

generative approach to pro-drop, the phenomenon was associated with the nature of verbal inflection, since in many pro-drop languages the finite verb is inflected with morphologically rich affixes (i.e., the verbal affixes are portmanteau morphs, carrying a bundle of person, number, and gender features). While the agreement affixes in these languages (such as Italian, Spanish, Arabic, Hebrew) may aid in the identification of the null subject *pro*, morphological agreement between the verb and subject is clearly not a prerequisite for pro-drop, since Chinese and Japanese, for example, are pro-drop languages without verbal agreement features.

REFERENCES

- Borer, Hagit. 1986. "I-subjects". *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:375-416.
- Creason, Stuart. 1991. "Discourse constraints on null complements in Biblical Hebrew". *University of Chicago Working Papers in Linguistics* 7:18-47.
- Doron, Edit. 1988. "On the complementarity of subject and subject-verb agreement". *Agreement in natural language: Approaches, theories, descriptions*, ed. by M. Marlow and C. Ferguson, 202-218. Stanford, California: CSLT.
- Dryer, Matthew S. 2008. "Expression of pronominal subjects". *The world atlas of language structures online*, ed. by Martin Haspelmath, Matthew S. Dryer, David Gil, and Bernard Comrie, chp. 101. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Online at <http://wals.info/feature/101>.
- GKC 1910 = Kautzsch, Emil. (ed.). 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew grammar*. Trans. By A. E. Cowley. 2nd English ed. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Gutman, Eynat. 1999. "Null subjects: A theory of syntactic and discourse-identification". PhD dissertation, University of Delaware.
- . 2004. "Third person null subjects in Hebrew, Finnish and Rumanian: An accessibility-theoretic account". *Journal of Linguistics* 40:463-490.
- Heimerdinger, Jean-Marc. 1999. *Topic, focus and foreground in Ancient Hebrew narratives*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.
- Huang, James C.-T. 1984. "On the distribution and reference of empty pronouns". *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:531-574.
- Jouon, Paul and Takamitsu Muraoka. 2006. *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Revised English edition. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- McShane, Marjorie J. 2005. *A theory of ellipsis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Naudé, Jacobus A. 1991. "Qumran Hebrew as a null subject language". *South African Journal of Linguistics* 9:119-125.
- . 1993. "On subject pronoun and subject noun asymmetry: A preliminary survey of Northwest Semitic". *South African Journal of Linguistics* 11:17-28.
- . 1996. "Independent personal pronouns in Qumran Hebrew syntax". PhD dissertation, University of the Free State, South Africa.
- . 2001. "The distribution of independent personal pronouns in Qumran Hebrew". *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 27:91-112.
- Ritter, Elizabeth. 1995. "On the syntactic category of pronouns and agreement". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13:405-443.
- Rizzi, Luigi. 1986. "Null objects in Italian and the theory of *pro*". *Linguistic Inquiry* 17:501-557.
- Shimasaki, Katsuomi. 2002. *Focus structure in Biblical Hebrew: A study of word order and information structure*. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL.
- Shlonsky, Ur. 1987. "Null and displaced subjects". PhD dissertation, MIT.
- . 2009. "Hebrew as a partial null-subject language". *Studia Linguistica* 63:133-157.
- Vainikka, Anne and Yonata Levy. 1999. "Empty subjects in Finnish and Hebrew". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 17:613-671.

ROBERT D. HOLMSTEDT
(The University of Toronto)

Pronominal Suffixes

Pronominal suffixes may be attached to nouns to express the genitive, to prepositions, and to verbs to express the direct object or, sporadically, other case relations.

