	ša:pona:h	to the north
Gen 28:14	hey	negba:h	to the Negev
Gen 28:15	prep	?el ha?adamah hazzo?ot	to this land
Gen 28:21	prep	?el beyt ?abi	to my father's house
Gen 29:01	hey	?arša:h bene:y qedem	to the land of the sons of the east
Gen 29:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 29:03	prep	le-meqomah	to its place
Gen 29:13	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Gen 29:23	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 30:14	prep	?el Leah ?immo	to Leah his mother
Gen 30:25	prep	?el maqomi	to my place
Gen 30:25	prep	le-?artsi	to my land
Gen 31:03	prep	?el ?erets ?aboteka	to the land of your fathers
Gen 31:03	prep	le-moladeteka	to your birthplace
Gen 31:13	prep	?el ?erets moladteka	to the land of your birth
Gen 31:18	prep	?el yitsxaq ?abiv	to Isaac his father
Gen 31:18	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 31:33	prep	be-?ohel yaakob	into the tent of JAcob
Gen 31:39	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 31:52	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 31:52	prep	?elai	to me

Gen 32:01	prep	le-meqomo	to his place
Gen 32:02	prep	le-darko	to his way
Gen 32:04	prep	?el 'esaw ?ahiv	to Esau his brother
Gen 32:04	hey	?arša:h še:'ir	to the land of Seir
Gen 32:07	prep	?el ?ahika	to your brother
Gen 32:07	prep	?el 'esaw	to Esau
Gen 32:07	prep	?el ya'akob	to Jacob
Gen 32:09	prep	?el hammaxaneh ha?axat	to the one camp
Gen 32:10	prep	le-?artseka	to your land
Gen 32:10	prep	le-moladeteka	to your birthplace
Gen 32:19	prep	le-?adoni	to my lord
Gen 32:19	prep	le-'esav	to Esau
Gen 33:03	prep	ad ?ahiv	to his brother
Gen 33:14	prep	?el ?adoni	to my lord
Gen 33:14	hey	še:'ira:h	to Seir
Gen 33:16	prep	le-darko	to his way
Gen 33:16	hey	še:'ira:h	to Seir
Gen 33:17	hey	sukkota:h	to Sukkoth
Gen 33:18	acc	ir shexem	to the city of Shechem
Gen 34:06	prep	?el ya'akob	to Jacob
Gen 34:20	prep	?el sha'ar 'iram	to the gate of their city
Gen 35:01	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
Gen 35:03	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
Gen 35:06	hey	lu:za:h	to Luz
Gen 35:27	prep	?el yitsxaq ?abiv	to Isaac his father
Gen 35:27	acc	mamre?	to Mamre
Gen 36:06	prep	?el ?erets mipney ya'akov ?ahiv	to a land away from Jacob his brother
Gen 37:13	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 37:14	hey	šekema:h	to Shechem
Gen 37:17	hey	dota:yana:h	to Dothan
Gen 37:18	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 37:20	prep	be-?exad habорот	in some one of the pits
Gen 37:22	prep	?el habbor hazzeh	into this pit
Gen 37:22	prep	?el ?abiv	to his father
Gen 37:23	prep	?el ?ahayv	to his brothers
Gen 37:24	hey	habbora:h	to the pit
Gen 37:25	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 37:28	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 37:29	prep	?el habbor	to the pit
Gen 37:30	prep	?el ?ahayv	to his brothers
Gen 37:32	prep	?el ?abihem	to their father
Gen 37:35	prep	?el beni	to my son
Gen 37:35	hey	še?ola:h	to Sheol
Gen 38:01	prep	ad ?ish 'adullami	to an Adullamite
Gen 38:12	prep	al gozane tsono	to his sheepshearers

Gen 38:12	hey	timna:ta:h	to Timna
Gen 38:13	hey	timna:ta:h	to Timna
Gen 38:22	prep	?el Yehudah	to Judah
Gen 39:01	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 39:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 39:11	hey	habbayta:h	to the house
Gen 39:12	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 39:13	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 39:14	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 39:15	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 39:16	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Gen 39:17	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 39:17	prep	la-nu	to us
Gen 39:18	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Gen 40:06	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 40:11	prep	?el kos par'o	to Pharoah's cup
Gen 41:14	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Gen 41:21	prep	?el qirbenah	to their midst
Gen 41:21	prep	?el qirbenah	to their midst
Gen 41:55	prep	?el yosep	to Joseph
Gen 41:57	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 41:57	prep	?el yosep	to Joseph
Gen 42:02	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Gen 42:15	hey	henah	hither
Gen 42:17	prep	?el mishmar	under guard
Gen 42:20	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 42:24	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 42:25	prep	?el saqqo	to his sack
Gen 42:29	prep	?el ya'akob abihem	to Jacob their father
Gen 42:29	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 42:34	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 42:37	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 42:37	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 43:09	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 43:11	prep	la-?ish	to the man
Gen 43:13	prep	?el ha:?ish	to the man
Gen 43:15	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
Gen 43:16	hey	habbayta:h	to the house
Gen 43:17	hey	be:yta:h yose:p	to the house of Joseph
Gen 43:18	acc	beyt yosep	to the house of Joseph
Gen 43:19	prep	?el ha:?ish	to the man
Gen 43:21	prep	?el hammalon	to the lodging place
Gen 43:23	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 43:23	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 43:24	hey	be:yta:h yose:p	to the house of Joseph
Gen 43:26	hey	habbayta:h	to the house
Gen 43:26	prep	l-o	to him
Gen 43:26	hey	habbayta:h	to the house

Gen 43:30	hey	haxadra:h	to the chamber
Gen 43:34	prep	?alehem	to them
Gen 44:08	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 44:11	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Gen 44:13	hey	ha:'ira:h	to the city
Gen 44:14	hey	be:ya:h yose:p	to the house of Joseph
Gen 44:14	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Gen 44:17	prep	?el abikem	to yalls father
Gen 44:18	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 44:21	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 44:24	prep	?el 'abdeka ?abi	to your servant my father
Gen 44:30	prep	?el 'abdeka ?abi	to your servant my father
Gen 44:32	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 44:34	prep	?el ?abi	to my father
Gen 45:04	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 45:08	hey	henah	hither
Gen 45:09	prep	?el ?abi	to my father
Gen 45:09	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 45:13	hey	henah	hither
Gen 45:17	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 45:18	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 45:23	prep	le-?abiv	to his father
Gen 45:25	acc	?erets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 45:25	prep	?el ya'akob abihem	to Jacob their father
Gen 46:01	hey	be?e:ra:h ša:ba'	to Beer Sheba
Gen 46:03	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:04	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:06	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:07	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:08	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:26	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:27	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 46:28	prep	?el yosep	to Joseph
Gen 46:28	hey	?arša:h gošen	to the land of Goshen
Gen 46:29	hey	gošna:h	to Goshen
Gen 46:31	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 47:05	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 47:14	hey	be:ya:h par'oh	to Pharoah's house
Gen 47:15	prep	?el yosep	to Joseph
Gen 47:17	prep	?el yosep	to Joseph
Gen 47:18	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 48:02	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 48:05	prep	?eleka	to you
Gen 48:05	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 48:09	prep	?elai	to me
Gen 48:10	prep	?elayv	to him

Gen 48:13	prep	?elayv	to him
Gen 48:21	prep	?el ?erets ?abotekem	to the land of yalls fathers
Gen 49:33	prep	?el hammittah	into the bed
Gen 50:10	prep	ad goren ha?atad	to the threshing floor of Atad
Gen 50:13	hey	?arša:h kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Gen 50:14	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Gen 50:24	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ex 01:01	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Ex 01:19	prep	?alehen	to them
Ex 01:22	hey	hay?ora:h	to the Nile
Ex 02:10	prep	le-bat par'o	to P's daughter
Ex 02:11	prep	?el ?ehayv	to his brothers
Ex 02:18	prep	?el re?uel abihen	to Reuel their father
Ex 03:01	prep	?el har ha?elohim	to the mt of God
Ex 03:01	hey	xore:ba:h	to Horeb
Ex 03:05	acc	halom	hither
Ex 03:08	prep	?el ?erets tobah varaxabah	to a good and broad land
Ex 03:08	prep	?el ?erets zbat xalab devash	to a land flowing with milk and honey
Ex 03:08	prep	?el maqom hakenaani &c	to the place of the Canaanites &c
Ex 03:10	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 03:11	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 03:13	prep	?el bene yisrael	to the sons of Israel
Ex 03:13	prep	?alekem	to yall
Ex 03:14	prep	?alekem	to yall
Ex 03:15	prep	?alekem	to yall
Ex 03:17	prep	?el ?erets hakenaani &c	to the land of the Canaanites &c
Ex 03:17	prep	?el ?erets zbat xalab devash	to a land flowing with milk and honey
Ex 03:18	prep	?el melek mitsrayim	to the king of Egypt
Ex 04:03	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Ex 04:03	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Ex 04:07	prep	?el heyqka	to your bosom
Ex 04:07	prep	?el heyqo	to his bosom
Ex 04:18	prep	?el yeter xatano	to Jether his pa in law
Ex 04:18	prep	?el ?ahai	to my brothers
Ex 04:19	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Ex 04:20	hey	?arša:h mişra:yim	to the land of Egypt
Ex 04:21	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Ex 04:27	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Ex 05:04	prep	le-siblotekem	to your burdens
Ex 05:23	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 06:08	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ex 07:10	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah

Ex 07:15	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 07:15	hey	hammayma:h	to the waters
Ex 07:16	prep	?eleka	to you
Ex 07:23	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Ex 07:26	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 07:28	hey	be-beyteka u-be-&c.	into your house and into your ...
Ex 08:16	hey	hammayma:h	to the waters
Ex 08:20	hey	beyta:h par'oh	to house of Phaorah
Ex 08:20	acc	beyt 'abadayv	to the houses of his servants
Ex 09:01	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 09:08	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Ex 09:10	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Ex 09:19	hey	habbayta:h	to the house
Ex 09:20	prep	?el habbattim	to the houses
Ex 09:23	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Ex 09:33	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Ex 10:01	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 10:03	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 10:04	prep	bi-gbuleka	into your land
Ex 10:08	prep	?el par'oh	to Pharoah
Ex 10:19	hey	ya:mma:h su:p	to the sea of reed(s)
Ex 10:26	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ex 11:08	prep	?elai	to me
Ex 12:23	prep	?el beytekem	to your houses
Ex 12:25	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ex 12:37	hey	sukkota:h	to Sukkoth
Ex 13:05	prep	?el ?erets hakenaani &c	to the land of the Canaanites &c
Ex 13:11	prep	?el ?erets hakenaani	to the land of the Canaanites
Ex 13:17	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Ex 13:18	acc	yam sup	to the Red Sea
Ex 14:20	prep	?el zeh	to that
Ex 14:22	prep	be-tok hayam	into the midst of the sea
Ex 14:23	prep	?el tok hayyam	to the midst of the sea
Ex 14:28	prep	bayam	into the sea
Ex 15:22	prep	?el midbar shur	to the wilderness of Shur
Ex 15:23	hey	ma:ra:ta:h	to Marah
Ex 15:27	hey	?e:lima:h	to Elim
Ex 16:01	prep	?el midbar sin	to the wilderness of Sin
Ex 16:03	prep	?el hammidbar hazzeh	to this wilderness
Ex 16:35	prep	?el ?erets noshabet	to a liveable land
Ex 16:35	prep	?el qetsey ?erets kanaan	to the border of the land of Canaan

Ex 17:10	acc	roʔsh hagiv'ah	to the top of the mt
Ex 18:05	prep	ʔel mosheh	to Moses
Ex 18:05	prep	ʔel hammidbar	to the wilderness
Ex 18:06	prep	ʔeleka	to you
Ex 18:07	hey	ha:ʔohela:h	to the tent
Ex 18:15	prep	ʔelai	to me
Ex 18:16	prep	ʔelai	to me
Ex 18:23	prep	al meqomo	to his place
Ex 18:27	prep	ʔel ʔartso	to his land
Ex 19:01	acc	midbar sinay	to the wilderness of Sinai
Ex 19:02	acc	midbar sinay	to the wilderness of Sinai
Ex 19:03	prep	ʔel haʔelohim	to God
Ex 19:09	prep	ʔeleka	to you
Ex 19:10	prep	ʔel ha'am	to the people
Ex 19:13	prep	ba-har	onto the mountain
Ex 19:14	prep	ʔel ha'am	to the people
Ex 19:20	prep	al har sinai	to Mt Sinai
Ex 19:20	prep	ʔel roʔsh hahar	to the top of the mt
Ex 19:22	prep	ʔel YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 19:23	prep	ʔel har sinai	to mt sinai
Ex 19:24	prep	ʔel YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 19:25	prep	ʔel ha'am	to the people
Ex 20:21	prep	ʔel ha'arpel	to the gloom
Ex 20:24	prep	ʔeleka	to you
Ex 21:06	prep	ʔel haʔelohim	to God
Ex 21:06	prep	ʔel hadelet	to the door
Ex 21:06	prep	ʔel hamezuzah	to the mezuzah
Ex 21:13	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ex 21:33	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ex 22:07	prep	ʔel haʔelohim	to God
Ex 22:25	prep	l-o	to him
Ex 23:04	prep	l-o	to him
Ex 23:19	acc	beyt YHWH ʔeloheka	to the house of YHWH your God
Ex 23:20	prep	ʔel hamaqom	to the place
Ex 23:23	prep	ʔel haʔamori &c	to the Amorites &c
Ex 24:01	prep	ʔel YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 24:02	prep	ʔel YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 24:12	prep	ʔelai	to me
Ex 24:12	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Ex 24:13	prep	ʔel har haʔelohim	to the mt of God
Ex 24:14	prep	ʔalekem	to yall
Ex 24:14	prep	ʔalehem	to them
Ex 24:15	prep	ʔel hahar	to the mt
Ex 24:18	prep	betok he'anan	into the midst of the cloud
Ex 24:18	prep	ʔel hahar	to the mt

Ex 26:33	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ex 27:20	prep	?eleka	to you
Ex 28:01	prep	?eleka	to you
Ex 28:29	prep	?el haqadosh	to the holy place
Ex 28:35	prep	?el haqadosh	to the holy place
Ex 28:43	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Ex 28:43	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Ex 29:04	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Ex 29:12	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Ex 29:30	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Ex 30:20	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Ex 30:20	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Ex 32:02	prep	?elai	to me
Ex 32:03	prep	?el ?aharon	to Aaron
Ex 32:19	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Ex 32:26	prep	?elayv	to him
Ex 32:27	prep	misha'ar le-sha'ar	from gate to gate
Ex 32:30	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 32:31	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Ex 32:34	prep	?el ?asher dibarti leka	to (the land) which I spoke to you
Ex 33:01	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ex 33:07	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Ex 33:08	prep	?el ha?ohel	to the tent
Ex 33:08	hey	ha:?ohela:h	to the tent
Ex 33:09	hey	ha:?ohela:h	to the tent
Ex 33:11	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Ex 34:02	prep	?el har sinai	to mt sinai
Ex 34:04	prep	?el har sinai	to mt sinai
Ex 34:26	acc	beyt YHWH ?eloheka	to the house of YHWH your God
Ex 34:30	prep	?elayv	to him
Ex 34:31	prep	?elayv	to him
Ex 36:03	prep	?elayv	to him
Ex 39:33	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Ex 40:12	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Ex 40:21	prep	?el hamishkan	to the tabernacle
Ex 40:32	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Ex 40:32	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Ex 40:35	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 01:02	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 01:03	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 01:15	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 01:16	prep	?el maqom hadashen	to the place of the ash
Lev 02:02	prep	?el bene aharon	to the sons of Aaron
Lev 02:08	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH

Lev 02:08	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 02:08	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 02:11	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 02:12	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 04:04	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 04:05	prep	?el ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 04:07	prep	?el yasod mizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 04:12	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 04:12	prep	?el maqom tahor	to a clean place
Lev 04:12	prep	?el shepek hadeshen	to the ash heap
Lev 04:16	prep	?el ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 04:18	prep	?el yasod mizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 04:21	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 04:25	prep	?el yasod mizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 04:30	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 04:34	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 05:06	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 05:07	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 05:08	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 05:09	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 05:12	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 05:15	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 05:18	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 05:25	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 05:25	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 06:04	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 06:04	prep	?el maqom tahor	to a clean place
Lev 06:23	prep	?el ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 07:29	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 08:03	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 08:04	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 08:15	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 09:05	prep	?el pene ?ohel mo'ed	to the front of the tent of meeting
Lev 09:07	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 09:08	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 09:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Lev 09:09	prep	?el yasod hamizbeax	to the base of the altar
Lev 09:23	prep	?el ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 10:04	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 10:05	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 10:09	prep	?el ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 10:18	prep	?el haqodesh	to the holy place
Lev 11:33	prep	?el toko	into the midst
Lev 12:04	prep	?el hamiqdash	to the sanctuary

Lev 12:06	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 12:06	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 13:02	prep	?el aharon	to Aaron
Lev 13:02	prep	?el ?exad mibanayv	to one of his sons
Lev 13:09	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 13:16	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 14:02	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 14:03	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	to outside the camp
Lev 14:08	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Lev 14:23	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 14:23	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 14:34	prep	?el erets kenaan	to the land of Canaan
Lev 14:38	prep	?el petax habayit	to the entrance of the house
Lev 14:40	prep	?el mixuts la'ir	to outside the city
Lev 14:40	prep	?el maqom tame?	to an unclean place
Lev 14:41	prep	?el mixuts la'ir	to outside the city
Lev 14:41	prep	?el maqom tame?	to an unclean place
Lev 14:45	prep	?el mixuts la'ir	to outside the city
Lev 14:45	prep	?el maqom tame?	to an unclean place
Lev 14:46	prep	?el habayit	to the house
Lev 14:53	prep	?el mixuts la'ir	to outside the city
Lev 14:53	prep	?el pene hasadeh	into the field
Lev 15:14	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 15:29	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 15:29	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 16:02	prep	?el haqodesh	to the holy place
Lev 16:02	prep	?el pene hakaporet	before the mercy seat
Lev 16:03	prep	?el haqodesh	to the holy place
Lev 16:10	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Lev 16:15	prep	?el mibeyt laporet	inside the veil
Lev 16:18	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 16:21	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Lev 16:23	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Lev 16:26	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Lev 16:27	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Lev 16:28	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Lev 17:04	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 17:05	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 17:05	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 17:05	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 17:09	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting

Lev 18:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Lev 19:21	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
Lev 19:21	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Lev 19:23	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Lev 20:22	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Lev 21:11	prep	al napshot met	unto dead bodies
Lev 21:23	prep	?el haparoket	to the veil
Lev 21:23	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Lev 22:03	prep	?el haqodashim	to the holy things
Lev 22:13	prep	?el beyt ?abiha	to her father's house
Lev 23:10	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Lev 23:10	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Lev 24:02	prep	?eleka	to you
Lev 24:11	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Lev 24:14	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Lev 24:23	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Lev 25:02	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Lev 25:10	prep	?el ?ahuzato	to his property
Lev 25:10	prep	?el mishpaxto	to his family
Lev 25:13	prep	?el ?ahuzato	to his property
Lev 25:27	prep	la-?axuzato	to his property
Lev 25:28	prep	la-?axuzato	to his property
Lev 25:41	prep	?el mishpaxto	to his family
Lev 25:41	prep	?el ?ahuzat ?abotayv	to the property of his fathers
Lev 26:25	prep	?el 'areykem	to yalls cities
Lev 26:41	prep	be-?erets ?oyvehem	into the land of their enemies
Num 05:03	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Num 05:04	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Num 05:09	prep	la-kohen	to the priest
Num 05:15	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Num 05:23	prep	?el me hamarim	to the water of bitterness
Num 05:25	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Num 06:10	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Num 06:10	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Num 06:13	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Num 07:89	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Num 08:19	prep	?el haqodesh	to the holy place
Num 10:03	prep	?eleka	to you
Num 10:03	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Num 10:04	prep	?eleka	to you
Num 10:29	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Num 10:30	prep	?el artsi	to my land

Num 10:30	prep	?el moladeti	to my birthplace
Num 10:36	acc	ribebot ?alpe yisrael	to the thousands of Israel
Num 11:12	prep	al ha?adamah	to the land
Num 11:16	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Num 11:26	hey	ha:?ohela:h	to the tent
Num 11:30	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Num 11:35	acc	xatserot	to Hazeroth
Num 12:04	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Num 13:17	prep	ba-negev	into the Negev
Num 13:17	prep	?et hahar	to the hill country
Num 13:22	prep	ba-negev	into the Negev
Num 13:22	prep	ad xebron	to hebron
Num 13:23	prep	ad naxal ?eshkol	to the wadi Eshkol
Num 13:26	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 13:26	prep	?el aharon	to Aaron
Num 13:26	prep	?el kol 'adat bene yisrael	to all the congregation of the sons of Israel
Num 13:26	prep	?el midbar pa?ran	to the wilderness of Paran
Num 13:26	hey	qa:de:ša:h	to Kadesh
Num 13:27	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 14:03	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Num 14:03	prep	?el ha?arets hazo?ot	to this land
Num 14:04	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Num 14:08	prep	?el ha?arets hazo?ot	to this land
Num 14:16	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 14:24	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 14:24	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 14:25	acc	ha-midbar	to the wilderness
Num 14:30	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 14:40	prep	?el ro?sh hahar	to the top of the mt
Num 14:40	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Num 14:44	prep	?el ro?sh hahar	to the top of the mt
Num 15:02	prep	?el ?erets moshbotekem	to the land of your dwelling
Num 15:18	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 15:18	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 15:33	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 15:33	prep	?el aharon	to Aaron
Num 15:33	prep	?el kol ha'edah	to all the congregation
Num 15:36	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Num 16:05	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 16:05	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 16:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 16:14	prep	?el ?erets zbat xalab devash	to a land flowing with milk and honey
Num 16:19	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting

Num 16:25	prep	?el datan va?abiram	to Dathan and Abiram
Num 16:30	hey	še?ola:h	to Sheol
Num 16:33	hey	še?ola:h	to Sheol
Num 17:08	prep	?el pene ?ohel moed	in front of the tent of meeting
Num 17:11	prep	?el ha'edah	to the congregation
Num 17:12	prep	?el tok haqaxal	to the midst of the assembly
Num 17:15	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 17:15	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Num 17:23	prep	?el ?ohel ha'edut	to the tent of the testimony
Num 17:24	prep	?el kol bene yisrael	to all the sons of Israel
Num 18:03	prep	?el kli haqodesh	to the holy vessels
Num 18:03	prep	?el hamizbeax	to the altar
Num 18:04	prep	?alekem	to yall
Num 18:22	prep	?el ?ohel moed	to the tent of meeting
Num 19:02	prep	?eleka	to you
Num 19:03	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Num 19:06	prep	?el tok sarepat haparah	into the midst of the flames of the heifers
Num 19:07	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Num 19:14	prep	?el ha?ohel	to the tent
Num 20:01	acc	midbar tsin	to the wilderness of Zin
Num 20:04	prep	?el hamidbar hazeh	to this wilderness
Num 20:05	prep	?el hamaqom hara' hazeh	to this evil place
Num 20:06	prep	?el petax ?ohel mo'ed	to the entrance of the tent of meeting
Num 20:10	prep	?el pene hasalah	in front of the rock
Num 20:12	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 20:14	prep	?el melek ?edom	to the king o Edom
Num 20:15	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Num 20:17	acc	yamin	to the right
Num 20:17	acc	sem?ol	to the left
Num 20:22	acc	hor hahar	to Mt Hor
Num 20:24	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 20:25	acc	hor hahar	to Mt Hor
Num 20:27	prep	?el hor hahar	to mt Hor
Num 21:07	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 21:21	prep	?el sixon melek ha?amori	to Sihon king of the Amorites
Num 21:22	prep	be-sadeh	into field
Num 21:22	prep	bi-kerem	into vineyard
Num 21:23	hey	hammidba:ra:h	To the wilderness
Num 21:23	hey	yaxşah	To Jahats
Num 21:33	acc	?edre'i	to Edrei

Num 22:05	prep	?el bila'am ben be'or	to Balaam
Num 22:05	hey	Petora:h	to Pethor
Num 22:07	prep	?el bila'am	to Balaam
Num 22:09	prep	?el bila'am	to Balaam
Num 22:13	prep	?el ?artsekem	to yalls land
Num 22:14	prep	?el balaq	to Balak
Num 22:16	prep	?elai	to me
Num 22:16	prep	?el bila'am	to Balaam
Num 22:20	prep	?el bila'am	to Balaam
Num 22:23	prep	basadeh	into the field
Num 22:23	acc	haderek	to the road
Num 22:26	acc	yamin	to the right
Num 22:26	acc	sem?ol	to the left
Num 22:36	prep	?el 'ir mo?ab	to the city of Moab
Num 22:37	prep	?elai	to me
Num 22:38	prep	?eleka	to you
Num 22:39	acc	qiryat xuzzot	to Kiriath Huzzoth
Num 22:41	acc	bamot ba'al	to Bamot Baal
Num 23:03	acc	shepi	to a height
Num 23:05	prep	?el balaq	to Balak
Num 23:06	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 23:13	prep	?el maqom ?axer	to another place
Num 23:14	acc	sadeh tsofim	to the field of Zofim
Num 23:14	prep	?el ro?sh hapisgah	to the top of Pisgah
Num 23:16	prep	?el balaq	to Balak
Num 23:17	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 23:27	prep	?el maqom ?axer	to another place
Num 23:28	acc	ro?sh hape'or	to the top of Peor
Num 24:11	prep	?el maqomeka	to your place
Num 24:25	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
Num 24:25	prep	la-darko	to his way
Num 25:06	prep	?el ?ahayv	to his brothers
Num 25:08	prep	?el haqubah	to the chamber
Num 27:12	prep	?el har ha'abarim hazeh	to this mt Abarim
Num 31:12	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 31:12	prep	?el ele'azar	to Eleazar
Num 31:12	prep	?el 'adat bene yisrael	to the congregation of the sons of Israel
Num 31:12	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Num 31:12	prep	?el 'arabot mo?ab	to the plains of Moab
Num 31:13	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Num 31:24	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Num 31:48	prep	?el mosheh	to Moses
Num 31:54	prep	?el ?ohel mo'ed	to the tent of meeting
Num 32:07	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 32:09	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Num 32:09	prep	ad naxal ?eshkol	to the wadi Eshkol

Num 32:16	prep	?elayv	to him
Num 32:17	prep	?el meqomam	to their place
Num 32:18	prep	?el betenu	to our house
Num 32:32	acc	?erets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Num 32:39	hey	gil'a:da:h	to Gilead
Num 33:07	prep	al pi hahiro	to Pi Hahiro
Num 33:08	hey	hammidba:ra:h	To the wilderness
Num 33:09	hey	?e:ylima:h	To Elim
Num 33:38	prep	?el hor hahar	to mt hor
Num 33:51	prep	?el ?erets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Num 33:54	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 34:02	prep	?el ha?arets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Num 35:06	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 35:10	hey	arša:h kena:'an	to the land of Canaan
Num 35:11	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 35:15	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 35:25	prep	?el 'ir miqlato	to his city of refuge
Num 35:25	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 35:26	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Num 35:28	prep	?el ?erets ?ahuzato	to the land of his inheritance
Num 35:32	prep	?el 'ir miqlato	to the city of his refuge
Deut 01:07	acc	har ha?amori	to the hill country of the Amorites
Deut 01:07	prep	?el kol shekanayv	to all their neighbors
Deut 01:19	prep	ad qadesh barnea	to Qadesh Barnea
Deut 01:20	prep	ad har ha?amori	to the hill country of the Amorites
Deut 01:22	prep	?alehen	to them
Deut 01:22	prep	?elai	to me
Deut 01:24	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 01:24	prep	ad naxal eshkol	to the wadi Eshkol
Deut 01:31	prep	ad maqom hazeh	to this place
Deut 01:37	acc	sham	thither
Deut 01:38	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 01:39	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 01:40	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Deut 01:41	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 01:43	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 02:01	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Deut 02:26	prep	?el sixon	to Sihon
Deut 02:27	acc	yamin	to the right
Deut 02:27	acc	sem?ol	to the left
Deut 02:29	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 02:32	hey	ya:xša:h	to Yahats
Deut 02:37	prep	?el ?erets bene 'ammon	to the land of the sons of Ammon

Deut 02:37	acc	kol yad naxal yabboq	to all the banks of the wadi yabbok
Deut 03:01	acc	?edrey	to Edrei
Deut 03:21	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 03:27	acc	ro?sh hapisgah	to the top of Pisgah
Deut 04:05	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 04:10	prep	l-i	to me
Deut 04:14	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 04:21	prep	?el ha?arets hatobah	to the good land
Deut 04:26	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 04:27	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 04:42	prep	?el ?axat	to one
Deut 04:42	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 05:05	prep	ba-har	onto the mountain
Deut 05:23	prep	?elai	to me
Deut 05:30	prep	le-?ohalekem	to yalls tents
Deut 06:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 06:10	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 07:01	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 07:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 07:26	prep	?el beyteka	to your house
Deut 08:07	prep	?el ?erets tobah	to a good land
Deut 09:07	prep	ad hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Deut 09:09	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 09:21	prep	?el hanaxal	to the wadi
Deut 09:28	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 10:01	prep	?elai	to me
Deut 10:01	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 10:03	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Deut 10:06	acc	moserah	to Moserah
Deut 10:07	hey	haggudgoda:h	to Gudgod
Deut 10:07	acc	yatbatah	to Yatbatah
Deut 10:22	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Deut 11:05	prep	ad hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Deut 11:08	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 11:10	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 11:11	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 11:29	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 11:29	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 12:05	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 12:06	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 12:09	prep	?el hamenuxah	to the rest
Deut 12:09	prep	?el hanaxalah	to the inheritance
Deut 12:11	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 12:26	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Deut 12:29	hey	ša:mma:h	thither

Deut 13:17	prep	?el tok rexobah	to the midst of its square
Deut 14:25	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Deut 16:07	prep	le-?ohaleka	to your tents
Deut 17:05	prep	?el she'areka	to your gates
Deut 17:08	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Deut 17:09	prep	?el hakohanim haleviim	to the Levitical priests
Deut 17:09	prep	?el hashopet	to the Judge
Deut 17:14	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 17:16	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt
Deut 18:06	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Deut 18:09	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 19:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 19:04	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 19:05	prep	ba-yaar	into the forest
Deut 19:05	prep	?el axat he'arim ha?eleh	to one of these cities
Deut 19:11	prep	?el axat he'arim ha?el	to one of these cities
Deut 20:02	prep	?el hamilxamah	to the battlefield
Deut 20:05	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Deut 20:06	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Deut 20:07	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Deut 20:08	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Deut 20:10	prep	?el 'ir	to a city
Deut 21:04	prep	?el naxal ?eitan	to a strong wadi
Deut 21:12	prep	?el tok beyteka	to the midst of your house
Deut 21:19	prep	?el zkene 'iro	to the elders of his city
Deut 21:19	prep	?el sha'ar maqomo	to the gate of his place
Deut 22:01	prep	le-?ahiv	to his brother
Deut 22:02	prep	?el tok beyteka	to the midst of your house
Deut 22:15	prep	?el zkene ha'ir	to the elders of the city
Deut 22:15	hey	hašša:'ra:h	to the gate
Deut 22:21	prep	?el petax beyt abiha	to the entrance of her father's house
Deut 22:24	prep	?el sha'ar ha'ir hahv?	to the gate of that city
Deut 23:11	prep	?el mixuts lamaxaneh	outside the camp
Deut 23:11	prep	?el tok hamaxaneh	to the midst of the camp
Deut 23:12	prep	?el tok hamaxaneh	to the midst of the camp
Deut 23:13	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 23:13	acc	xuts	outside
Deut 23:19	acc	beyt YHWH ?eloheka	to the house of YHWH your God

Deut 23:21	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 23:25	prep	be-kerem re'eka	into the vineyard of your friend
Deut 23:26	prep	be-qamat re'eka	into the grain of your friend
Deut 24:10	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Deut 24:11	prep	?eleka	to you
Deut 24:11	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
Deut 25:01	prep	?el hamishpat	to the court
Deut 25:07	hey	hašša:'ra:h	to the gate
Deut 25:07	prep	?el hazkenim	to the elders
Deut 25:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Deut 26:01	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 26:02	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Deut 26:03	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 26:03	prep	?el hakohen	to the priest
Deut 26:05	hey	mišrayma:h	to Egypt
Deut 26:09	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Deut 27:02	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 27:03	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 28:07	prep	?eleka	to/against you
Deut 28:21	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 28:25	prep	?elayv	to/against him
Deut 28:36	prep	?el goy	to a nation
Deut 28:37	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 28:38	acc	hasadeh	to the field
Deut 28:63	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 28:64	prep	ad qetse ha?arets	to the ends of the earth
Deut 28:68	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
Deut 29:06	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Deut 29:27	prep	?el ?arets ?axeret	to another land
Deut 30:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 30:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 30:05	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 30:12	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Deut 30:12	prep	la-nu	to us
Deut 30:13	prep	?el 'eber hayam	to the other side of the sea
Deut 30:13	prep	la-nu	to us
Deut 30:16	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 30:18	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 31:07	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 31:13	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 31:16	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 31:20	prep	?el ha?adamah	to the land
Deut 31:21	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 31:23	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 31:28	prep	?elai	to me

Deut 32:47	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 32:49	prep	?el har ha'arabim hazeh	to this mt Abarim
Deut 32:50	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 32:52	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Deut 32:52	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Deut 34:01	prep	?el har nebo	to mt nebo
Deut 34:01	acc	ro?sh hapisgah	to the top of Pisgah
Deut 34:04	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Josh 01:02	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Josh 01:15	prep	le-?erets yerushtekem	to the land of your inheritance
Josh 01:16	prep	?el kol ?asher tishlaxenu	to everywhere you send us
Josh 02:01	acc	beyt ?ishah zonah	to the house of a prostitute
Josh 02:02	hey	henah	hither
Josh 02:03	prep	?elayik	to you
Josh 02:03	prep	le-beytek	to your house
Josh 02:04	prep	?elai	to me
Josh 02:06	hey	hagga:ga:h	to the roof
Josh 02:07	prep	al hamberot	to the fords
Josh 02:08	prep	alehem	to them
Josh 02:08	prep	al hagag	to the roof
Josh 02:16	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Josh 02:16	prep	le-darkekem	to your way
Josh 02:18	prep	ba-?arets	into the land
Josh 02:18	prep	?alayik	to you
Josh 02:18	hey	haba:ya:h	into the house
Josh 02:19	hey	xu:ša:h	outside
Josh 02:22	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Josh 02:23	prep	?el yehoshua bin nun	to Joshua son of Nun
Josh 03:01	prep	ad hayarden	to the Jordan
Josh 03:04	prep	?elayv	to it
Josh 03:08	prep	ad qetse hayarden	to the bank of the Jordan
Josh 03:09	hey	henah	hither
Josh 03:15	prep	ad hayarden	to the Jordan
Josh 03:16	prep	al yam ha'arabah	to the sea of the arabah
Josh 04:05	prep	?el tok hayarden	to the midst of the Jordan
Josh 04:08	prep	?el hamalon	to the resting place
Josh 04:13	prep	?el 'arabot yerixo	to the plains of Jericho
Josh 04:18	prep	?el haxarabah	to the dry ground
Josh 04:18	prep	le-meqomam	to their place
Josh 05:13	prep	?elayv	to him
Josh 05:14	prep	?el panayv	to his face
Josh 05:14	hey	arša:h	groundward

