THE SYNTAX OF EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS: THE SPOKEN ISRAELI HEBREW PERSPECTIVE
PART I: EXISTENTIAL-PRESENTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

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Abstract: *This study, in two parts, endeavors a novel analysis of existential constructions, based on a different theoretical setting of clause structure, where the predicate is taken as a necessary and sufficient constituent of the clause. Leaning on this perception, the analysis of existential constructions developed here tries to overcome the discrepancy between form and (semantic and informational) meaning in Hebrew existential constructions. The main part of the study deals with affirmative existential-presentative constructions, used to introduce referents into the discourse. Most of the constructions have been analyzed as consisting of an existential constituent, viewed as a modal marker, and a pivot, regarded as the core component of the predicate domain. This analysis is shown to be valid for both the existential marker jeʃ and for its suppletive verbal forms, derived from √hjj 'be'. A distinction is made between verbal forms with non-referential and referential verb-bound person markers, where the latter, found with expected, known or given pivots, function as focus marking devices, coming in complementary distribution with prosodic marking of focus. Thus, existential-presentative constructions are formed as unipartite sentences, consisting of only a predicate domain. The last two sections of Part I deal with constructions where the existential constituent follows the pivot and with constructions where the pivot is definite. Part II deals with other existential constructions, including negative constructions; bipartite existential sentences; existential constituents as sole constituents in a sentence; existential constituents with clitic referential markers; and the use of existential markers as interjections or discourse markers.*
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1   Introductory notes and preliminary data

Existential (henceforth: EXT) constructions in Israeli Hebrew are formed by a distinctive EXT marker *jeʃ*, of which the negative counterpart is the marker *en*[2] (henceforth: NEG.EXT). Where time, aspect or non-assertive modalities of existence are to be expressed, forms of √*hjj*[3] 'be' are used instead. Table 1 presents a paradigmatic set of simple, basic forms of EXT constructions — affirmative and negative — in Israeli Hebrew (cf., inter alia, Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 323; Kuzar 2012: §§3.3.1-2; Ziv 2013).[4,5,6]

[2.] There are two main variants of the surface structure of this negation: [en] and [ejn]. The underlying form depends on the phonological interpretation of the initial segment, whether a diphthong or a plain vowel. Without taking sides in the debate, I have decided to follow the prevalent pronunciation of this marker in the investigated corpus and transcribe it invariably as a vowel, viz., *en* (except for a single example taken from a song; ex. 33 in Part II, §4). The same applies to other cases of alleged /*ej*/ diphthongs.

[3.] √*hjj* is used as a symbol of the root. This is a traditional notation of the root, which does not necessarily reflect actual allomorphs of the root in (spoken) Israeli Hebrew. See further note 14 below. For the formation of verbs and so-called verbal nouns in Hebrew see §2.

[4.] The research is based on *The corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH)* <cosih.com>, analyzed by the software ELAN <https://archive.mpi.nl/tla/elan> and by Praat <https://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>. In rare cases, I have drawn examples from the colloquial Hebrew corpora of *The National Middle East Language Resource Center (NMELRC)* <hebrewcorpus.nmelrc.org> or other available internet sources. References follow the system used in *CoSIH*; speakers are referred to as sp1, sp2, etc. Excerpts that are not retrievable form *CoSIH*'s website are referred to by text reference only and, where available, also by time measures.

Transcription is usually broad phonetic, with some attention to the phonological system. Phonological input is added mainly in the representation of /*h*/, which is elided in most environments in contemporary spoken Hebrew, and in the representation of some occurrences of /*j*/, which may also elide in certain environments. Epenthethic vowels (usually *e* [ε]) following prepositions and the conjunction (/*v*/) are not consistently transcribed. Similarly, fast speech contractions are not followed. This is notable in the case of the sequence *et=ha=* {*et*=DEF=}, which can be heard many a time in the form [ta]. For typographic and reading convenience, the rhotic phoneme, which is uvular in standard Israeli Hebrew, is represented as *r*; the mid vowels are represented as *e* and *o*, although their prototypical respective pronunciations are lower. Two successive vowels are separated by a syllabic boundary, e.g. *'bait* 'house' is to be read *'ba.it*; diphthongs are indicated by vowel+semi-vowel (in both directions), e.g., *aj*, *ja*; for an alleged /*ej*/ diphthong see above, note 2.