The following are the most common forms of the pronominal suffixes occurring on singular nouns ending in consonants in the standard Tiberian tradition of Biblical Hebrew, as well as on some prepositions and some plural nouns ending in תי-/ת' - -ōt:

י-	-ō	3ms	ם -	-ām	3mpl
ה -	-āh	3fs	ן -	-ān	3fpl
ך -	-kā	2ms	ם -	-kem	2mpl
ך -	-ēk	2fs	ן -	-ken	2fpl
י -	-ī	1CS	נ -	-ēnū	1cpl

Examples: בְּנִי *binkā* 'your (ms) son', יָדְךָ *yādḵā* 'your (ms) hand', לָהּ *lāh* 'to her', שְׁמוֹתָם *šəmōtām* 'their (m) names'. The 2ms has the pausal form כְּךָ - *-ēkā* with penultimate stress.

On nouns ending in a vowel the most common forms are:

ו-/וה-	-w/-hū	3ms	ם -	-hem	3mpl
ה -	-hā	3fs	ן -	-hen	3fpl
ך -	-kā	2ms	ם -	-kem	2mpl
ך -	-k	2fs	ן -	-ken	2fpl
י -	-ī	1CS	נ -	-nū	1cpl

Examples: פִּי *pīw*/פִּיהוּ *pīhū* ‘his mouth’, אָבִיהָ *’ābīhā* ‘her father’, פְּרִיהֶם *pərihem* ‘their (m) fruit’.

The following are the most common forms of pronominal suffixes added to plural nouns and to some prepositions in Biblical Hebrew:

וְ - <i>-āw</i>	3ms	יָהֶם .. - <i>-ēhem</i>	3mpl
הָ - <i>-ēhā</i>	3fs	יָהֶן .. - <i>-ēhen</i>	3fpl
יָ - <i>-ēkā</i>	2ms	יָכֶם .. - <i>-ēkem</i>	2mpl
יָ - <i>-āyik</i>	2fs	יָכֶן .. - <i>-ēken</i>	2fpl
יְ - <i>-ay</i>	1cs	יְנוּ .. - <i>-ēnū</i>	1cpl

The bisyllabic suffixes יָהֶן - *-ēhā* (3fs), יָיָ - *-ēkā* (2ms), יָיָ - *-āyik*, and יְנוּ - *-ēnū* are stressed on the penultimate syllable, while the bisyllabic suffixes of the 3pl and 2pl are stressed on the final syllable. Examples: בָּנָיו *bānāw* ‘his sons’, עָלֶיךָ *’ālēkā* ‘upon you (ms)’, עֲלוֹתֵיכֶם *’olōtēkem* ‘your (mpl) whole burnt-offerings’. The 2fs and 1cs suffixes have the pausal forms יָיָ - *-āyik* and יְ - *-āy* respectively. The occurrence of *seghol* in the suffixes יָיָ - *-ēhā* (3fs), יָיָ - *-ēkā* (2ms) instead of *šere* appears to be due to the assimilation of the vowel to the quality of the following *qameṣ*. In Tiberian pronunciation *seghol* and *qameṣ* had the same vowel height, one being front and the other back (→ Tiberian Reading Tradition); cf. אָחָי *’ahay* ‘my brothers’ but אָחָיו *’ehāw* ‘his brothers’. There is evidence from medieval Karaite transcriptions into Arabic that some variant traditions of Tiberian pronunciation existed in which the vowel was pronounced as *šere* in these forms (Khan 1990).

The vocalization of some of these pronominal suffixes does not correspond to the consonantal orthography, i.e., the *qere* does not correspond to the *ketiv* (→ *Ketiv* and *Qere*). The 2ms forms, for example, are vocalized with a final vowel (*-kā*, *-ēkā*) but this is not represented by a *mater lectionis* in the orthography (יָ - *k*, יָיָ - *yk*). Similarly, the 3fs form on nouns ending in a vowel and the form on plural nouns have a final vowel in the *qere* (*-hā*, *-ēhā*) that is not represented in the orthography (יָהֶן - *yh*). The 3ms form in the second set of suffixes has a *yod* in the orthography (וְיָ - *yw*) that is not reflected by the way it is pronounced according to the vocalization (*-āw*). The most satisfactory explanation for this is that the *qere* in such cases reflects a different dialectal form of Hebrew from that reflected by the *ketiv*. The *qere* of the