Josh 06:11	acc	hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 06:14	acc	hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 06:19	acc	?otsar YHWH	to the treasury of YHWH
Josh 06:20	hey	ha:'ira:h	to the city
Josh 06:22	acc	beyt ?ishah zonah	to the house of a prostitute
Josh 07:02	acc	ha?Ai	to Ai
Josh 07:03	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 07:04	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Josh 07:05	prep	ad hashebarim	to the Shebarim
Josh 07:06	prep	al panayv	to his face
Josh 07:06	hey	arša:h	groundward
Josh 07:22	hey	ha:?'ohela:h	to the tent
Josh 07:23	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 07:23	prep	?el kol bene yisrael	to all the sons of Israel
Josh 07:24	acc	emeq ha?akor	to the valley of Achor
Josh 08:01	acc	haAi	to/against Ai
Josh 08:03	acc	haAi	to/against Ai
Josh 08:05	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
Josh 08:09	prep	?el hama'arab	to the ambush
Josh 08:10	acc	haAi	to Ai
Josh 08:14	prep	la-mo'ed	to the appointed place
Josh 08:19	acc	hair	(into) the city
Josh 08:20	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Josh 08:20	hey	henah ve-henah	hither or thither
Josh 08:20	acc	hamidbar	To the wilderness
Josh 08:23	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 08:24	acc	haAi	to Ai
Josh 08:29	prep	?el petax sha'ar ha'ir	to the entrance of the gate of the city
Josh 09:06	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 09:06	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 09:06	acc	hagilgal	to Gilgal
Josh 09:12	prep	?alekem	to yall
Josh 09:17	prep	?el 'arehem	to their cities
Josh 10:04	prep	?elai	to me
Josh 10:06	prep	?elenu	to us
Josh 10:06	prep	?elenu	to/against us
Josh 10:09	prep	?alehem	to them
Josh 10:15	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 10:15	hey	haggilga:la:h	to Gilgal
Josh 10:18	prep	?el pi hama'arah	to the mouth of the cave
Josh 10:19	prep	?el 'arehem	to their cities
Josh 10:20	prep	?el 'are hamibtsar	to the fortified cities
Josh 10:21	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 10:21	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 10:21	acc	maqqedah	to Maqqedah

Josh 10:22	prep	?elai	to me
Josh 10:23	prep	?elayv	to him
Josh 10:24	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 10:27	prep	?el hama'arah	to the cave
Josh 10:29	acc	libnah	to Libnah
Josh 10:31	hey	la:kiyša:h	to Lachish
Josh 10:34	hey	eglona:h	to Eglon
Josh 10:36	hey	xevro:na:h	to Hebron
Josh 10:38	hey	li-debira:h	to Debir
Josh 10:43	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Josh 10:43	hey	haggilga:la:h	to Gilgal
Josh 11:08	prep	ad tsidon rabbah	to great sidon
Josh 11:08	prep	ad misrepot mayim	to Misrepot Mayim
Josh 11:08	prep	ad biqat mitspeh	to the valley of Mizpeh
Josh 11:08	hey	mizra:xa:h	eastward
Josh 14:06	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 15:15	prep	?el yoshbe debir	to/against the inhabitants of Debir
Josh 17:15	hey	hayya'ra:h	to the forest
Josh 18:01	acc	shiloh	to Shiloh
Josh 18:04	prep	?elai	to me
Josh 18:08	prep	?elai	to me
Josh 18:09	prep	?el yehoshua	to joshua
Josh 18:09	prep	?el hama'arah	to the cave
Josh 18:09	acc	shilo	to Shiloh
Josh 20:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Josh 20:04	hey	ha:'ira:h	to the city
Josh 20:04	prep	?alehem	to them
Josh 20:04	prep	?el ?axat meha'arim ha?eleh	to one of these cities
Josh 20:06	prep	?el 'iro	to his city
Josh 20:06	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Josh 20:06	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
Josh 20:09	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Josh 21:01	prep	?el ?ele'azar	to Eleazar
Josh 21:01	prep	?el yehoshua bin nun	to Joshua son of Nun
Josh 21:01	prep	?el ro'she ?abot hamatot	to the heads of the fathers houses of the tribes
Josh 22:04	prep	le-?ohalekem	to your tents
Josh 22:04	prep	?el ?erets ?ahuzatkem	to the land of yalls inheritance
Josh 22:06	prep	?el ?ohalehem	to their tents
Josh 22:07	prep	?el ?ohalehem	to their tents
Josh 22:08	prep	?el ?ohalekem	to your tents
Josh 22:09	prep	?el ?erets hagil'ad	to the land of Gilead
Josh 22:09	prep	?el ?erets ?ahuzatam	to the land of their inheritance

Josh 22:10	prep	?el gelilot hayarden	to the region of the Jordan
Josh 22:12	acc	shilo	to Shiloh
Josh 22:12	prep	alehem	to/against them
Josh 22:13	prep	?el bene re'uben	to the sons of Reuben
Josh 22:13	prep	?el bene gad	to the sons of Gad
Josh 22:13	prep	?el xatse shebet menasseh	to half the tribe of Manasseh
Josh 22:13	prep	?el ?erets gil'ad	to the land of Gilead
Josh 22:15	prep	?el bene re'uben	to the sons of Reuben
Josh 22:15	prep	?el bene gad	to the sons of Gad
Josh 22:15	prep	?el xatse shebet menasseh	to half the tribe of Manasseh
Josh 22:15	prep	?el ?erets gil'ad	to the land of Gilead
Josh 22:19	prep	?el ?erets ?ahuzat YHWH	to the land of YHWH's inheritance
Josh 22:32	prep	?el ?erets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Josh 22:32	prep	?el bene yisrael	to the sons of Israel
Josh 22:33	prep	alehem	to/against them
Josh 24:01	hey	šekema:h	to Shechem
Josh 24:04	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Josh 24:06	hey	hayya:mma:h	to the sea
Josh 24:06	acc	yam sup	to the sea of reeds
Josh 24:08	prep	?el ?erets ha?amori	to the land of the Amorite
Josh 24:11	prep	?el yerixo	to Jericho
Josh 24:28	prep	le-naxalato	to his inheritance
Jud 01:01	prep	?el hakena'ni	to/against the Canaanites
Jud 01:07	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Jud 01:10	prep	?el hakena'ni	to/against the Canaanites
Jud 01:11	prep	?el yoshbe debir	to/against the inhabitants of Debir
Jud 01:16	acc	midbar yehudah	to the wilderness of Judah
Jud 01:22	acc	beytel	to/against Bethel
Jud 01:26	acc	?erets ha xittim	to the land of the Hittites
Jud 01:34	hey	ha:ha:ra:h	to the hill country
Jud 01:34	prep	la-'emeq	to the valley
Jud 02:01	prep	?el habokim	to Bokim
Jud 02:01	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Jud 02:06	prep	le-naxalato	to his inheritance
Jud 03:13	prep	?elayv	to him
Jud 03:15	prep	le-'eglon	to Eglon
Jud 03:17	prep	le-'eglon	to Eglon
Jud 03:20	prep	?elayv	to him
Jud 03:21	prep	be-bitno	into his belly

Jud 03:23	hey	hammisdero:na:h	into the vestibule
Jud 03:25	hey	arša:h	to ground
Jud 03:26	hey	hašše'ira:ta:h	to Seirah
Jud 04:05	prep	?eleha	to her
Jud 04:06	prep	be-har tabor	to Mt Tabor
Jud 04:07	prep	?eleka	to you
Jud 04:07	prep	?el naxal qishon	to the wadi Kishon
Jud 04:09	hey	qedša:h	to Kedesh
Jud 04:12	acc	har tabor	to mt tabor
Jud 04:16	prep	ad xaroshet hagoyim	to Haroshet hagoyim
Jud 04:17	prep	?el ?ohel ya?el	to the tent of Jael
Jud 04:18	prep	?elai	to me
Jud 04:18	prep	?eleha	to her
Jud 04:18	hey	ha:?ohela:h	to the tent
Jud 04:21	prep	?elayv	to him
Jud 04:21	prep	be-raqqato	into his temple
Jud 04:21	prep	ba-?arets	into the ground
Jud 04:22	prep	?eleha	to her
Jud 06:03	prep	alayv	to him
Jud 06:05	prep	ba'arets	into the land
Jud 06:08	prep	?el bene yisrael	to the sons of Israel
Jud 06:18	prep	?eleka	to you
Jud 06:19	prep	?elayv	to him
Jud 06:19	prep	?el taxat ha?eleh	to under the oak tree
Jud 06:35	prep	be-kol manasseh	into all the region of Manasseh
Jud 07:04	prep	?el hamayim	to the water
Jud 07:05	prep	?el hamayim	to the water
Jud 07:07	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
Jud 07:08	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
Jud 07:09	prep	ba-maxaneh	to/against the camp
Jud 07:10	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Jud 07:11	prep	ba-maxaneh	to/against the camp
Jud 07:11	prep	?el qetseh haxamusim	to the edge of the armed men
Jud 07:13	prep	be-maxaneh midian	to the camp of Midian
Jud 07:13	prep	ad ha?ohel	to the tent
Jud 07:15	prep	?el maxaneh yisrael	to the camp of Israel
Jud 07:17	prep	bi-qtseh hamaxaneh	in the edges of the camp
Jud 07:19	prep	bi-qtseh hamaxaneh	in the edges of the camp
Jud 07:22	prep	ad beyt hashittah	to Bet Shittah
Jud 07:22	hey	şere:ra:ta:h	to Zererah
Jud 07:22	prep	ad shepat ?abel meholah	to the edge of Abel Meholah
Jud 07:25	prep	?el gideon	to Gideon
Jud 08:04	hey	hayyarde:na:h	to the Jordan
Jud 08:08	acc	penuel	to Penuel

Jud 08:15	prep	?el ?anshe sukkot	to the men of Sukkot
Jud 08:25	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jud 09:01	hey	šekema:h	to Shechem
Jud 09:01	prep	?el ?axi 'immo	to the brothers of his mother
Jud 09:05	acc	beyt ?abiv	to his father's house
Jud 09:05	hey	a:pra:ta:h	to Ophrah
Jud 09:21	hey	be?e:ra:h	to Beer
Jud 09:26	prep	bi-shkem	into Shechem
Jud 09:27	acc	ha-sadeh	to the fields
Jud 09:31	hey	šekema:h	to Shechem
Jud 09:31	prep	?el abimelek	to Abimelek
Jud 09:33	prep	?eleka	to/against you
Jud 09:40	prep	ad petax hasha'ar	as far as the entrance of the gate
Jud 09:42	acc	hasadeh	to the field
Jud 09:46	prep	?el tserix beyt ?el berit	to the stronghold of the temple of El Berit
Jud 09:48	acc	har tsalmon	to mt zalmon
Jud 09:50	prep	?el tebets	to Tebets
Jud 09:51	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jud 09:51	prep	al gag hamigdal	to the roof of the tower
Jud 09:52	prep	ad hamigdal	to the tower
Jud 09:52	prep	ad petax hamigdal	to the door of the tower
Jud 09:55	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
Jud 11:03	prep	?el yeptax	to Jephthah
Jud 11:07	prep	?elai	to me
Jud 11:12	prep	?elai	to me
Jud 11:12	prep	?el melek bene 'ammon	to the king of the sons of Ammon
Jud 11:14	prep	?el melek bene 'ammon	to the king of the sons of Ammon
Jud 11:16	prep	ad yam sup	as far as the sea of reeds
Jud 11:16	hey	qa:de:ša:h	to Kadesh
Jud 11:17	prep	?el melek ?edom	to the king of Edom
Jud 11:19	prep	ad meqomi	to my place
Jud 11:19	prep	?el sixon	to Sihon
Jud 11:29	prep	?et mitspah gila'ad	to Mizpah of Gilead
Jud 11:29	acc	bene 'ammon	to the sons of Ammon
Jud 11:32	prep	?el bene 'ammon	to the sons of Ammon
Jud 11:34	acc	hamitspah	to Mizpah
Jud 11:34	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Jud 11:39	prep	?el ?abiha	to her father
Jud 12:01	hey	šapo:na:h	to Zaphon
Jud 12:03	prep	?el bene 'ammon	to/against the sons of Ammon
Jud 12:03	prep	?elai	to me

Jud 13:06	prep	?elai	to me
Jud 13:08	prep	?elenu	to us
Jud 13:09	prep	?el ha?ishah	to the woman
Jud 13:10	prep	?elai	to me
Jud 13:11	prep	?el ha?ish	to the man
Jud 13:20	prep	al paneyhem	to their faces
Jud 13:20	hey	arša:h	to ground
Jud 13:20	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Jud 14:01	hey	timna:ta:h	to Timnah
Jud 14:05	hey	timna:ta:h	to Timnah
Jud 14:05	prep plus hey	ad karmey timna:ta:h	to the vineyards of Timnah
Jud 14:09	prep	?el kappayv	to his hands
Jud 14:09	prep	?el ?abiyv	to his father
Jud 14:09	prep	?el ?immo	to his mother
Jud 14:10	prep	?el ha?ishah	to the woman
Jud 14:19	acc	beyt ?abihu	to his father's house
Jud 14:19	acc	ashqelon	to Ashkelon
Jud 15:01	hey	hexa:dra:h	to the chamber
Jud 15:05	prep	be-qamot pelishtim	into the grainfields of the Philistines
Jud 15:10	prep	alenu	to/against us
Jud 15:11	prep	?el se'ip sela' 'eitam	to the cleft of the rock of Etam
Jud 15:14	prep	ad lehi	to Lehi
Jud 16:01	hey	azza:ta:h	to Gaza
Jud 16:02	hey	henah	hither
Jud 16:03	prep	?el ro?sh hahar	to the top of the hill
Jud 16:05	prep	?eleha	to her
Jud 16:08	prep	l-ah	to her
Jud 16:18	prep	?eleha	to her
Jud 16:21	hey	azza:ta:h	to Gaza
Jud 17:03	prep	l-ak	to you
Jud 17:03	prep	le-?immo	to his mother
Jud 17:04	prep	le-?immo	to his mother
Jud 17:08	acc	har ?ephrayim	to the hill country of Ephraim
Jud 17:08	prep	ad beyt mikah	to the house of Micah
Jud 18:02	acc	har ?ephrayim	to the hill country of Ephraim
Jud 18:02	prep	ad beyt mikah	to the house of Micah
Jud 18:03	acc	sham	thither
Jud 18:03	acc	halom	hither
Jud 18:07	hey	la:yša:h	to Laish
Jud 18:08	prep	?el ?axihem	to their brothers
Jud 18:08	acc	tsar'ah we-?eshtaol	to Zorah and Eshtaol
Jud 18:09	prep	alehem	to/against them
Jud 18:10	prep	?el 'am boteax	to a trusting people

Jud 18:13	acc	har ?ephrayim	to the hill country of Ephraim
Jud 18:13	prep	ad beyt mikah	to the house of Micah
Jud 18:15	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jud 18:15	prep	?el beyt hana'ar halevi	to the house of the young Levite
Jud 18:15	acc	beyt micah	to the house of Micah
Jud 18:17	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jud 18:18	acc	beyt mikah	to the house of Micah
Jud 18:26	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Jud 18:27	prep	al laish	to Laish
Jud 18:27	prep	al 'am shoket	to a quiet people
Jud 19:02	prep	?el beyt abiha	to her father's house
Jud 19:02	prep	?el beyt lexem yehudah	to Bethlehem of Judah
Jud 19:03	acc	beyt ?abiha	to the house of her father
Jud 19:09	prep	le-?ohaleka	to your tent
Jud 19:10	prep	ad nokax yebus	to opposite Jerusalem
Jud 19:11	prep	?el ha'ir hayebusi hazo?t	to this Jebusite city
Jud 19:12	prep	?el 'ir nakri	to a foreign city
Jud 19:12	prep	ad gibe'ah	to Gibeah
Jud 19:13	prep	be-?exad hamaqomot	to some one of these places
Jud 19:15	acc	sham	thither
Jud 19:15	hey	habbayta:h	into the house
Jud 19:18	prep	ad yarkete har ?eprayim	to the distant parts of the Ephraimite hills
Jud 19:18	prep	ad beyt lexem yehudah	to Bethlehem of Judah
Jud 19:18	prep	?et beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jud 19:18	hey	habba:yta:h	into the house
Jud 19:21	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Jud 19:22	prep	?el beytka	to your house
Jud 19:23	prep	?el beyti	to my house
Jud 19:23	prep	?alehem	to them
Jud 19:25	prep	?alehem	to them
Jud 19:25	acc	haxuts	outside
Jud 19:27	prep	le-darko	to his way
Jud 19:28	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
Jud 19:29	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Jud 20:01	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Jud 20:01	acc	ha-mitspah	to Mizpah
Jud 20:03	acc	ha-mitspah	to Mizpah
Jud 20:04	hey	haggib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah
Jud 20:08	prep	le-?ohalo	to his tent
Jud 20:08	prep	li-beyto	to his house
Jud 20:11	prep	?el ha'ir	to/against the city
Jud 20:14	hey	haggib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah

Jud 20:16	prep	?el hasa'arah	to a hair
Jud 20:18	acc	beyt el	to Bethel
Jud 20:23	prep	?elayv	to/against it
Jud 20:24	prep	?el bene binyamin	to/against the sons of Benjamin
Jud 20:26	acc	beyt el	to Bethel
Jud 20:30	prep	?el bene binyamin	to/against the sons of Benjamin
Jud 20:32	prep	?el hamsilot	to the roads
Jud 20:37	prep	?el hagib'ah	to/against Gibeah
Jud 20:40	hey	hašša:mayma:h	to the skies
Jud 20:43	prep	ad nokax gib'ah	to opposite Gibeah
Jud 20:45	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Jud 20:45	prep	?el sela' harimmon	to the rock of Rimmon
Jud 20:45	prep	ad gidom	as far as Gidom
Jud 20:47	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
Jud 20:47	prep	?el sela' harimmon	to the rock of Rimmon
Jud 20:48	prep	?el bene binyamin	to/against the sons of Benjamin
Jud 21:02	acc	beyt el	to Bethel
Jud 21:05	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Jud 21:05	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Jud 21:05	acc	hamitspah	to Mizpah
Jud 21:08	prep	?el YHWH	to YHWH
Jud 21:08	acc	hamitspah	to Mizpah
Jud 21:08	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Jud 21:08	prep	?el haqaxal	to the assembly
Jud 21:10	acc	sham	thither
Jud 21:12	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
Jud 21:12	acc	Shilo	to Shiloh
Jud 21:21	acc	?erets binyamin	to the land of Benjamin
Jud 21:23	prep	?el naxalatom	to their inheritance
Jud 21:24	prep	le-shibto	to his tribe
Jud 21:24	prep	le-mispaxto	to his family
Jud 21:24	prep	le-naxalato	to his inheritance
1Sam 01:07	prep	be-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
1Sam 01:18	prep	le-darkah	to her way
1Sam 01:19	prep	?el beytam	to their house
1Sam 01:19	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 01:24	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
1Sam 01:24	acc	Shiloh	to Shiloh
1Sam 01:25	prep	?el 'eli	to Eli
1Sam 02:11	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 02:11	prep	al beyto	to his house
1Sam 02:14	prep	be-kiyyor	into a basin
1Sam 02:14	prep	be-dud	into a jar
1Sam 02:14	prep	be-qalaxat	into a cauldron
1Sam 02:14	prep	be-parur	into a pot

1Sam 02:14	acc	sham	thither
1Sam 02:14	acc	bi-shiloh	into Shiloh
1Sam 02:20	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
1Sam 02:27	prep	?el 'eli	to Eli
1Sam 03:05	prep	?el 'eli	to Eli
1Sam 03:06	prep	?el 'eli	to Eli
1Sam 03:08	prep	?el 'eli	to Eli
1Sam 04:03	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 04:03	prep	?elenu	to us
1Sam 04:05	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 04:06	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 04:07	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 04:10	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
1Sam 04:12	acc	shilo	to Shiloh
1Sam 04:13	prep	ba'ir	into the city
1Sam 05:01	hey	?ašdo:da:h	to Ashdod
1Sam 05:02	acc	beyt dagon	to the house of Dagon
1Sam 05:03	prep	le-panayv	to his face
1Sam 05:03	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Sam 05:03	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
1Sam 05:04	prep	le-panayv	to his face
1Sam 05:04	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Sam 05:05	acc	beyt dagon	to the house of Dagan
1Sam 05:08	acc	gat	to Gath
1Sam 05:08	prep	?alehem	to them
1Sam 05:10	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 05:10	acc	eqron	to Ekron
1Sam 05:11	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
1Sam 06:02	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
1Sam 06:04	prep	l-o	to him
1Sam 06:07	hey	habba:yta:h	homeward
1Sam 06:08	prep	l-o	to him
1Sam 06:09	acc	beyt shemesh	to Bet Shemesh
1Sam 06:12	acc	yamin	to the right
1Sam 06:12	acc	sem?ol	to the left
1Sam 06:12	prep	ad gebul bet shemesh	to the border of Bet Shemesh
1Sam 06:14	prep	?el sadeh yehoshua bet shimshi	to the field of Jehoshua of Beth Shemesh
1Sam 06:16	acc	eqron	to Ekron
1Sam 06:20	prep	?el mi	to whom
1Sam 06:21	prep	?alekem	to yall
1Sam 06:21	prep	?el yoshbe kiriyat ye'arim	to the people of KJ
1Sam 07:01	prep	?el beyt abinadab	to the house of Abinadab
1Sam 07:05	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to Mizpah
1Sam 07:06	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to Mizpah

1Sam 07:07	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to Mizpah
1Sam 07:07	prep	?el yisra?el	to/against Israel
1Sam 07:13	prep	bi-gbul yisrael	within the border of Israel
1Sam 07:16	acc	beyt ?el	to bethel
1Sam 07:16	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 07:16	acc	hamitspah	to Mizpah
1Sam 08:04	prep	?el shmuel	to Samuel
1Sam 08:04	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 08:22	prep	le-'iro	to his city
1Sam 09:05	prep	be-?erets tsup	to the land of Zuf
1Sam 09:06	acc	sham	thither
1Sam 09:07	prep	la-?ish	to the man
1Sam 09:07	prep	le-?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
1Sam 09:09	prep	ad haro?eh	to the seer
1Sam 09:10	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:11	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:12	prep	la-'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:13	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:13	hey	habba:ma:ta:h	to the high place
1Sam 09:14	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:14	prep	be-tok hair	into the midst of the city
1Sam 09:14	acc	habamah	to the high place
1Sam 09:16	prep	?eleka	to you
1Sam 09:19	acc	habamah	to the high place
1Sam 09:22	hey	liška:ta:h	to the hall
1Sam 09:25	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 09:26	hey	haxu:ša:h	to the street
1Sam 09:27	prep	biqtseh ha'ir	to the edge of the city
1Sam 10:03	prep	ad ?eylon tabor	to the oak of Tabor
1Sam 10:03	prep	?el ha?elohim	to God
1Sam 10:03	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
1Sam 10:05	acc	gib'at ?elohim	to Gibeah of God
1Sam 10:05	acc	sham	thither
1Sam 10:05	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 10:08	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 10:08	prep	?eleka	to you
1Sam 10:08	prep	?eleka	to you
1Sam 10:10	acc	sham	thither
1Sam 10:10	hey	haggib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah
1Sam 10:13	acc	habamah	to the high place
1Sam 10:14	prep	?el shmuel	to Samuel
1Sam 10:22	acc	halom	hither
1Sam 10:25	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Sam 10:26	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Sam 10:26	hey	gib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah
1Sam 11:03	prep	?eleka	to you

1Sam 11:04	acc	gib'at sha?ul	to Gibeah of Saul
1Sam 11:10	prep	?alekem	to yall
1Sam 11:11	prep	be-tok hamaxaneh	into the midst of the camp
1Sam 11:14	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 11:15	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 12:08	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
1Sam 13:02	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
1Sam 13:07	acc	?erets gad ve-gil'ad	to the land of Gad and Gilead
1Sam 13:08	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 13:09	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 13:11	acc	mikmash	to Mikmash
1Sam 13:12	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 13:12	acc	hagilgal	to Gilgal
1Sam 13:15	acc	gib'at binyamin	to Gibeah of Benjamin
1Sam 13:20	acc	hapelishtim	to the Philistines
1Sam 13:23	prep	?el ma'abar mikmash	to the pass of Micmash
1Sam 14:01	prep	?el matsab peleshtim	to the Phil garrison
1Sam 14:04	prep	al matsab pelishtim	to the Phil fortress
1Sam 14:06	prep	?el matsab ha'arelim ha?eleh	to the garrison of these uncircumcised
1Sam 14:08	prep	?el ha?anashim	to the men of Sukkot
1Sam 14:09	prep	?alehem	to them
1Sam 14:10	prep	alenu	to us
1Sam 14:12	prep	?elenu	to us
1Sam 14:21	prep	ba-maxaneh	into the camp
1Sam 14:25	prep	ba-yaar	into the forest
1Sam 14:26	prep	?el haya'ar	to the forest
1Sam 14:26	prep	?el piv	to his mouth
1Sam 14:27	prep	?el piv	to his mouth
1Sam 14:33	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 14:34	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 14:36	acc	halom	hither
1Sam 14:36	prep	?el ha?elohim	to God
1Sam 14:38	acc	halom	hither
1Sam 14:46	prep	li-mqomam	to their place
1Sam 15:05	prep	ad 'ir 'amaleq	to the city of Amalek
1Sam 15:12	hey	hakkarmela:h	to Mt Carmel
1Sam 15:12	acc	hagilgal	to gilgal
1Sam 15:13	prep	?el sha'ul	to Saul
1Sam 15:32	prep	?elayv	to him
1Sam 15:32	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 15:34	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 15:34	prep	?el beyto	to his house
1Sam 15:34	acc	gib'at sha'ul	to Gibeah of Saul
1Sam 16:01	prep	?el yisay beyt halaxmi	to Jesse the Bethlehemite

1Sam 16:04	acc	beyt lexem	to bethlehem
1Sam 16:11	acc	poh	hither
1Sam 16:13	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 16:17	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 16:19	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 16:19	prep	?el yisay	to Jesse
1Sam 16:20	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 16:21	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 17:01	acc	socoh	to Socoh
1Sam 17:08	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 17:17	acc	hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 17:17	prep	le-?aheka	to/for your brothers
1Sam 17:18	prep	le-sar ha?elep	to the leader of the thousand
1Sam 17:20	hey	hama'ga:la:h	to the camp circle
1Sam 17:20	prep	?el hama'arakah	to the battle line
1Sam 17:22	acc	hama'arakah	to the battle line
1Sam 17:33	prep	?el hapelishti hazeh	to/against this Phil
1Sam 17:40	prep	?el hapelishti	to the Phil
1Sam 17:43	prep	?elai	to/against me
1Sam 17:44	prep	?elai	to/against me
1Sam 17:45	prep	?elai	to/against me
1Sam 17:45	prep	?eleka	to you
1Sam 17:48	acc	hama'arakah	to the battle line
1Sam 17:49	prep	al panayv	to his face
1Sam 17:49	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Sam 17:49	prep	?el hakeli	to the vessel
1Sam 17:52	prep	ad bo?aka ge?	to the entrance of the valley
1Sam 17:52	prep	ad sha'are 'eqron	to the gates of Ekron
1Sam 17:54	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Sam 18:02	acc	beyt ?abiv	to the house of his father
1Sam 19:07	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 19:11	prep	?el beyt david	to the house of David
1Sam 19:15	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 19:18	prep	?el shmu?el	to samuel
1Sam 19:18	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 19:22	hey	ha:ra:ma:ta:h	to Ramah
1Sam 19:22	prep	ad bor hagadol	to the big well
1Sam 19:23	acc	sham	thither
1Sam 19:23	prep	?el nayot	to naioth
1Sam 20:06	acc	beyt lexem	to Bethlehem
1Sam 20:08	prep	ad ?abika	to your father
1Sam 20:11	acc	hasadeh	to the field
1Sam 20:11	acc	hasadeh	to the field
1Sam 20:19	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
1Sam 20:27	prep	?el halaxem	to the meal

1Sam 20:29	prep	?el shulxan hamelek	to the king's table
1Sam 20:31	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 20:35	acc	hasadeh	to the field
1Sam 20:37	prep	ad maqom hahetsi	to the place of the arrow
1Sam 20:38	prep	?el ?adonayv	to his master
1Sam 20:40	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 20:41	prep	le-appayv	to his face
1Sam 20:41	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Sam 21:01	acc	ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 21:02	hey	nobeh	to Nob
1Sam 21:02	prep	?el ?ahimelek	to Ahimelek
1Sam 21:11	prep	?el ?akish	to achish
1Sam 21:14	prep	?el zekano	to his beard
1Sam 21:15	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 21:16	prep	?el beyti	to my house
1Sam 22:01	prep	?el ma'arat ?adullam	to the cave of Adullam
1Sam 22:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
1Sam 22:01	prep	?elayv	to him
1Sam 22:02	prep	?elayv	to him
1Sam 22:03	acc	mitspeh moa?b	to Mizpah of Moab
1Sam 22:05	acc	ya'ar xaret	to the forest of Hareth
1Sam 22:05	acc	?erets yehudah	to the land of Judah
1Sam 22:09	hey	nobeh	to Nob
1Sam 22:09	prep	?el ?ahimelek	to Ahimelek
1Sam 22:11	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
1Sam 23:03	acc	qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:03	prep	?el ma'arakot pelishtim	to/against the armies of Phil
1Sam 23:04	acc	qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:06	prep	?el david	to David
1Sam 23:06	acc	qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:07	acc	qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:07	prep	be-'ir dlatim ubriax	in a city of doors and bars
1Sam 23:08	acc	qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:10	prep	?el qe'ilah	to Keilah
1Sam 23:16	prep	?el david	to david
1Sam 23:16	hey	xoreshah	to Horesh
1Sam 23:18	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Sam 23:19	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 23:19	hey	haggib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah
1Sam 23:24	hey	ziypa:h	to Ziph
1Sam 23:25	acc	midbar ma'on	to the wilderness of Maon
1Sam 23:25	acc	hasela'	to the rock
1Sam 23:27	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 24:04	prep	?el gedarot hatso?on	to the folds of the flock
1Sam 24:23	prep	?el beyto	to his house

1Sam 24:23	prep	al hametsudah	to the stronghold
1Sam 25:01	prep	?el midbar pa?ran	to the wilderness of Paran
1Sam 25:05	hey	karmela:h	to Carmel
1Sam 25:05	prep	?el nabal	to Nabal
1Sam 25:12	prep	le-darkam	to their way
1Sam 25:27	prep	la-?adonai	to my lord
1Sam 25:35	prep	le-beytek	to your house
1Sam 25:36	prep	?el nabal	to Nabal
1Sam 25:40	prep	?el ?abigail	to Abigail
1Sam 25:40	hey	hakkarmela:h	to Carmel
1Sam 25:40	prep	?alayik	to you
1Sam 26:01	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 26:01	hey	haggib'a:ta:h	to Gibeah
1Sam 26:02	prep	?el midbar zip	to the wilderness of Ziph
1Sam 26:03	hey	hammidba:ra:h	to the wilderness
1Sam 26:05	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
1Sam 26:06	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 26:06	prep	?el hamaxaneh	to the camp
1Sam 26:07	prep	?el ha'am	to the people
1Sam 26:13	acc	ha'eber	to the other side
1Sam 26:20	hey	?artsah	to the ground
1Sam 26:25	prep	le-darko	to his way
1Sam 26:25	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
1Sam 27:01	prep	?el ?erets pelishtim	to the land of the Phil
1Sam 27:02	prep	?el ?akish	to Achish
1Sam 27:04	acc	gat	to Gath
1Sam 27:09	prep	?el ?akish	to Achish
1Sam 28:07	prep	?eleha	to her
1Sam 28:08	prep	?el ha?ishah	to the woman
1Sam 28:20	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Sam 28:21	prep	?el sha?ul	to Saul
1Sam 29:01	hey	?ape:ka:h	to Aphek
1Sam 29:04	prep	?el maqomo	to his place
1Sam 29:06	prep	?elai	to me
1Sam 29:11	prep	?el ?erets pelishtim	to the land of the Phil
1Sam 29:11	acc	yizre?el	to Jezreel
1Sam 30:01	acc	tsiqlag	to Ziklag
1Sam 30:02	prep	le-darkam	to their way
1Sam 30:03	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
1Sam 30:07	prep	l-i	to me
1Sam 30:07	prep	?el david	to david
1Sam 30:09	prep	ad naxal habesor	to the wadi Besor
1Sam 30:11	prep	?el david	to david
1Sam 30:15	prep	?el hagedud hazeh	to this warband
1Sam 30:15	prep	?el hagedud hazeh	to this warband

1Sam 30:21	prep	?el ma?atayim ha?anashim	to the 200 men
1Sam 30:26	prep	?el tsiqlag	to Ziqlag
1Sam 30:26	prep	li-zkene yehudah	to the elders of Judah
1Sam 30:26	prep	le-re'ehu	to his neighbors
1Sam 30:31	acc	sham	to there
1Sam 31:12	hey	ya:be:ša:h	to Jabesh
2Sam 01:02	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 01:02	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 01:10	prep	?el ?adoni	to my lord
2Sam 01:10	hey	henah	hither
2Sam 02:01	prep	be-?axat 'are yehudah	in some one of the cities of Judah
2Sam 02:02	acc	sham	to there
2Sam 02:05	prep	?el ?anshe yabesh gil'ad	to the men of JG
2Sam 02:08	acc	maxanayim	to Mahanaim
2Sam 02:12	hey	gib'o:na:h	to Gibeon
2Sam 02:19	prep	al hayamin	to the right
2Sam 02:19	prep	al hasem?ol	to the left
2Sam 02:21	prep	al yamineka	to your right
2Sam 02:21	prep	al sem?oleka	to your left
2Sam 02:22	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 02:23	acc	sham	thither
2Sam 02:23	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
2Sam 02:23	acc	sham	thither
2Sam 02:24	prep	ad gib'at ammah	to the hill of Ammah
2Sam 02:29	acc	maxanayim	to Mahanaim
2Sam 03:12	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 03:14	prep	?el ?ishboshet	to Ishboseth
2Sam 03:20	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 03:20	acc	xebron	to Hebron
2Sam 03:21	prep	?el ?adoni	to my lord
2Sam 03:23	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 03:24	prep	?eleka	to you
2Sam 03:24	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 03:27	acc	xebron	to Hebron
2Sam 03:27	prep	?el tok hasha'ar	to the midst of the gate
2Sam 04:03	hey	gitta:yma:h	to Gittaim
2Sam 04:05	prep	?el beyt ?ishboshet	to the house of Ishboseth
2Sam 04:06	prep	ad tok habayit	into the midst of the house
2Sam 04:07	acc	habayit	to the house
2Sam 04:08	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 04:08	acc	xebron	to Hebron
2Sam 05:01	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 05:01	hey	xebro:na:h	to Hebron