Prosodic notation: | minor boundary; || major boundary; / major boundary with "appeal" tone (for this term see Du Bois et al. 1993: §3.3); — fragmentary (truncated) module (usually referred to as *intonation unit*; for the term *module* see Izre'el 2020a: §2); - truncated word.

Other symbols: ( ) uncertain transcription (identification); @ unidentified syllable; @...@ unidentified sequence; [ ] overlap.

Glossing follows, mutatis mutandis, the Leipzig Glossing Rules <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. Additional glossing and abbreviations are: ERR error; EXT existential (marker); NFCT non-factual; PRES presentative; PM person marker; (N)PRED (non-)predicational constituent (predicate or subject; for the term see notes 6 and 13 below). The particle *et*, usually interpreted as a DOM marker, is glossed as is in this paper (see the discussion in §3.4). Curly brackets {} within the text indicate glossing.

[5.] Only basic, frequently-used forms are listed. Other forms are dealt with in the respective, relevant sections of either Part I or Part II.

[6.] PFV stands for perfective aspect, which in the case of EXT constructions usually implies past tense; NFCT stands for *non-factual*, a notion that covers future-time or non-assertive modality reference (Malibert-Yatziv 2009; 2016: §3). As noted above (note 4), PRED stands for *predicational*, which should be differentiated from *predicative*. Whereas the form *predicative* relates to the notion of predicate, *predicational* related to predication, and thus refers to each of the constituents that forms part of a (syntactic) predication, viz., either subject or predicate.

Table 1: Basic forms of existential constructions

	affirmative			**negative**		
a	*jeʃ*	*χadˈkeren*		*en*		*χadˈkeren*
	EXT	unicorn		NEG.EXT		unicorn
	'There is a unicorn.'			'There isn't a unicorn.'		
b	*haˈja-ø*	*χadˈkeren*		*lo*	*haˈja-ø*	*χadˈkeren*
	be\PFV-3SGM.PRED	unicorn		NEG	be\PFV-3SGM.PRED	unicorn
	'There was a unicorn.'			'There wasn't a unicorn.'		
c	*j-ihˈje*	*χadˈkeren*		*lo*	*j-ihˈje*	*χadˈkeren*
	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	unicorn		NEG	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	unicorn
	'There will be a unicorn.'			'There won't be a unicorn.'		
d	*ʦaˈriχ*	*l-ihˈjot*	*χadˈkeren*	*lo*	*ʦaˈriχ*	*l-ihˈjot*	*χadˈkeren*
	need[SGM]	INF-be\INF	unicorn	NEG	need[SGM]	INF-be\INF	unicorn
	'There should be a unicorn.'			'There shouldn't be a unicorn.'		

An illustrative example for the paradigmatic change between the dedicated EXT marker *jeʃ* and verbal forms of √*hjj* 'be' is the following example, where the speaker describes a bus ride in China:

(1) [1] *en*   *aʦiˈr-ot*   *metuχnaˈn-ot* //
      NEG.EXT stop-PL   planned-PLF
      'There are no planned stops.'
      [...]

     [2] *hem*   *joˈdim*   *ʃe*   *j-ihˈje* /   *takaˈl-ot*   *v*   *ze* //
         they   know   that   3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT failure-PL and   PROFORM
         'They know there will be failures and so on.'

     [3] *kloˈmar* *jeʃ*   *ˈmiʃehu* *baˈdereχ* *oˈʦer* /   *az*   *hem* *oʦˈrim*   *lo* //
         that.is   EXT   someone in.the.road stopping[SGM] then   they   stopping[PL] to.him
         'That is, there may be someone on the road, so they stop for him.'

     [4] *aχˈʃav* / *jeʃ* *haˈja-ø*   *ˈpanʧer* / *v*   *af*   *plag* *mehamaˈnoa* /
         now   EXT   be\PFV-3SGM.PRED puncture and flew plug from.the.engine
         'Now, there is was a puncture (flat tire), and a plug fell off the engine,'
         (OCh_sp1_150-159)

The narrative is told as a description of how a trip of this kind generally takes place, using the EXT markers *en* (negative) and *jeʃ* (affirmative) (lines [1] and [3] respectively). Following the discourse marker *aχˈʃav* 'now' (line [4]), the speaker continues the narrative with yet another EXT construction, starting again with the EXT marker *jeʃ*; however, he changes setting to narrate an actual incident that happened while he was taking this trip. He does that by changing the setting to past time and replacing *jeʃ* by *haˈja*, a form of the verb 'be' indicating past tense and 3SGM.PRED person. Grid analysis, a visual representation of paradigmatic relations in a running text, will display the paradigmatic relation between the two forms (for grid analysis see Blanche-Benveniste 1990; Yatziv-Malibert 2002; for a very brief account see Izre'el 2013: 835-836):