suffixes in question is reflected by the orthography of the consonantal text in a few sporadic cases, e.g., יָדְכָה *yādkā* ‘your (ms) hand’ (Exod. 13.16), חֵצָיו *hiṣṣāw* ‘his arrows’ (Ps. 58.8), וְאֶת־קִיָּהָה *(qere וְאֶת־קִיָּהָה)* *wə-’attūqehā* ‘and its galleries’ (Ezek. 41.15). The spellings כַּח - *kh* (= Masoretic חַח - *kā*) and וְיָ - *w* (= Masoretic וְיָ - *-āw*) are found also in Qumran manuscripts and Hebrew epigraphic texts from the 1st millennium B.C.E. (Cross and Freedman 1952:53, 66–67; Qimron 1986:58–60) (→ Dead Sea Scrolls: Linguistic Features; Epigraphic Hebrew: Pre-Roman Period; Second Temple Period). The spelling of these suffixes with the normal Masoretic type of orthography is also found in the Qumran and epigraphic texts, suggesting that two different traditions of reading the suffixes existed in the Second Temple Period. Since these texts come from periods when Hebrew was still a living language, these differences can be regarded as dialectal variations of Hebrew. The spellings כַּח - *kh*, and וְיָ - *w* can be identified with the phonetic form that the suffixes have in the Tiberian *qere*, viz. *-kā* and *-āw*, respectively. The spellings חַח - *k* and וְיָ - *yw*, on the other hand, would reflect a pronunciation such as *-āḳ* and *-ēw*. The form of the 2ms *-āḳ* without a final vowel is reflected by the Greek transcription of Biblical Hebrew in Origen’s Hexapla and in the Latin transcriptions of Jerome (→ Transcription into Greek and Latin Script: Pre-Masoretic Period; Transcription into Latin Script: Jerome). It is also found in some traditions of post-biblical Hebrew (Ben-Ḥayyim 1954:27–32, 63; Kutsher 1979:442–443; Fassberg 1989; → Morphology: Rabbinic Hebrew), including biblical quotations within post-biblical Hebrew texts (Yahalom 1997:24). The spelling לִישְׁמוֹךְ *ly-šmwk* ‘for your name’ is found in an incantation bowl from Mesopotamia with *waw* reflecting a back rounded *qameṣ* (→ Epigraphic Hebrew: Roman and Byzantine Period). It is avoided in medieval vocalized biblical texts and subsequent reading traditions, with the exception of the Samaritan reading tradition of the Pentateuch, in which the form without a final vowel is the only one that is used (→ Samaritan Hebrew: Pentateuch). It does occur, however, in some pausal forms in the Tiberian reading tradition (e.g., לָלֶכְךָ *lālēk*, pausal form of לָלֶכְךָ *lālēk* ‘to you [ms]’).

There are several rarer variant forms of pronominal suffixes attested in the Tiberian

Masoretic text (see GKC §91 for a full list). These include a number of suffixes that are characteristic of archaic poetic language (→ Biblical Hebrew, Archaic), such as the 3mpl suffix *-mō*, e.g., אֱלֹהֵימוֹ *ʾēlōhēmō* ‘their gods’ (Deut. 32.37) and עֲלֵימוֹ *ʿālēmō* ‘upon them’ (Job 27.23), the 2fs suffix *-kī*, e.g., רָעַתְּכִי *rāʿātēkī* ‘your evil’ (Jer. 11.15), which in some cases exists only in the *ketiv*, e.g., *ketiv* לְכִי *lky*, *qere* לָלֵךְ *lālēk* ‘to you (fs)’ (2 Kgs 4.2), and the 3ms suffix with the orthography *-h* rather than *-w*, e.g., עִירָה *ʿirō* ‘his donkey’ and סוּתָה *sūtō* ‘his garment’ (Gen. 49.11). As can be seen, the *qere* of the latter suffix is regularly identical to that of the standard suffix *-ō*. The orthography *-h* is likely to represent a different pronunciation of the suffix (Young 1993:105–106). In Iron Age epigraphic Hebrew the 3ms suffix is predominantly written with a final *-h* (→ Epigraphic Hebrew: Pre-Roman Period). It is still found sporadically in the Qumran Scrolls (Morgenstern 2004:166–168). Note also the rare poetic form of the 3ms pronominal suffix preserved in יָדָיָהוּ *yādēhū* ‘his hands’ (Hab. 3.10), which may be compared to the reconstructed reading of the *ketiv* יוֹ *-yw* as *-ēw*.