2Sam 05:03	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 05:03	hey	xebro:na:h	to Hebron
2Sam 05:06	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 05:06	hey	henah	hither
2Sam 05:06	prep	?el hayebusi	to/against the Jebusites
2Sam 05:06	hey	henah	hither
2Sam 05:08	prep	?el habayit	to the house
2Sam 05:11	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 05:17	prep	?el hametsudah	to the stronghold
2Sam 05:19	prep	?el pelishtim	to/against the Phil
2Sam 5:20	prep	be-ba'al perazim	into baal perazim
2Sam 05:23	prep	?el axarehem	to their rear
2Sam 06:06	prep	ad goren nakon	to the threshing floor of Nakon
2Sam 06:09	prep	?elai	to me
2Sam 06:10	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 06:10	prep	al 'ir david	to the city of David
2Sam 06:10	acc	beyt 'obed ?edom hagitti	to the house of Obedom the Gittite
2Sam 06:12	acc	ir david	to the city of David
2Sam 06:16	acc	ir david	to the city of David
2Sam 06:19	prep	le-beyto	to his house
2Sam 08:07	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 08:10	prep	?el hamelek david	to king David
2Sam 09:06	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 10:02	acc	?erets bene 'ammon	to the land of the sons of Ammon
2Sam 10:03	prep	le-ka	to you
2Sam 10:03	prep	?eleka	to you
2Sam 10:14	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 10:14	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 10:16	acc	xelam	to Helam
2Sam 10:17	hey	xe:la:?ma:h	to Helam
2Sam 11:04	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 11:04	prep	?el beytah	to her house
2Sam 11:06	prep	?elai	to me
2Sam 11:06	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 11:07	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 11:08	prep	le-beytka	to your house
2Sam 11:09	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 11:10	prep	?el beyteka	to your house
2Sam 11:10	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 11:11	prep	?el beyti	to my house
2Sam 11:13	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 11:20	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 11:21	prep	?el haxomah	to the wall
2Sam 11:23	prep	?elenu	to/against us
2Sam 11:23	acc	hasadeh	to the field

2Sam 11:24	prep	?el 'abdeka	to your servants
2Sam 11:27	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 12:01	prep	?el david	to David
2Sam 12:01	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 12:04	prep	le-?ish ha?asir	to the rich man
2Sam 12:04	prep	l-o	to him
2Sam 12:04	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 12:15	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 12:20	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Sam 12:20	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 12:23	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 12:23	prep	?elai	to me
2Sam 12:27	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 12:29	hey	rabba:ta:h	to Rabbah
2Sam 12:31	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 13:07	acc	beyt ?amnon ?axika	to the house of Amnon your brother
2Sam 13:08	acc	beyt ?amnon ?axiha	to the house of Amnon her brother
2Sam 13:10	prep	le-?amnon	to Amnon
2Sam 13:10	hey	hexa:dra:h	to the chamber
2Sam 13:10	acc	haxeder	to the chamber
2Sam 13:11	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 13:17	hey	haxu:ša:h	outside
2Sam 13:18	acc	haxuts	outside
2Sam 13:24	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 13:37	prep	?el talmi	to Talmi
2Sam 13:38	acc	geshur	to Geshur
2Sam 14:03	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 14:04	prep	al ?appeha	to her face
2Sam 14:04	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 14:08	prep	le-beytek	to your house
2Sam 14:10	prep	?elai	to me
2Sam 14:11	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 14:14	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 14:22	prep	?el panayv	to his face
2Sam 14:22	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 14:23	hey	gešu:ra:h	to Geshur
2Sam 14:23	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 14:24	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 14:24	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 14:29	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 14:29	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 14:31	prep	?el abshalom	to Absalom
2Sam 14:31	hey	habba:yta:h	to the house
2Sam 14:32	hey	henah	hither
2Sam 14:32	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 14:33	prep	?el hamelek	to the king

2Sam 14:33	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 15:06	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 15:08	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 15:09	hey	xebro:na:h	to Hebron
2Sam 15:13	prep	?el david	to David
2Sam 15:25	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 15:27	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 15:29	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 15:32	prep	ad haro?sh	to the summit
2Sam 15:34	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 15:37	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 15:37	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 16:05	prep	ad baxurim	to Bahurim
2Sam 16:15	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 16:16	prep	?el abshalom	to Absalom
2Sam 17:03	prep	?eleka	to you
2Sam 17:03	acc	ha?ish	to the husband
2Sam 17:06	prep	?el abshalom	to Absalom
2Sam 17:12	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 17:13	prep	?el 'ir	to a city
2Sam 17:13	prep	?el ha'ir hahi?	to that city
2Sam 17:13	prep	ad hanaxal	to the wadi
2Sam 17:17	hey	ha:'iyra:h	to the city
2Sam 17:18	prep	?el beyt ?ish	to the house of a man
2Sam 17:18	acc	sham	to there
2Sam 17:20	prep	?el ha?ishah	to the woman
2Sam 17:20	hey	habba:yta:h	to the house
2Sam 17:20	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 17:23	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 17:23	prep	?el 'iro	to his city
2Sam 17:24	hey	maxana:yma:h	to Mahanaim
2Sam 17:27	hey	maxana:yma:h	to Mahanaim
2Sam 17:29	prep	le-david	to david
2Sam 17:29	prep	le-'am	to the people
2Sam 18:06	acc	hasadeh	to the field
2Sam 18:14	prep	be-lev abshalom	into the heart of Absalom
2Sam 18:17	prep	be-yaar	in the forest
2Sam 18:17	prep	?el hapaxat hagadol	into a big pit
2Sam 18:17	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
2Sam 18:24	prep	?el gag hash'a'ar	to the roof of the gate
2Sam 18:24	prep	?el haxomah	to the wall
2Sam 19:01	prep	al 'aliyat hash'a'ar	up to above the gate
2Sam 19:04	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Sam 19:06	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 19:06	acc	habayit	to the house
2Sam 19:09	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent

2Sam 19:12	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 19:16	prep	ad hayarden	as far as the Jordan
2Sam 19:16	hey	haggilga:la:h	to Gilgal
2Sam 19:26	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 19:31	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 19:32	acc	hayarden	to the Jordan
2Sam 19:35	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 19:40	prep	li-mqomo	to his place
2Sam 19:41	hey	haggilga:la:h	to Gilgal
2Sam 19:42	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 20:02	prep	ad yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 20:03	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Sam 20:03	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 20:10	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Sam 20:12	acc	hasadeh	to the field
2Sam 20:14	hey	?a:be:la:h	to Abel
2Sam 20:14	acc	beyt ma'akah	to Beyt Maacah
2Sam 20:16	prep plus hey	ad henah	hither
2Sam 20:17	prep	?eleha	to her
2Sam 20:21	prep	?eleka	to you
2Sam 20:22	prep	?el kol ha'am	to all the people
2Sam 20:22	prep	?el yo?ab	to Joab
2Sam 20:22	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tents
2Sam 20:22	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 20:22	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Sam 23:09	acc	sham	there
2Sam 23:11	hey	laxayah	to Lehi
2Sam 23:13	prep	?el david	to David
2Sam 23:13	prep	?el ma'arat ?adullam	to the cave of Adullam
2Sam 23:16	prep	?el david	to David
2Sam 23:21	prep	?elayv	to him
2Sam 24:06	hey	haggil'a:da:h	to Gilead
2Sam 24:06	prep	?el ?erets taxtim xodshi	to the land of the Hittites Kadesh?
2Sam 24:06	hey	da:na:h	to Dan
2Sam 24:06	prep	?el tsidon	to sidon
2Sam 24:07	acc	mibtsar tsor	to the fortress of tyre
2Sam 24:07	acc	kol 'are haxivi vehakena'ani	to all the cities of the Hivites and Canaanites
2Sam 24:07	prep	?el negeb yehudah	to Negev of Judah
2Sam 24:07	acc	be?er sheba'	to Beersheba
2Sam 24:08	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Sam 24:13	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 24:18	prep	?el david	to david
2Sam 24:21	prep	?el 'abdo	to his servant
1Kgs 01:03	prep	la-melek	to the king
1Kgs 01:13	prep	?el hamelek david	to king David

1Kgs 01:15	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
1Kgs 01:15	hey	haxadra:h	to the chamber
1Kgs 01:33	prep	?el gixon	to Gihon
1Kgs 01:38	prep	al gixon	to Gihon
1Kgs 01:49	prep	le-darko	to his way
1Kgs 01:53	prep	le-beyteka	to your house
1Kgs 02:07	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 02:08	acc	maxanayim	to Mahanaim
1Kgs 02:13	prep	?el bat sheba'	to bathsheba
1Kgs 02:19	prep	?el hamelek shlomo	to king Solomon
1Kgs 02:26	acc	anatot	to Anathoth
1Kgs 02:26	prep	al sadeka	to your field
1Kgs 02:28	prep	?el ?ohel YHWH	to the tent of YHWH
1Kgs 02:29	prep	?el ?ohel YHWH	to the tent of YHWH
1Kgs 02:30	prep	?el ?ohel YHWH	to the tent of YHWH
1Kgs 02:39	prep	?el ?akish	to Achish
1Kgs 02:40	hey	gata:h	to Gath
1Kgs 02:40	prep	?el ?akish	to Achish
1Kgs 02:41	acc	Gat	to Gath
1Kgs 03:01	prep	?el 'ir david	to the city of David
1Kgs 03:04	hey	gib'ona:h	to Gibeon
1Kgs 03:15	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 03:16	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
1Kgs 05:08	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
1Kgs 05:15	prep	?el shlomo	to Solomon
1Kgs 05:23	hey	ya:mma:h	to the sea
1Kgs 05:28	hey	leba.no:na:h	to Lebanon
1Kgs 06:08	prep	al hatikonah	to the middle story
1Kgs 06:08	prep	?el hashloshim	to the third story
1Kgs 07:14	prep	?el hamelek shlomo	to king Solomon
1Kgs 08:01	prep	?el hamelek shlomo	to king Solomon
1Kgs 08:01	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 08:02	prep	?el hamelek shlomo	to king Solomon
1Kgs 08:06	prep	?el maqomo	to its place
1Kgs 08:06	prep	?el debir habayit	to the inner sanctuary
1Kgs 08:06	prep	?el qodesh haqodshim	to the holy of holies
1Kgs 08:06	prep	?el taxat kanpe hakerubim	to under the wings of the cherubs
1Kgs 08:34	prep	?el ha?adamah	to the land
1Kgs 08:46	prep	?el ?erets ha?oyyeb	to the land of the enemy
1Kgs 08:66	prep	le-?ohalehem	to their tents
1Kgs 09:14	prep	la-melek	to the king
1Kgs 09:24	prep	?el beytah	to her house
1Kgs 09:28	hey	?o:piyra:h	to Ophir
1Kgs 09:28	prep	?el hamelek shlomo	to king Solomon
1Kgs 10:02	hey	yeru.ša:lamma:h	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 10:02	prep	?el shlomo	to Solomon

1Kgs 10:13	prep	le-?artsah	to her land
1Kgs 10:14	prep	li-shlomoh	to Solomon
1Kgs 10:29	prep	le-kol malke haxittim	to all the kings of the Hittites
1Kgs 10:29	prep	le-malke ?aram	to the kings of Aram
1Kgs 11:17	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
1Kgs 11:18	acc	pa?aran	to Paran
1Kgs 11:18	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
1Kgs 11:18	prep	?el par'o	to Pharoah
1Kgs 11:21	prep	?el ?artsi	to my land
1Kgs 11:22	prep	?el ?artseka	to your land
1Kgs 11:24	acc	damasheq	to Damascus
1Kgs 11:40	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
1Kgs 11:40	prep	?el shishaq	to Shishak
1Kgs 12:01	acc	shexem	to Shechem
1Kgs 12:01	acc	shexem	to Shechem
1Kgs 12:05	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 12:12	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 12:12	prep	?el rexab'am	to rehoboam
1Kgs 12:16	prep	le-?ohalayv	to their tents
1Kgs 12:18	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 12:21	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 12:24	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Kgs 12:28	acc	yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Kgs 12:30	prep	ad dan	to Dan
1Kgs 12:33	prep	al hamizbeax	upon the altar
1Kgs 12:33	prep	al hamizbeax	upon the altar
1Kgs 13:01	prep	?el beyt ?el	to bethel
1Kgs 13:07	hey	habbayta:h	homeward
1Kgs 13:10	prep	?el beyt ?el	to bethel
1Kgs 13:15	hey	habbayta:h	homeward
1Kgs 13:18	prep	?el beyteka	to your house
1Kgs 13:22	prep	?el qeber ?aboteka	to the grave of your fathers
1Kgs 13:24	prep	ba-derek	in the road
1Kgs 13:28	prep	ba-derek	in the road
1Kgs 13:29	prep	?el 'ir hanabi? Hazaken	to the city of the old prophet
1Kgs 14:02	acc	shilo	to Shiloh
1Kgs 14:03	prep	?elayv	to him
1Kgs 14:04	acc	shilo	to Shiloh
1Kgs 14:12	prep	le-beyteka	to your house
1Kgs 14:12	hey	ha:'iyra:h	to the city
1Kgs 14:13	prep	?el qeber	to the grave
1Kgs 14:17	hey	tirša:ta:h	to Tirza
1Kgs 14:25	prep	al yerushalayim	to/against Jerusalem
1Kgs 14:28	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
1Kgs 14:28	prep	?el ta? Haratsim	to the guardroom

1Kgs 15:15	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
1Kgs 15:17	prep	al yehudah	to/against Judah
1Kgs 15:17	prep	le-?asa?	to Asa
1Kgs 15:18	prep	?el benhadad	to Benhadad
1Kgs 16:18	prep	?el ?armon beyt hamelek	to the king's palace
1Kgs 17:03	hey	qedmah	eastward
1Kgs 17:09	hey	ša:rpa:ta:h	to Zarephath
1Kgs 17:10	hey	ša:rpa:ta:h	to Zarephath
1Kgs 17:10	prep	?el petax ha'ir	to the entrance of the city
1Kgs 17:18	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 17:19	prep	?el ha'alayah	to the upper room
1Kgs 17:23	hey	habbayta:h	into the house
1Kgs 18:05	prep	?el kol me'ane hamayim	to all the springs of water
1Kgs 18:05	prep	?el kol hanaxalim	to all the wadis
1Kgs 18:19	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 18:19	prep	?el har hakarmel	to mt Carmel
1Kgs 18:20	prep	?el har hakarmel	to mt Carmel
1Kgs 18:21	prep	?el kol ha'am	to all the people
1Kgs 18:30	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 18:40	prep	?el naxal qishon	to the wadi Kishon
1Kgs 18:42	prep	?el ro?sh hakarmel	to the top of Mt Carmel
1Kgs 18:42	hey	arša:h	to ground
1Kgs 18:45	hey	yizre'e?la:h	to Jezreel
1Kgs 18:46	prep plus hey	ad bo:?aka:h yizre'e?la:h	to the entrance of Jezreel
1Kgs 19:02	prep	?el ?elijahu	to Elijah
1Kgs 19:03	acc	be?er sheba'	to Beersheba
1Kgs 19:08	prep	ad har ha?elohim	to the mt of God
1Kgs 19:08	acc	xoreb	to Horeb
1Kgs 19:09	acc	sham	there
1Kgs 19:09	prep	?el hama'arah	to the cave
1Kgs 19:15	prep	le-darkeka	to your way
1Kgs 19:15	hey	midba:ra:h damma:šeq	To the wilderness of Damascus
1Kgs 19:19	prep	?elayv	to him
1Kgs 19:19	prep	?elayv	to him
1Kgs 20:02	prep	?el ?ah?ab	to Ahab
1Kgs 20:02	hey	ha'iyra:h	to the city
1Kgs 20:06	prep	?eleka	to you
1Kgs 20:13	prep	?el ?ah?ab	to Ahab
1Kgs 20:22	prep	aleka	to/against you
1Kgs 20:22	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
1Kgs 20:26	hey	?ape:ka:h	to Aphek
1Kgs 20:30	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
1Kgs 20:30	hey	?ape:ka:h	to Aphek

1Kgs 20:30	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
1Kgs 20:30	acc	xeder	to an inner room
1Kgs 20:31	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
1Kgs 20:32	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
1Kgs 20:33	prep	?elayv	to him
1Kgs 20:33	prep	al hamerkabah	to the chariot
1Kgs 20:39	prep	?elai	to me
1Kgs 20:43	prep	al beyto	to his house
1Kgs 20:43	hey	šomro:na:h	to Samaria
1Kgs 21:04	prep	?el beyto	to his house
1Kgs 21:05	prep	?elayv	to him
1Kgs 21:08	prep	?el hazkenim	to the elders
1Kgs 21:08	prep	?el haxorim	to the leaders
1Kgs 21:16	prep	?el kerem nabot	to Nabot's vineyard
1Kgs 21:18	acc	sham	thither
1Kgs 22:02	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
1Kgs 22:04	acc	ramot gil'ad	to/against ramoth gilead
1Kgs 22:06	prep	al ramot gila'd	to/against Ramoth Gilead
1Kgs 22:12	acc	ramot gil'ad	to ramoth gilead
1Kgs 22:15	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
1Kgs 22:15	prep	?el ramot gil'ad	to/against ramoth gilead
1Kgs 22:17	prep	?el heharim	to the hills
1Kgs 22:17	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Kgs 22:25	acc	xeder	to a chamber
1Kgs 22:26	prep	?el ?amon	to Amon
1Kgs 22:26	prep	?el yo?ash	to Joash
1Kgs 22:29	acc	ramot gil'ad	to ramoth gilead
1Kgs 22:35	prep	?el xeiq harekeb	to the bottom of the chariot
1Kgs 22:37	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
1Kgs 22:49	hey	?o:piyra:h	to Ophir
2Kgs 01:04	acc	sham	thither
2Kgs 01:05	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 01:06	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Kgs 01:06	acc	sham	thither
2Kgs 01:09	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 01:09	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 01:11	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 01:15	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Kgs 01:16	acc	sham	thither
2Kgs 02:01	acc	hashamayim	to the heavens
2Kgs 02:02	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
2Kgs 02:02	prep	ad beyt ?el	to Bethel
2Kgs 02:03	prep	?el ?elisha	to Elisha
2Kgs 02:04	acc	yerixo	to Jericho
2Kgs 02:04	acc	yerixo	to Jericho

2Kgs 02:05	prep	?el ?elisha	to Elisha
2Kgs 02:06	hey	hayyarde:na:h	to the Jordan
2Kgs 02:11	acc	hashamayim	to the skies
2Kgs 02:18	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 02:20	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 02:21	prep	?el motsa? Hamayim	to the source of water
2Kgs 02:23	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
2Kgs 02:25	prep	?el har hakarmel	to mt Carmel
2Kgs 02:25	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 03:04	prep	le-melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
2Kgs 03:07	prep	?el mo?ab	to Moab
2Kgs 03:12	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 03:13	prep	?el nebi?e ?abika	to the prophets of your father
2Kgs 03:13	prep	?el nebi?e ?immeka	to the prophets of your mother
2Kgs 03:24	prep	?el maxaneh yisrael	to the camp of Israel
2Kgs 03:26	prep	?el melek ?edom	to the king of Edom
2Kgs 03:27	prep	la-?arets	to the land
2Kgs 04:04	prep	al kol hakelim ha?eleh	to all these vessels
2Kgs 04:05	prep	?eleha	to her
2Kgs 04:06	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 04:08	prep	?el shunem	to Shunem
2Kgs 04:08	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 04:10	prep	?elenu	to us
2Kgs 04:10	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 04:11	prep	?el ha'aliyah	to the upper room
2Kgs 04:11	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 04:18	prep	?el ?abiv	to his father
2Kgs 04:18	prep	?el haqotsrim	to the reapers
2Kgs 04:19	prep	?el ?immo	to his mother
2Kgs 04:20	prep	?el ?immo	to his mother
2Kgs 04:22	prep	ad ?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
2Kgs 04:23	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 04:25	prep	?el ?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
2Kgs 04:25	prep	?el har hakarmel	to mt Carmel
2Kgs 04:27	prep	?el ?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
2Kgs 04:27	prep	?el hahar	to the hill
2Kgs 04:32	hey	habbayta:h	into the house
2Kgs 04:35	hey	?axat henah ve-?axat henah	hither and thither
2Kgs 04:36	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 04:38	hey	haggilga:la:h	to Gilgal
2Kgs 04:39	prep	?el hasadeh	to the field
2Kgs 04:41	prep	?el hasir	to the pot
2Kgs 04:42	prep	le-?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
2Kgs 05:05	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
2Kgs 05:06	prep	?eleka	to you

2Kgs 05:06	prep	?eleka	to you
2Kgs 05:06	prep	?el melek yisrael	to the king of Israel
2Kgs 05:08	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 05:10	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 05:15	prep	?el ?ish ha?elohim	to the man of God
2Kgs 05:18	acc	beyt rimmon	to the house of Rimmon
2Kgs 05:22	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 05:24	prep	?el ha'opel	to the hill
2Kgs 06:02	prep	ad hayarden	to the Jordan
2Kgs 06:04	hey	hayyarde:na:h	to the Jordan
2Kgs 06:05	prep	?el hamayim	to the water
2Kgs 06:06	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 06:14	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 06:18	prep	?elayv	to/against him
2Kgs 06:19	prep	?el ha?ish	to the man
2Kgs 06:19	hey	šomro:na:h	to Samaria
2Kgs 06:20	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 06:22	prep	?el ?adonehem	to their masters
2Kgs 06:23	prep	?el ?adonehem	to their masters
2Kgs 06:23	prep	be-?erets yisrael	into the land of Israel
2Kgs 06:32	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 06:33	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 07:04	acc	ha'ir	to the city
2Kgs 07:05	prep	?el maxaneh ?aram	to the camp of Aram
2Kgs 07:05	prep	ad qetse maxaneh ?aram	to the edge of the camp of Aram
2Kgs 07:08	prep	ad qetse hamaxaneh	to the edge of the camp
2Kgs 07:08	prep	?el ?ohel ?exad	to one tent
2Kgs 07:08	prep	?el ?ohel ?axer	to another tent
2Kgs 07:10	prep	?el maxaneh ?aram	to the camp of Aram
2Kgs 07:12	prep	?el ha'ir	to the city
2Kgs 07:15	prep	ad hayarden	to the Jordan
2Kgs 07:17	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 08:07	prep plus hey	ad henah	hither
2Kgs 08:07	acc	damasheq	to Damascus
2Kgs 08:09	prep	?eleka	to you
2Kgs 08:14	prep	?el ?adonayv	to his master
2Kgs 08:21	hey	ša'ira:h	to Zair
2Kgs 08:21	prep	le-?ohalayv	to their tents
2Kgs 09:01	acc	ramot gil'ad	to ramoth gilead
2Kgs 09:02	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 09:02	acc	xeder	to an inner room
2Kgs 09:04	acc	ramot gil'ad	to ramoth gilead
2Kgs 09:06	hey	habbayta:h	into the house
2Kgs 09:06	prep	?el ro?sho	to his head
2Kgs 09:11	prep	?eleka	to you

2Kgs 09:11	prep	?el 'abde ?adonayv	to the servants of his master
2Kgs 09:16	hey	yizre'e?la:h	to Jezreel
2Kgs 09:18	prep	?el ?axarai	to behind me
2Kgs 09:19	prep	?el ?axarai	to behind me
2Kgs 09:19	prep	?alehem	to them
2Kgs 09:20	prep	ad ?alehem	to them
2Kgs 09:27	acc	megiddo	to Megiddo
2Kgs 09:28	hey	yeru:ša:la:ma:h	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 09:30	hey	yizre'e?la:h	to Jezreel
2Kgs 09:33	prep	?el haqir	to the wall
2Kgs 09:33	prep	?el hasusim	to the horses
2Kgs 10:01	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 10:01	prep	?el sare yezre'el	to the chiefs of Jezreel
2Kgs 10:01	acc	hazkenim	to the elders
2Kgs 10:01	prep	?el ha?amonim	to the guardians
2Kgs 10:06	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 10:06	hey	yizre'e?la:h	to Jezreel
2Kgs 10:07	prep	?alehem	to them
2Kgs 10:07	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 10:07	hey	yizre'e?la:h	to Jezreel
2Kgs 10:12	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 10:15	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 10:15	prep	?el hamerkabah	to the chariot
2Kgs 10:17	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 10:21	acc	beyt haba'al	to the house of Baal
2Kgs 10:23	acc	beyt haba'al	to the house of Baal
2Kgs 10:25	prep	ad 'ir beyt haba'al	to the city? Of the house of Baal
2Kgs 11:04	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 11:08	prep	?el hasedurot	to the ranks
2Kgs 11:09	prep	?el yehoi'ada	to Jehoaida
2Kgs 11:13	prep	?el ha'am	to the people
2Kgs 11:13	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 11:15	prep	?el mibeyt lasderot	to between the ranks
2Kgs 11:16	acc	beyt hamelek	to the palace
2Kgs 11:18	acc	beyt haba'al	to the house of Baal
2Kgs 11:19	acc	beyt hamelek	to the palace
2Kgs 12:05	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:05	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:10	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:10	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:14	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:17	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 12:19	prep	la-xaza?el	to Hazael
2Kgs 13:14	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 13:20	prep	ba-?arets	into the land
2Kgs 13:21	prep	be-qeber Elisha	into the grave of Elisha

2Kgs 14:08	prep	?el yeho?ash	to Jehoash
2Kgs 14:12	prep	le-?ohalav	to his tent
2Kgs 14:13	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 14:14	hey	šomro:na:h	to Samaria
2Kgs 14:19	hey	la:kiyša:h	to Lachish
2Kgs 15:14	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 15:29	hey	?aššu:ra:h	to Assyria
2Kgs 16:06	acc	?eylat	to Eilat
2Kgs 16:07	prep	?el tiglath pileser	to Tiglath Pileser
2Kgs 16:08	prep	le-melek ?assur	to the king of Assur
2Kgs 16:09	prep	?el damaseq	to Damascus
2Kgs 16:09	hey	qiyra:h	to Qir
2Kgs 16:10	acc	damasheq	to Damascus
2Kgs 16:10	prep	?el ?uriyah	to uriah
2Kgs 16:12	prep	al hamizbeax	to the altar
2Kgs 16:12	prep	alayv	to it
2Kgs 17:04	prep	?el so?	to So
2Kgs 17:04	prep	le-melek ?assur	to the king of Assur
2Kgs 17:05	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Kgs 17:06	hey	?aššu:ra:h	to Assyria
2Kgs 17:23	hey	?aššu:ra:h	to Assyria
2Kgs 17:27	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
2Kgs 18:09	prep	al shomeron	to/against Samaria
2Kgs 18:11	hey	?aššu:ra:h	to Assyria
2Kgs 18:13	prep	al kol are yehudah	to/against all the cities of Judah
2Kgs 18:17	prep	?el hamelek hezqiyahu	to king Hezekiah
2Kgs 18:17	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 18:17	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 18:18	prep	?alehem	to them
2Kgs 18:25	prep	al ha?arets hazo?t	to/against this land
2Kgs 18:25	prep	al hamaqom hazeh	to/against this place
2Kgs 18:31	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 18:32	prep	?el ?erets	to a land
2Kgs 18:37	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah
2Kgs 19:01	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 19:02	prep	?el yisa'yahu	to Isaiah
2Kgs 19:05	prep	?el yisa'yahu	to Isaiah
2Kgs 19:07	prep	le-?artso	to his land
2Kgs 19:09	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah
2Kgs 19:14	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 19:32	prep	?el ha'ir hazo?t	to this city
2Kgs 19:33	prep	?el ha'ir hazo?t	to this city
2Kgs 19:37	acc	?erets ?ararat	to the land of Urartu
2Kgs 20:01	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 20:05	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 20:08	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 20:12	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah

2Kgs 20:14	prep	?eleka	to you
2Kgs 20:14	prep	?el hamelek hezqiyahu	to king Hezekiah
2Kgs 20:17	hey	ba:bela:h	to Babylon
2Kgs 20:20	hey	ha:'iyra:h	to the city
2Kgs 22:03	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 22:04	prep	?el hilqiyahu	to Hilkiyah
2Kgs 22:04	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 22:09	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
2Kgs 22:14	prep	?el xuldah	to Huldah
2Kgs 22:15	prep	?elai	to me
2Kgs 23:01	prep	?elayv	to him
2Kgs 23:02	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Kgs 23:04	acc	beyt ?el	to Bethel
2Kgs 23:06	prep	?el naxal qidron	to the wadi Kidron
2Kgs 23:09	prep	?el mizbax YHWH	to the altar of YHWH
2Kgs 23:12	prep	?el naxal qidron	to the wadi Kidron
2Kgs 23:20	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 23:29	prep	al melek assur	to the king of Assyria
2Kgs 23:29	prep	al nahar parat	to the River Euphrates
2Kgs 23:30	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 23:34	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
2Kgs 24:10	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 24:11	prep	al ha'ir	to the city
2Kgs 24:12	prep	al melek babel	to the king of Babylon
2Kgs 24:15	hey	ba:bela:h	to Babylon
2Kgs 24:15	acc	golah	to exile
2Kgs 24:15	hey	ba:bela:h	to Babylon
2Kgs 24:16	hey	ba:bela:h	to Babylon
2Kgs 25:06	prep	?el melek babel	to the king of Babylon
2Kgs 25:06	hey	ribla:ta:h	to Riblah
2Kgs 25:07	acc	babel	to Babylon
2Kgs 25:08	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Kgs 25:13	hey	ba:bela:h	to Babylon
2Kgs 25:20	prep	al melek babel	to the king of Babylon
2Kgs 25:20	hey	ribla:ta:h	to Riblah
2Kgs 25:23	prep	?el gedalyah	to gedaliah
2Kgs 25:23	acc	hamitspah	to Mizpah
2Kgs 25:26	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Isa 06:06	prep	?elai	to me
Isa 07:01	acc	yerushalaim	to/against Jerusalem
Isa 07:03	prep	?el qatse ta'alat habrekah ha'elyonah	to the end of the path of the upper pool
Isa 07:03	prep	?el mesilat sadeh kobes	to the road to the fuller's field
Isa 07:06	prep	bi-yhudah	to/against Judah
Isa 07:24	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Isa 07:25	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Isa 08:07	prep	alehem	to/against them

Isa 14:02	prep	?el meqomam	to their place
Isa 16:12	prep	?el miqdasho	to his sanctuary
Isa 19:23	prep	bi-mitsrayim	into Egypt
Isa 20:01	hey	?ašdo:da:h	to ashdod
Isa 20:06	acc	sham	thither
Isa 22:15	prep	?el hasoken hazeh	to this steward
Isa 22:15	prep	al shebna?	to Shebna
Isa 27:13	prep	be-?erets mitsrayim	into the land of Egypt
Isa 30:29	prep	be-har YHWH	to the mt of YHWH
Isa 30:29	prep	?el tsur yisrael	to the rock of Israel
Isa 36:01	prep	al kol are yehudah	to/against all the cities of Judah
Isa 36:02	prep	?el hamelek hezqiyahu	to king Hezekiah
Isa 36:02	hey	yeru:ša:lamma:h	to Jerusalem
Isa 36:03	prep	?elayv	to him
Isa 36:10	prep	al ha?arets hazo?t	to/against this land
Isa 36:10	prep	?el ha?arets hazo?t	to this land
Isa 36:16	prep	?elai	to me
Isa 36:17	prep	?el ?erets	to a land
Isa 36:22	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah
Isa 37:01	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Isa 37:02	prep	?el yisa'yahu	to Isaiah
Isa 37:05	prep	?el yisa'yahu	to Isaiah
Isa 37:07	prep	?el ?artso	to his land
Isa 37:09	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah
Isa 37:14	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Isa 37:33	prep	?el ha'ir hazo?t	to this city
Isa 37:34	prep	?el ha'ir hazo?t	to this city
Isa 37:38	acc	?erets ?ararat	to the land of Urartu
Isa 38:01	prep	?elayv	to him
Isa 38:22	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Isa 39:01	prep	?el hezqiyahu	to Hezekiah
Isa 39:03	prep	?eleka	to you
Isa 39:03	prep	?elai	to me
Isa 39:03	prep	?el hamelek hezqiyahu	to king Hezekiah
Isa 39:06	acc	babel	to babylon
Isa 52:04	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Isa 66:19	prep	?el hagoyim	to the nations
Isa 66:20	prep	al har qodshi	to my holy mt
Isa 66:20	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 03:06	prep	?el taxat kol 'ets ra'anani	to under every green tree
Jer 03:07	prep	?elai	to me
Jer 03:10	prep	?elai	to me
Jer 03:17	prep	?eleha	to it
Jer 03:17	prep	le-shem YHWH	to the name of YHWH
Jer 03:17	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem

Jer 03:18	prep	al ha?arets	to the land
Jer 07:12	prep	?el maqomi	to my place
Jer 07:25	prep	?alekem	to yall
Jer 12:15	prep	le-naxalato	to his inheritance
Jer 12:15	prep	le-?artso	to his land
Jer 13:04	hey	pera:ta:h	to the Euphrates
Jer 13:06	hey	pera:ta:h	to the Euphrates
Jer 13:07	hey	pera:ta:h	to the Euphrates
Jer 14:16	prep	be-xutsot yerushalayim	into the streets of Jerusalem
Jer 16:08	acc	beyt mishteh	to the house of drinking
Jer 16:13	prep	al ha?arets	to the land
Jer 16:15	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jer 16:15	prep	al ?admatam	to their land
Jer 17:26	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 18:02	acc	beyt hayotser	to the potter's house
Jer 18:03	acc	beyt hayotser	to the potter's house
Jer 19:02	prep	?el ge? ben xinnom	to the valley of BH
Jer 19:14	acc	sham	thither
Jer 20:04	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 20:05	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 20:06	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 21:01	prep	?elayv	to him
Jer 21:04	prep	?el tok ha'ir hazo?t	to the midst of this city
Jer 22:01	acc	beyt melek yehudah	to the palace of Judah
Jer 22:11	acc	sham	thither
Jer 22:26	prep	al ha?arets axeret	to another land
Jer 22:27	prep	al ha?arets	to another land
Jer 22:27	acc	sham	thither
Jer 22:27	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jer 23:03	acc	sham	thither
Jer 23:03	prep	al nawehen	to their pasturage
Jer 23:08	acc	sham	thither
Jer 24:01	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 24:05	acc	?erets kasdim	to the land of the Chaldeans
Jer 24:06	prep	al ha?arets hazo?t	to this land
Jer 24:09	acc	sham	thither
Jer 25:04	prep	?alekem	to yall
Jer 25:15	prep	?alehem	to them
Jer 25:17	prep	?alehem	to them
Jer 26:05	prep	?alekem	to yall
Jer 26:09	prep	?el yeremiyahu	to Jeremiah
Jer 26:10	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 26:21	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 26:22	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 26:23	prep	?el hamelek yehoiakim	to king Jehoiakim