(1a) [4] *jeʃ*   {EXT}   'There is'
       haja-ø panʧer   {be\PFV-3SGM.PRED puncture}   'there was a puncture (flat tire)'

As observed by McNally, "[t]he term 'existential sentence' is used to refer to a specialized or non-canonical construction which expresses a proposition about the existence or the presence of someone or something" (McNally 2011: 1830; see also 2016: 212). The expression indicating the referent whose existence is communicated is conveniently termed *pivot*.[7]

The structure of EXT constructions[8] as shown above (Table 1) may well be regarded "specialized",[9] as they use a special EXT constituent and when compared with the expression of existence by SP[10] clause structure, which is the common, standard constituent order in Hebrew:

(2) *NP kaˈjam*
     NP exist[SGM]
     'NP exists.'

In ex. 3, a soldier (sp1) complains to his officer (sp2) about his difficulties in his military service and expresses his despair from the situation:

(3) sp1: *aˈni lo   roˈe   et=ha=ˈor   bikˈʦe   ha=minhaˈra ||*
          I   NEG seeing *et*=DEF=light in.edge.of DEF=tunnel
          'I don't see the light at the end of the tunnel.'
          ʃaˈna va ˈχeʦi /
          year   and half
          'A year and a half?'
     sp2: *ha=ˈor   kaˈjam /   ˈʃaχar | ze   kaˈjam //*
          DEF=light exist[SGM] Shachar   DEM[SGM] exist[SGM]
          'Light exists; Shachar, it exists.'
     (P931_3_sp1_023-024; sp2_011-013)

This structure for expressing existence is used to convey different notions of existence from those conveyed by the "specialized" one (Creissels 2014: §2). Ex. 3 makes a fine illustration for Frajzyngier's observation (made for English), that these types of clauses (viz., *NP exist*) "are predications of existence about an entity whose existence is disputed or is not known" (Frajzyngier with Shay 2016: 208).

[7.] For the syntactic analysis of the pivot as either subject or predicate see note 25 below.

[8.] The term 'construction', which avoids the need to distinguish between 'clause' and 'sentence', will be used in this paper mostly when this distinction is irrelevant to the discussion. As we shall see in §2, what is usually termed 'simple sentence' (or 'clause') in the study of Hebrew, may still include an embedded clause within. This is especially manifest in the use of what is usually termed "verbal clause". (In previous papers, e.g., Izre'el 2012, I used the term *sentence* as the reference unit of syntax, thus replacing *clause* in any way this term may be used by other schools, including those dealing with spoken language.)

[9.] The determination of this type of EXT constructions as non-canonical will not hold if analyzed in the framework offered below (see also the conclusions, §4 below). It will be noticed at this juncture, that the notion of canonicity has been questioned altogether for the study of clause structure or grammatical relations if their analysis is based on functions (Frajzyngier with Shay 2016, especially Ch. 9).

[10.] SP (Subject-Predicate) rather than SV, since in Hebrew, almost any part of speech can function as predicate. Hebrew clause structure and types of predicates will be described and explained below (§2).

The main function of EXT constructions seems to be the presentation of an entity or rather its introduction into the discourse. As pointed out by Lambrecht,

> [f]rom the discourse-pragmatic point of view, it is ... preferable to interpret the function of such sentences as that of presenting or introducing a referent into the "place" or "scene" of the discourse and thereby of raising it into the addressee's consciousness, rather than of asserting its mere existence. (Lambrecht 1994: 179)

In fact, the so-called specialized constructions illustrated above for the affirmative EXT constructions usually convey this very function of EXT constructions. Therefore, a better term for this type of EXT constructions will be existential-presentative (henceforth: EXT-PRES) constructions (Givón 2001: II: §16.3.2). The first and main part of this study (Part I) therefore deals with EXT-PRES constructions. Other types of existential constructions will be dealt with in Part II of this study.