In medieval manuscripts with Babylonian vocalization minor variations from Tiberian are found in the pronominal suffixes. The 3fs suffix corresponding to Tiberian *-āh*, for example, is occasionally vocalized with *pataḥ*, e.g., בָּהּ (Tiberian בָּהּ *bāḥ* ‘in her’) (Yeivin 1985:751). Whereas the 3ms and the 1pl pronominal suffixes on the preposition *מִן* *min* have the same vocalization in Tiberian (מִמֶּנּוּ *mimmennū* ‘from him/from us’), these are distinguished in Babylonian vocalization. The Babylonian form of the 3ms corresponds to Tiberian, viz. מִמֶּנּוּ *mimmennū* ‘from him’. The 1pl is pointed with *šere* and without a following *dagesh*: מִמֶּנּוּ *mimmēnū* ‘from us’. This distinction between Tiberian and Babylonian pronunciation is mentioned in some medieval grammatical sources (Yeivin 1985:1139–1141; Dotan 1997:39).

In Hebrew manuscripts from the Second Temple Period a variety of forms of pronominal suffixes are attested. These include some forms that are sporadically attested in the Masoretic biblical text but have a wider distribution in the Second Temple sources. The 3ms suffix *-why*, for example, is found in

in the Masoretic Text as an isolated variant of יוֹ *-āw* on a plural noun in תַּגְמוּלוֹהִי *tagmūlōhī* ‘His goodness’ (Ps. 116.12), but is attested more frequently in the Dead Sea scrolls, e.g., ועֵינוּהִי *w-ʿynwḥy* ‘and his eyes’ (1QSa 5.5), בחוקוֹהִי *b-ḥwqwhy* ‘in His statutes’ (1QSa 5.11). This is the normal form of the 3ms suffix on plural nouns in Aramaic and so its occurrence on Hebrew words reflects a convergence with Aramaic. In the Dead Sea texts one also finds some forms of suffix that are not attested in the Masoretic Text. Of particular interest are the suffixes of the 2pl and 3pl ending in *he* reflecting a final vowel: כַּמָּה *-kmb* (e.g., 1QIsa^a אַתְּכֶם *ʾetkēm* [Isa. 5.5]), מָה *-mh* and הַמָּה *-hmb* (e.g., אוֹיְבֵיהֶמָה *ʾwybybmb* ‘their enemies’, שַׁלְלָמָה *šllmh* ‘their booty’ [Temple Scroll 59.11–12]) (→ Second Temple Period; Dead Sea Scrolls: Linguistic Features). These plural suffixes with a final vowel do not occur in the medieval Masoretic traditions, but they have survived in the Samaritan reading tradition, though not in the orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch, in which they are written without a final *mater lectionis*, e.g., לְכֶם *lākemma* ‘to you (mpl)’ (Gen. 49.1), בְּסֻדֵּימָם *afsūdimmā* ‘in their (m) council’ (Gen. 49.6) (→ Samaritan Pentateuch).

The → Bar Kokhba Documents contain a number of variant forms of plural suffixes that appear to be the result of Aramaic influence, e.g., 3mpl יֵהוּן *-yḥwn* (כְּעַלְיָהוּן *k/ʿlyḥwn* ‘their utensils/to them’ [P. Yadin 51.3]), וֹם *-wm* (בֵּינֹתוֹם *bynwtwm* ‘between them’ [P. Yadin 44.2]); 3fpl. וֵן *-wn* (3fpl), and also variants of the 2mpl and 3mpl suffixes with final *nun*: וְכַם *-km/n* (2mpl), וְהַם *-hm/n* (3mpl).