Jer 26:23	prep	?el qibre bene ha'am	to the burial place of the sons of the people
Jer 27:03	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Jer 27:03	prep	?el tsidqiyahu	to Zedekiah
Jer 27:18	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 27:20	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 27:22	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 27:22	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 28:03	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 28:03	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 28:04	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 28:04	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 28:06	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 28:11	prep	le-darko	to his way
Jer 29:01	prep	?el yeter zkene hagolah	to the rest of the elders of the exile
Jer 29:01	prep	?el hakohanim	to the priests
Jer 29:01	prep	?el hanebi'im	to the prophets
Jer 29:01	prep	?el kol ha'am	to all the people
Jer 29:01	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 29:03	prep	?el nebuchadnetsar	to Nebuchadnezzar
Jer 29:03	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 29:04	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 29:07	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jer 29:10	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 29:14	acc	sham	thither
Jer 29:14	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Jer 29:18	acc	sham	thither
Jer 29:19	prep	?alehem	to them
Jer 29:20	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 29:25	prep	?el kol ha'am	to all the people
Jer 29:25	prep	?el zephaniah ben Maaseiah	to Z son of M
Jer 29:25	prep	?el kol hakohanim	to all the priests
Jer 30:03	prep	?el ha'arets	to the land
Jer 31:39	hey	go'a:ta:h	to Goah
Jer 32:05	acc	babel	to Babylon
Jer 32:07	prep	?eleka	to you
Jer 32:08	prep	?elai	to me
Jer 32:08	prep	?el xatsar hamatarah	to the guard court
Jer 32:24	acc	ha'ir	to the city
Jer 32:37	acc	sham	thither
Jer 32:37	prep	?el hamaqom hazeh	to this place
Jer 33:11	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 34:03	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 34:22	prep	?el ha'ir hazo?t	to this city
Jer 35:02	prep	?el beyt harekabim	to the house of the Rechabites
Jer 35:02	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH

Jer 35:02	prep	?el ?axat halshakot	to one of the chambers
Jer 35:04	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 35:04	prep	?el lishkat bene xanan ben ?igdaliyah ?ish ha?elohim	to the room of the sons of Hanan the son of Ig man of God
Jer 35:11	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Jer 35:11	prep	?el ha?arets	to/against the land
Jer 35:15	prep	?alekem	to yall
Jer 36:05	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of the Yhwh
Jer 36:12	acc	beyt hamelek	to the palace
Jer 36:12	prep	al lishkat hasoper	to the scribe's room
Jer 36:14	prep	?alehem	to them
Jer 36:14	prep	?el baruch	to Baruch
Jer 36:20	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
Jer 36:20	hey	xa:şe:ra:h	to the court
Jer 36:23	prep	?el ha?esh	to the fire
Jer 37:03	prep	?el yeremiyahu	to Jeremiah
Jer 37:07	prep	le-?artso	to its land
Jer 37:07	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 37:07	prep	?elai	to me
Jer 37:12	acc	?erets binyamin	to the land of Benjamin
Jer 37:14	prep	?el hasarim	to the commanders
Jer 37:16	prep	?el beyt habor	to the dungeon house
Jer 37:16	prep	?el haxanuyot	to the cells
Jer 37:20	acc	beyt yehonatan hasoper	to the house of Jonathan the scribe
Jer 38:02	prep	?el hakasdim	to the Chaldeans
Jer 38:06	prep	?el habor malkiyahu ben hamelek	to the cistern of M the king's son
Jer 38:09	prep	?el habor	to the cistern
Jer 38:11	acc	beyt hamelek	to the king's house
Jer 38:11	prep	?el taxat ha?otsar	to under the treasury
Jer 38:11	prep	?el yeremiyahu	to Jeremiah
Jer 38:11	prep	?el habor	to the cistern
Jer 38:14	prep	?elayv	to him
Jer 38:14	prep	?el mabo? Hashilishi	to the third entrance
Jer 38:17	prep	?el sare melek babel	to the commanders of the king of Babylon
Jer 38:18	prep	?el sare melek babel	to the commanders of the king of Babylon
Jer 38:22	prep	?el sare melek babel	to the commanders of the king of Babylon
Jer 38:23	prep	?el hakasdim	to the Chaldeans
Jer 38:25	prep	?eleka	to you
Jer 38:26	acc	beyt yehonatan	to the house of Jonathan

Jer 38:27	prep	?el yeremiyahu	to Jeremiah
Jer 39:01	prep	?el yerushalayim	to/against Jerusalem
Jer 39:05	prep	?el nebuchadnetsar	to Nebuchadnezzar
Jer 39:05	hey	ribla:ta:h	to Riblah
Jer 39:07	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 39:09	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 39:14	prep	?el habayit	to the house
Jer 40:01	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 40:04	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 40:04	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 40:04	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Jer 40:05	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 40:06	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 40:06	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to the Mizpah
Jer 40:07	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 40:08	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 40:08	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to the Mizpah
Jer 40:10	prep	?elenu	to us
Jer 40:12	acc	sham	thither
Jer 40:12	acc	?erets yehudah	to the land of Judah
Jer 40:12	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 40:12	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to the Mizpah
Jer 40:13	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 40:13	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to the Mizpah
Jer 40:15	prep	?eleka	to you
Jer 41:01	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 41:01	hey	hammišpa:ta:h	to the Mizpah
Jer 41:05	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Jer 41:06	prep	?el gedalyah	to Gedaliah
Jer 41:07	prep	?el tok ha'ir	to the midst of the city
Jer 41:10	prep	?el bene 'ammon	to the sons of Ammon
Jer 41:14	prep	?el yoxanan	to Johanan
Jer 41:15	prep	?el bene 'ammon	to the sons of Ammon
Jer 41:17	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 42:05	prep	?elenu	to us
Jer 42:06	prep	?elayv	to him
Jer 42:09	prep	?elayv	to him
Jer 42:12	prep	?el ?admatkem	to yalls land
Jer 42:14	acc	?erets mitsrayim	to the land of Egypt
Jer 42:15	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 42:17	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 42:18	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 42:19	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 42:20	prep	?el YHWH ?elohekem	to YHWH your God
Jer 43:02	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Jer 43:05	acc	sham	thither
Jer 43:05	prep	be-?erets yehudah	into the land of Judah
Jer 43:07	acc	?erets mitsrayim	to the land of egypt

Jer 43:07	prep	ad taxpanxes	to Tahpanes
Jer 44:04	prep	?alekem	to yall
Jer 44:12	acc	?erets mitsrayim	to the land of Egypt
Jer 44:14	acc	?erets yehudah	to the land of Judah
Jer 44:28	acc	?erets yehudah	to the land of Judah
Jer 44:28	prep	le-?erets mitsrayim	to the land of Egypt
Jer 45:05	acc	sham	thither
Jer 49:19	prep	?el naveh ?eitan	to/against a strong pasture
Jer 49:36	prep	?el 'eilam	to Elam
Jer 49:36	prep	le-kol haruxot ha?eleh	to all these winds
Jer 49:36	acc	sham	thither
Jer 50:03	prep	aleha	to/against her
Jer 50:06	prep	?el gib'ah	to hill
Jer 50:09	prep	al babel	to/against Babylon
Jer 50:44	prep	?el naveh ?eitan	to a strong pasture
Jer 51:59	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 51:61	acc	babel	to babylon
Jer 51:63	prep	?el tok perat	to the midst of the Euphrates
Jer 52:09	prep	?el melek babel	to the king of Babylon
Jer 52:09	hey	ribla:ta:h	to Riblah
Jer 52:11	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 52:17	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Jer 52:26	prep	?el melek babel	to the king of Babylon
Jer 52:26	hey	ribla:ta:h	to Riblah
Ezek 01:12	prep	?el 'eber panayv	to straight ahead
Ezek 01:12	prep	?el ?asher yihyeh shammah haruax lalakot	to where the spirit would go
Ezek 01:12	hey	shammah	thither
Ezek 01:17	prep	al ?arba'at ribe'hen	to the four quarters
Ezek 01:20	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 02:03	prep	?el bene yisrael	to the sons of Israel
Ezek 02:03	prep	?el goyim hamordim	to the rebellious nations
Ezek 02:04	prep	?alehem	to them
Ezek 03:04	prep	?el beyt yisrael	to the house of Israel
Ezek 03:05	prep	?el 'am 'imqe sapah	to a people of strange tongue
Ezek 03:05	prep	?el beyt yisrael	to the house of Israel
Ezek 03:06	prep	?el 'ammim rabbim	to many peoples
Ezek 03:06	prep	?alehem	to them
Ezek 03:11	prep	?el hagolah	to the exile
Ezek 03:11	prep	?el bene 'ameka	to the sons of your people
Ezek 03:15	prep	?el hagolah	to the exile
Ezek 03:15	acc	tel ?abib	to Tel Abib
Ezek 03:22	prep	?el habiqah	to the valley

Ezek 03:23	prep	?el habiqah	to the valley
Ezek 04:08	prep	?el tsideka	to your side
Ezek 04:13	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 04:14	prep	be-pi	into my mouth
Ezek 05:02	prep	la-ruax	to the wind
Ezek 05:04	prep	?el tok ha?esh	to the midst of the fire
Ezek 05:04	prep	?el kol beyt yisrael	to all the house of Israel
Ezek 05:10	prep	le-kol ruax	to every wind
Ezek 05:12	prep	le-kol ruax	to every wind
Ezek 07:13	prep	?el hamimkar	to the sold thing
Ezek 08:03	hey	yeru:ša:lamma:h	to Jerusalem
Ezek 08:03	prep	?el petax sha'ar hapnimit	to the entrance of the inner gate
Ezek 08:07	prep	?el petax haxatser	to the entrance of the court
Ezek 08:14	prep	?el petax sha'ar beyt YHWH	to the entrance of the gate of the house of YHWH
Ezek 08:16	prep	?el xatsar beyt YHWH hapnimit	to the inner court of the house of YHWH
Ezek 09:03	prep	?el miptan habayit	to the threshold of the house
Ezek 10:02	prep	?el beynot hagalgal	to among the wheels
Ezek 10:02	prep	?el taxat hakerub	to under the cherub
Ezek 10:04	prep	al miptan habayit	to the threshold of the house
Ezek 10:11	prep	?el ?arba'at	to any quarter
Ezek 10:22	prep	?el 'eber panayv	to straight ahead
Ezek 11:01	prep	?el sha'ar beyt YHWH haqadmoni	to the eastern gate of the house of YHWH
Ezek 11:16	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 11:18	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 11:24	hey	kašdiyma:h	to Chaldea
Ezek 11:24	prep	?el hagolah	to the exile
Ezek 12:03	prep	?el maqom ?axer	to another place
Ezek 12:12	prep	?el qatep	to the shoulder
Ezek 12:13	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Ezek 12:14	prep	le-kol ruax	to every wind
Ezek 12:16	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 13:09	prep	?el ?adamat yisrael	to the land of Israel
Ezek 14:01	prep	?elai	to me
Ezek 14:04	prep	?el hanabi?	to the prophet
Ezek 14:07	prep	?el hanabi?	to the prophet
Ezek 14:22	prep	?alekem	to yall
Ezek 16:05	prep	?el pene hasadeh	to the field
Ezek 16:33	prep	?eleka	to you
Ezek 16:40	prep	alayik	to/against you
Ezek 17:03	prep	?el halibanon	to the lebanon

Ezek 17:04	prep	?el ?erets kena'an	to the land of Canaan
Ezek 17:12	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezek 17:12	prep	?elayv	to him
Ezek 17:12	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Ezek 17:15	acc	mitsrayim	to Egypt
Ezek 17:20	hey	ba:bela:h	to babylon
Ezek 17:21	prep	le-kol ruax	to every wind
Ezek 20:06	prep	?el ?erets	to a land
Ezek 20:10	prep	?el hamidbar	to the wilderness
Ezek 20:15	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ezek 20:28	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ezek 20:29	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 20:35	prep	?el midbar ha'ammim	to the wilderness of the peoples
Ezek 20:38	prep	?el ?adamat yisrael	to the land of Israel
Ezek 20:42	prep	?el ?adamat yisrael	to the land of Israel
Ezek 20:42	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Ezek 21:25	prep	?et rabbat bene 'ammon	to Rabbah of the sons of Ammon
Ezek 21:25	prep	?et yehudah	to Judah
Ezek 21:35	prep	?el ta?arah	to its sheath
Ezek 22:19	prep	?el tok yerushalayim	to the midst of Jerusalem
Ezek 23:16	hey	kašdiyima:h	to Chaldea
Ezek 23:39	prep	?el miqdashi	to my sanctuary
Ezek 23:40	prep	?alehem	to them
Ezek 23:46	prep	alehem	to/against them
Ezek 24:26	prep	?eleka	to you
Ezek 25:03	prep	ba-golah	into the exile
Ezek 26:03	prep	alayik	to/against you
Ezek 26:07	prep	?el tsor	to/against Tyre
Ezek 26:11	prep	la-?arets	to the ground
Ezek 26:20	prep	?el 'am 'olam	to the ancient people
Ezek 29:13	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 29:14	acc	?erets patros	to the land of Pathros
Ezek 29:14	prep	al ?erets mekuratam	to the land of their origin
Ezek 31:15	hey	še?o:la:h	to Sheol
Ezek 31:16	hey	še?o:la:h	to Sheol
Ezek 31:17	hey	še?o:la:h	to Sheol
Ezek 31:17	prep	?el xalale xereb	to those slain by the sword
Ezek 31:18	prep	?el ?erets taxtit	to the world below
Ezek 32:18	prep	?el ?erets taxtiyot	to the world below
Ezek 32:24	prep	?el ?erets taxtiyot	to the world below
Ezek 32:27	acc	she?ol	to Sheol
Ezek 33:21	prep	?elai	to me
Ezek 33:22	prep	?elai	to me
Ezek 33:31	prep	?eleka	to you

Ezek 34:13	prep	?el ?admatam	to their land
Ezek 34:21	prep plus hey	?el haxu:ša:h	abroad
Ezek 36:20	prep	?el hagoyim	to the nations
Ezek 36:20	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 36:21	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 36:22	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 36:24	prep	?el ?admatkem	to yalls land
Ezek 37:12	prep	?el ?admat yisrael	to the land of Israel
Ezek 37:21	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 37:21	prep	?el ?admatam	to their land
Ezek 38:08	prep	?el ?erets meshobeb mixereb	to/against the land restored from war
Ezek 38:11	prep	al ?erets perazot	to/against the land of unwalled
Ezek 38:16	prep	al ammi	to/against my people
Ezek 38:20	prep	la-?arets	to the ground
Ezek 39:28	prep	?el hagoyim	to the nations
Ezek 39:28	prep	al admatam	to their land
Ezek 40:01	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 40:02	prep	?el ?erets yisrael	to the land of Israel
Ezek 40:03	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 40:04	hey	henah	hither
Ezek 40:06	prep	?el sha'ar	to the gate
Ezek 40:17	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 40:28	prep	?el sha'ar hapnimi	to the inner gate
Ezek 40:32	prep	?el haxatser hapnimi	to the inner court of the house of YHWH
Ezek 40:35	prep	?el sha'ar hatsapon	to the north gate
Ezek 40:40	prep plus hey	lipetax hašša'ar haššapo:na:h	to the entrance of the north gate
Ezek 40:48	prep	?el ?ulam habayit	to the vestibule of the house
Ezek 40:49	prep	?elayv	to it
Ezek 41:01	prep	?el haxeykal	to the temple
Ezek 41:07	prep plus hey	lema'la:h	upward
Ezek 41:07	prep	al ha'aliyonah	to the upper story
Ezek 42:01	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 42:01	prep	?el halishkah	to the chamber
Ezek 42:14	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 42:14	prep	?el ?asher la'am	to that which is for the people
Ezek 43:01	prep	?el hasha'ar	to the gate
Ezek 43:03	prep	?el panay	on my face
Ezek 43:04	prep	?el habayit	to the house

Ezek 43:05	prep	?el haxatser hapnimi	to the inner court of the house of YHWH
Ezek 44:04	prep	?el pene habayit	to the front of the house
Ezek 44:04	prep	?el panay	on my face
Ezek 44:09	prep	?el miqdash	to my sanctuary
Ezek 44:13	prep	?elai	to me
Ezek 44:13	prep	al kol qodashai	to all my holy things
Ezek 44:13	prep	?el qodshe haqodshim	to the holy things
Ezek 44:15	prep	?elai	to me
Ezek 44:16	prep	?el miqdash	to my sanctuary
Ezek 44:16	prep	?el shulxani	to my table
Ezek 44:17	prep	?el sha'are haxatser hapnimit	to the gates of the inner court
Ezek 44:19	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 44:19	prep	?el ha'am	to the people
Ezek 44:21	prep	?el haxatser hapnimit	to the inner court
Ezek 44:25	prep	?el met ?adam	to a dead person
Ezek 44:27	prep	?el haqodesh	to the holy place
Ezek 44:27	prep	?el haxatser hapnimit	to the inner court
Ezek 46:19	prep	?el halishkot haqodesh	toward the holy chambers
Ezek 46:20	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 46:21	prep	?el haxatser haxitsonah	to the outer court
Ezek 46:21	prep	?el ?arba'at miqtso'e haxatser	to the four corners of the court
Ezek 47:01	prep	?el petax habayit	to the entrance of the house
Ezek 47:01	hey	qa:diyma:h	eastward
Ezek 47:02	prep	?el sha'ar haxuts	to the outer gate
Ezek 47:03	acc	qadim	eastward
Ezek 47:06	acc	sepat hanaxal	to the bank of the wadi
Ezek 47:08	prep	?el haglilah haqadmonah	to the eastern region
Ezek 47:08	prep	al ha'arabah	to the Arabah
Ezek 47:08	hey	ha:yya:mma:h	to the sea
Ezek 47:08	prep plus hey	?el ha:yya:mma:h	to the sea
Ezek 47:09	prep	?el kol ?asher yabo? Sham	to everywhere it goes
Ezek 47:09	acc	sham	thither
Ezek 47:09	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Ezek 47:09	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Joel 04:02	prep	?el 'emeq yehoshaphat	to the valley of Jehoshaphat
Joel 04:05	prep	le-heykalekem	to your temples

Amos 07:12	prep	?el ?erets yehudah	to the land of Judah
Jonah 01:02	prep	?el niyveve:h	to Nineveh
Jonah 01:03	hey	taršiyša:h	to Tarshish
Jonah 01:03	acc	ya:po:	to Joppa
Jonah 01:03	acc	taršiyš	to Tarshish
Jonah 01:03	hey	taršiyša:h	to Tarshish
Jonah 01:04	prep	?el hayyam	onto the sea
Jonah 01:05	prep	?el yarkete:y hasspina:h	to the back of the ship
Jonah 01:05	prep	?el hayyam	onto the sea
Jonah 01:06	prep	?elayv	to him
Jonah 01:12	prep	?el hayyam	onto the sea
Jonah 01:13	prep	?el hayyabba:ša:h	to the dry land
Jonah 01:15	prep	?el hayyam	onto the sea
Jonah 02:11	prep	?el hayyabba:ša:h	to the dry land
Jonah 03:02	prep	?el niyveve:h	to Nineveh
Jonah 03:03	prep	?el niyveve:h	to Nineveh
Jonah 04:02	hey	taršiyša:h	to Tarshish
Hag 01:08	acc	hahar	to the hill country
Hag 01:09	prep	le-beyto	to his house
Hag 01:09	acc	habayit	to the house
Hag 02:16	prep	?el 'aremat 'asrim	to a heap of ten measures
Hag 02:16	prep	?el hayyeqeb	to the wine vat
Zech 01:16	prep	li-rushalayim	to Jerusalem
Zech 02:11	acc	tsion	to Zion
Zech 02:12	prep	?el haggoyim	to the nations
Zech 02:15	prep	?eleka	to you
Zech 04:09	prep	?alekem	to yall
Zech 05:04	prep	?el beyt hagganab	to the house of the thief
Zech 05:04	prep	?el beyt hannishba' bishmi lashaqer	to the house of the one swearing in my name falsely
Zech 05:08	prep	?el tok ha?ephah	to the middle of the ephah
Zech 05:08	prep	?el piha	to its mouth
Zech 06:06	prep	?el ?erets tsafon	to the land of the north
Zech 06:06	prep	?el axarehem	to after them
Zech 06:06	prep	?el ?erets hatteyman	to the south land
Zech 06:08	prep	?el ?erets tsafon	to the land of the north
Zech 06:10	acc	beyt yosiyahu ben tsapanyah	to the house of Y son of Z
Zech 06:15	prep	?alekem	to yall
Zech 08:03	prep	?el tsion	to Zion
Zech 08:21	prep	?el ?axat	to another
Zech 11:13	prep	?el hayotser	to the potter
Zech 11:13	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Zech 11:13	prep	?el hayotser	to the potter

Zech 14:02	prep	?el yerushalayim	to/against Jerusalem
Zech 14:04	hey	ša:po:na:h	northward
Zech 14:04	hey	negba:h	southward
Zech 14:05	acc	ge? Harai	to the valley of my mt
Zech 14:08	prep	?el hayyam haqqadmoni	to the eastern sea
Zech 14:08	prep	?el hayyam ha?axaron	to the western? Sea
Zech 14:17	prep	?el yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Mal 01:08	prep	le-pexateka	to your governor
Mal 03:01	prep	?el heykalo	to his temple
Mal 03:10	prep	?el beyt ha?otsar	to the treasury
Ps 51:02	prep	?elayv	to him
Ps 52:02	prep	?el beyt aximelek	to the house of Ahimelek
Job 01:14	prep	?el ?iyob	to job
Job 01:20	hey	?arša:h	to ground
Job 01:21	hey	ša:ma:h	thither
Job 2:12	hey	hashamaymah	to the skies
Job 42:08	prep	?el 'abdi	to my servant
Job 42:11	prep	?elayv	to him
Rut 01:02	acc	śede:y mo?a:b	to the fields of Moab
Rut 01:07	prep	?el ?ereş yehu:da:h	to the land of Judah
Rut 01:08	prep	lebe:yt ?imma:h	to the house of your ma
Rut 01:10	prep	le'amme:k	to your people
Rut 01:15	prep	?el 'amma:h	to her people
Rut 01:15	prep	?el ?eloheyha:	to her gods
Rut 01:16	prep	?el ?aşer telkiy	to the place you go
Rut 01:19	prep	ad boa?nah be:yt lexem	to the entrance of Bethlehem
Rut 01:19	acc	be:yt lexem	to bethlehem
Rut 01:22	acc	be:yt lexem	to bethlehem
Rut 02:02	acc	haśša:de:h	to the field
Rut 02:09	prep	?el hakke:liym	to the vessels
Rut 02:11	prep	?el 'am	to a people
Rut 02:14	acc	halom	hither
Rut 02:18	acc	ha:'iyr	to the city
Rut 03:03	acc	haggoren	to the threshing floor
Rut 03:06	acc	haggoren	to the threshing floor
Rut 03:14	acc	haggoren	to the threshing floor
Rut 03:15	acc	ha:'iyr	to the city
Rut 03:16	prep	?el xamo:ta:h	to her mother in law
Rut 03:17	prep	?el xamo:ta:h	to her mother in law
Rut 04:01	acc	hasha'ar	to the gate
Rut 04:11	prep	?el be:ytaka:	to your house
Qoh 03:20	prep	?el maqom ?exad	to one place
Qoh 03:20	prep	?el ha'apar	to the dust

Qoh 03:21	prep plus hey	lema'la:h	upward
Qoh 03:21	prep plus hey	lemattah	downward
Qoh 03:21	prep	la-?arets	to the ground
Qoh 04:17	prep	?el beyt ha?elohim	to the house of God
Qoh 06:06	prep	?el maqom ?exad	to one place
Qoh 09:10	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Qoh 09:14	prep	?eleha	to/against it
Qoh 12:05	prep	?el beyt 'olamo	to his eternal dwelling
Qoh 12:07	prep	al ha?arets	to the ground
Qoh 12:07	prep	?el ha?elohim	to God
Est 01:22	prep	?el ka:l mediyno:t hammelek	to all the districts of the king
Est 01:22	prep	?el mediyna:h umedinah	to every district
Est 01:22	prep	?el 'am we'am	to every people
Est 02:03	prep	?el šu:šan	to Susa
Est 02:03	prep	?el be:yt hanna:šiyim	to the harem
Est 02:08	prep	?el šu:šan	to Susa
Est 02:08	prep	?el be:yt hammelek	to the house of the king
Est 02:12	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 02:13	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 02:13	prep	ad beyt hammelek	to the house of the king
Est 02:14	prep	?el be:yt hanna:šiyim še:niy	to the second harem
Est 02:14	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 02:15	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 02:16	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 02:16	prep	?el beyt malkuto	to his royal house
Est 03:13	prep	?el kol medinot hamelek	to all the districts of the king
Est 04:02	prep	?el sha'ar hamelek	to the king's gate
Est 04:06	prep	?el mordekai	to Mordecai
Est 04:06	prep	?el rexob ha'ir	to the court of the city
Est 04:08	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 04:11	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 04:11	prep	?el haxatser hapnimit	to the inner court
Est 04:11	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 04:16	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
Est 05:04	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet
Est 05:05	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet
Est 05:08	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet
Est 05:10	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Est 05:12	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet
Est 05:14	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet

Est 06:04	prep	le-xatsar beyt hamelek haxitsonah	to the outer court of the palace
Est 06:12	prep	?el sha'ar hamelek	to the king's gate
Est 06:12	prep	?el beyto	to his house
Est 06:14	prep	?el hamishte	to a banquet
Est 07:08	prep	?el beyt mishte hayayin	to the place of the wine banquet
Est 09:19	prep	le-re'ehu	to his neighbor
Est 09:20	prep	?el kol hayehudim	to all the Jews
Est 09:30	prep	?el kol hayehudim	to all the Jews
Est 09:30	prep	?el 7 ve20 ve100 districts	to 127 districts
Dan 01:01	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Dan 01:02	acc	?erets shinar	to the land of Shinar
Dan 01:02	acc	beyt ?elohayv	to the house of his god
Dan 08:04	hey	yamma:h	to the west
Dan 08:04	hey	ša:po:na:h	northward
Dan 08:04	hey	negba:h	southward
Dan 08:06	prep	ad ha?ayil	to the ram
Dan 08:06	prep	?elayv	to him
Dan 08:07	hey	arša:h	to ground
Dan 08:10	hey	arša:h	to ground
Dan 09:07	acc	sham	thither
Dan 09:21	prep	?elai	to me
Dan 10:03	prep	?el pi	to my mouth
Dan 10:11	prep	?eleka	to you
Dan 10:20	prep	?eleka	to you
Dan 11:06	prep	?el melek hatsapon	to the king of the north
Dan 11:07	prep	?el haxayil	to/against the army
Dan 11:07	prep	be-ma'oz	in the fortress of the king of the north
Dan 11:08	acc	mitsrayim	to egypt
Dan 11:09	prep	be-malkut melek hanegeb	into the kingdom of the king of the south
Dan 11:09	prep	?el ?admato	to his land
Dan 11:16	prep	?elayv	to/against him
Dan 11:28	acc	?artso	to his land
Dan 11:28	prep	le-?artso	to his land
Dan 11:29	prep	ba-negeb	into the south
Dan 11:40	prep	ba-?artsot	into countries
Dan 11:41	prep	be-?erets hatsbi	into the glorious land
Ezra 01:03	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 01:11	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 02:01	prep	le-babel	to Babylon
Ezra 02:01	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 02:01	acc	yehudah	to Judah
Ezra 02:01	prep	le-iro	to his city
Ezra 02:68	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH

Ezra 03:01	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 03:07	prep	?el yam	to the sea
Ezra 03:07	acc	yafo	to Joppa
Ezra 03:08	prep	?el beyt ha?elohim	to the house of God
Ezra 03:08	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 03:08	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 04:02	prep	?el zerubbabel	to zerubbabel
Ezra 04:02	prep	?el ro?she ha?abot	to the heads of fathers houses
Ezra 04:02	acc	poh	hither
Ezra 07:07	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 07:09	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 08:15	prep	?el hanahar	to the river
Ezra 08:17	prep	al ?iddo	to Iddo
Ezra 08:17	prep	le-beyt ?elohenu	to the house of our god
Ezra 08:30	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 08:30	prep	le-beyt ?elohenu	to the house of our god
Ezra 08:31	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 08:32	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 09:01	prep	?elai	to me
Ezra 09:04	prep	?elai	to me
Ezra 10:01	prep	?elayv	to him
Ezra 10:06	prep	?el lishkat yehohanan ben Eliashib	to the room of Y son of E
Ezra 10:07	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Ezra 10:09	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Neh 01:09	prep	?el hamaqom	to the place
Neh 02:05	prep	?el yehudah	to Judah
Neh 02:05	prep	?el 'ir qibrot abotai	to the city of my fathers graves
Neh 02:07	prep	?el yehudah	to Judah
Neh 02:08	prep	?elayv	to it
Neh 02:09	prep	?el paxavot 'eber hanahar	to the governors of Abarnahara
Neh 02:11	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Neh 02:13	prep	?el pene 'ayin hatannin	to the Dragon Spring
Neh 02:13	prep	?el sha'ar ha?ashpot	to the Dung Gate
Neh 02:14	prep	?el sh'ar ha'ayin	to the Spring Gate
Neh 02:14	prep	?el berekat hamelek	to the king's pool
Neh 04:05	prep	?el tokam	to their midst
Neh 04:06	prep	alenu	to us
Neh 04:09	prep	?el haxomah	to the wall
Neh 04:09	prep	?el mela?kto	to his work
Neh 04:14	hey	ša:mma:h	thither
Neh 04:14	prep	?elenu	to us
Neh 05:17	prep	?elenu	to us
Neh 06:03	prep	?alekem	to yall

Neh 06:03	prep	alehem	to them
Neh 06:10	acc	beyt shema'iah ben D ben M	the house of Shemaiah son of D son of M
Neh 06:11	prep	?el haheykal	into the temple
Neh 06:17	prep	al tobiah	to tobiah
Neh 06:17	prep	?alehem	to them
Neh 07:06	prep	li-yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
Neh 07:06	prep	li-yehudah	to Judah
Neh 07:06	prep	le-'iro	to his city
Neh 08:01	prep	?el harexob	to the square
Neh 08:13	prep	?el 'ezra?	to Ezra
Neh 08:15	acc	hahar	to the hill country
Neh 09:11	prep	bi-msolot	into the depths
Neh 09:23	prep	?el ha?arets	to the land
Neh 10:35	prep	le-beyt ?elohenu	to the house of our god
Neh 10:36	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
Neh 10:37	prep	le-beyt ?elohenu	to the house of our god
Neh 10:37	prep	la-kohanim	to the priests
Neh 10:38	prep	la-kohanim	to the priests
Neh 10:38	prep	?el lishkot beyt ?elohenu	to the rooms of the house of God
Neh 10:38	prep	la-levim	to the Levites
Neh 10:39	prep	le-beyt ?elohenu	to the house of our god
Neh 10:39	prep	?el halishkot le-beyt ha?otsar	to the rooms of the treasury
Neh 10:40	prep	?el halishkot	to the rooms
Neh 12:27	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Neh 12:37	prep	ad sha'ar hamayim	to the Water Gate
Neh 12:37	acc	mizrax	eastward
Neh 12:38	prep	ad haxomah haraxabah &c &c	to the broad wall &c &c
Neh 13:06	prep	?el hamelek	to the king
Neh 13:07	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
Neh 13:08	acc	haxuts	outside
Neh 13:09	acc	sham	thither
Neh 13:10	prep	le-sadehu	to his field
Neh 13:12	prep	la-?otsarot	to treasuries
Neh 13:15	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 04:22	acc	lahem	to Lahem
1Ch 04:39	prep	le-mabo? Gedor	to the entrance of Gedor
1Ch 04:39	prep	ad le-mizrax hage?	to the east of the valley
1Ch 04:42	prep	le-har se'ir	to Mt Seir

1Ch 05:26	prep	la-xalah ve-xabor ve-hara? Venahar gozan	to Hala and Habor etc
1Ch 08:06	prep	?el manaxat	to Manahath
1Ch 09:01	prep	la-babel	to Babylon
1Ch 10:12	hey	ya:be:yša:h	to Jabesh
1Ch 11:01	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 11:01	hey	xevro:na:h	to Hebron
1Ch 11:03	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
1Ch 11:03	hey	xevro:na:h	to Hebron
1Ch 11:04	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 11:05	hey	henah	hither
1Ch 11:15	prep	al hatsur	to the rock
1Ch 11:15	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 11:15	prep	?el ma'arat 'adullam	to the cave of Adullam
1Ch 11:18	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 11:23	prep	?elayv	to him
1Ch 12:01	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 12:01	prep	le-tsiqlag	to Ziklag
1Ch 12:09	prep	?el david	to David
1Ch 12:09	prep	la-mtsad	to the fortress
1Ch 12:09	hey	midbarah	to the desert
1Ch 12:16	prep	la-mizrax	toward the east
1Ch 12:16	prep	la-maarav	toward the west
1Ch 12:17	prep	ad le-matsad	to the stronghold
1Ch 12:17	prep	le-david	to David
1Ch 12:18	prep	?elai	to me
1Ch 12:21	prep	?el tsiqlag	to Ziglag
1Ch 12:23	prep	al david	to David
1Ch 12:24	prep	al david	to David
1Ch 12:24	hey	xevro:na:h	to Hebron
1Ch 12:39	hey	xevro:na:h	to Hebron
1Ch 13:02	prep	?elenu	to us
1Ch 13:03	prep	?elenu	to us
1Ch 13:06	hey	ba'ala:ta:h	to Baalah
1Ch 13:06	prep	?el kiryat ye'arim	to Kiriath Jearim
1Ch 13:09	prep	ad goren kidon	to the threshing floor of Kidon
1Ch 13:12	prep	?elai	to me
1Ch 13:13	prep	?elayv	to him
1Ch 13:13	prep	?el 'ir david	to the city of David
1Ch 13:13	prep	?el beyt 'obed 'edom hagitti	to the house of OE the Gittite
1Ch 14:01	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 14:10	prep	al pelishtim	to/against the Philistines
1Ch 14:11	prep	be-ba'al peratsim	to Baal Perazim
1Ch 15:03	prep	?el yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 15:03	prep	?el maqomo	to its place

1Ch 15:12	prep	?el hakinoti lo	to the place I prepared for it
1Ch 15:29	prep	ad 'ir david	to the city of David
1Ch 16:43	prep	le-beyto	to his house
1Ch 18:07	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 18:10	prep	?el hammelek david	to king David
1Ch 19:02	prep	?el ?erets bene 'ammon	to the land of the sons of Ammon
1Ch 19:02	prep	?el xanun	to hanun
1Ch 19:03	prep	?eleka	to you
1Ch 19:03	prep	le-ka	to you
1Ch 19:15	hey	ha:'iyra:h	to the city
1Ch 19:15	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 19:17	prep	?alehem	to them
1Ch 20:03	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 21:04	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 21:11	prep	?el david	to david
1Ch 21:15	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
1Ch 21:21	prep	ad ?arnan	to Ornan
1Ch 21:27	prep	?el nidnah	to its sheath
1Ch 22:04	prep	le-david	to David
1Ch 22:08	hey	arša:h	groundward
1Ch 22:19	prep	la-bayit	to the house
1Ch 24:19	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
1Ch 28:01	prep	?el yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 01:03	prep	la-bamah	to the high place
2Ch 01:06	acc	sham	thither
2Ch 01:06	prep	al mizbeax nexoshet	upon the bronze altar
2Ch 01:13	prep	la-bamah	to the high place
2Ch 01:13	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 01:17	prep	le-kol malke haxittim umalke ?aram	to all the kings of Hatti and Aram
2Ch 02:14	prep	le-'abadayv	to his servants
2Ch 02:15	acc	yafo	to Jaffa
2Ch 02:15	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 05:02	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 05:03	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
2Ch 05:07	prep	?el maqomo	to its place
2Ch 05:07	prep	?el debir habayit	to the inner sanctuary of the house
2Ch 05:07	prep	?el qodesh haqdashim	to the holy of holies
2Ch 05:07	prep	?el taxat kanpey hakkerubim	to under the wings of the cherubim
2Ch 06:25	prep	?el ha?adamah	to the land
2Ch 06:36	prep	?el ?erets rxoqah ?o qrobah	to a land far or near
2Ch 07:02	prep	?el beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 07:10	prep	le-?ohalehem	to their tents
2Ch 08:03	acc	xamat zobah	to Hamath Zobah