One further note that seems due at this initial stage is the close structural similarity between existential, locative and possessive constructions. This well-known crosslinguistic tendency (Lyons 1968: §8.4; Clark 1978; Partee & Borschev 2007; Koch 2012; Creissels 2014, 2019; McNally 2016; Bentley 2020; among others) manifests itself also in Hebrew (Berman 1980; Kuzar 2012: §§3.3.1-2; Ziv 2013; Halevy 2020a; among others). While I shall neither elaborate on this resemblance nor discuss possession or location in this article, I should nevertheless illustrate it by the following paradigmatic sets (Tables 2 and 3), which correspond to the one in Table 1:[11]

Table 2: Expression of location

affirmative   **negative**

a *jeʃ χadˈkeren b=israˈel*   *en   χadˈkeren b=israˈel*
  EXT unicorn   in=Israel   NEG.EXT unicorn   in=Israel
  'There is a unicorn in Israel.'   'There isn't unicorn in Israel.'

b *haˈja-ø   χadˈkeren b=israˈel*   *lo haˈja-ø   χadˈkeren   b=israˈel*
  be\PFV-3SGM.PRED unicorn   in=Israel   NEG be\PFV-3SGM.PRED unicorn   in=Israel
  'There was a unicorn in Israel.'   'There wasn't a unicorn in Israel.'

c *j-ihˈje   χadˈkeren b=israˈel*   *lo j-ihˈje   χadˈkeren   b=israˈel*
  3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT unicorn   in=Israel   NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT unicorn   in=Israel
  'There will be a unicorn in Israel.'   'There won't be a unicorn in Israel.'

d *ʦaˈriχ   l-ihˈjot χadˈkeren b=israˈel*   *lo ʦaˈriχ   l-ihˈjot   χadˈkeren b=israˈel*
  need[SGM] INF-be\INF unicorn   in=Israel   NEG need[SGM] INF-be\INF unicorn   in=Israel
  'There should be a unicorn in Israel.'   'There shouldn't be a unicorn In Israel.'

Table 3: Expression of possession

affirmative   **negative**

a *jeʃ l=o   χadˈkeren*   *en   l=o   χadˈkeren*
  EXT to=him unicorn   NEG.EXT to=him unicorn
  'He has a unicorn.'   'He doesn't have a unicorn.'

[11.] It should be noted, that both locativity and possessiveness can be expressed using other constructions. Elaborating on those is out of the scope of this paper.

b *haˈja-ø*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*   *lo* *haˈja-ø*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*
  be\PFV-3SGM.PRED to=him unicorn   NEG be\PFV-3SGM.PRED to=him unicorn
  'He had a unicorn.'   'He didn't have a unicorn.'

c *j-ihˈje*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*   *lo* *j-ihˈje*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*
  3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT to=him unicorn   NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT to=him unicorn
  'He will have a unicorn.'   'He won't have a unicorn.'

d *tsaˈriχ* *l-ihˈjot*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*   *lo* *tsaˈriχ* *l-ihˈjot*   *l=o*   *χadˈkeren*
  need[SGM] INF-be\INF to=him unicorn   NEG need[SGM] INF-be\INF to=him unicorn
  'He should have a unicorn.'   'He shouldn't have a unicorn.'

As demonstrated by Table 2, expression of location in these constructions is similar to that of existentials, yet with a locative expression added (Halevy 2020a). Expression of possession is, likewise, similar to that of existentials, only with a prepositional phrase that consists of the preposition *l* 'to' and a non-predicational pronominal enclitic ({*l*=3SGM.NPRED} in the examples cited above) added to indicate the possessor (*op. cit.*). The possessor may well be represented by a NP (ex. 4/a-b).

(4) a *le=ˈima=ʃeli*   *jeʃ* *gam* *priˈtsat* *disk* ǁ
       to=mother=mine EXT also   breach.of disc
       'My mother also has a slipped disc.'
       (Y33_sp2_228)
     b *v* *jeʃ* *l=o*   *priˈtsat* *disk* ǁ
       and EXT to=him breach.of disc
       'And he has got a slipped disc.'
       l=ˈaba=ʃeli ǁ
       to=father=mine
       'To my father.'
       (Y33_sp2_151-152)

Constituent order and prosodic structure are dependent on informational or discoursive requisites.

Note: Where the consulted corpora lack proper examples for bare EXT constructions (or where such examples are too scanty to draw conclusions from), I have used examples of possessive or locative constructions of the types cited above. Furthermore, similarities and differences between the respective structures will be occasionally pointed at, although not systematically. Still, similarities and differences between these three sentence types need further research within the framework proffered here (for some recent studies on the similarity between EXT, locative and possessive constructions in Modern Hebrew see, inter alia, Berman 1980; Baruch 2009; Kuzar 2012: §§3.3.1-2; Boneh 2013; Ziv 2013; Taube 2016; Melnik 2018; Halevy 2020a; for Semitic languages in general see Goldenberg 2013: ch. 16).