Early manuscripts of Rabbinic Hebrew, whose language has not been harmonized with Biblical Hebrew, attest to a number of forms of pronominal suffixes that deviate from those commonly found in Biblical Hebrew (→ Morphology: Rabbinic Hebrew). As remarked above, the form of the 2ms suffix *-āk* is found in Rabbinic Hebrew. This form, however, occurs only on nouns ending in a consonant, e.g., בֵּיתְךָ *bētāk* ‘your (ms) house’. The form *-kā* occurs on nouns ending in a vowel, e.g., פִּיךָ *pīkā* ‘your (ms) mouth’. The Aramaic 2fs suffix *-ik* is used (e.g., בֵּיתְךָ *bētīk* ‘your [fs] house’) alongside the Hebrew 2fs suffix *-ēk*, which occurs on words that do not exist in Aramaic (e.g., בְּנֶךָ *banēk* ‘you son’). Masculine

plural forms of suffixes with final *nun* occur alongside forms with final *mem* in the 3mpl (םָ - *-ām*, ךָּ - *-ān*, ןָּ - *-ēn*) and in the 2mpl (כֶּם - *-kem*, כֶּן - *-ken*). The feminine plural suffixes have only final *nun* (3fpl ךָּ - *-ān*, 2fpl כֶּן - *-ken*). The occurrence of final *nun* in the masculine plural is due to a general sound shift of final *m* > *n*.

On account of the general tendency in medieval sources to use a fuller orthography, the semantic distinction in Biblical Hebrew orthography between the spelling with and without *yod* of the ending of the singular and plural noun with suffixes (מכתבנו sing. vs. מכתבינו pl.) is sometimes confused and one finds spellings such as תפלתינו *teḥillatenu* ‘our prayer’ (medieval letter by the Gaon Solomon ben Judah, CULT-SAS 151.20; → Gaonic Correspondence).

In Modern Hebrew pronominal suffixes on nouns and prepositions have their standard biblical forms. The final /h/ in the 3fs form הַּ-

-ah is generally elided in fast speech and the suffix is pronounced *-a*. The use of suffixes on nouns is primarily optional in Modern Hebrew. They occur frequently in indication of life periods (ילדותו *yalduto* ‘his childhood’), of partial or full quantities (כולם *kulam* ‘all of them’), of capacity and opinion (יכולתנו *yexoltenu* ‘our ability’, דעתך *dāʿatxa* ‘your opinion’) (Avioz 2004). More frequently pronominal suffixes are attached to the analytical genitive particle של *šel* ‘of’, e.g., המורים שלי *ha-morim šeli* ‘my teachers’, המתנות שלכם *ha-matanot šelaxem* ‘your (pl) presents’ (→ Morphology: Modern Hebrew; Inflection).

Pronominal suffixes are attached to verbs to express the object. The most commonly used forms in the Tiberian Masoretic text are as follows (stress placement is marked in the transcriptions):

Form ending in a vowel (V)	Prefix conjugation ending in a consonant	Suffix conjugation verb ending in a consonant
הוּ - <i>-Vhū</i> , וּ - <i>-w</i>	הוּ - <i>-āhū</i> , וּ - <i>-ō</i>	הוּ - <i>-ēhū</i> 3ms
הָּ - <i>-Vhā</i>	הָּ - <i>-āh</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēhā</i> 3fs
הָּ - <i>-Vkā</i>	הָּ - <i>-kā</i>	הָּ - <i>-kā</i> 2ms
הָּ - <i>-Vk</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēk</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēk</i> 2fs
הָּ - <i>-Vnī</i>	הָּ - <i>-ānī</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēnī</i> 1cs
הָּ - <i>-Vm</i>	הָּ - <i>-ām</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēm</i> 3mpl
הָּ - <i>-Vn</i>	הָּ - <i>-ān</i>	— 3fpl
הָּ - <i>-Vkém</i>	הָּ - <i>-kém</i>	הָּ - <i>-kém</i> 2mpl
—	—	— 2fpl
הָּ - <i>-Vnū</i>	הָּ - <i>-ānū</i>	הָּ - <i>-ēnū</i> 1cpl