2Ch 08:11	prep	?alehem	to them
2Ch 08:11	prep	la-bayit	to the house
2Ch 08:17	prep	le-?etsion gaber	to Ezion Gaber
2Ch 08:17	prep	?el ?eylot	to Eylot
2Ch 08:18	hey	?o:piyra:h	to Ophir
2Ch 08:18	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
2Ch 09:01	prep	?el shlomo	to Solomon
2Ch 09:12	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
2Ch 09:12	prep	le-?artsah	to her land
2Ch 09:13	prep	li-shlomo	to Solomon
2Ch 09:14	prep	li-shlomo	to Solomon
2Ch 09:21	acc	tarshish	to tarshish
2Ch 09:28	prep	li-shlomo	to Solomon
2Ch 10:01	hey	šekema:h	to Shechem
2Ch 10:01	acc	shexem	to Shechem
2Ch 10:05	prep	?elai	to me
2Ch 10:12	prep	?el raxab'am	to Rehoboam
2Ch 10:16	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
2Ch 10:18	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 11:01	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 11:04	prep	?el yarab'am	to/against Jeroboam
2Ch 11:04	prep	li-beyto	to his house
2Ch 11:14	prep	li-yehudah	to Judah
2Ch 11:14	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 11:16	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 12:02	prep	al yerushalayim	to/against Jerusalem
2Ch 12:04	prep	ad yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 12:05	prep	?el raxab'am	to Rehoboam
2Ch 12:05	acc	sarey yehudah	to the chiefs of Judah
2Ch 12:05	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 12:09	prep	al yerushalayim	to/against Jerusalem
2Ch 12:11	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 12:11	prep	?el ta? haratsim	to the guard chamber
2Ch 14:08	prep	?alehem	to/against them
2Ch 14:08	prep	ad mareshah	to Mareshah
2Ch 14:12	prep	ad le-gerar	to Gerar
2Ch 14:14	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 15:10	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 15:18	acc	beyt ha?elohim	to the house of God
2Ch 16:01	prep	al yehudah	to/against Judah
2Ch 16:01	prep	le-?asa?	to Asa
2Ch 16:02	prep	?el ben hadad melek aram	to Benhadad king of Aram
2Ch 16:04	prep	?el 'arei yisrael	to/against the cities of Israel
2Ch 16:07	prep	?el ?asa? melek yehudah	to Asa king of Judah
2Ch 17:11	prep	li-yehoshaphat	to Jehoshaphat

2Ch 18:02	prep	?el ?ax?ab	to Ahab
2Ch 18:02	prep	le-shomron	to Samaria
2Ch 18:02	prep	?el ramot gilead	to/against Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 18:03	acc	ramot gila'd	to Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 18:05	prep	?el ramot gilead	to/against Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 18:11	acc	ramot gila'd	to Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 18:14	prep	?el ramot gilead	to Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 18:14	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
2Ch 18:16	prep	le-beyto	to his house
2Ch 18:24	acc	xeder	into a room
2Ch 18:25	prep	?el ?amon sar ha?'ir	to Amon chief of the city
2Ch 18:25	prep	?el yo?ash ben hammelek	to Joash the king's son
2Ch 18:28	prep	?el ramot gilead	to/against Ramoth Gilead
2Ch 19:01	prep	?el beyto	to his house
2Ch 19:01	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 19:02	prep	?el panayv	to his presence
2Ch 20:20	prep	le-midbar teko'a	to the wilderness of Tekoa
2Ch 20:22	prep	li-yehudah	to/against Judah
2Ch 20:24	prep	al hamitspah	to the watchtower
2Ch 20:24	hey	arša:h	to ground
2Ch 20:26	prep	le-'emeq berakah	to the valley of Berakah
2Ch 20:27	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 20:28	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 20:28	prep	?el beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 20:36	acc	tarshish	to tarshish
2Ch 20:37	prep	?el tarshish	to Tarshish
2Ch 21:12	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 21:17	prep	bi-yhudah	to/against Judah
2Ch 22:01	prep	la-maxaneh	to the camp
2Ch 22:07	prep	?el yoram	to Joram
2Ch 22:07	prep	?el yehu? Ben nimshi	to Jehu son of Nimshi
2Ch 22:09	prep	?el yehu?	to Jehu
2Ch 23:02	prep	?el yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 23:06	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 23:07	prep	?el habbayit	to the house
2Ch 23:12	prep	?el ha'am	to the people
2Ch 23:12	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 23:14	prep	?el mibbeyt hasderot	between the ranks
2Ch 23:15	prep	?el mebo? Sha'ar hassusim	to the entrance of the horse gate
2Ch 23:17	acc	beyt ba'al	to the house of Baal
2Ch 23:20	acc	beyt hamelek	to the palace

2Ch 24:05	prep	le-'are yehudah	to the cities of Judah
2Ch 24:10	prep	la-?aron	to the box
2Ch 24:11	prep	?el pequdat hammelek	to the officers of the king
2Ch 24:11	prep	?el meqomo	to its place
2Ch 24:23	prep	alayv	to/against him
2Ch 24:23	prep	?el yehudah virushalaim	to Judah and Jerusalem
2Ch 24:23	prep	le-melek damasheq	to the king of Damascus
2Ch 25:07	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 25:10	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 25:10	prep	li-mqomam	to their place
2Ch 25:10	prep	li-mqomam	to their place
2Ch 25:11	acc	ge? Hamelax	to the valley of salt
2Ch 25:12	prep	le-ro?sh hasala'	to the top of the rock
2Ch 25:15	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 25:22	prep	le-?ohalayv	to his tent
2Ch 25:23	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 25:24	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Ch 25:27	hey	la:kiyša:h	to Lachish
2Ch 26:16	prep	?el heykal YHWH	to the temple of YHWH
2Ch 27:02	prep	?el heykal YHWH	to the temple of YHWH
2Ch 28:05	acc	darmashek	to Damascus
2Ch 28:08	prep	li-shomron	to Samaria
2Ch 28:09	prep	le-shomron	to Samaria
2Ch 28:13	hey	henah	hither
2Ch 28:15	acc	shomeron	to Samaria
2Ch 28:15	acc	yerixo	to jericho
2Ch 28:27	prep	le-qibre malke yisrael	to the tombs of the kings of Israel
2Ch 29:04	prep	le-rexob	to the square
2Ch 29:04	acc	hamizrax	eastward
2Ch 29:16	prep	le-pnimah beyt YHWH	to the inner part of the temple
2Ch 29:16	prep	le-xatser beyt YHWH	to the court of the house of YHWH
2Ch 29:16	prep	le-naxal qidron	to the wadi kidron
2Ch 29:16	hey	xu:ša:h	outside
2Ch 29:17	prep	le-?ulam YHWH	to the vestibule of YHWH
2Ch 29:18	prep	?el hezeqiahu hammelek	to Hezekiah the king
2Ch 29:20	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 29:22	hey	hamizbexah	to the altar
2Ch 29:22	hey	hamizbexah	to the altar
2Ch 29:22	hey	hamizbexah	to the altar

2Ch 29:31	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 30:01	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 30:03	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 30:08	prep	le-miqdasho	to his sanctuary
2Ch 30:09	prep	la-?arets hazo?t	to this land
2Ch 30:10	prep	la-'ir	to the city
2Ch 30:10	prep	ad zebulun	to Zebulun
2Ch 30:11	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 30:13	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 30:14	prep	le-naxal qidron	to the wadi kidron
2Ch 30:15	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 31:01	prep	le-?ahuzzato	to his inheritance
2Ch 31:01	prep	la-'arehem	to their cities
2Ch 31:01	prep	le-'are yehudah	to the cities of Judah
2Ch 31:10	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 31:16	prep	le-beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 32:01	prep	bi-yhudah	into Judah
2Ch 32:06	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 32:06	prep	?el rexov sha'ar ha'ir	to the yard of the gate of the city
2Ch 32:09	hey	yeru:ša:lamma:h	to Jerusalem
2Ch 32:09	prep	al hezeqyahu	to Hezekiah
2Ch 32:09	prep	al kol yehudah	to all Judah
2Ch 32:21	prep	le-?artso	to his land
2Ch 32:21	acc	beyt ?elohav	to the house of his god
2Ch 32:23	prep	la-YHWH	to YHWH
2Ch 32:23	prep	li-yerushalayim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 32:23	prep	li-hezqiyahu	to hezekiah
2Ch 32:31	prep	alayv	to him
2Ch 33:11	hey	babela:h	to Babylon
2Ch 33:13	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 33:13	prep	le-malkuto	to his kingdom
2Ch 33:15	hey	xu:ša:h la-'ir	outside the city
2Ch 34:07	prep	li-yerushalayim	to jerusalem
2Ch 34:09	prep	?el hilkiyahu hakkohen haggadol	to Hilkiyah the high priest
2Ch 34:09	acc	beyt ha?elohim	to the house of God
2Ch 34:14	acc	beyt YHWH	to the house of YHWH
2Ch 34:16	prep	?el hammelek	to the king
2Ch 34:22	prep	?el huldah hannabi?ah ?eshet &c	to Huldah the prophetess wife of &c
2Ch 34:23	prep	?elai	to me
2Ch 35:13	prep	le-kol bene ha'am	to all the sons of the people
2Ch 35:21	prep	?elayv	to him
2Ch 35:23	prep	la-melek yo?shiyahu	toward king Josiah
2Ch 35:24	acc	yerushalaim	to Jerusalem
2Ch 36:04	hey	mişrayma:h	to Egypt

2Ch 36:06	hey	babela:h	to Babylon
2Ch 36:07	prep	le-babel	to Babylon
2Ch 36:10	hey	babela:h	to Babylon
2Ch 36:17	prep	alehem	to them
2Ch 36:18	acc	babel	to Babylon
2Ch 36:20	prep	?el babel	to Babylon

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix Three:

MULTINOMIAL LOGISTICAL REGRESSION MODELS USED IN THE ANALYSIS IN CHAPTER TWO

I constructed multiple models in an effort to test the effects of all of my independent variables. The main model was the most comprehensive, with the best compromise of dataset size and variable inclusion (see 2.3.2). I also ran postestimation tests for multicollinearity and overfitting. Results of the collinearity testing is reported model by model; selected results for overfitting are discussed in 2.3.3.

In what follows, note that N is the number of observations from the dataset that were included in the model. When variables are included that only apply to some of the observations in the dataset, observations without values for those variables are omitted (see especially Alternative Model 1, 2, 3).

1. Main Model (N = 2734, Log Likelihood = -1569.7393, $\chi^2(105) = 1910.35$, $p < 0.01$)⁷³⁰

Goal: Include as many independent variables from the dataset as possible in a model that will converge and that retains over 2000 observations.

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan  
i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 &  
gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_anim, gc_proper, gc_end, vb_parse

Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level: vb_participants, sub_def

Not significant: text type, gc_sgpl, vb_binyan, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_vbinit, syn_gcb4vb, syn_realis

Notes: Average VIF (collinearity measure) 1.59 (not a problem). Independent variable VIF over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.04; syn_realis 2.53; vb_particip 2.50; texttype 2.22. **vb_binyan and vb_particip** are collinear with each other here and in the following models; they have a correlation coefficient of 0.59, which is a moderate to moderate-high correlation. **syn_realis and texttype** are also collinear here and in the following models; they have a correlation coefficient of 0.68, which is a fairly high correlation.

2. Object-Variable Models

Alternative Model 1 (N=978, Log Likelihood= -583.56204, LR $\chi^2(63)=260.59$, $p < 0.01$)

⁷³⁰LR $\chi^2(N)$ is the χ^2 likelihood ratio, or the likelihood that the values in the dataset occur due to chance. As the LR χ^2 value approaches zero, the likelihood that the values in the dataset have a chance distribution approaches certainty. As the LR χ^2 value increases, this tells us that this model fits better than a model with no independent variables/outcomes. (N) are the degrees of freedom in the model, in theory the number of independent variable outcomes minus one times the number of dependent variable outcomes minus one, but may be less due to dropped outcomes. (Outcomes may be dropped if STATA detects that they are over 90% collinear with another outcome or if they apply to too few observations. The dependent variable outcome "preposition plus directive he" is almost always dropped because it only applies to 10 observations.)

A p-value of less than 0.01 here indicates that the likelihood that none of these variables has a significant effect on the dependent variable is less than 1%.

Goal: Include the three object variables (definiteness, animacy, number) and as many independent variables as possible (prioritizing those which were found to have a significant effect in the main model), in a model that will converge.

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.obj_def i.obj_anim i.obj_num i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.vb_parse i.syn_realis
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: gc_complex, gc_def

Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level: obj_anim, syn_realis

Not significant: era, obj_def, obj_num, vb_parse

Notes: Average VIF 1.31. No VIFs over 2.0. Highest VIF obj_anim 1.87.

Alternative Model 2 (N=838, Log Likelihood = -347.61245, LR chi2(117)=646.73, $p < 0.01$)

Goal: Check the significance of object variables (significant at the 0.05 level in Alternative #1) by putting them in a modified version of the main model.

```
mlogit gc2 i.obj_anim i.obj_def i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end  
i.vb_binyan i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 &  
gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the 0.01 level: **obj_anim, obj_def**, era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, gc_end

Significant at the 0.05 level: sub_def

Not significant: text type, gc_sgpl, vb_binyan, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_gcb4vb, syn_vbinit, syn_realis, vb_parse

Notes: 141 obs completely determined. Interestingly, it appears that object animacy is only significant if included in the same model as object definiteness.

Average VIF 1.43. VIFs over 2.00: syn_realis 2.66; texttype 2.57.

3. Subject-Variable Special Models

Alternative Model 3 (N=1685, Log Likelihood = -849.96643, LR chi2(114)=1341.03, $p < 0.01$)

Goal: Include subject affectedness and as many other independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.sub_affected2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_end i.vb_binyan i.vb_passive  
i.syn_gc i.syn_vbin i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse i.vb_aspect i.sub_anim i.soc_north i.soc_oral i.gc_anim
```

Significant at the 0.01 level: gc_anim, soc_north, gc_add, gc_def, gc_complex, gc_end, vb_parse

Significant at the 0.05 level: gc_sgpl

Not significant: **subject affectedness**, soc_oral, sub_anim, texttype, vb_binyan, vb_passive, sub_def, syn_realis, syn_vbinit, syn_gcb4vb

Notes: Era knocked out bcs of inclusion of soc_north. Additional experimentation showed that removing gc_anim from this model allowed sub_affectedness to be significant at the 0.01 level. See discussion below.

Average VIF 1.79. VIFs over 2.00: syn_realis 5.39; vb_aspect 3.77; sub_affected2 3.36; vb_parse 2.47; texttype 2.39.

This model has the most serious collinearity problems of any of the models reported here, to the point that STATA automatically eliminated vb_aspect from the results. Without vb_aspect, syn_realis and texttype are the only variables with VIFs higher than 2.00.

Alternative Model 4 (N=2730, Log Likelihood= -1562.1245, LR chi2(114)=1921.98, p<0.01)

Goal: Include subject number and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.sub_num i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end  
i.vb_binyan i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if  
gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the 0.01 level: era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, gc_end, vb_parse

Significant at the 0.05 level: sub_def, vb_particip,

Not significant: **sub_num**, texttype, gc_sgpl, syn_gcb4vb, syn_vbinit, syn_realis, vb_passive, vb_binyan

Notes: Average VIF 1.57. VIFs over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.05; syn_realis 2.57; vb_particip 2.54; texttype 2.22

Alternative Model 5 (N=2734, Log Likelihood= -1568.2186, LR chi2(111) = 1913.39, p<0.01)

Goal: Include subject animacy and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan  
i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse i.sub_anim if  
gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Not significant: **sub_anim**

Notes: Average VIF 1.57. VIFs over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.04; syn_realis 2.54; vb_particip 2.50; texttype 2.24.

4. Priming Models

Alternative Model 6 (N=375, Log Likelihood= -126.38, LR chi2(50) = 440.87, p<0.01)

Goal: Include the “same clause priming” variable and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.gc_samesame2 i.era i.gc_add i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_particip  
i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the p<0.01 level: **gc_samesame2**, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, gc_end, vb_parse

Not significant: era, gc_add, vb_particip, syn_realis, sub_def

Notes: Since gc_samesame2 covers only 387 observations, it is necessary to restrict the number of variables/outcomes in the model.

41 obs in this model are completely determined: 24 due to gc_end, 17 due to vb_parse.

Average VIF 1.29. VIFs over 2.00: none. Highest VIF syn_realis 1.67.

Alternative Model 7 (N=286, Log Likelihood=-149.63, LR chi2(54)=255.27, p<0.01)

Goal: Include the “adjacent clause priming” variable and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.gc_parsame2 i.era i.gc_add i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_particip  
i.syn_realis i.sub_def if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the p<0.01 level: **gc_parsame2**, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_anim, gc_end

Significant at the p<0.05 level: gc_proper, sub_def

Not significant: era, gc_add, vb_particip, syn_realis

Notes: Since only 323 obs in the dataset have values for “adjacent clause priming,” the number of variables/outcomes must be restricted.

Some observations in this model are completely determined. 8 obs completely determined due to gc_add==1 (app phrase). As the model as written omits obs with gc_add==3 and the complete determination knocks out obs with gc_end==1, few outcomes for gc_add are retained, leading to its appearance of non-significance here. 49 obs are completely determined from gc_end (5 from gc_end==2).

“adjacent clause priming” is significant at the 0.01 level.

Average VIF 1.30. VIFs over 2.00: none. Highest VIF: gc_complex 1.61.

5. Descriptive Variable Special Models

Alternative Model 8 (N=2718, Log Likelihood= -1417.1594, LR chi2(158)=2221.14, p<0.01)

Goal: Include the “book” variable and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.book2 i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan  
i.vb_particip i.vb_parse i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_anim i.sub_def if  
gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3 & book2!=34
```

Significant at the p<0.01 level: **book2**, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, gc_end, syn_affneg, vb_parse

Significant at the p<0.05 level: vb_particip (0.011), vb_passive, syn_gcb4vb, sub_def

Not significant: text type, gc_sgpl, vb_binyan, syn_vbinit, syn_realis, sub_anim

19 independent variables total.

Notes: era could not be included; a model with only the dependent variable, era, and book failed to converge.

Observations from Esther (book2=34) were perfectly predicted by an earlier version of the model (all Goals are marked with prepositions) and were omitted from this version. 39 observations are still completely determined, 31 from gc_anim and 8 from gc_end.

Average VIF 1.56. VIFs over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.04; vb_particip 2.54; syn_realis 2.54; texttype 2.24.

Alternative Model 9 (N=803, Log Likelihood= -328.90, LR chi2(54)=624.05, p<0.01)

Goal: Include the “source” variable and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.source i.gc_add i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan i.vb_particip i.syn_realis  
i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: **source**, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, vb_parse

Not significant: gc_end, vb_binyan, vb_particip, syn_realis, sub_def

Notes: Since only 917 obs in the dataset have values for "source," the number of variables/outcomes included must be weighed carefully.

Additional experimentation showed that source remains significant at the 0.01 level if era is included in the model, but not if book is included in the model (not a surprise).

Average VIF 1.45. VIFs over 2.00: vb_particip 2.14; vb_binyan 2.12

Alternative Model 10 (N=1720, Log Likelihood= -1044.8573, LR chi2(99)=1121.43, $p < 0.01$)

Goal: Include "orality" and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.soc_oral i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.vb_binyan
i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 &
gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim

Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level: gc_sgpl, vb_particip

Not significant: **soc_oral**, text type, vb_binyan, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_gcb4vb, gc_vbinit, syn_realis, sub_def

Notes: gc_end was not included as its inclusion causes 195 obs to be completely determined. However, the non-inclusion of gc_end seems to have caused gc_sgpl to appear significant.

Average VIF 1.67. VIFs over 2.00: vb_binyan 3.16; syn_realis 2.95; vb_particip 2.50; texttype 2.38.

Alternative Model 11 (N=2347, Log Likelihood= -1430.4538, LR chi2(96)=1564.78, $p < 0.01$)

Goal: Include "dialect" and as many independent variables as possible in a model that converges.

```
mlogit gc2 i.soc_north i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.vb_binyan
i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.syn_realis i.sub_def i.vb_parse if gc_proper!=2 &
gc_add!=3
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: **dialect**, era, gc_add, gc_complex, gc_def, gc_proper, gc_anim, vb_parse

Not significant: text type, gc_sgpl, vb_binyan, vb_particip, vb_passive, syn_affneg, syn_gcb4vb, syn_vbinit, syn_realis, sub_def

18 independent variables total.

Notes: gc_end was not included as its inclusion causes 238 obs to be completely determined.

Average VIF 1.57. VIFs over 2.00: vb_binyan 2.87; syn_realis 2.60; vb_particip 2.41; texttype 2.22.

Alternative Model 12

Goal: Test the relationships between the descriptive variables.

(a) With era included but not book (N=588, Log Likelihood= -430.64222, LRchi2(12)=44.53, $p < 0.01$)

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.soc_north i.soc_oral i.source
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: era, texttype, source
Not significant: dialect, orality

Notes: Average VIF 2.83. VIFs over 2.00: era 5.64; source 5.19. Era and source are highly correlated.

(b) With book included but not era (N=588, Log Likelihood= -411.67595, LRchi2(20)=82.46, $p < 0.01$)

```
mlogit gc2 i.book2 i.texttype i.soc_north i.soc_oral i.source
```

Significant at the $p < 0.01$ level: book
Significant at the $p < 0.05$ level: texttype
Not significant: source, dialect, orality

Notes: Including source means that both models are limited to observations from the Pentateuch. When both book and source are included in a model, source is not significant (correlation coefficient 0.266). Dialect cannot be significant in a model that includes source as only 6 northern obs occur in the Pentateuch.

Additional experimentation clearly showed that texttype does not have a significant effect if verb principal part (vb_parse) is included in the model.

Average VIF for 12b is 1.14. VIFs over 2.00: none. Highest VIF: soc_oral 1.31.

6. Verb and Clause Variable Special Models

Alternative Model 13 (N=2734; Log Likelihood=-1608.9818; LR chi2(84)=1831.87; $p < 0.01$)

Goal: Include verb aspect in a maximal model which does not drop any of the outcomes of verb aspect due to collinearity.

```
mlogit gc2 i.era i.texttype i.gc_add i.gc_sgpl i.gc_complex i.gc_def i.gc_proper i.gc_anim i.gc_end i.vb_binyan  
i.vb_particip i.vb_passive i.syn_affneg i.syn_gcb4vb i.syn_vbinit i.sub_def i.vb_aspect if gc_proper!=2 & gc_add!=3
```

Not significant: **vb_aspect**

Notes: Had to omit syn_realis and vb_parse from modified main model in order to keep the "perfective" outcome for vb_aspect from being knocked out due to collinearity. Average VIF is 1.50. VIFs over 2.0: vb_binyan 3.06; vb_particip 2.49.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix Four:

MORE OR LESS ORAL? A CLASSIFICATION OF BIBLICAL TEXTS BASED ON THE WORK OF FRANK POLAK

Over the past two decades, Polak has been gradually expanding the list of texts which he has identified as more or less oral (see section 3.3.2 above). The more oral, or Voiced Lean Brisk Style, can be subdivided into VoLBS 1 and VoLBS 2, where VoLBS 2 has fewer oral features and more literate features. Polak has also suggested that the less oral, or Intricate Elaborate Style, can be subdivided into the Judean Chancery Style (of the late Judean monarchy) and the IES Persian periodian-period style. (In my own analysis, I only coded the major division between VoLBS and IES.)

The following table represents a synthesis of the text classifications from Polak's many articles. In the first column are the text references, followed by Polak's description of the style, then the most recent of Polak's article(s) to attribute each text. If a text is described as mixed, this usually represents a text in VoLBS or VoLBS 2 which was overwritten toward IES. (Mixed texts were not coded for orality in my analysis.) For the list of Polak's articles which were consulted in the creation of this table, see the bibliography.

While Dr. Polak kindly critiqued a version of this table in the spring of 2018, errors may still exist. Any misrepresentations of Dr. Polak's views are my responsibility.

Text	STYLE	Article
Gen. 01	MIXED	2017
Gen. 02-04	MIXED	2009, private comm
Gen. 03:1-7	VoLBS 2	1998
Gen. 04:1-6,8-16	VoLBS 2	1998
Gen. 06-08	IES Judean court	2017
Gen. 09	MIXED	2017
Gen. 12	VoLBS 2	2015
Gen. 13	IES Judean court	2015
Gen. 14	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen. 15:1-12,17-18	VoLBS 2	2015
Gen. 16	VoLBS	2009
Gen. 17:1-8,15-22	VoLBS	2017
Gen. 17:9-14,23-27	IES Judean court	2017
Gen. 18:1-15	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 18:16-33		2015
Gen. 19:1-38	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 20	VoLBS 2	2015
Gen. 21:1-5	IES Judean court	1998
Gen. 21:22-32	IES Judean court	2015
Gen. 21:33-22:24	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 21:7-21	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 23:1-20	IES Judean court	2017

Gen. 24:1-21	IES Judean court	2015
Gen. 24:22-67	VoLBS	2015
Gen. 25:1,5-11	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen. 25:12-34	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 26-27	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 28:10-22	VOLBS 2	2015
Gen. 28:1-9	IES Judean court	2017
Gen. 29:1-30:31	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 30:32-43	IES Judean court	2015
Gen. 31-33	VoLBS	2009, 2015
Gen. 34:1-17	IES Judean court	2015
Gen. 34:18-35:8; 35:16-22	IES Judean court	2015, private comm
Gen. 37:4-36	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen 39:1-23	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen 38:1-36	VoLBS/VoLBS 2	private comm
Gen 41:1-25	VoLBS 2	private comm
Gen 41:26-57	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen. 42-45	VoLBS/VoLBS 2	2006
Gen 43:1-23	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen. 45:1-46:5	VoLBS	2009
Gen. 46:28-47:4	VoLBS	2009
Gen. 47:5-26	IES Judean court	private comm
Gen 48:1-2, 8-14, 17-22	VoLBS	private comm
Gen 50:1-11, 14-26	IES Judean court	private comm
Exo. 01:1-22	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 02:1-10,11-25	VoLBS	2016
Exo. 03:1-16	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 03:17-22	MIXED	2016
Exo. 04:1-23	VoLBS	2016
Exo. 05:1-6:1	MIXED	2016
Exo. 06:2-13, 06:26-30	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 07:01-6,8-13	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 07:14-18,25	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 07:19-24	MIXED	2016
Exo. 08:1-11,16-28	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 08:12-15	VoLBS	1998, 2016
Exo. 09:1-26	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 09:27-35	VoLBS	1998, 2016
Exo. 10:3-20	VoLBS	1998, 2002, 2016
Exo. 10:21-29	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 11:1-10	IES	2016

Exo. 12:1-20,24,27-28,35-51	IES Judean court	2002, 2016, 2017
Exo. 12:21-23,25,29-34	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 13	IES Judean court	2002, 2016, 2017
Exo. 14:1-4,8-10,15-18,22-23,27-29	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 14:5-7,10abc,11-14,19-20,21bc,24-25,27b,30-31	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 15:22-27	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 16:1-3,6-12,15b-21a,22-26,32-33	IES	2017
Exo. 16:4-5,13-15a,21b,27-31,34a	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 17:1-16	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 18:1-19:2	VoLBS	1998, 2002, 2012, 2016
Exo. 19:3-8,10-19; 20:18-21	VoLBS 2	2012, 2016
Exo. 19:9,20-25	IES	2012, 2016
Exo. 21-22	VoLBS	2002, 2006, 2016
Exo. 23:1-19	IES	2016
Exo. 24:1-11	VoLBS	1998, 2016
Exo. 25	MIXED	2017
Exo. 26:31-27:5	IES	2017
Exo. 28	MIXED	2017
Exo. 29:1-24	MIXED	2017
Exo. 30:1-9,18-22	IES	2017
Exo. 32:1-8,15-30	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 32:9-14,31-35	VoLBS	1998, 2002
Exo. 33:1-23	VoLBS 2	2002, 2006
Exo. 34:1-4,27-35	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 34:5-10	VoLBS 2	2016
Exo. 35:1-36:7	IES	2016, 2017
Exo. 37:25-38:8	IES	2017
Lev 01-02, 04	MIXED	2002, 2017
Lev 06	IES Judean court	2002, 2017
Lev 08	IES Persian period	2002, 2017
Lev 09:1-24; 10:1-10	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 10:11-20	IES Judean court	private comm
Lev 11:2-8; 13	VoLBS	2017
Lev 11:9-47	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 12	VoLBS/VoLBS 2	2017
Lev 14:01-15:33	IES Judean court	2017

Lev 16	MIXED	2017
Lev 17	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 18-19	VoLBS	2017
Lev 20	VoLBS 2	2017
Lev 21	VoLBS	2017
Lev 22:17-33	VoLBS	2002
Lev 22:2-16	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 23	IES	2017
Lev 24	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 25	VoLBS 2	2017
Lev 26:1-33	VoLBS MIX	2017
Lev 26:34-45	IES Judean court	2017
Lev 27	VoLBS	2017
Num 01-03	IES Judean court	2017
Num 04	VoLBS	2017
Num 8:16-26	IES Judean court	2017
Num 10:11-28	IES Judean court	2017
Num 11-12	VoLBS	2003
Num 13-17	IES	2017
Num 15:2-26	IES Judean court	2017
Num 18:1-16	MIXED	2002, 2017
Num 18:17-32	IES Persian period	2017
Num 20	IES	2017
Num 27:1-11	MIXED	2017
Num 31	IES	2017
Num 36:1-12	IES Judean court	2017
Deut 01:6-17,19-46	MIXED	2010, 2012
Deut 02-04, 09-10, 34	IES Judean court	2017, in press
Deut 05-06	IES Judean court	2003, in press
Deut 21:10-23; 22:1-12,13-29; 24:1-7,10-22; 25:1-16	MIXED	in press
Deut 13:1-19; 15:1-18; 17:8-20; 19:11-20; 28:15-42	IES Judean court	in press
Josh. 00 BOOK except ch 2, 10, parts of 9	IES Judean court	2009
Josh. 02	VoLBS?	private comm
Josh. 09:3-27	MIXED	private comm
Josh. 10	VoLBS	private comm
Josh. 22:6-15,21-26, 31-34	IES Judean court	1998
Josh. 22-24	IES Judean court	1998, 2002
Josh. 24:16-28	IES Judean court	1998

Judg. 02:2-23	IES Judean court	2010
Judg. 03, 4, 6-8, 9, 11-12, 17-18 (except 03:7-15, 08:27-35)	VoLBS 2	1998, 2001, 2006, 2012
Judg. 03:15-29, 04:4-22, 09, 14-15	VoLBS	2006, 2010
Judg. 03:7-15	IES Judean court	2010
Judg. 03-09, 12-19	VoLBS	1998, 2010, 2017
Judg. 08:27-35	IES Judean court	2012
Judg. 14-15	VoLBS	2010
1 Sam 01:4-18	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 01-04 (except 01:4-18, 01:28-02:36, 03:20-04:1, 4:22)	VoLBS	2009, 2010
1 Sam. 02:12-26	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 02:27-36	IES Judean court	2010
1 Sam. 07:2-17	MIXED	2010
1 Sam. 08:1-22 (except 08:8)	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 08:8	IES Judean court	2010
1 Sam. 09:3-17	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 10:1-27 (except 10:18-19)	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 10:18-19	IES Judean court	2010
1 Sam. 11:1-15	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 12:10	IES Judean court	2010
1 Sam. 12:1-25 (except 12:10)	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 13:7-15 (except 13:13)	VoLBS 2	2009, 2010
1 Sam. 14	VoLBS	2009
1 Sam. 15:1-35	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 16:1-13	VoLBS	2009
1 Sam. 16:14-23	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 17:1-24,32-54	VoLBS	1998, 2006, 2009, 2010
1 Sam. 17:25-31; 17:55-18:6	IES Judean court	2010
1 Sam. 18-19	VoLBS	1998, 2006, 2009, 2010
1 Sam. 20:1-13,30-42	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 20:14-25:44	VoLBS	1998, 2006, 2009, 2010
1 Sam. 26:1-25	VoLBS 2	2010
1 Sam. 27-30	VoLBS	1998, 2006, 2009, 2010
1 Sam. 31:1-13	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 01:01-16, 10:6-19, 12:26-31	VoLBS	2010

2 Sam. 01:1-16	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 02:1-11	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 02:12-32	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 03:1	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 03:6-05:3	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 05:17-25	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 06	IES Judean court	2010
2 Sam. 07:1-29	IES Judean court	2010
2 Sam. 09:1-13	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 09:14-10:19	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 11:1-11,13-27	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 11:12	(textual problem)	private comm
2 Sam. 12:1-15	VoLBS 2	2010
2 Sam. 12:16-18:4	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 18:4-17	IES Judean court	2010
2 Sam 18:20-19:1	VoLBS	private comm
2 Sam. 19:1-20:22	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
2 Sam. 21, 24	VoLBS	1998, 2009, 2010
1 Kgs 01-02	VoLBS	2009, 2010
1 Kgs 03-16 (except 13:1-17, 14:1-6)	IES Judean court	1998, 2009, 2010, 2017
1 Kgs 13:1-17	MIXED	2010
1 Kgs 14:1-6	VoLBS	2010
1 Kgs 17-22	VoLBS	1998, 2010
2Kgs 01-10	VoLBS	1998, 2001, 2002, 2010, 2012
2Kgs 11	IES Judean court	2002
2Kgs 12	MIXED	2010
2Kgs 13:14-19	IES Judean court	private comm
2Kgs 14	MIXED	2010
2Kgs 15-23	IES Judean court	1998, 2002, 2010
2Kgs 24-25	IES Persian period	2002
Jer 26, 36:1-43:7; 52:4-11	IES Judean court	2017
Jon 01:1-16, 03	VoLBS?	2012
Jon 04	IES	2012
Hag 01-02	IES Persian period	2006, 2009
Zec 01-08, 12	IES Persian period	2006, 2009
Ruth	VoLBS	private comm
Est 01-10	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Dan 01:1-2:3	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Ezr 01:1-4:5	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Ezr 06:19-7:10	IES Persian period	2009

Ezr 08:1-10:19	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Neh 01:01-07:5	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Neh 07:72-10:1, 10:29-11:3	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
Neh 12:27-13:31	IES Persian period	1998, 2009
1 Chr 2:19–24; 5:18–26; 7:21–24; 10:13–14; 11:10; 12:1–2, 16–23, 39–41; 13:1–6; 14:17–15:2; 15:11–17; 16:37–42; 21:6; 21:27–23:5, 23:24–32; 24:6; 24:31–25:1; 25:5–8; 26:1–29:26; 29:28–30	IES Persian period	2009
2 Chr 1:1–6; 1:18–2:15; 2:16–3:8; 4:1,7–10; 5:11– 13; 6:41–7:3; 7:6,13–15; 8:11–17; 11:5–12:8; 12:14; 13:3–21; 14:3–15:15; 16:7–10; 16:12–18:1 ;19:1–20:30; 20:34–21:4; 21:11–20; 22:1; 22:7–9; 23:18–19; 24:3–27; 25:5– 16; 26:5–20; 27:3–6, 8; 28:5–25; 29:1–32:31; 33:11–17, 19, 23; 34:3–8, 12–14, 33; 35:1–17,20–27; 36:6–7, 14–21	IES Persian period	2009

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix Five: CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS IN THE BH DATASET

There are 80 different verb roots in the prose Biblical Hebrew dataset of factive Goal Constructions. While most of these are verbs of motion, they belong to different subtypes within the 'motion verb' class. Other verbs do not usually require a motion interpretation in the Hebrew Bible, but by extension or by context have acquired some motion element in the observations included in my analysis. For a more comprehensive discussion of motion verbs refer to Austel 1970.