In pause different forms of some of these suffixes are used, viz. הָּ - *-ānī* (1cs), הָּ - *-ēkā*, הָּ - *-kā* (2ms). In archaic poetic passages one finds 3mpl suffixes ending in הוּ - *-mō*, e.g., יאכלמוּ *yōklēmō* ‘consumed them’ (Exod. 15.7) and כִּסְּמוּ *kissāmō* ‘covered them’ (Exod. 15.10) (→ Biblical Hebrew, Archaic; for other rarer forms see GKC §§58–61).

These suffixes resemble in form the suffixes that are attached to nouns and prepositions, with the exception of the 1cs form, which has an additional *-n*-element (*-nī*).

A further series of verbal suffixes is formed by inserting an additional syllable containing a /n/ before the forms in the basic series. This is known as *nun energicum* or → Nunnation. In origin it was *-an-*, but in most cases, except the 1cs, the vowel has shifted to *seghol*. The *nun*

is generally assimilated to the consonant of the following suffix resulting in forms such as the following:

3ms	הָּ - <i>-ēnnū</i> (< <i>-enhū</i>)
3fs	הָּ - <i>-ēnnā</i> (< <i>-enhā</i>)
2ms	הָּ - <i>-ēkkā</i> (< <i>-enkā</i>)
1cs	הָּ - <i>-ānnī</i> , הָּ - <i>-ēnnī</i>
1cpl	הָּ - <i>-ēnnū</i>

The *nun energicum* does not occur in other persons. Occasionally the *nun* is not assimilated, e.g., וְאֶרְמְנֶהוּ *wa-ʾārōmānenhū* ‘and I will exalt him’ (Exod. 15.2), יַעְבְּרֶנּוּ *yaʿabrenhū* ‘it (cannot) pass it’ (Jer 5.22). The infix occurs predominantly in pausal forms of the prefix conjugation, but sporadically occurs on the suffix conjugation, e.g., וְיַבְרֶכְכֶּךָ *u-ḥērākekka* ‘and

he will bless you (ms)' (Deut. 24.13). For more details on the function of verbal forms with these suffixes → Nunation.

Infinitives may take nominal or verbal pronominal suffixes. The two series can only be unequivocally distinguished in the 1cs, in which the verbal pronominal suffix has a /n/ element, e.g. לְדַרְשֵׁנִי *lədāršēni* 'to inquire of me' (Jer. 37.7), whereas the nominal pronominal suffix lacks the /n/, e.g., עָבְרִי *'ābrī* 'my passing' (Exod. 33.22). In the former case the infinitive is treated like a verb and in the latter as a noun. When the infinitive has the function of a noun, the suffix may express the subject of the infinitive, as in עָבְרִי *'ābrī* 'my passing', or the object, e.g., לְבַלְתִּי עֲצָבִי *ləbaltī 'āšbī* 'in order not to grieve me' (1 Chron. 4.10).

In most cases pronominal suffixes on verbs express the direct object. Sporadically, however, they are used to express non-accusative complements, such as dative complements or complements with other grammatical relations (Bogaert 1964; Muraoka 1979). They occur, for example, as complements of verbs of speaking and giving in constructions that have parallels elsewhere with dative prepositions, e.g., שְׁאַל אָבִיךָ וְיַגִּדְךָ *š'al 'ābikā wə-yaggēdkā* 'Ask your father, and he will tell you' (Deut. 32.7), cf. וְאוֹלָם שְׁאַלְנָא בְּהֵמֹת וְתַרְדֵּךְ וְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וְיַגִּדְלְךָ *wə-'ūlām š'al-nā bəhēmōt wə-torekkā wə-'ōp haš-šāmayim wə-yaggēd-lāk* 'But ask the beasts, and they will teach you; the birds of the air, and they will tell you' (Job 12.7); מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי בְּמִדְבָּר מַלּוֹן אֲרָחִים *mī-yittənēni bəmīdbar mālōn 'ōrḥim* 'O that I had (lit. "who would give me") in the desert a wayfarers' lodging place' (Jer. 9.1); cf. מִי־יִתְּנֵנִי אֲבֵר כַּי־וֹנָה *mī-yitten-llī 'ēber kay-yōnā* 'O that I had (lit. "who would give me") wings like a dove!' (Ps. 55.7).

In the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls the 3mpl suffix with final *he* (מה- *-mh*), which is found on nouns, is avoided on verbal forms ending in *-ū* or *-ī* (Qimron 1986:62), e.g., אֲרַצְמָה *'ršmh* 'their land' (אַרְצָם *'aršām* [Isa. 34.7]), but יָדַעְנוּם *yd'num* 'we knew them' (יָדַעְנוּם *yadā'anūm* [Isa. 59.12]),... וְהִבִּיאוֹתֵינִי וְשִׂמְחֵתֵנִי *w-hby'wtym... w-šmḥtym* 'and I will bring them...and I will make them rejoice' (וְשִׂמְחֵתֵנִי... וְהִבִּיאוֹתֵנִי *wā-hābī'ōtēm... wə-šimmaḥtim* [Isa. 56.7]).

In the Babylonian branch of Rabbinic Hebrew a 1cs pronominal suffix with the form נִי *-ni* attached to a participle denotes the agent, e.g.,

גּוֹזְרֵנִי *gozerni* 'I order'. This appears to be influenced by the use of enclitic forms of subject pronouns on participles in Babylonian Aramaic (→ Morphology: Rabbinic Hebrew).

In medieval Hebrew letters writers sometimes use a 3ms suffix on prefix conjugation verbs with the form ו- *-o* to allow for a greater degree of assonance and enabling the rhyming of nominal and verbal forms, e.g., צוֹר [יהי] עזרו וצל סתרו ויעטרו וימציאו חן ותקותו *[yehi] šur 'ezro ve-šel sitro v-i'attero ve-yamš'o hen ve-tiqvato* '[may] the Rock be his aid and his shelter's shade, crown him and provide him with grace and hope' (Letter from the Gaon Solomon ben Judah, CUL T-S 13J14.5; → Gaonic Correspondence).

Pronoun object suffixes are rarely used on verbs in Modern Hebrew. The normal means of expressing the pronominal object is by independent phrases containing the object marking particle *-ot/-et* inflected with pronominal suffixes. Pronominal suffixes on verbs are limited to the formal written register and are found in particular in infinitive forms, e.g., להוציאם *le-hošim* 'to get him out', in the past and future when there is no change in the vocalic pattern of the verb, e.g., תובילם *tovilem* 'she will lead them' (תוביל *tovil* 'she will lead'), but rarely in other verbs, e.g., פגשתי *pgaštiv* 'I have met him' (פגשתי *pagas-ti* 'met-I', ו- *-v* 'him'). Most such pronouns are in the 3rd person (→ Morphology: Modern Hebrew).

REFERENCES

- Avioz, Chagit. 2004. "Modern Hebrew number and possessive inflection in nouns" (in Hebrew). PhD dissertation, Bar-Ilan University.
- Ben-Hayyim, Ze'ev. 1954. *Studies in the traditions of the Hebrew language*. Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice. 1964. "Les suffixes verbaux non-accusatifs dans le Sémitique nord-occidental et particulièrement en Hébreu". *Biblica* 45:220–247.
- Cross, Frank Moore and David Noel Freedman. 1952. *Early Hebrew orthography: A study of the epigraphic evidence* (American Oriental Series 36). New Haven, Connecticut: American Oriental Society.
- Dotan, Aron. 1997. *Dawn of Hebrew linguistics: The Book of Elegance of the Language of the Hebrews*. Jerusalem: ha-Iggud ha-'Olam le-Mada'e ha-Yahadut.
- Fassberg, Steven. 1989. "The origin of the ketib/qere in the Aramaic portions of Ezra and Daniel". *Vetus Testamentum* 39:1–12.