By far the most common motion verb in the dataset is *bw?* (to come), which is the verb associated with 1177 of the GCs in the dataset. In the second tier, we find *h/k* (to walk / go) in 290 GCs, *šwb* (to return) in 248, *ʿlh* (to go up) in 242. In the third tier, we have *šlh* (to send) in 193 GCs, *yš?* (to go out) in 156, *yrd* (to go down) in 120. After that, the next most common verb roots are *ʿbr* (to cross over) with 62, *ngš* (to approach) with 57, and *nws* (to flee) with 49. After these top ten, there are eighteen verb roots which are used in ten or more GCs; of the remaining 52 verb roots, most appear only once in the dataset.

The following entries give basic counts for each of the verbs in the dataset in alphabetical order. Please note that *N* refers to the number of Goal phrases in the dataset which each verb governs; a single example of a verb may govern multiple Goal phrases. The entry may also give information on the verb meaning in common binyanim, verb type or subclass, Motion Constructions in which it participates, and goal-marking strategies with which it appears.

?sp (n=38)

qal to gather (50.00% of uses), *piʿel* (2.63%), *nipʿal* to be gathered (47.37%)

Type: inherently directed, verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC (52.63%), CMC+P (5.26%), Leading (42.11%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (23.68% of uses); accusative of direction (13.16%); preposition (63.16%) [*?el* 57.89%, *l-* 5.26%]

Notes: Perhaps because *?sp* is used in a narrow type of motion situations (assembly), it is restricted in terms of the directional prepositions that can be used.

bdl (n=3)

nip'al to be separated / defect (100% of uses)

Type: inherently directed away from source

Constructions: IMC (100% of uses)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (33% of uses); preposition (66%) [*?e/* 33%, *l-* 33%]

Notes: All three Goal phrases are governed by the same instance of *bdl* in 1 Chr 12:9 [Eng 1 Chr 12:8], in which "From the Gadite(s) there defected (*bdl*) to David to the stronghold to the wilderness warriors of might, men of war." *The stronghold* does not appear in the Septuagint.

bq' (n=1)

hip'il to break through (100% of uses)

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?e/* 100%]

Notes: 2 Kings 3:26

brh (n=16)

qal to flee (88% of uses), *hip'il* to drive away (13%)

Type: inherently directed away from source

Constructions: IMC (88% of uses, all *qal* uses), Driving (13%, all *hip'il* uses)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (25% of uses); accusative of direction (19%), preposition (56%) [*?e/* 38%, *l-* 19%]

bw? (n=1177)

qal to come / go (73.75% of uses), *hip'il* to bring (24.89%), *hop'al* to be brought (1.36%)

Type: *qal* simple motion, *hip'il* caused-motion

Constructions: IMC (74.77% of uses); CMC+P (11.64%); Leading (13.59%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (14.27% of uses); accusative of direction (17.93%); preposition plus directive *he* (0.17%); preposition (67.63%) [*?e/* 53.36%, *l-* 6.54%, *'ad* 3.91%, *'al* 0.93%, *b-* 2.97%, *?et* 0.17%]

Notes: *bw?* is the most common motion verb, being used in 37.65% of the GCs in the dataset. If the preposition *'ad* is used to mark a goal, *bw?* is the most likely clause verb (48.92% of clauses with *'ad*-marked goals).

dbq (n=2)

qal to follow (50%), *hip'il* to follow (50%)

Type: pursuit

Constructions: Pursuit (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*'ad* 100%]

Notes: Jud 20:42, 2 Sam 20:2. In its usual meaning, *to cling to*, this verb is not a verb of motion. However, the extension from *to be in contact with* to *to move to a position in contact with* is a relatively simple one. As with other pursuit verbs, the motion use of *dbq* favors the preposition *'ad*.

dhp (n=1)

nip'al to hurry

Type: manner of motion

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [ʔe/ 100%]

Notes: Est 6:12

drk (n=1)

hip'il to trample (100%)

Constructions: Caused-Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [ʔad]

Notes: Jud 20:43 “They trod them down from Nohah as far as the entrance of Gibeah.” This is a marginal CMC+P, but it fits even more poorly in other construction categories.

ghr (n=1)

qal to stretch out (100%)

Type: non-translational motion

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: 1 Kings 18:42

glh (n=20)

qal to go into exile (10%), *hip'il* to bring/send into exile (80%), *hop'al* (10%)

Type: *qal* inherently directed, *hip'il* leading

Constructions: IMC (25%), Leading (75%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (65%), accusative of direction (5%), preposition (30%) [ʔe/ 20%, /- 10%]

Notes: In transitive contexts, always has an animate object.

gll (n=2)

qal to roll (100%)

Type: manner of motion (100%)

Constructions: Caused-Motion with a Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [ʔe/ 100%]

Notes: Josh 10:18, 1 Sam 14:33. In both cases, someone is ordering humans to roll stones to a specific destination.

hlk (n=290)

qal to walk / go (93%), *hip'il* to cause to go (6%), *hitpa'el* to go to and fro (1%)

Type: *qal* simple motion, *hip'il* caused-motion

Constructions: IMC (94.14%), Caused-Motion with Patient (0.34%), Leading (5.52%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (18.28%), accusative of direction (16.21%), preposition (65.52%) [ʔe/ 41.03%, /- 15.17%, 'al 3.45%, 'ad 4.48%, b- 0.69%, ?et 0.34%]

hpk (n=3)

to turn

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [ʔe/ (33%), /- (33%), b- (33%)]

Notes: Jud 7:13 “the bread tumbled into the camp” (*hpk* in *hitpa'el*); 1 Sam 25:12 “they turned back/away” (*hpk* in *qal*); Ezek 4:8 “you cannot turn over” (*hpk* in *nip'al*).

kns (n=1)

pi'el to gather

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: Leading

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*'a/*]

Notes: Ezek 39:28

lhš (n=1)

qal to press/ drive out

Constructions: Driving

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: Jud 1:34

lqh (n=21)

qal to take (84%), *nip'al* to be taken (12%), *qal* passive (4.76%)

Type: caused-motion (sending and carrying)

Constructions: IMC (16%), Leading (52%), Caused Motion with Patient (32%)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (12%), preposition (88%) [*?e/* 76%, *l-* 12%]

lqt (n=1)

hitpa'el to gather

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e/*]

Notes: Jud 11:3

mhr (n=2)

pi'el to hurry (100%)

Type: manner of motion

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (50%), preposition (50%) [*?e/* 50%]

Notes: Gen 18:6 (one verb with two dependent Goal phrases)

mlt (n=10)

nip'al to escape (100%)

Type: inherently directed motion away from source

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (50%), accusative (30%), preposition (20%) [*?e/* 20%]

Notes: Four of the examples are from the storying of Lot escaping Sodom in Gen 19.

msk (n=3)

qal to pull/ lead (100%)

Constructions: Leading (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?e/* 66%, *b-* 33%]

Notes: Jud 4:6, Jud 4:7 (one verb with two dependent Goal phrases)

***mšh* (n=1)**

nip'al to drain out

Type: manner of motion (inanimate mover)

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [ʔe]

Notes: Lev 5:9

***mwh* (n=1)**

qal to wipe off

Type: Caused-motion (Type 2)

Constructions: Caused-Motion with a Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [ʔe]

Notes: Num 5:23

***mwš* (n=2)**

qal to depart / move

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (100%)

Notes: Zech 14:4 (one verb with two dependent Goal phrases): “one half of the mountain shall move northward and the other half southward”

***ndh* (n=13)**

hip'il to banish (69%), *nip'al* to be banished (23%), *hop'al* (7.7%)

Type: caused-motion (driving)

Constructions: IMC (23%, *nip'al*), Driving (77%, *hip'il*)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (77%), directive *he* (15%), preposition (8%) [*b*- 8%]

***ngħ* (n=3)**

pi'el to push

Type: -

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (100%)

Notes: Dan 8:4 (one verb with three dependent Goal phrases)

***ng'* (n=1)**

qal to arrive

Type: inherently directed motion to goal

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: prepositions [ʔe]

Notes: Dan 9:21

***ngr* (n=1)**

nip'al to pour

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: 2 Sam 14:14

ngš (n=57)

qal to approach (53%), *hip'il* to cause to approach (32%), *nip'al* to take oneself near (16%)

Type: inherently directed motion toward goal

Constructions: IMC (69%, *qal* and *nip'al*), Caused-Motion with Patient (21%), Leading (11%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (2%), accusative (4%), preposition (95%) [*?el* 81%, *l-* 9%, *'ad* 4%, *'al* 2%]

nhg (n=2)

pi'el to drive

Type: verb of driving

Constructions: Driving (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (100%)

Notes: Deut 4:27, Deut 28:37

nḥh (n=2)

qal to lead

Type: verb of leading

Constructions: Leading (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (50%), preposition (50%) [*?el* 50%]

Notes: Gen 24:27, Ex 32:34

nhk (n=5)

qal to strike down (20%), *hip'il* to thrust (80%) to strike down

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (20%), preposition (80%) [*b-* 80%]

Notes: 1 Sam 2:14 (one verb with four dependent Goal phrases), 2 Sam 2:22

npl (n=37)

qal to fall (97%), *hip'il* to cause to fall (3%)

Type: non-translational motion

Constructions: IMC (97%, *qal*), Caused Motion with Patient (3%, *hip'il*)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (54%), accusative (5%), preposition (41%) [*?el* 16%, *l-* 11%, *'al* 11%, *'ad* 3%]

Notes: 17 instances of *?ereš* plus directive *he*, and 1 instance of *?ereš* plus *l-*

ns '(n=12)

qal to travel

Type: motion

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (58%), accusative (33%), preposition (8%) [*?el* 8%]

nšg (n=1)

hip'il to cause to approach/enter

Type: inherently directed motion to goal

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e/*]

Notes: 1 Sam 14:26

***nś?* (n=13)**

to carry (*qal* 77%, *hip'il* 8%), *nip'al* to be carried (15%)

Type: caused-motion

Constructions: IMC (15% *nip'al*), Caused Motion with Patient (85%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (31%), accusative (15%), preposition (54%) [*?el* 46%, *'al* 8%]

***nṯh* (n=13)**

qal to turn aside (69%), *hip'il* to cause to reach (31%)

Constructions: IMC (69% *qal*), Caused Motion with Patient (15%), Leading (8%), Driving (8%)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (46%), preposition (54%) [*?el* 15%, *'al* 15%, *b-* 15%, *'ad* 8%]

***ntk* (n=1)⁷³¹**

nip'al to pour out

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: Ex 9:33 (“the rain did not pour down to earth [any more]”)

***ntq* (n=2)**

qal to draw away (50%), to be directed *nip'al* (50%)

Constructions: IMC (50%), Leading (50%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?el* 100%]

Notes: Josh 4:18, Jud 20:32

***nws* (n=49)**

qal to flee (98%); *hip'il* to cause to flee (2%)

Type: inherently directed motion away from source

Constructions: IMC (98%, *qal*); Driving (2%, *hip'il*)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (47%), accusative (12%), preposition (41%) [*?el* 24%, *l-* 12%, *'ad* 4%]

***nzh* (n=2)**

qal to spatter

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?el* 100%]

Notes: 2 Kings 9:33 (one verb with two dependent goal phrases)

***pnh* (n=3)**

qal to turn

Type: non-translational motion

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (33%), preposition (66%) [*'al* 66%]

Notes: Gen 24:49 (one verb with two dependent Goal phrases), 1 Kings 17:3

⁷³¹ Find a fictive example of an IMC in 2 Chr 34:25, with the goal marked with *b-*.

prš (n=4)

qal to scatter

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (100%)

Notes: Gen 28:14 (one verb with four dependent goal phrases)

prš (n=1)

nip'al to be scattered

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [/-]

Notes: Ezek 17:21

pšt (n=1)

qal to raid

Type: manner

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [ʔe/]

Notes: Jud 20:37

pwš (n=6)

qal to scatter (17%), *hip'il* to cause to scatter (50%), *nip'al* to be scattered (33%)

Constructions: IMC (50%), Driving (50%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (33%), preposition [ʔe/] plus *he* (17%), preposition (50%) [ʔe/ 17%, 'ad 17%, /- 17%]

Notes: Deut 28:64, Deut 30:3, 2 Sam 20:22, 1 Kings 22:17, Ezek 29:13, Ezek 34:21

'br (n=62)

qal to cross over / pass through (95.16% of uses), *hip'il* to cause to cross over (4.84%)

Type: *qal* motion along a route, *hip'il* caused-motion

Constructions: IMC (77.42% of uses); CMC+P (1.61%); Leading (3.23%); 'br with object as Route argument (17.74%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (27.42% of uses); accusative of direction (14.52%); preposition (58.06%) [ʔe/ 41.94%, /- 1.61%, 'ad 11.29%, 'al 1.61%, b- 1.61%]

Notes: 'br is an unusual verb in that it can take a spatial direct object. For example, in the sentence *The Israelites crossed the Jordan into Canaan*, *the Jordan* is the direct object, functioning as a Route landmark. Since the focus of an 'br clause is on the route that the mover is taking, this verb takes goals much less frequently than simple or inherently directed motion verbs (in only 59 out of 495 cases of the *qal*).

'lh (n=242)

qal to go up (82.64% of uses), *hip'il* to bring up (16.53%), *nip'al* (0.83%)

Type: *qal* inherently directed motion, *hip'il* caused-motion

Constructions: IMC (83.47% of uses); CMC+P (4.55%); Leading (11.98%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (12.40% of uses); accusative of direction (25.21%); preposition plus directive *he* (0.83%); preposition (61.57%) [ʔe/ 35.12%, /- 3.72%, 'ad 0.83%, 'al 18.18%, b- 4.13%, ʔet 0.41%]

Notes: This verb has a strong association with the goal-marker 'al; 'lh is used with 42.72% of 'al-marked goals.

'rh (n=1)

pi'el to empty (100%)

Type: caused-motion type 2 (*pouring*)

Constructions: CMC+P

Goal-marking strategies: prepositions [*?e*]

Notes: Gen 24:20

'tq (n=1)

hip'il to move (100%)

Type: simple

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: Gen 12:08

'wp (n=1)

qal to fly (100%)

Type: manner of motion

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e*]

Notes: Isa 6:6

qbs̄ (n=28)

qal to gather (46%), *nip'al* to be gathered (46%), *hitpa'el* to gather themselves (7%)

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC (54%), Leading (43%), Caused Motion with Patient (4%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (21%), accusative (11%), preposition (68%) [*?e* 68%]

qhl (n=19)

hip'il to gather (53%), *nip'al* to be gathered (47%)

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC (47%), Leading (53%)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (21%), preposition (79%) [*?e* 74%, *l-* 11%]

ql' (n=1)

qal to sling

Type: caused-motion by means of a tool

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e*]

Notes: Judges 20:16

qrb (n=56)

qal to approach (59%), *hip'il* to cause to approach (40%), *nip'al* (1.8%)

Type: inherently directed motion

Constructions: IMC (61%, *qal* and *nip'al*), Leading (23%), Caused-Motion with Patient (16%)

Goal-marking strategies: accusative (5.3%), preposition [*'ad*] plus *he* (1.8%), preposition (93%) [*?e/* 79%, *'al* 1.8%, *l-* 10%, *b-* 1.8%]

Notes: In transitive contexts, generally used for leading animate objects rather than bringing inanimate ones.

***qwh* (n=4)**

nip'al to gather (themselves)(100%)

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?e/* 50%, *l-* 50%]

Notes: Genesis 1:9, Jer 3:17 (one verb with three dependent goal phrases)

***qy?* (n=1)**

hip'il to vomit

Constructions: Caused-Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e/*]

Notes: Jonah 2:11 (Jonah is a Patient here as he provides neither the control nor the energy for the fish's vomiting.)

***rdh* (n=1)**

qal to scrape

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e/*]

Notes: Judges 14:9

***rdp* (n=14)**

qal to pursue (100%)

Type: pursuit verb

Constructions: Pursuit (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (7%), accusative (14%), preposition (79%) [*'ad* 71%, *'al* 7.1%]

Notes: Note the very high proportion of *'ad* use for goal-marking with this verb and the complete lack of default *?e/*.

***rkb* (n=1)**

hip'il to convey by chariot

Type: vehicular motion

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he*

Notes: 2 Kings 9:28

***rwm* (n=1)**

qal to make itself high

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*'a/*]

Notes: Ezek 10:4

rwš (n=18)

qal to run (83%), *hip'il* to carry at a run (17%)

Type: manner of motion

Constructions: IMC (83%), Caused Motion with Patient (17%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (11%), accusative (22%), preposition [*'ad*] plus *he* (5.6%), preposition (61%) [*?el* 39%, *'ad* 5.6%, *l-* 17%]

Notes: Contrary to expectation, the *hip'il* verb of the GC does not mean 'to cause to run' but 'to carry at a run' (1 Sam 17:17, 2 Chr 35:13).

sbb (n=13)

qal to go around (39%), *hip'il* to cause to go around (54%), *nip'al* around (7.7%)

Type: inherently pathed or configured motion

Constructions: IMC (54%), Leading (15%), Caused Motion with Patient (31%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (7.7%), accusative (23%), preposition [*l-*] plus *he* (7.7%), preposition (62%) [*?el* 62%]

shb (n=1)

qal to drag

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*'ad*]

Notes: 2 Sam 17:13

swr (n=22)

qal to turn (82%), *hip'il* to cause to turn (18%)

Type: usually non-translational motion

Constructions: IMC (82%), Caused Motion with Patient (18%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (18%), accusative (27%), preposition (55%) [*?el* 45%, *'al* 4.6%, *l-* 4.6%]

šbh (n=2)

qal to be carried captive

Constructions: IMC (50%), Driving (50%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?el* 100%]

Notes: 1 Kings 8:46, 2 Chr 6:36

šlh (n=193)

qal to send (81%), *pi'el* to send away (15%), *pu'all/nip'al/qal* passive to be sent (4.1%)

Type: caused-motion type 3 / caused-possession

Constructions: IMC (4.6%), Caused Motion with a Patient (30%), Caused-Possession (66%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (9.3%), accusative (6.2%), preposition (84%) [*?el* 69%, *'ad* 0.52%, *'al* 2.0%, *l-* 11%, *b-* 1.0%]

Notes: Subject is unaffected and controls the verbal action without providing the energy for it. The verb in 2 Chr 32:31, vocalized as *pi'el*, is probably best understood as *pu'al*.

šlk (n=45)

hip'il to throw (89%), *hop'al* to be thrown (11%)

Type: caused-motion type 3

Constructions: IMC (11%), Caused-Motion with Patient (80%), Caused-Possession (8.9%)
Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (18%), accusative (4.4%), preposition (78%) [*?e/* 58%, *l-* 4.4%, *b-* 16%]

Notes: In the active, subject is unaffected and only provides initial impulse for the motion of an object.

šht (n=1)

qal to press

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*?e/*]

Notes: Gen 40:11

špk (n=10)

qal to pour

Type: caused-motion type 2

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (20%), preposition (80%) [*?e/* 80%]

šwb (n=248)

qal to return (71%), *hip'il* to cause to return (28%), *hop'al* (0.40%)

Type: inherently directed motion

Constructions: IMC (71%), Leading (20%), Caused Motion with Patient (8.9%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (8.5%), accusative (15%), preposition (76%) [*?e/* 48%, '*ad* 0.40%, '*al* 3.2%, *l-* 24%, *b-* 0.40%]

tq ' (n=4)

qal to thrust

Type: motion to contact

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (25%), preposition (75%) [*b-* 75%]

Notes: Ex 10:19 (with meaning 'to blow away'), Jud 3:21, Jud 4:21, 2 Sam 18:14

twl (n=6)

hip'il to hurl

Type: caused-motion type 3 (like *to throw*)

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [*?e/* 67%, '*al* 33%]

Notes: Only attested with this use in Jeremiah (16:13, 22:26) and Jonah (1:4, 1:5, 1:12, 1:15).

šnh (n=1)

qal to go down

Type: inherently directed motion

Constructions: IMC

Goal-marking strategies: preposition [*b-*]

Notes: Jud 4:21

y 'd (n=3)

nip'al to gather themselves

Type: verb of assembly

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [?'el 100%]

Notes: Num 10:3 (one verb with two goal phrases), Num 10:4

yrd (n=120)

qal to go down (81%), *hip'il* to cause to go down (18%), *hop'al* to be brought down (1.7%)

Type: inherently directed motion

Constructions: IMC (83%), Leading (13%), Caused Motion with Patient (5.0%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (23%), accusative (19%), preposition [!-] plus *he* (0.83%), preposition (58%) [?'el 46%, 'al 4.2%, !- 5.0%, b- 2.5%]

yrh (n=2)

hip'il to shoot

Type: motion inherently directed with a tool

Constructions: IMC (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [?'el 50%, !- 50%]

Notes: 2 Sam 11:24, 2 Chr 35:23

yš? (n=156)

qal to go out (63%), *hip'il* to cause to go out (35%), *hop'al* to be led out (1.3%)

Type: motion inherently directed away from source

Constructions: IMC (65%), Leading (18%), Caused Motion with Patient (17%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (13%), accusative (12%), preposition [?'el] plus *he* (0.64%), preposition (75%) [?'el 66%, 'al 1.3%, !- 7.1%]

yšq (n=5)

qal to pour out

Type: caused-motion type 2

Constructions: IMC (20%), Caused Motion with Patient (80%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [?'el 80%, 'al 20%]

Notes: Lev 8:15, Lev 9:9, 1 Kings 22:35 ("the blood flowed into the bottom of the chariot"), 2 Kings 4:4 (omitted object), 2 Kings 9:6

zrh (n=5)

qal to scatter (20%), *pi'el* to scatter (80%)

Type: caused-motion type 3

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: preposition (100%) [!- 100%]

Notes: Ezek 5:2, 5:10, 5:12, 12:14; Jer 49:36

zrq (n=6)

qal to toss

Type: caused-motion type 3

Constructions: Caused Motion with Patient (100%)

Goal-marking strategies: directive *he* (100%)

Notes: Exodus 9:8, 9:10; Job 2:12; 2 Chr 29:22 (2x)

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Appendix Six: GOAL CONSTRUCTIONS IN AKKADIAN – A FIRST APPROACH

Appendix Outline

A6.1 Marking Goal Arguments in Akkadian

A6.2 Distribution of Goal-Marking Strategies in Akkadian

A6.3 Some Design Considerations for a Study of Akkadian Goal-Marking Strategy Choice

The Akkadian corpus—unlike the Hebrew epigraphic or Biblical Aramaic corpora or even the Biblical Hebrew corpus—is vast, with extensive subcorpora available from specific regions, times, and genres.⁷³² In fact, in some cases there are archives available which come from the stylus of a single identified scribe. These corpora are ripe for linguistic analysis via statistics.

While an in-depth study of Goal Constructions in Akkadian is beyond the scope of this paper, it is possible to make a first approach to the problem of differential goal-marking in Akkadian. In this appendix, I describe the repertoire of goal-marking strategies available in Akkadian, then compare and contrast the repertoires and distributions of strategies used in limited datasets of Old Babylonian letters and Old Babylonian narrative poetry. Finally, I discuss some prolegomena for a more in-depth study of differential goal-marking in Akkadian.

A6.1 Marking Goal Arguments in Akkadian

Biblical Hebrew has three major strategies for marking Goal arguments: the clitic directive *he*, the unmarked accusative of direction, and a handful of directional prepositions. Akkadian has a somewhat different repertoire of strategies available, including prepositions, dative object pronouns or suffixes, a rare terminative clitic *-iš*, and an even rarer accusative of direction. (Thus the Akkadian goal-marking repertoire is more similar to that of Ugaritic than that of Biblical Hebrew.) Also in the mix is the Akkadian ventive.⁷³³

By far the most common method of marking a goal in Akkadian is to use the preposition *ana*. *ana* is used to mark nouns as goals or indirect objects; it can also combine with infinitives

⁷³² For an introduction to Akkadian diachronic and regional development, see Kouwenberg 2012.

⁷³³ Macelaru lists only prepositions, terminative *-iš*, and the ventive as possibilities, perhaps because of the corpus from which he draws (2003: 203).

to indicate result (*in order to* [verb]).⁷³⁴ *ana* usually does not mark pronominal goals; since pronominal endings cannot be added to this preposition, the only way for *ana* to be used with a pronoun is in the construction ‘*ana* plus dative pronoun.’

- (a) *inūma ana rapiqum t-allak-u-ma šupr-am-ma*
 when DIR Rapiqum 2SG;M;DUR-go-SBJV-CONJ send\IMP;SG;M-1SG;DAT-CONJ
 ‘Whenever you may go to Rapiqum, send to me and ...’
 (YBC 5459 = ABB 9, 12:6-8a)

Sometimes, especially in Neo-Assyrian, the preposition *ina* may be used to mark a goal.⁷³⁵ *ina*, like Biblical Hebrew *b-*, is generally used to mark Location arguments—that is, to mark divisible location nouns. Like *ana*, *ina* cannot take pronominal endings.

Other prepositions, such as *eli* and *adi*, may also be used to mark goals in Akkadian.⁷³⁶ Some of these prepositions can take pronominal endings, allowing them to easily mark pronominal goals.

In addition to simple prepositions like *ana* and *eli*, compound prepositions are also used in Akkadian. These compounds, which are made up of a preposition plus a noun which has been at least partially bleached of its semantic content, are most productive and most common in Neo-Assyrian; however, a smaller set of compounds was available in earlier Akkadians.⁷³⁷ Most goal-marking compounds are formed with *ana* as their first element: *ana šēr*, *ana libbi*, *ana mahar*, *ana pān*, *ana muhhi*, etc.⁷³⁸ Since the second elements of these compounds are nouns, which can take pronominal suffixes, compound prepositions can easily mark nominal or pronominal goals. Since the nominal elements of these compounds are not always completely semantically bleached, scribes can use these compounds to describe movement that ends in specific configurations with the goal as well as simple movement to a goal. (Compare ‘*al*’ in BH, which indicates movement to a point located in reference to the upper boundary/surface of the goal.)

⁷³⁴ GAG §114c; cf. Macelaru 2003: 203.

⁷³⁵ Hameen-Anttila 2000: 69; cf. GAG §114d.

⁷³⁶ GAG §144; Macelaru 2003: 204.

⁷³⁷ Hameen-Anttila 2000: 70-76; cf. GAG §115.

⁷³⁸ Macelaru 2003: 204.

- (b) *a-tbal-aš-šu* *ana šēri-ki*
 1SG;PRET-carry-DIR(VENT)-3SG;M;ACC **DIR back-2SG;F;POSS**
 'I carried it away to you (=to your back)
 (OB Gilg. II:14)

Akkadian, unlike Biblical Hebrew but like Ugaritic, has dative object pronouns that can be used as goals—both a set of independent pronouns and a set of pronominal suffixes which are affixed to the verb.⁷³⁹ Thus, where BH writers mark pronominal goals by combining prepositions with pronominal endings, Akkadian writers can mark pronominal goals by using dative pronouns.

- (c) *itti elepp-i* *ša Add-i* *awēl-am* *a-ṭ<ṭ>ard-ak-ki*
 with boat-GEN;SG of Adad-GEN;SG man-ACC;SG 1SG-<PRF>send-DIR(VENT)-2SG;F;DAT
 'With the boat of Adad a man I have despatched **to you**'
 (YBC 4516 = ABB 9, 15:25-26)

In rare instances (almost all in poetry) Akkadian writers may mark goal arguments using the terminative clitic *-iš*.⁷⁴⁰ This clitic may in fact be cognate with the BH directive *he*, although debate on this issue is ongoing.⁷⁴¹ As with the directive *he*, terminative *-iš* may apply to the first noun of a construct chain, and is used to derive goal adverbials like *ašar=iš* (*thither*).

- (d) *bīt=iš* *emūt-im* *i-qr-ū-nin-ni*
house\CONS=DIR relative_by_marriage-GEN;SG 3;M;PRET-call-PL-DIR(VENT)-1SG;ACC
 'To the house of the father-in-law they have called me'
 (OB Gilg. II:149)

Unlike Biblical Hebrew but like Ugaritic, Akkadian has a productive case system; the Akkadian declension is triptotic in the singular (having the cases 'nominative,' 'genitive,' 'accusative') and diptotic in the plural ('nominative,' 'oblique').⁷⁴² Most importantly for our

⁷³⁹ GAG §41, GAG §42.

⁷⁴⁰ GAG §67; Hasselbach 2013: 21; Macelaru 2003: 205; Lipinski 2001: 267; Speiser 1954: 110-111; von Soden 1933: 90-92, 106-111. In addition to marking Goals, the *-iš* suffix may also (by extension) be used to mark results (GAG §67, Kouwenberg §5.3.3). A homologous suffix is used to derive adverbs from adjectives and nouns; this may be another extension of the terminative *-iš* (GAG §115c; von Soden 1933: 102-103). The supposedly related preposition *iš* 'to/for' in Mari Akkadian may not actually exist; see Gensler 1997 for discussion.

⁷⁴¹ Arguing that *-iš* and the directive *he* are somehow cognate we find for example Gensler (1997: 135) and Hasselbach (2013:33); arguing against this claim we find Speiser (1954: 112-114). Lipinski (2001: 267, 269) and Huehnergard (2010: 75) do not express an opinion.

⁷⁴² GAG §63. Thus preserving the Proto-Semitic declension (Hasselbach 2013: 35-36; Lipinski 2001: 267). In Akkadian, the declension becomes diptotic in the singular (nom/acc, gen) during the Neo-Assyrian period (Hameen-Anttila 2000: 77).

purposes, the accusative has a number of so-called ‘adverbial’ functions in addition to its usual function of direct-object-marking, including the function of marking accusatives of direction or location. The locative and directive accusatives are primarily found in older forms of Akkadian.⁷⁴³

(e) a-llak Šamš-u ašar Huwawa
 1SG;DUR-go Shamash-VOC **place\CONS Huwawa[ACC;SG(DIR)]**
 ‘I go, O Shamash, **to the place of Huwawa**’
 (OB Gilg. III: 218)

While the Akkadian ventive does not mark goals, it is impossible to discuss motion clauses in Akkadian without mentioning it. The Akkadian ventive (which takes the form *-a(m)* when added to consonant-final forms, *-ni(m)* when added to vowel-final forms) attaches to verb forms in order to indicate or highlight motion.⁷⁴⁴ Thus it is often semantically equivalent to Biblical Hebrew *hēnnâh* (*hither*) or *šāmmâh* (*thither*), both of which are goal phrases. Unfortunately, the ventive is homologous with the first-singular dative verbal suffix, which can make it difficult to tell whether one is moving *hither* or moving *to me*.

(f) *u Rim-Adad l-i-llik-am*
 and Rim-Adad[NOM;SG] PREC-3SG;M-come-DIR(VENT)
 ‘And let Rim-Adad come **hither**’
 (YBC 5474 = ABB 9, 4:26-27)

A6.2 Choosing a Goal-Marking Strategy in Akkadian

Akkadian writers overwhelmingly choose prepositions and dative pronouns to mark goals in Akkadian. In many corpora, these are the only strategies visible. Below, I contrast the distribution of goal-marking strategies in selections from Old Babylonian letters and an Old Babylonian poem, “The Epic of Gilgamesh.”

In a survey of the first fifty letters in ABB 9, a volume of Old Babylonian (OB) letters probably originating from the city of Larsa, I identified 60 or 63 Goal Constructions, with an

⁷⁴³ GAG §146; von Soden 1932: 133; Hasselbach 2013: 267.

⁷⁴⁴ GAG §82; Macelaru 2003: 205-206.

additional 7 or 10 motion clauses being marked only by the ventive.⁷⁴⁵ Among the goals, 18 were marked with the preposition *ana* and *ana* compounds, while the remainder were encoded with dative object suffixes.

Table A6.1 Encoding Goals and Motion in OB Letters (ABB 9, 1-50)

Strategy	Noun Goal	Pronoun Goal	Implied “Hither”	totals
dative pro suffix	0	42 or 45	-	42 or 45
preposition <i>ana</i>	13	0	-	13
<i>ana šēr-x</i>	0	4		4
<i>ana mahar x</i>	1	0		1
ventive only	0	0	7 or 10	7 or 10
totals	14	46 or 49	7 or 10	70

Like the Ugaritic letters (see 7.2.1), the OB letters display a limited repertoire of goal-marking strategies—and like the scribes of the Ugaritic letters, the scribes of the OB letters are not using the full ‘literary’ goal-marking repertoire for these mundane communications. All 14 nominal goals are marked with the preposition *ana*, usually *ana* alone (in 13 of 14 cases). Almost all of the numerous pronominal goals are encoded in dative pronoun suffixes on the verbs—no independent dative pronouns here—although a few are marked using an *ana* compound, *ana šēr-*, which can take the pronominal goal as a suffix on the second element of the compound. Note that the default Akkadian goal-marker *ana* has a much stronger position here than do the default options in either Biblical Hebrew or Ugaritic.

We find the most diverse goal-marking repertoire in Akkadian, one that includes not only prepositions and dative pronouns but terminative *-iš* and the accusative of direction, primarily in narrative poetry.⁷⁴⁶ Yet even here the terminative *-iš* and accusative of direction are rare, making it difficult to characterize any conditions on their use.⁷⁴⁷

⁷⁴⁵ cf. ABB 9: vii. Three observations are ambiguous; they may carry either the first-singular dative suffix or the ventive (*alakam* in ABB 17: 6, 15, and 19).

⁷⁴⁶ cf. von Soden 1932: 166-175.

⁷⁴⁷ For example, George finds only 3 terminative suffixes in the Penn and Yale tablets of the OB Gilgamesh (cf. II:109, where the suffix is in fact adverbial rather than terminative; II:149; III:239); and only 1 terminative in the SB Gilgamesh, in Tablet X line 14, and this a restoration (George 2003 I: 162, 433)!

In the best-known versions of the OB Gilgamesh (the Yale and Pennsylvania tablets, which may also originate from Larsa⁷⁴⁸), terminative *-iš* and the accusative of direction are used only a few times. Dative pronouns and the ventive alone are also quite rare; goals are overwhelmingly marked with prepositions, especially *ana* and its compounds. *ana* by itself appears only with nominal goals, but some of its compounds can take pronominal goals.