- GKC = Kautzsch, Emil (ed). 1946. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. 2nd English edition revised. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, Geoffrey. 1990. *Karaite Bible manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kutscher, Edward Yechezkel. 1979. *The language and linguistic background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Is A)*. Leiden: Brill.
- Morgenstern, Matthew. 2004. "Notes on the language of the Qumran Scrolls". *Meghillot* 2:157–168.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu. 1979. "On verb complementation in Biblical Hebrew". *Vetus Testamentum* 29:425–435.
- Qimron, Elisha. 1986. *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Yahalom, Joseph. 1997. *Palestinian vocalised piyyut manuscripts in the Cambridge Genizah collections*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yeivin, Israel. 1985. *The Hebrew language tradition as reflected in the Babylonian vocalization* (in Hebrew). Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language.
- Young, Ian. 1993. *Diversity in pre-exilic Hebrew*. Tübingen: Mohr (Paul Siebeck).

GEOFFREY KHAN
(University of Cambridge)

Pronominalization

A noun or noun phrase is subject to replacement by a pronoun (that is, pronominalization) or omission (that is, pronominalization by deletion)—sometimes optionally, sometimes obligatory—if it is not specified as new; that is, if it conveys old information. The rationale is obvious. If a noun conveys old information, there is no need for the speaker to repeat it in its entirety. Pronominalization serves as a short-hand reference to nouns or noun phrases mentioned in the discourse and establishes their identity-of-reference by grammatical agreement (e.g., English *he, she, their, herself, it, mine, those, each other, one*, etc.) (Chafe 1970:54). Although pronominalization by deletion does not exist in English, it is an important feature of some languages (e.g., Spanish; see Reid 1977:101). Such total deletion is especially common in those languages where certain non-lexical units of the noun may have been transferred into the verb by agreement processes, leaving traces of the noun's original semantic makeup as well as, perhaps, its relation to the verb (Chafe 1970:260; → Pro-Drop).

Hebrew follows a middle-of-the-road position in that the availability of independent personal pronouns as subjects (specified for the features person, number, and, in some cases, gender) correlates with the inflectional richness of pronominal agreement on the verb form (Borer 1984; 1989). They are subjective, meaning they are used as the subject of a verb, never as the object of the verb, and may also appear as the subject of a verbless clause. For this reason they are sometimes called subject pronouns. They stand alone and are not prefixed or suffixed to another word. However, pronominal suffixes may appear on nouns (to indicate possession), on finite verbs (to indicate objects), on infinitives (to indicate subject or object), on prepositions, including the preposition *-l-* to indicate the dative pronoun, and on the definite direct object marker (to indicate the object pronoun). Hebrew uses pronominal deletion only in the case of object pronouns. Hebrew has no reflexive pronouns, but instead uses a combination of reflexive verbal forms, noun phrases, and prepositional phrases with pronominal suffixes to convey reflexive notions.

1. SUBJECT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Empty pronominal subjects. According to the Government and Binding framework, verb forms in Hebrew may be divided into those which allow null subjects (i.e., verb forms where the independent personal pronouns [as subjects] can be absent if no other overt subject is utilized) and verb forms which do not allow null subjects (i.e., verb forms where the independent personal pronouns [as subjects] are obligatory if no other overt subject is utilized) (see Borer 1989; Naudé 1991; 1993; 1994a; 1994b; 1999; 2001; → Government and Binding). The finite verb forms (suffix conjugation, prefix conjugation, imperative) are intrinsically marked for person, number, and, in some cases, gender. A finite verb may constitute a verbal clause by itself. Thus, covert or null subjects are allowed in sentences with the suffix conjugation and prefix conjugation verb forms. This state of affairs pertains to all the forms in the singular and plural. Other approaches will