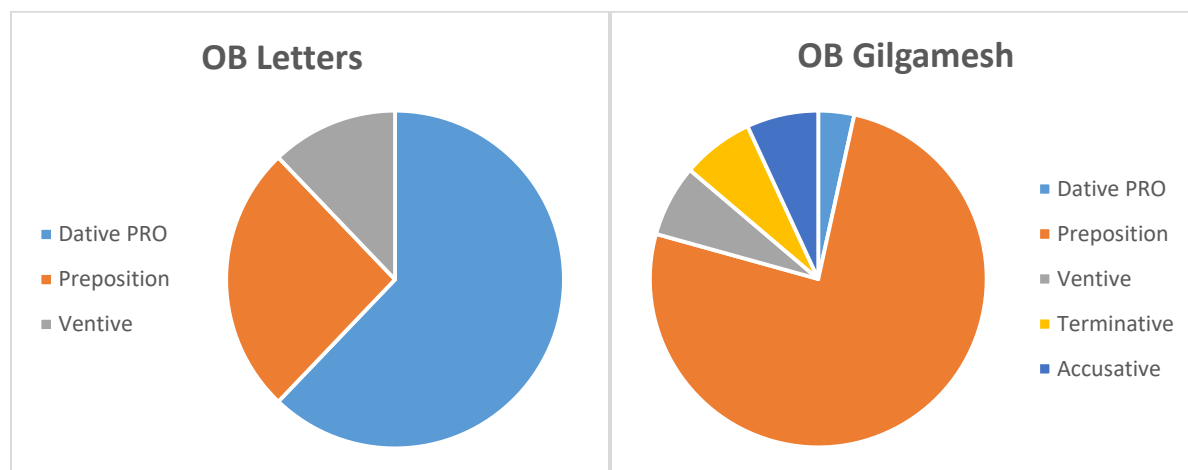
Table A6.2 Encoding Goals and Motion in OB Verse (Gilgamesh Tablets II and III)

Strategy	Noun Goal	Pronoun Goal	Implied “Hither”	totals
dative pro suffix	0	1 (14%)	-	1 (3.4%)
[prepositions]	[16, 80%]	[6, 86%]	-	[22, 76%]
<i>ana</i>	13 (65%)	0		13 (45%)
<i>ana šēr-x</i>	0	3 (43%)		3 (10%)
<i>ana libbi x</i>	3 (15%)	0		3 (10%)
<i>ana pani x</i>	0	1 (14%)		1 (3.4%)
<i>eli</i>	0	2 (29%)		2 (6.9%)
terminative <i>-iš</i>	2 (10%)	0	-	2 (6.9%)
accusative	2 (10%)	0	-	2 (6.9%)
ventive only	0	0	2 (100%)	2 (6.9%)
totals	20 (100%)	7 (100%)	2 (100%)	29 (100%)

The proportions of goal-marking strategies in the OB Gilgamesh tablets II and III are quite different than in ABB 9, 1-50. Nominal goals are marked with a much wider variety of goal-marking options, including terminative *-iš*, the accusative of direction, and several different prepositions and compounds. Pronominal goals, instead of being marked overwhelmingly with dative pronominal suffixes, are instead marked overwhelmingly with prepositions and prepositional compounds that can take pronominal suffixes. Thus, while the system visible in the OB letters is fairly rigid, with variation only appearing between dative pronouns and compound prepositions for pronominal goals, the situation in the OB Gilgamesh is more fluid and diverse, as we have grown to expect in a more literary text.

⁷⁴⁸ George 2003 I: 160-161, 166, 192.

Figure A6.1 Proportions of GC Strategies in ABB 9, 1-50 and OB Gilgamesh T. II & III



The most dramatic difference between the OB letters and OB Gilgamesh are their treatment of pronominal goals: the letters use dative pronoun suffixes for these, while the verse epic uses prepositional marking. Why might this occur? On the one hand, the OB letters are full of directions and orders for the recipient, who is addressed as ‘you,’ as well as first-person exposition from the writer. It is possible that the frequency of first- and second-person pronominal goals contributes to the high proportion of dative pronouns in the OB letters; dative pronouns might be expected for 1st/2nd person goals, while prepositional marking is expected for third-person goals. The OB Gilgamesh, on the other hand, is written primarily in third-person narrative, which could encourage the use of prepositional marking for pronominal goals. (Since the OB Gilgamesh is in verse, metrical/matching considerations could also be in play.) A larger dataset would be needed in order to explore this tentative suggestion.

In Old Babylonian Akkadian, which goal-marking strategies, if any, are associated with prototypical goals and prototypical Motion Constructions? In this limited study, the accusative of destination is used to mark the inanimate location goals *the skies* and *the place of Huwawa*—both of which have some inherent geographic information—in intransitive clauses with affected subjects. Thus it is possible that the accusative is associated with more-prototypical motion

situations. However, it is used so rarely that the accusative cannot be an ordinary means of marking prototypical motion.

The terminative *-iš*, which is equally rare, is also of no help in fulfilling this function. In the OB Gilgamesh it marks the goals *a wedding house* and *their hands*. The goal *their hands* is certainly not prototypical, as it is a goal attached to animate, mobile people.

ana libbi marks divisible goals; *eli*, the other *ana* compounds, and the dative pronouns mark animate goals.

That leaves only our default preposition *ana*. Could it be associated with prototypical goals? *ana* does avoid certain types of atypical goals—never marking pronominal goals in these datasets except in its compound forms—and most often applies to more-typical inanimate goals such as *the quay of Uruk*, *the forge*, or *Rapiqum* (a GN); but it marks other types of atypical goals, such as *my side*, *Awil-Ishtar* (a PN), and *my commander*. Thus it seems that while prototypical goals in OB are almost always marked with the default goal-marker *ana*, *ana* is not restricted to the marking of prototypical goals. In other words, there is no special marker for prototypical goals in OB Akkadian, although there are a number of special markers for atypical animate, pronominal, or divisible goals.

A6.3 Some Design Considerations for a Study of Akkadian Goal-Marking Strategy Choice

There are several ways in which a study of Akkadian goal-marking would be different from the study of Goal Constructions in Biblical Hebrew. First, a study of Akkadian goal-marking would have advantages.

- The fact that we can sometimes identify the time and place that texts were written and even the individual scribes who wrote them means that a much more robust historical and sociolinguistic study could be done, investigating change over time, regional differences, stylistic choices, and even individual preferences for certain goal-marking strategies.

- Since some identified scribes wrote texts in multiple text types or genres, one could contrast goal-marking choices in texts by a single scribe across genres and text types, exploring the ways in which these choices change from text type to text type.
- Since large corpora are available, large and statistically robust datasets could be extracted.

A study of Akkadian goal-marking would also present challenges. For example, the set of independent linguistic variables which I used to analyze Biblical Hebrew could not be uncritically adopted.

- It is clear that text type/genre is an important factor in determining the repertoire of goal-marking strategies available to the writer. This and other discourse variables should be included and carefully coded in any analysis of Akkadian goal-marking.
- In non-literary Akkadian texts, the choice of goal-marking strategies is limited; in the OB letters above, only prepositions and dative pronouns were available for Goal marking, meaning that the only variation—and thus the only choices—occurred when marking pronominal goals. In Biblical Hebrew, pronominal goals could only be marked with prepositions; variation occurred when marking nominal goals. Since the variation is occurring with a different type of goal, it is possible that the syntactic/semantic factors which influence GC strategy alternation in Akkadian are also quite different.
- Since the primary variation in literary texts is between prepositions and prepositional compounds, each preposition and compound preposition must be considered individually.

A study of differential goal-marking in Akkadian would be valuable as we continue to investigate goal-marking and motion prototypes in Semitic, answering such questions as

- Does Akkadian have a prototypical Intransitive Motion Construction? If so, are its prototypical features the same as those in West Semitic (both in terms of the features that

are important and in terms of their values)? (How would we determine this in a language where there are special markers for atypical goals but not for prototypical goals?)

- Can we suggest anything regarding the Proto-Semitic repertoire and distribution of goal-marking strategies?

A discussion related to this last question appears in Chapter 8.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Bibliography

ABB 9 = Stol, M.

1981 *Letters from Yale*. Altbabylonische Briefe 9. Leiden: Brill.

Abegg, Martin G.

2012 "The Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Hebrew Syntax." Pages 163-172 in *Celebrating the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Canadian Collection*. Edited by P. Flint, J. Dunhaime, K. Baek. Leiden: Brill.

Accordance

2017 *Accordance 12 Greek and Hebrew Learner*. OakTree Software.

Acock, Alan C.

2016 *A Gentle Introduction to STATA*. 5th ed. College Station, Tex.: STATA Press.

Ahituv, Shmuel.

2008 *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period*. Jerusalem: Carta.

Ahl, Sally W.

1973 *Epistolary Texts from Ugarit: Structural and Lexical Correspondences in Epistles in Akkadian and Ugaritic*. Ph.D. Dissertation: Brandeis University.

Alexander, P. H.; Kutsko, J. F.; Ernest, J. D.; Decker-Lucke, S. A.; Petersen, D. L.

2009 *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Alter, Robert.

1985 *The Art of Biblical Poetry*. New York: Basic Books.

Andersen, Francis I.; Forbes, A. Dean.

1986 *Spelling in the Hebrew Bible*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

1989 "Methods and Tools for the Study of Old Testament Syntax." Pages 61-72 in *Actes du Second Colloque International "Bible et Informatique: Methodes, Outils, Resultats" Jerusalem 9-13 June 1988*. Paris: Champion.

2012 *Biblical Hebrew Grammar Visualized*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 6. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Andersen, Henning.

1989 "Markedness Theory – the First 150 Years." Pages 11-46 in *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by O. M. Tomić. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Aristar, Anthony Rodrigues.

- 1996 "The Relationship between Dative and Locative: Kurylowicz's Argument from a Typological Perspective." *Diachronica* 13.2: 207-224.
- 1997 "Marking and Hierarchy: Types and the Grammaticalization of Case-Markers." *Studies in Language* 21.2: 313-368.

Austel, Hermann Johannes.

- 1969 *Prepositional and Non-Prepositional Complements with Verbs of Motion in Biblical Hebrew*. Ph.D. dissertation: University of California Los Angeles.

Baden, Joel S.

- 2011 "The Deuteronomistic Evidence for the Documentary Theory." Pages 327-344 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2016a "Why is the Pentateuch Unreadable?" Pages 243-251 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2016b "Continuity between the Gaps." Pages 283-292 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Bandstra, Barry L.

- 1992 "Word Order and Emphasis in Biblical Hebrew Narrative." Pages 109-123 in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by W. R. Bodine. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Bar-Asher, Elitzur A. = Bar-Asher Siegal, Elitzur A.

- 2008 "Linguistic markers in the book of Ruth / סימוני לשון במגילת רות" *Shnaton* 18: 25-42.
- 2012 "Diachronic Syntactic Studies in Hebrew Pronominal Reciprocal Constructions." Pages 209-244 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Barr, James.

- 1982 "Hebrew 'ad, especially at Job 1:18 and Neh 7:3." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 27: 177-188.
- 1989 "Determination and the Definite Article in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34.2: 307-335.

Bassiouny, Reem.

- 2009 *Arabic Sociolinguistics: Topics in Diglossia, Gender, Identity, and Politics*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University.

Battistella, Edwin L.

- 1990 *Markedness: The Evaluative Superstructure of Language*. SUNY Series in Linguistics. New York: State University of New York Press.

Bauer, Hans; Leander, Pontus.

1962 *Historische Grammatik der Hebraischen Sprache Des Alten Testamentes*. Hildesheim: George Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Beavers, John.

2011 "An Aspectual Analysis of Ditransitive Verbs of Caused Possession in English." *Journal of Semantics* 28: 1-54.

2011b "On Affectedness." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 29.2: 335-370.

Beavers, John; Zubair, Cala.

2010 "The interaction of transitivity features in the Sinhala involitive." Pages 69-94 in *Transitivity: Form, Meaning, Acquisition, and Processing*. Edited by P. Brandt and M. Garcia. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bekins, Peter.

2014 *Transitivity and Object Marking in Biblical Hebrew*. Harvard Semitic Studies 64. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Bell, Allan.

1997 "Language Style as Audience Design." *Language in Society* 13.2: 240-250.

Ben Zvi, N., ed.

2000 *Jerusalem Crown: The Bible of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem*. Jerusalem: S. Karger Publishing.

Biber, Douglas; Gray, Bethany.

2016 *Grammatical Complexity in Academic English: Linguistic Change in Writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

Bilger, Marcel; Manning, Willard G.

2015 "Measuring Overfitting in Nonlinear Models: A New Method and an Application to Health Expenditures." *Health Economics* 24.1: 75-85.

Bjørn, Øyvind.

2014 "Transitivity and the binyanim." Pages 48-63 in *Proceedings of the Oslo-Austin Workshop in Semitic Linguistics: Oslo, May 23 and 24, 2013*. Edited by L. Edzard and J. Huehnergard. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag.

Blau, Joshua.

2010 *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Bloch, Yigal.

- 2012 "The Third-Person Masculine Plural Suffixed Pronoun *-mw* and its Implications for the Dating of Biblical Hebrew Poetry." Pages 147-170 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2017 "Aramaic Influence and Inner Diachronic Development in Hebrew Inscriptions of the Iron Age." Pages 83-112 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Blomberg, Johan.

- 2017 "Non-actual motion in language and experience." Pages 205-227 in *Motion and Space across Languages: Theory and Applications*. Edited by I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Blum, Erhard.

- 1997 "The Literary Connection between the books of Genesis and Exodus and the End of the Book of Joshua." Pages 89-106 in *Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*. Edited by T. Dozeman and K. Schmid. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2016 "Linguistic Dating: An Approach with Methodological Limitations." Pages 303-325 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Bolinger, Dwight.

- 1968 "Entailment and the meaning of structures." *Glossa* 2: 119-127.

Bossong, Georg.

- 1991 "Differential Object Marking in Romance and Beyond." Pages 143-170 in *New Analyses in Romance Linguistics*. Edited by D. Kibbee and D. Wanner. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bosque, Ignacio.

- 2015 "Inner and outer prepositions with Spanish verbs of vertical movement." Pages 77-97 in *Verb Classes and Aspect*. Edited by E. Barrajon Lopez, J. L. Cifuentes Honrubia, and S. Rodriguez Rosique. IVITRA Research in Linguistics and Literature 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Brooke, A. E.; McLean, N.; Thackeray, Henry St. J.

- 1930 *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint: Volume II Part II: 1 and 2 Kings*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, Cecil H.

1990 "A survey of category types in natural language." Pages 17-47 in *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*. Edited by S. L. Tsohatzidis. London: Routledge.

Bülow-Jacobsen, Adam.

2009 "Writing Materials in the Ancient World." Pages 3-29 in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Edited by R. S. Bagnall. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Buth, Randall.

1995 "Functional Grammar, Hebrew, and Aramaic." Pages 77-102 in *Discourse Analysis of Biblical Literature*, ed. W. R. Bodine. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Byrne, Ryan.

2007 "The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 345: 1-31.

Caballero, Rosario.

2017 "Metaphorical motion constructions across specialized genres." Pages 229-253 in *Motion and Space across Languages: Theory and Applications*. Edited by I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Campbell, Lyle.

2013 *Historical Linguistics*. 3rd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Carr, David M.

2008 *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University.

2011 *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford: Oxford University.

2015 "Orality, Textuality, and Memory: The State of Biblical Studies." Pages 161-173 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by B. B. Schmidt. *Ancient Israel and its Literature* 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

2016 "Data to Inform Ongoing Debates about the Formation of the Pentateuch – From Documented Cases of Transmission History to a Survey of Rabbinic Exegesis." Pages 87-106 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Chen, Yiyi.

2000 "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Proverbs." Ph.D. Dissertation: Cornell University.

Collins, Terence.

1978 *Line-Forms in Hebrew Poetry*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

Cohen, Ohad.

2013 *The Verbal Tense System in Late Biblical Hebrew Prose*. Harvard Semitic Studies 63. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Collins, John J.

2011 "Changing Scripture." Pages 23-45 in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila. Beihefte zue Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 419. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Comrie, Bernard.

1976 *Aspect*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

1986 "Markedness, grammar, people, and the world." Pages 85-106 in *Markedness*. Edited by F. Eckman, E. Moravcsik, and J. Wirth. New York: Plenum.

1989 *Language universals and linguistic typology: Syntax and morphology*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Comrie, Bernard; Haspelmath, Martin; Bickel, Balthasar.

2015 "The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses." Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. [Accessed 2 Nov 2019] <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>

Cook, John A.

2012 *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 7. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2012b "Detecting Development in Biblical Hebrew using Diachronic Typology." Pages 83-95 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2016 "Valency: The Intersection of Syntax and Semantics." Pages 53-66 in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek)*. Edited by T. M. Lewis, A. Salvesen, and B. Turner. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 8. Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias.

Cook, Walter A.

1989 *Case Grammar Theory*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Creason, Stuart Alan.

1995 "Semantic Classes of Hebrew Verbs: A Study of Aktionsart in the Hebrew Verbal System." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

Croft, William.

2003 *Typology and Universals*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis.

1999 "The Ugaritic Letters." Pages 359-374 in *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt, eds. Handbuch der Orientalistik 39. Brill: Leiden.

Cunchillos, Jesús-Luis; Vita, Juan-Pablo.

1993 *Textos Ugaríticos (Banco de Datos Filológicos Semíticos Noroccidentales [BDFSN] I)*. Madrid: Institucion Fernando el Catolico.

Curtis, Byron.

2012 "The *Mas'ot* Triptych and the Date of Zechariah 9-14: Issues in the Latter Formation of the Book of the Twelve." Pages 191-206 in *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations – Redactional Processes – Historical Insights*. Edited by R. Albertz, J. D. Nogalski, and J. Wöhrle. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Davies, Philip.

1998 *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures*. Louisville, Ken.: Westminster John Knox.

2003 "Biblical Hebrew and the History of Ancient Judah: Typology, Chronology and Common Sense." Pages 150-163 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.

Davis, Stuart; Tsujimura, Natsuko.

2014 "Non-Concatenative Derivation." Pages 190-218 in *the Oxford Handbook of Derivational Morphology*. Edited by R. Lieber and P. Štekauer. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Debel, Hans.

2011 "Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition." Pages 65-91 in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila. Beihefte zue Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 419. Berlin: de Gruyter.

De Lacy, Paul.

2006 *Markedness: Reduction and Preservation in Phonology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Delbecque, Nicole; Cornillie, Bert.

2007 "Introduction." Pages 1-15 in *On Interpreting Construction Schemas: From Action and Motion to Transitivity and Causality*. Trends in Linguistics 198. Edited by N. Delbecque and B. Cornillie. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Delnero, Paul.

2012 "Memorization and the Transmission of Sumerian Literary Compositions." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 71.2: 189-208.

Dixon, R. M. W.

1979 "Ergativity." *Language* 55: 59-138.

2000 "A Typology of Causatives: Form, Syntax, and Meaning." Pages 30-83 in *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*. Edited by R. M. W. Dixon and A. Y. Aikhenvald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dixon, R. M. W.; Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y.

2000 "Introduction." Pages 1-29 in *Changing Valency: Case Studies in Transitivity*. Edited by R. M. W. Dixon and A. Y. Aikhenvald. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dietrich, Manfred; Loretz, Oswald.

1984 "Der Brief KTU 2.70 (RS 29.93)." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 16: 63-68.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W.; Roberts, J. J. M.; Seow, C. L.; Whitaker, R. E.

2005 *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Doron, Edit.

2003 "Agency and Voice: The Semantics of the Semitic Templates." *Natural Language Semantics* 11.1: 1-67.

Doron, Edit; Dubnov, Keren.

2017 "The Locative Alternation in Biblical (and Modern) Hebrew." Pages 321-360 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Dotan, A., ed.

2000 *Biblia Hebraica Leningradensia*. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson.

Dowty, David.

1979 *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*. Reidel: Dordrecht.

1991 "Thematic Proto-Roles and Argument Selection." *Language* 67.3: 547-619.

Dozeman, Thomas B.; Schmid, Konrad; Schwartz, Baruch J.

2011 "Introduction." Pages xi-xviii in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Dresher, B. Elan.

2012 "Methodological Issues in the Dating of Linguistic Forms: Considerations from the Perspective of Contemporary Linguistic Theory." Pages 19-38 in *Diachrony in Biblical*

Hebrew. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

DULAT = Del Olmo Lete, Gregorio; Sanmartin, Joaquin.

2003 *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.

Dušek, Jan.

2013 "Aramaic in the Persian Period." Pages 243-264 in *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel*. Volume 2. Edited by G. Knoppers, O. Lipschits, C. Newsom, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Dyk, Janet W.

2016 "How do Hebrew verbs differ? A flow chart of the differences." Pages 33-51 in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek)*. Edited by T. M. Lewis, A. Salvesen, and B. Turner. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 8. Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias.

Ehrensward, Martin.

2003 "Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts." Pages 164-188 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
2006 "Why Biblical Texts Cannot be Dated Linguistically." *Hebrew Studies* 47: 177-189.
2012 "Discerning Diachronic Change in the Biblical Hebrew Verbal System." Pages 181-192 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Emanuel, David.

2019 "Toward a Methodology for Dating Psalms." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in San Diego, California, November 25.

Eskhult, Mats.

2003 "The Importance of Loanwords for Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts." Pages 8-23 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
2005 "Traces of Linguistic Development in Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 46: 353-370.

Fassberg, Steven E.

2001 "The Movement from Qal to Pi'el in Hebrew and the Disappearance of the Qal Internal Passive." *Hebrew Studies* 42: 243-255.
2012 "The Kethiv/Qere *hiw?*, Diachrony, and Dialectology." Pages 171-180 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Fillmore, Charles J.

1968 "The Case for Case." Pages 1-88 in *Universals in Linguistic Theory*. Edited by Bach and Harms. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Fillmore, Charles J.; Kay, Paul; O'Connor, Mary C.

1988 "Regularity and Idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of *Let Alone*." *Language* 64.3: 501-538.

Fokkelman, J. P.

2001 *Reading Biblical Poetry: An Introductory Guide*. Translated by I. Smit. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Forbes, A. Dean.

1992 "Statistical Research on the Bible." Pages 185-206 in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 6. Edited by D. N. Freedman. New York: Doubleday.

2012 "The Diachrony Debate: Perspectives from Pattern Recognition and Meta-Analysis." *Hebrew Studies* 53: 7-42.

2017 "On Dating Biblical Hebrew Texts: Sources of Uncertainty / Analytic Options." Pages 247-272 in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek*. Edited by T. Li and K. Dyer. PLAL 9. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

2017b "The Proper Role of Valency in Biblical Hebrew Studies." Pages 95-112 in *Contemporary Examination of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and Greek)*. Edited by T. M. Lewis, A. Salvesen, and B. Turner. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

Forbes, A. Dean; Andersen, Francis I.

2012 "Dwelling on Spelling." Pages 127-145 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Frahm, Eckart.

2019 "Textual Traditions in First Millennium BCE Mesopotamia between Reproduction, Adaptation, Commentary, and New Creation." Pages 13-48 in *Schriftgelehrte Fortschreibungs- und Auslegungsprozesse: Textarbeit im Pentateuch, in Qumran, Ägypten und Mesopotamien*. Edited by W. Bühner. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Freedman, David N.; Andersen, Francis I.; Forbes, A. Dean.

1992 *Studies in Hebrew and Aramaic Orthography*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Fredrickson, Eric.

2019 "Dates of Composition in Hosea and Amos: A Data Science Approach." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, California, November 23.

Frösén, Jaako.

2009 "Conservation of Ancient Papyrus Materials." Pages 79-100 in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Edited by R. S. Bagnall. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

GAG = von Soden, Wolfram.

1995 *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*. Rome: Pontifical Institute.

García-Miguel, José María.

2015 "Transitivity and Verb Classes." Pages 288-311 in *Verb Classes and Aspect*. Edited by E. Barrajon Lopez, J. L. Cifuentes Honrubia, and S. Rodriguez Rosique. IVITRA Research in Linguistics and Literature 9. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Garr, W. Randall.

1985 *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 BCE*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

1991 "Affectedness, Aspect, and Biblical 'et.'" *Zeitschrift für Althebraistik* 4.2: 119-134.

Gee, John.

2019 "Objective Criteria for Dating Text of the Hebrew Bible to the Persian Period." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. San Diego, California, November 25.

Geeraerts, Dirk.

2006 "Prospects and Problems of Prototype Theory." Pages 141-165 in *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings*. Edited by D. Geeraerts. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. Reprinted with omissions from *Linguistics* 27.4 (1989): 587-612.

Gertz, Jan C.; Levinson, Bernard M.; Rom-Shiloni, Dalit; Schmid, Konrad.

2016 "Convergence and Divergence in Pentateuchal Theory – The Genesis and Goals of this Volume." Pages 1-7 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. Gertz, B. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

George, A. R.

2003 *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic*. Vol. I. Oxford: Oxford.

Gensler, Orin.

1997 "Mari Akkadian *iš* 'to, for' and Preposition-Hopping in the Light of Comparative Semitic Syntax." *Orientalia Nova* 66 no. 2: 129-156.

Gesundheit, Shimon.

2016 "Strengths and Weaknesses of Linguistic Dating." Pages 295-302 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Givon, Talmy.

1984-1990 *Syntax: A Functional-Typological Introduction*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- 2001 *Syntax: An Introduction*. Revised edition. 2 vols. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 2012 "Biblical Hebrew as a Diachronic Continuum." Pages 39-59 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

GKC = Gesenius, Wilhelm; Kautzsch E.; Cowley, A.E.

- 1910 *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Goldberg, Adele E.

- 1995 *Constructions: A Construction Grammar Approach to Argument Structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- 2006 *Constructions at Work: The Nature of Generalization in Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Greenstein, Edward L.

- 2006 "Forms and Functions of the Finite Verb in Ugaritic Narrative Verse." Pages 75-102 in *Biblical Hebrew in its Northwest Semitic Setting: Typological and Historical Perspectives*. Edited by S. E. Fassberg and A. Hurvitz. Jerusalem / Winona Lake, Ind.: Hebrew University Magnes / Eisenbrauns.
- 2018 "Signs of Poetry Past: Literariness in Pre-Biblical Hebrew Literature." Pages 5-24 in *Strength to Strength: Essays in Honor of Shaye D. Cohen*. Edited by M. L. Satlow. Providence: Brown Judaic Studies.

Grimm, Scott.

- 2018 "Grammatical number and the scale of individuation." *Language* 94.3: 527-574.

Gropp, Douglas M.

- 1991 "The Function of the Finite Verb in Classical Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Annual Review* 13 (1991): 45-62.
- 2017 "Handout on Hebrew Verse." Seminar in Second Isaiah.

Hackett, Jo Ann.

- 2010 *A Basic Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson.

Halevy, Rivka.

- 2007 "Transitive Verbs with Non-Accusative Alternation in Hebrew: Cross-language comparison with English, German, and Spanish." Pages 61-101 in *On Interpreting Construction Schemas: From Action and Motion to Transitivity and Causality*. Trends in Linguistics 198. Edited by N. Delbecque and B. Cornillie. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Hameen-Anttila, Jaakko.

- 2000 *A Sketch of Neo-Assyrian Grammar*. State Archives of Assyria Studies 8. Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project.

Hardy, Humphrey Hill.

2014 *Diachronic Development in Biblical Hebrew Prepositions: A Case Study in Grammaticalization*. Ph.D. dissertation. University of Chicago.

Haspelmath, Martin.

2012 "How to compare major word-classes across the world's languages." *UCLA Working Papers in Linguistics, Theories of Everything* 17: 109-130.

2019 "Differential place marking and differential object marking." *Language Typology and Universals* 72.3: 313-334.

Hasselbach, Rebecca. = Hasselbach-Andee, Rebecca.

2013 *Case in Semitic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hasselbach-Andee, Rebecca.

2020 "Multilingualism and Diglossia in the Ancient Near East." Pages 457-470 in *A Companion to Ancient Near Eastern Languages*. Edited by R. Hasselbach-Andee. Hoboken, N. J.: Wiley and Sons.

Hatav, Galia.

1997 *The Semantics of Aspect and Modality: Evidence from English and Biblical Hebrew*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

2017 "The Infinitive Absolute and Topicalization of Events." Pages 207-229 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Hayes, John H.

1974 *Old Testament Form Criticism*. San Antonio: Trinity University.

Hendel, Ron; Joosten, Jan.

2018 *How Old is the Hebrew Bible? A Linguistic, Textual, and Historical Study*. New Haven: Yale.

Hoftijzer, Jacob.

1981 *A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of H-Locale in Classical Hebrew*. Leiden: Brill.

Hoftijzer, Jacob; van Soldt, Wolfram H.

1991 "Texts from Ugarit Concerning Security and Related Akkadian and West Semitic Material." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 23: 189-216.

Holm, Tawny L.

2007 "Ancient Near Eastern Literature: Genres and Forms." Pages 269-288 in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*. 2nd edition. Edited by D. Snell. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Holmstedt, Robert D.

- 2012 "Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew." Pages 97-124 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Hopper, Paul J.; Thompson, Sandra A.

- 1980 "Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse." *Language* 56: 251-299.
- 1982 *Studies in Transitivity*. New York: Academic Press.
- 2001 "Transitivity, Clause Structure, and Argument Structure: Evidence from Conversation." Pages 27-60 in *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*. Edited by J. Bybee and P. Hopper. Typological Studies in Language 45. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Hornkohl, Aaron.

- 2013 "Biblical Hebrew: Periodization." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by G. Khan, Sh. Bolozky, S. Fassberg, G. Rendsburg, A. Rubin, O. Schwarzwald, and T. Zewi. Leiden: Brill.
- 2014 *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition*. Leiden: Brill.
- 2016 "Transitional Biblical Hebrew." Pages 31-42 in *A Handbook of Biblical Hebrew* Vol. 1. Edited by W. R. Garr and S. E. Fassberg. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2017 "All is not lost: Linguistic Periodization in the Face of Textual and Literary Pluriformity." Pages 53-80 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Huehnergard, John.

- 2010 *Comparative and Historical Semitic Grammar: An Introduction*. Unpublished manuscript, cited by permission.
- 2012 *An Introduction to Ugaritic*. Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson.
- 2019 "Introduction to the Semitic Languages and Their History." Pages 1-21 in *The Semitic Languages*. 2nd edition. Edited by J. Huehnergard and N. Pat-El. London: Routledge.

Hurvitz, Avi.

- 1974 "Evidence of Language in Dating the Priestly Code: A Linguistic Study in Technical Idioms and Terminology." *Revue Biblique* 81.1: 24-56.
- 2003 "Hebrew and Aramaic in the Biblical Period: The Problem of 'Aramaisms' in Linguistic Research on the Hebrew Bible." Pages 24-37 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
- 2006 "The Recent Debate on Late Biblical Hebrew: Solid Data, Experts' Opinions, and Inconclusive Arguments." *Hebrew Studies* 47: 191-210.
- 2012 "The Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts: Comments on Methodological Guidelines and Philological Procedures." Pages 265-279 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

- 2013 "Biblical Hebrew, Late." Pages 329-338 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by G. Khan, Sh. Bolozky, S. Fassberg, G. Rendsburg, A. Rubin, O. Schwarzwald, and T. Zewi. Leiden: Brill.
- 2014 *A Concise Lexicon of Late Biblical Hebrew*. Leiden: Brill.

Irvine, Judith T.; Gal, Susan.

- 2000 "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation." Pages 35-84 in *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Politics, and Identities*. Edited by P. V. Kroskrity. Sante Fe: School of American Research.

Izre'el, Shlomo.

- 1995 "The Amarna Glosses: Who Wrote What for Whom?" *Israel Oriental Studies* 15: 101-122.
- 2012 Canaano-Akkadian: Linguistics and Sociolinguistics. Pages 171-218 in *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, Edited by R. Hasselbach and N. Pat'el. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Jackendoff, Ray.

- 1996 "The proper treatment of measuring out, telicity, and perhaps event quantification in English." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 14: 305-334.

Jacobs, Cassandra L.; Cho, Sun-Joo; Watson, Duane G.

- 2019 "Self-Priming in Production: Evidence for a Hybrid Model of Syntactic Priming." *Cognitive Science* 43.7.

Jackson, Kent P.; Dearman, Andrew.

- 1989 "The Text of the Mesha' Inscription." Pages 93-130 in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*. Edited by A. Dearman. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Jamieson-Drake, D.

- 1991 *Scribes and Schools in Monarchic Judah: A Socio-Archaeological Approach*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplements Series 109. Sheffield: Sheffield University.

Jenni, Ernst.

- 1981 *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testaments*. Helbing and Lichtenhan.
- 1992 *Die hebräischen Präpositionen Band 1: Die Präposition Beth*. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.
- 2000 *Die hebräischen Präpositionen Band 3: Die Präposition Lamed*. Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer.

Jodlowiec, Maria; Kwaśniewicz, Krzysztof.

- 1991 "John R. Taylor: *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*." *Cognitive Linguistics* 2.3: 283-290.

Joosten, Jan.

- 1999 "Pseudo-classicisms in Late Biblical Hebrew, in Ben Sira, and in Qumran Hebrew." Pages 146-159 in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages: Proceedings of a Second International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Ben Sira, and the Mishnah, held at Leiden University, 15-17 December 1997*. Edited by T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde. Leiden: Brill.
- 2005 "The Distinction between Classical and Late Biblical Hebrew as Reflected in Syntax." *Hebrew Studies* 46: 327-339.
- 2011 "The Operation of a Syntactic Rule in Classical Biblical Hebrew and in Hebrew Inscriptions of the Monarchic Period." Pages 493-506 in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honor of Graham Ivor Davies*. Edited by J. Aitken, K. Dell, and B. Mastin. BZW 420. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2012 "The Evolution of Literary Hebrew in Biblical Times: The Evidence of Pseudoclassicisms." Pages 281-292 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2012b *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew*. Jerusalem: Simor Ltd.

Jouon, Paul; Muraoka, Takamitsu.

- 2006 *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.

Kemmer, Suzanne.

- 1993 *The middle voice*. Typological Studies in Language 23. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- 1994 "Middle voice, transitivity, and the elaboration of events." Pages 179-230 in *Voice: Form and Function*. Edited by B. A. Fox and P. J. Hopper. Typological Studies in Language 27. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Khan, Geoffrey A.

- 1984 "Object Markers and Agreement Pronouns in Semitic Languages." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 47.3: 468-500.

Kittilä, Seppo.

- 2008 "Book review. Defining prototypical transitivity. Review of Ashild Naess' *Prototypical Transitivity*." *Lingua* 118: 2012-2020.
- 2009 "Causative Morphemes as Non-Valency Increasing Devices." *Folia Linguistica* 43.1: 67-94.

Knoppers, Gary N.

- 1993 "Treaty, Tribute List, or Diplomatic Letter: KTU 3.1 Reexamined." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 289: 81-94.

Koenig, Jean-Pierre; Davis, Anthony R.

- 2001 "Sublexical modality and the structure of lexical semantic representations." *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24: 71-124.

Kim, Dong-Hyuk.

2013 *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblical Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability*. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 156. Leiden: Brill.

Kinberg, Naphtali.

1981 "Notes on the shift from accusative constructions to prepositional phrases in Hebrew and Arabic." *Bulletin of the School of African and Oriental Studies, University of London* 44.1:8-14.

Knohl, Israel.

1995 *The Sanctuary of Silence: The Priestly Torah and the Holiness School*. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Komatsu, Lloyd K.

1992 "Recent views of conceptual structure." *Psychological Bulletin* 112.3: 500-526.

Korchin, Paul D.

2008 *Markedness in Canaanite and Hebrew Verbs*. Harvard Semitic Studies 58. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Kouwenberg, N. J.

1997 *Gemination in the Akkadian Verb*. Assen: Van Gorcum.

2012 "Diachrony in Akkadian and the Dating of Literary Texts." Pages 433-451 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2017 *A Grammar of Old Assyrian*. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Kratochvíl, František.

2011 "Transitivity in Abui." *Studies in Language* 35.3: 588-635.

Kropat, Arno.

1909 *Die syntax des Autors der Chronik verglichen mit der seiner Quellen: ein Beitrag zur historischen Syntax des Hebraischen*. Giessen: Alfred Topelmann.

KTU² = Dietrich, Manfred; Loretz, Oswald; Sanmartín, Joaquín.

1995 *Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places (KTU second enlarged edition)*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Kudrnáčová, Naděžda.

2013 *Caused Motion: Secondary Agent Constructions*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita.

Kugel, James L.

1981 *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History*. New Haven: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Lakoff, George.

1987 *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lam, Joseph; Pardee, Dennis.

2012 "Diachrony in Ugaritic." Pages 407-431 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Lambert, Mayer.

1931 *Traite de Grammaire Hebraique*. Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux.

Lambdin, Thomas O.

1971 *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.

Langacker, Ronald.

1987 "Nouns and verbs." *Language* 63.1: 53-94.

1990 "Settings, participants, and grammatical relations." Pages 213-238 in *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*. Edited by S. L. Tsohatzidis. London: Routledge.

2005 "Integration, grammaticization, and constructional meaning." Pages 157-189 in *Grammatical Constructions: Back to the Roots*. Edited by M. Fried and H. C. Boas. *Constructional Approaches to Language* 4. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

LaPolla, Randy J.; Kratochvíl, František; Coupe, Alexander R.

2011 "On Transitivity." *Studies in Language* 35.3: 469-491.

Larson, Mildred L.

1984 *Meaning-based translation: A guide to cross-language equivalence*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Lauinger, Jacob.

2015 "Neo-Assyrian Scribes, 'Essarhaddon's Succession Treaty,' and the Dynamics of Textual Mass Production." Pages 285-314 of *Texts and Contexts: The Circulation and Transmission of Cuneiform Texts in Social Space*. Edited by P. Delnero and J. Lauinger. *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 9. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Lazard, Gilbert.

1989 "Transitivity and markedness: the antipassive in accusative languages." Pages 309-331 in *Markedness in Synchrony and Diachrony*. Edited by O. M. Tomić. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

2003 "Transitivity Revisited as an Example of a More Strict Approach to Typological Research." *Folia Linguistica* 36: 141-190.

Leavins, Daniel C.

2011 *Verbs of Leading in the Hebrew Bible*. PHSC 11. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

Leino, Jaakko; Östman, Jan-Ola.

2005 "Constructions and variability." Pages 191-213 in *Grammatical Constructions: Back to the Roots*. Edited by M. Fried and H. C. Boas. *Constructional Approaches to Language* 4. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Lestrade, Sander; de Swart, Peter.

2010 "Individuation and semantic role interpretation in the adpositional domain." Pages 279-300 in *Transitivity: Form, Meaning, Acquisition, and Processing*. Edited by P. Brandt and M. Garcia Garcia. *Linguistics Today* 166. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Levin, Beth.

1993 *English Verb Classes and Alternations: A Preliminary Investigation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levin, Christoph.

2016 "The Pentateuch: A Compilation by Redactors." Pages 579-587 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Levine, Baruch.

1981 "Review: The Deir 'Alla Plaster Inscriptions." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 101.2: 195-205.

Lied, Liv Ingeborg; Lundhaug, Hugo, eds.

2017 *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*. *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* 175. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Lindenberger, James M.

2003 *Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Letters*. 2nd edition. *Writings from the Ancient World* 14. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Lipinski, Edward.

2001 *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar*. 2nd edition. Leuven: Peeters.

Løland, Hanne.

2008 *Silent or Salient Gender? The Interpretation of Gendered God-Language in the Hebrew Bible, Exemplified in Isaiah 42, 46 and 49*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Long, J. Scott; Freese, Jeremy.

2014 *Regression Models for Categorical Dependent Variables Using STATA*. 3rd ed. College Station, Tex.: STATA Press.

Longacre, Robert E.

1992 "Discourse Perspective on the Hebrew Verb: Affirmation and Restatement." Pages 177-189 in *Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by W. R. Bodine. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

[2002] "Biblical Hebrew Lyric Poetry." [cited as forthcoming in Fariss 2002; no additional information available]

Luraghi, Silvia.

2011 "The coding of spatial relations with human landmarks: From Latin to Romance." Pages 209-234 in *Case, animacy and semantic roles*. Edited by S. Kittila, K. Vasti, and J. Ylikoski. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

2017 "Differential goal marking vs. differential source marking in Ancient Greek." Pages 119-145 in *Space in Diachrony*. Edited by S. Luraghi, T. Nikitina, and C. Zanchi. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Macelaru, Adrian.

2003 "Location, Motion and Direction in Old Babylonian Akkadian." Pages 189-210 in *Motion, Direction and Location in Languages: In Honor of Zygmunt Frajzyngier*. Edited by E. Shay and U. Siebert. Typological Studies in Language 56. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Malchukov, Andrej.

2005 "Case pattern splits, verb types and construction competition." Pages 73-118 in *Competition and Variation in Natural Languages: The Case for Case*. Edited by M. Amberber and H. de Hoop. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

2006 "Transitivity Parameters and Transitivity Alternations: Constraining Co-Variation." Pages 329-358 in *Case, Valency and Transitivity*. Edited by L. Kulikov, A. Malchukov, and P. de Swart. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006.

Mandell, Alice.

2013 "Biblical Hebrew, Archaic." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*. Edited by G. Khan, Sh. Bolozky, S. Fassberg, G. Rendsburg, A. Rubin, O. Schwarzwald, and T. Zewi. Leiden: Brill.

2015 *Scribalism and Diplomacy at the Crossroads of Cuneiform Culture: The Sociolinguistics of Canaanite-Akkadian*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.

Mankowski, Paul.

2000 *Akkadian Loanwords in Biblical Hebrew*. Harvard Semitic Studies 47. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Marcuson, Hannah; van den Hout, Theo.

2015 "Memorization and Hittite Ritual: New Perspectives on the Transmission of Hittite Ritual Texts." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 15: 143-168.

Matlock, Teenie; Bergmann, Till.

2015 "Fictive Motion." Pages 546-562 in *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Matthews, Roger.

2013 "Writing (and Reading) as Material Practice: The world of cuneiform culture as an arena for investigation." Pages 65-74 in *Writing as Material Practice: Substance, surface and medium*. Edited by K. E. Piquette and R. D. Whitehouse. London: Ubiquity.

McCarthy, John; Prince, Alan.

1990 "Prosodic Morphology and Templatic Morphology." Pages 1-54 in *Perspectives on Arabic Linguistics II: Papers from the Second Annual Symposium on Arabic Linguistics*. Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 72. Edited by M. Eid and J. McCarthy. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

McFall, L.

1982 *The Enigma of the Hebrew Verbal System: Solutions from Ewald to the Present Day*. Sheffield: Sheffield.

Medill, Kathryn McConaughy.

2014 "Directional Strategies in Biblical Hebrew: Influences on the Use of Locative He." *Indiana University Linguistics Club Working Papers Online* 14.

2019 "The Idrimi Statue Inscription in its Late Bronze Scribal Context." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 382: 243-259.

in prep "Is This Directive He Inappropriate? The Directive He and Fictive Motion in Biblical Hebrew."

Mercati, G.

1958 *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae*. Pars Prima (Part 1). Vatican City.

Miller, Cynthia L. = Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L.

1996 *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis*. Harvard Semitic Monographs 55. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Miller, Robert D. II.

2015 "The Performance of Oral Tradition in Ancient Israel." Pages 175-196 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by B. B. Schmidt. Ancient Israel and its Literature 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia L.

2012 “Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew: Linguistic Perspectives on Change and Variation.” Pages 3-15 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Miller-Naudé, Cynthia; Naudé, Jacobus A.

2017 “A Re-Examination of Grammatical Categorization in Biblical Hebrew.” Pages 273-308 in *From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries: Select Studies on Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek*. Edited by T. Li and K. Dyer. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 9. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

Milstein, Sara.

2016 *Tracking the Master Scribe: Revision through Introduction in Biblical and Mesopotamian Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University.

Mizrahi, Noam.

2017 “Linguistic Change through the Prism of Textual Transmission.” Pages 27-52 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Mosca, Monica.

2017 “Latin to Ancient Italian motion constructions.” Pages 151-176 in *Motion and Space across Languages: Theory and Applications*. Edited by I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Moscato, Sabatino. “On Semitic Case-Endings.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 17 no. 2 (1958): 142-144.

Moshavi, Adina.

2010 *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 4. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Moshavi, Adina; Notarius, Tania.

2017 “Biblical Hebrew Linguistics: Perspectives on Data and Method.” Pages 1-24 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Mroczek, Eva.

2017 “The End of the Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls, Greek Codices, and Syriac Manuscripts.” Pages 297-322 in *Snapshots of Evolving Traditions: Jewish and Christian Manuscript Culture, Textual Fluidity, and New Philology*. Edited by L. Lied and H. Lundhaug. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 175. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Muchnik, Malka.

2015 *The Gender Challenge of Hebrew*. Brill Reference Library of Judaism 42. Leiden: Brill.

Muraoka, T.

2011 *A Grammar of Qumran Aramaic*. Leuven: Peeters, 2011.

Muraoka, T.; Elwolde, J., eds.

2000 *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. Leiden: Brill.

Murphy, Gregory.

2002 *The Big Book of Concepts*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Na'aman, Nadav.

1980 "A Royal Scribe and His Scribal Products in the Alalakh IV Court." *Oriens Antiquus* 19: 109-116.

Naess, Ashild.

2007 *Prototypical Transitivity*. Typological Studies in Language 72. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Naudé, Jacobus.

2000 "Qumran Hebrew Syntax in the Perspective of a Theory of Language Change and Diffusion." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 26.1: 105-132.

2012 "Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew and a Theory of Language Change and Diffusion." Pages 61-81 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Notarius, Tania.

2012 "The Archaic System of Verbal Tenses in 'Archaic' Biblical Poetry." Pages 193-207 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Noegel, Scott B.; Rendsburg, Gary A.

2009 *Solomon's Vineyard: Literary and Linguistic Studies in the Song of Songs*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

O'Connor, Michael.

1997 *Hebrew Verse Structure*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Pace-Sigg, Michael; Patterson, Katie J.

2017 *Lexical Priming: Applications and Advances*. Studies in Corpus Linguistics 79. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Pajunen, Mika S.

2020 "Reading Psalm and Prayer Manuscripts from Qumran." Pages 55-70 in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures*. Edited by A. Krauß, J. Leipziger and F. Schücking-Jungblut. *Materiale Textkulturen* 26. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Pardee, Dennis.

1983/4 "Ugaritic." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 29/30: 321-329.

1984 "Ugaritic." *Archiv für Orientforschung* 31: 213-230.

2002 *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Parker, Simon B.

1989 *The Pre-Biblical Narrative Tradition*. SBL Resources for Biblical Study 24. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Parker, Simon B., ed.

1997 *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. Writings from the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Parunak, H. Van Dyke.

1983 "Review of A Search for Method: A Study in the Syntactic Use of H-Locale in Classical Hebrew by J. Hoftijzer." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 102: 297-299.

Pat-El, Na'ama.

2012 "Syntactic Aramaisms as a Tool for the Internal Chronology of Biblical Hebrew." Pages 245-263 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2017 "Israelian Hebrew: A Re-Evaluation." *Vetus Testamentum* 67: 227-263.

Pat-El, Na'ama; Wilson-Wright, Aren.

2013 "Features of Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Linguistic Dating Debate." *Hebrew Studies* 54: 387-410.

Patton, Matthew H.

2019 "Working with Biblical Hebrew Prose." Pages 23-144 in *Basics of Hebrew Discourse*. Edited by M. van Pelt. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic.

Paul, Shalom.

2012 "Signs of Late Biblical Hebrew in Isaiah 40-66." Pages 293-299 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Pearce, Laurie E.; Wunsch, Cornelia.

2014 *Documents of Judean Exiles and West Semites in Babylonia in the Collection of David Sofer*. CUSAS 28. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.

Penner, Ken M.

2015 *The Verbal System of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Qumran Hebrew Texts*. Leiden: Brill.

Petersson, Lina.

2017 "The Syntactic Pattern: *Qtol* → *Wěyiqtol* and the Expression of Indirect Command in Biblical Hebrew." Pages 271-295 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Polak, Frank.

- 1998 "The Oral and the Written: Syntax, Stylistics and the Development of Biblical Prose Narrative." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 26: 59-105.
- 2002 "Parameters for Stylistic Analysis of BH Prose Texts." Pages 259-281 in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et informatique "From Alpha to Byte": University of Stellenbosch 17-21 July 2000*. Leiden: Brill.
- 2003 "Style is More than the Person: Sociolinguistics, Literary Culture and the Distinction Between Written and Oral Narrative." Pages 38-103 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T&T Clark.
- 2006 "Sociolinguistics, a Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 47: 115-162.
- 2006b "Sociolinguistics and the Judean Speech Community in the Achaemenid Empire." Pages 589-628 in *Judah and Judeans in the Persian Empire*. Edited by O. Lipschits and M. Oeming. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2009 "Verbs of Motion in Biblical Hebrew: Lexical Shifts and Syntactic Structure." Pages 161-197 in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics and Language Relating to Persian Israel*. Edited by E. Ben Zvi, D. Edelman, and F. Polak. Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias, 2009.
- 2010 "The Book of Samuel and the Deuteronomist: A Syntactic-Stylistic Analysis." Pages 34-73 in *The Books of Samuel and the Deuteronomists*. Edited by C. Schäfer-Lichtenberger. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.
- 2012 "Language Variation, Discourse Typology, and the Sociocultural Background of Biblical Narrative." Pages 301-338 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2015 "Oral Substratum, Language Usage and Thematic Flow in the Abraham-Jacob Narrative." Pages 217-238 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by B. B. Schmidt. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2017 "Syntactic-Stylistic Aspects of the So-Called Priestly Work in the Torah." Pages 345-382 in *Le-ma'an Ziony: Essays in Honor of Ziony Zevit*. Edited by F. Greenspahn and G. Rendsburg. Eugene, Ore.: Cascade.
- In press "Identifying Preexilic Material in the Pentateuch." Pages tbd in [confidential as of May 2020].

Polzin, Robert.

1976 *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose.* Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press.

Popović, Mladen; Dhali, Maruf.

2020 "The Hands that Wrote the Bible: Digital Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls for Identifying and Dating Manuscripts." Paper presented at "The Dead Sea Scrolls in Recent Scholarship: A Public Conference," Online [organized by the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University, New York, New York], May 19.

Porten, Bezalel; Yardeni, Ada.

2014-2018 *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea.* Volumes 1, 2, and 3. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

2020 *Textbook of Aramaic Ostraca from Idumea.* Volume 4. University Park, Penna.: Eisenbrauns.

Pratico, Gary D.; Van Pelt, Miles V.

2019 *Basics of Biblical Hebrew Grammar.* 3rd edition. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic.

Putnam, Frederic C.

2019 "Working with Biblical Hebrew Poetry." Pages 145-276 in *Basics of Hebrew Discourse.* Edited by M. van Pelt. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic.

Qimron, Elisha.

1986 *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls.* HSS 29. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

Rabin, Ira.

2017 "Building a Bridge from the Dead Sea Scrolls to Mediaeval Hebrew Manuscripts." Pages 309-322 in *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives.* Edited by I. Wandrey. De Gruyter.

Rappaport Hovav, Malka; Levin, Beth.

2008 "The English dative alternation: A case for verb sensitivity." *Journal of Linguistics* 44: 129-167.

Rendsburg, Gary A.

1990 *Linguistic Evidence for the Northern Origin of Selected Psalms.* Society of Biblical Literature Monograph 43. Atlanta: Scholars Press.

1992 "The Galilean Background of Mishnaic Hebrew." Pages 225-240 in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity.* Edited by L. I. Levine. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

2002 *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings.* Bethesda: CDL Press.

2003 "A Comprehensive Guide to Israelian Hebrew: Grammar and Lexicon." *Orient* 38: 5-35.

2006 "Aramaic-Like Features in the Pentateuch." *Hebrew Studies* 47: 163-176.

- 2009 "Israelian Hebrew Features in Deuteronomy 33." Reprinted as pages 167-183 in *Mishneh Todah: Studies in Deuteronomy and Its Cultural Environment in Honor of Jeffrey H. Tigay*. Edited by N. S. Fox, D. A. Glatt-Gilad, and M. J. Williams. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2012 "Northern Hebrew Through Time: From the Song of Deborah to the Mishnah." Pages 339-359 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. L. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2013 "Biblical Hebrew: Dialects and Linguistic Variation." Pages 338-341 in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* Volume 1. Edited by G. Khan. Leiden: Brill.
- 2015 "Style Switching in Biblical Hebrew." Pages 65-85 in *Epigraphy, Philology, and the Hebrew Bible: Methodological Perspectives on Philological and Comparative Study of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Jo Ann Hackett*. Edited by J. Hutton and A. Rubin. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Rezetko, Robert.

- 2003 "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles." Pages 215-250 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
- 2009 "What happened to the Book of Samuel in the Persian Period and Beyond?" Pages 237-252 in *A Palimpsest: Rhetoric, Ideology, Stylistics, and Language Relating to Persian Israel*. Edited by E. Ben Zvi, D. V. Edelman, and F. Polak. Piscataway: Gorgias.

Rezetko, Robert; Young, Ian.

- 2014 *Historical Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew: Steps Toward an Integrated Approach*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

RIME IV = Frayne, Douglas R.

- 1990 *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 B.C.)*. The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods Volume 4. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Robar, Elizabeth.

- 2019 "Qatal and yiqtol in poetic parallelism: Opposites attracting?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, California. November 24.

Robertson, David A.

- 1972 *Linguistic Evidence in Dating Early Hebrew Poetry*. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press.

Rollston, Christopher A.

- 2010 *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies 11. Atlanta: SBL.
- 2015 "Scribal Curriculum during the First Temple Period: Epigraphic Hebrew and Biblical Evidence." Pages 71-102 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by B. B. Schmidt. Ancient Israel and its Literature 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

2018 "Scripture and Inscriptions: Eighth Century Israel and Judah in Writing." Pages 457-473 in *Archaeology and History of Eighth Century Judah*. Oded Borowski Festschrift. Edited by Z. Farber and J. Wright. Ancient Near East Monographs 23. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Römer, Thomas.

1997 "The Elusive Yahwist: A Short History of Research." Pages 9-28 in *Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*. Edited by T. Dozeman and K. Schmid. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Rooker, Mark.

1990 *Biblical Hebrew in Transition: The Language of the Book of Ezekiel*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.

Rosch, Eleanor.

1975 "Cognitive representations of semantic categories." *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General* 104: 192-233.

1978 "Principles of Categorization." Pages 27-48 in *Cognition and Categorization*. Edited by E. Rosch and B. Lloyd. Hillsdale, N. J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Rosch, Eleanor; Mervis, Carolyn.

1975 "Family resemblances: Studies in the internal structure of categories." *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 573-605.

Rosenthal, Franz.

1963 *A Grammar of Biblical Aramaic*. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.

Rubio, Gonzalo.

2006 "Eblaite, Akkadian, and East Semitic." Pages 110-139 in *The Akkadian Language in its Semitic Context*. Edited by G. Deutscher and N. J. Kouwenberg. Leuven: Peeters.

Saenz-Badillos, Angel.

1993 *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Samuel, Harald.

2019 "Differential place marking and Late Biblical Hebrew." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Diego, California, November 25.

Sanders, Seth.

2015 "Introduction to How to Build a Sacred Text in the Ancient Near East." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 15.2: 113-120.

Sankoff, Gillian.

- 2002 "Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact." Pages 638-668 in the *Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Edited by J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell.

Sarauw, Chr.

- 1907 "Der hebraische Lokativ." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 20.1: 183-189.

Schmid, Konrad.

- 1997 "The So-Called Yahwist and the Literary Gap between Genesis and Exodus." Pages 29-50 in *Farewell to the Yahwist? The Composition of the Pentateuch in Recent European Interpretation*. Edited by T. Dozeman and K. Schmid. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2011 "Authorship." Pages 116-120 in *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Edited by H. Spieckermann. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- 2016 "Post-Priestly Additions in the Pentateuch: Survey of Scholarship." Pages 589-604 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Schniedewind, William.

- 2004 *How the Bible Became a Book*. Cambridge: Cambridge University.
- 2006 "Aramaic, the Death of Written Hebrew, and Language Shift in the Persian Period." Pages 137-148 in *Margins or Writing, Origins of Cultures*. Edited by S. L. Sanders. Oriental Institute Seminars 2. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2013 *A Social History of Hebrew: Its Origins through the Rabbinic Period*. New Haven: Yale.
- 2014 "Understanding Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The View from Kuntillet 'Ajrud." *MAARAV* 21.1-2: 271-293.
- 2015 "Scripturalization in Ancient Judah." Pages 305-322 in *Contextualizing Israel's Sacred Writings: Ancient Literacy, Orality, and Literary Production*. Edited by B. B. Schmidt. *Ancient Israel and its Literature* 22. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2016 "Linguistic Dating, Writing Systems, and the Pentateuchal Sources." Pages 345-356 in *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*. Edited by J. C. Gertz, B. M. Levinson, D. Rom-Shiloni, and K. Schmid. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2017 "The Linguistics of Writing Systems and the Gap in the Hebrew Scribal Tradition." Pages 113-123 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. *Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2019 *The Finger of the Scribe: How Scribes Learned to Write the Bible*. New York: Oxford University.

Schniedewind, William; Sivan, Daniel.

1997 "The Elijah-Elisha Narratives: A Test Case for the Northern Dialect of Hebrew." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 87 no. 3/4: 303-337.

Schücking-Jungblut, Friederike.

2020 "Reading the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Observations on Material, Layout, and Text." Pages 71-88 in *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures*. Edited by A. Krauß, J. Leipziger and F. Schücking-Jungblut. *Materiale Textkulturen* 26. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Schwartz, Baruch J.

2011 "Does Recent Scholarship's Critique of the Documentary Hypothesis Constitute Grounds for Its Rejection?" Pages 3-16 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sebba, Mark.

2009 "Sociolinguistic approaches to writing systems research." *Writing Systems Research* 1.1: 35-49.

2015 "Iconisation, attribution and branding in orthography." *Written Language & Literacy* 18.2: 208-227.

Seow, Choon L.

1996 "Linguistic evidence and the dating of Qohelet." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 115: 643-666.

Simon, Ethelyn; Resnikoff, Irene; Motzkin, Linda.

2005 *The First Hebrew Primer*. 3rd Edition Revised. Oakland, Calif.: EKS.

Sivan, Daniel.

2001 *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language, Second Impression with Corrections*. *Handbook of Oriental Studies* 28. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Ska, Jean-Louis.

2011 "The Limits of Interpretation." Pages 109-122 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Slobin, Dan I.

1996 "Two Ways to Travel: Verbs of Motion in English and Spanish." Pages 195-219 in *Grammatical Constructions*. Edited by M. Shibatani and S. Thompson. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Smith, Mark S.

- 1997 "The Baal Cycle." Pages 81-180 in *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry*. S. B. Parker, ed. Writings of the Ancient World 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- 2014 *Poetic Heroes: Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Smith, Mark S.; Pitard, Wayne T.

- 2009 *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*. Volume 2. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 114. Leiden: Brill.

Sokoloff, Michael.

- 2012 "Outline of Aramaic Diachrony." Pages 379-405 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Sommer, Benjamin.

- 2011 "Dating Pentateuchal Texts and the Perils of Pseudo-Historicism." Pages 85-108 in *The Pentateuch: International Perspectives on Current Research*. Edited by T. Dozeman, K. Schmid, and B. Schwartz. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 78. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

Sparks, Rachael T.

- 2013 "Re-writing the Script: Decoding the Textual Experience in the Bronze Age Levant (c. 2000-1150 BC)." Pages 75-104 in *Writing as Material Practice: Substance, surface and medium*. Edited by K. E. Piquette and R. D. Whitehouse. London: Ubiquity.

Spencer, Andrew; Luis, Ana R.

- 2012 *Clitics: An Introduction*. Cambridge Textbooks in Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Squires, Lauren.

- 2012 "Who Punctuating What? Sociolinguistic Variation in Instant Messaging." Pages 203-224 in *Orthography as Social Action: Scripts, Spelling, Identity and Power*. Edited by A. Jaffe, J. Androutsopoulos, M. Sebba, and S. Johnson. Boston: De Gruyter.

Stamenković, Dušan; Tasić, Miloš.

- 2013 "English Verbs of Motion and Prototype Theory." *British and American Studies* 19: 218-228.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol.

- 2018 "The goal bias revisited: A colostruational approach." *Yearbook of the German Cognitive Linguistics Association* 6: 143-166.

Stefanowitsch, Anatol; Rohde, Ada.

2004 "The goal bias in the encoding of motion events." Pages 249-267 in *Motivation in Grammar*. Edited by K.-U. Panther and G. Radden. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Stolz, Thomas; Lestrade, Sander; Stolz, Christel.

2014 *The crosslinguistics of zero-marking of spatial relations*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sweeney, Marvin A.

2014 "Form Criticism: Hebrew Bible/Old Testament." *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*. Volume 9. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Talmy, Leonard.

2000a *Toward a Cognitive Semantics: Volume 1: Concept Structuring Systems*. Cambridge: MIT.

2000b *Toward a Cognitive Semantics: Volume 2: Typology and Process in Concept Structuring*. Cambridge: MIT.

2017 "Past, present, and future of motion research." Pages 1-12 in *Motion and Space across Languages: Theory and Applications*. Edited by I. Ibarretxe-Antuñano. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Talshir, David.

2003 "The Habitat and History of Hebrew during the Second Temple Period." Pages 251-275 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.

Tatu, Silviu.

2008 *The Qatal//Yiqtol (Yiqtol//Qatal) Verbal Sequence in Semitic Couplets*. Piscataway, N.J.: Gorgias.

Taylor, John R.

1990 "Schemas, prototypes, and models: In search of the unity of the sign." Pages 521-534 in *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*. Edited by S. L. Tsohatzidis. London: Routledge.

1995 *Linguistic Categorization: Prototypes in Linguistic Theory*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon.

2015 "Prototype effects in grammar." Pages 562-579 in *Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*. Edited by E. Dąbrowska and D. Divjak. Berlin: De Gruyter.

THB = Lange, Armin and Tov, Emanuel, eds.

2016 *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible. Volume IA: Overview Articles*. Leiden: Brill.

2017 *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible. Volume IB: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets*. Leiden: Brill.

Thompson, Sandra A.; Hopper, Paul J.

- 2001 "Transitivity, clause structure, and argument structure." Pages 27- in *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*. Edited by J. Bybee and P. Hopper. Typological Studies in Language 45. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tigchelaar, Eibert.

- 2020 "Mimetic and Scribal Performance in Ancient Judaism." Paper presented at "The Dead Sea Scrolls in Recent Scholarship: A Public Conference," Online [organized by the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University, New York, New York], May 18.

Tobin, Yishai.

- 1994 *Invariance, Markedness, and Distinctive Feature Analysis: A Contrastive Study of Sign Systems in English and Hebrew*. ASTHLC 111. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tov, Emanuel.

- 2005 *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 2nd edition. Leiden: Brill.
2017 "Scribal Aspects of the Manufacturing and Writing of the Qumran Scrolls." Pages 29-48 in *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives*. Edited by I. Wandrey. De Gruyter.
2019 *Textual Developments: Collected Essays Volume 4*. Leiden: Brill.

Tropper, Josef.

- 2000 *Ugaritische Grammatik*. AOAT 273. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Tsumura, David Toshio.

- 2017 "Verticality in Biblical Hebrew Parallelism." Pages 189-206 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Tsunoda, Tasaku.

- 1981 "Split case-marking in verb types and tense/aspect/mood." *Linguistics* 19:389-438.
1985 "Remarks on transitivity." *Journal of Linguistics* 21: 385-396.

Tucker, Gene M.

- 1971 *Form Criticism of the Old Testament*. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Ulrich, Eugene.

- 2011 "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books." Pages 47-64 in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Edited by H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila. Beihefte zue Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 419. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Van der Auwera, Johan; Gast, Volker.

- 2010 "Categories and prototypes." Pages 166-189 in *The Oxford Handbook of Language Typology*. Edited by J. J. Song. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van der Merwe, Christo; Naude, Jackie; Kroeze, Jan.

1999 *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

Van der Toorn, Karel.

2007 *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*. Cambridge: Harvard.

Vásquez Rozas, Victoria.

2007 "A usage-based approach to prototypical transitivity." Pages 17-37 in *On Interpreting Construction Schemas: From Action and Motion to Transitivity and Causality*. Trends in Linguistics 198. Edited by N. Delbecque and B. Cornillie. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Vern, Robyn.

2011 *Dating Archaic Biblical Hebrew poetry: A critique of the linguistic arguments*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias.

Vita, Juan-Pablo.

2012 "On the Lexical Background of the Amarna Glosses." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39: 278–86.

Von Soden, Wolfram.

1932 "Der hymnische-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 40.2: 163-227.

1933 "Der hymnische-epische Dialekt des Akkadischen (Schluss)." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 43: 90-183.

Von Weissenberg, Hanne; Pakkala, Julia; Marttila, Marko, eds.

2011 *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. Beihefte zue Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Waltke, Bruce K.; O'Connor, Michael.

1990 *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Wardhaugh, Ronald.

2010 *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 6th edition. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Watson, W. G. E.

1994 *Traditional Techniques in Classical Hebrew Verse*. JSOTS 170. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

2005 *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*. 2nd ed. London: T&T Clark.

Weinberg, J. P.

2003 "Authorship and Author in the Ancient Near East and in the Hebrew Bible." *Hebrew Studies* 44: 157-169.

Whittaker, Helene.

- 2013 "The Function and Meaning of Writing in the Prehistoric Aegean: Some reflections on the social and symbolic significance of writing from a material perspective." Pages 105-121 in *Writing as Material Practice: Substance, surface and medium*. Edited by K. E. Piquette and R. D. Whitehouse. London: Ubiquity.

Wierzbicka, Anna.

- 1990 "Prototypes save: On the uses and abuses of the notion of 'prototype' in linguistics and related fields." Pages 347-367 in *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*. Edited by S. L. Tsohatzidis. London: Routledge.
- 1995 "A semantic basis for grammatical typology." Pages 179-209 in *Discourse grammar and typology: Papers in honor of John W. M. Verhaar*. Edited by W. Abraham, T. Givon, and S. A. Thompson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Williams, Ronald J.; Beckman, John C.

- 2007 *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*. 3rd ed. Toronto: University of Toronto.

Wilson-Wright, Aren M.

- 2016 "A Reevaluation of the Semitic Direct Object Markers." *Hebrew Studies* 57: 7-15.

Winters, Margaret E.

- 1990 "Toward a theory of syntactic prototypes." Pages 285-306 in *Meanings and Prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*. Edited by S. L. Tsohatzidis. London: Routledge.

Winther-Nielsen, Nicolai.

- 2016 "How to classify Hebrew verbs: plotting verb specific roles." Pages 67-94 in *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, Greek)*. Edited by T. M. Lewis, A. Salvesen, and B. Turner. Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages 8. Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias.
- 2017 "Corpus-Driven Valence: Give and the Meaning of *ntn*, *Nātan*, in Genesis." Pages 363-385 in *Advances in Biblical Hebrew Linguistics*. Edited by A. Moshavi and T. Notarius. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 12. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.

Woods, Christopher.

- 2006 "Bilingualism, Scribal Learning, and the Death of Sumerian." Pages 91-120 in *Margins or Writing, Origins of Cultures*. Edited by S. L. Sanders. Oriental Institute Seminars 2. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2008 *The Grammar of Perspective: The Sumerian Conjugation Prefixes as a System of Voice*. Leiden: Brill.

Wright, Richard M.

- 2003 "Further Evidence for North Israelite Contributions to Late Biblical Hebrew." Pages 129-148 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.

Yoo, Yoon Jong.

1999 "Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Hosea." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University.

Young, Ian.

- 2003a "Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew Inscriptions." Pages 276-311 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
- 2003b "Concluding Reflections." Pages 312-317 in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Edited by I. Young. London: T & T Clark.
- 2005 "Biblical Texts Cannot be Dated Linguistically." *Hebrew Studies* 46: 341-351.

Young, Ian; Rezetko, Robert; Ehrensverd, Martin.

2008 *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*. 2 vols. London: Equinox.

Zevit, Ziony.

- 2005 "Introductory Remarks: Historical Linguistics and the Dating of Hebrew Texts ca. 1000-300 B.C.E." *Hebrew Studies* 46: 321-326.
- 2012 "Not-so-random Thoughts on Linguistic Dating and the Diachrony of Biblical Hebrew." Pages 455-489 in *Diachrony in Biblical Hebrew*. Edited by C. Miller-Naudé and Z. Zevit. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 8. Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns.
- 2014 "Dating Torah Documents from Wellhausen to Polak." Pages 258-291 in *Discourse, Dialogue, and Debate in the Bible: Essays in Honor of Frank H. Polak*. Edited by A. Brenner-Idan. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)

Vita

EDUCATION

- Ph.D. in Hebrew Bible and Northwest Semitics** 2020
Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, Maryland)
- M.A. in Near Eastern Studies** 2017 (processed 2019)
Johns Hopkins University (Baltimore, Maryland)
- M.A. in General Linguistics** 2014
Indiana University (Bloomington, Indiana)
- B.A. in Biblical Languages and Linguistics** 2011
Geneva College (Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania)

ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT

- Instructor in Ancient Semitic Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics, 2016-2020
Department of Near Eastern Studies, Johns Hopkins University
- Adjunct Professor of Biblical Hebrew, Department of Foreign Languages / 2018-2019
Jewish Studies Program, Towson University
- Instructor in Ancient History, Solid Foundations Educational Association 2011-2012
- Teaching Assistant in Biblical Languages and Linguistics, Geneva College 2009-2011

CERTIFICATIONS

- Johns Hopkins Teaching Academy Certificate for Undergraduate Teaching 2020

PUBLICATIONS

- “Which Language Should We Choose?” In *A Handbook for Teaching about the Ancient World*. Edited by Pinar Durgun. In press. [accepted 2020]
- “The Idrimi Statue Inscription in its Late Bronze Scribal Context.” *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 382: 243-259. 2019
- “Light and Darkness: Sectarian Rhetoric in Qumran and the New Testament.” *Indiana University Linguistics Club Working Papers Online* 14. 2014
- “Directional Strategies in Biblical Hebrew: Influences on the Use of Locative He.” *Indiana University Linguistics Club Working Papers Online* 14. 2014

LANGUAGES

Modern languages: English, French, German, Hebrew, Spanish

Ancient languages: **Akkadian** (Canaanite-Akkadian, Hurro-Akkadian, Mari Akkadian, Middle Babylonian, Neo-Assyrian, Old Assyrian, Old Babylonian), **Aramaic** (Biblical, Old, Qumran), **Greek** (Attic, Koine, Patristic, Septuagintal), **Hebrew** (Biblical, Epigraphic, Qumran, Rabbinic), **Hittite** (Imperial), **Latin** (Classical), **Other Northwest Semitic** (Ammonite, Moabite, Phoenician, Sam’alian), **Sumerian**, **Ugaritic**.

[\[Return to Table of Contents\]](#)