In what follows, I will first set forth the theoretical background for the analysis of sentence structure in (spoken) Israeli Hebrew (§2). The following chapter (§3), being the main part of this study, deals with EXT-PRES constructions. First, I will re-evaluate the syntactic structure of EXT-PRES constructions with the EXT marker *jeʃ* (§3.1); this will be followed by a re-evaluation of the structure of EXT-PRES constructions which use √*hjj* 'be' forms instead of the EXT marker *jeʃ* (§3.2). Then follows a discussion of non-initial position of the EXT constituent in EXT-PRES constructions (§3.3) and a discussion of definite pivots (§3.4). This chapter ends with a recapitulation of the findings about EXT-PRES constructions (§3.5). Finally, a conclusion (§4)

ends Part I of the study. Part II opens with a discussion of negative existential (henceforth: NEG.EXT) constructions (§2). This chapter is followed by a chapter on constructions where either the affirmative *jeʃ* or the negative *en* functions as a predicate on its own or as a predicative nucleus (§3). Following these two main chapters, two other, minor issues will be discussed briefly: (1) constructions including either affirmative *jeʃ* or negative *en* with bound referential markers (§4); (2) a note on the use of *jeʃ* and *en* as interjections and discourse markers (§5). A brief conclusion will end Part II of this study (§6).

2 Theoretical background: Hebrew sentence structure, with special attention to spoken Israeli Hebrew

Hebrew uses an intricate morphological system of derivation and inflection for its verbal system, where a (basically vocalic) pattern is interdigitated with the (usually consonantal) root morpheme to form a (lexical) stem.[12] A bound person marker (henceforth: PM) is added, thus forming a morphological predicational complex,[13] i.e., a clause (Goldenberg 1994; for Semitic languages in general see Goldenberg 2013: §§12.1-2; a similar general cross-linguistic perspective is given by Corbett 2006: 99). For our needs, I present below the paradigm of 3rd person forms of √*hjj* 'be' in spoken Hebrew (Table 4/a-c). Also illustrated is the infinitive form, unto which an infinitive marker is added rather than a PM, thus without forming a morphological predicational complex (Table 4/d):[14]

Table 4: The paradigm of 3rd person and infinitive forms of √*hjj* 'be'[15]

	Suffix conjugation	**Prefix conjugation**
a	*haˈja-ø*	*j-ihˈje*
	be\PFV-3SGM.PRED	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT
	'he was'	'he will be'
b	*hajˈt-a*	*t-ihˈje*
	be\PFV-3SGF.PRED	3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT
	'she was'	'she will be'
c	*haˈj-u*	*j-ihˈj-u*
	be\PFV-3PL.PRED	3PL.PRED-be\NFCT-CIRC
	'they were'	'they will be'
d		*l-ihˈjot*
		INF-be\INF
		'to be'

The terms *suffix conjugation* and *prefix conjugation* refer to the position of the PM relative to the respective stems. As one can see in Table 4/c, the prefix-conjugation paradigm may also contain suffixes in some of its forms.

[12.] A root can be extended by consonantal, either inflectional or derivational, morphemes (Goldenberg 1994; Izre'el 2009); however, this need not concern us here.

[13.] By "predicational complex" I mean a unit consisting of a subject, a predicate, and the nexus between the two.

[14.] As mentioned above (note 3), √*hjj* is used as a symbol of the root. It has been noted, that √*hjj* is a traditional way of citing the root, which in actuality presents itself as a set of allomorphs that construct derived and inflected forms, some of which are cited below. It should also be noted that root allomorphs are further bound to morphphonological rules.

[15.] The analysis of the form *hajta* 'she was' as *hajt-a* {be\PFV-3SGF.PRED} (rather than the commonly accepted *haj-ta*) follows Gonen 2009: §2.5.6.

A few words on the nature of the 3SGM PMs are in order. It will be noted that the 3SGM PM of the suffix conjugation is indicated as -ɸ. In contrast, its prefix-conjugation form exhibits an overt marker for this person, viz., *j-*, being an allomorph to the zero allomorph of the suffix conjugation. Nevertheless, it has sometimes been erroneously stated, that the Hebrew 3SGM marker on verbal forms is "zero in all 3SG forms" (e.g., Siewierska 2013: 420, perhaps following claims in literature on Hebrew that 3rd person verbs do not incorporate person marking, only gender and number [e.g., Glinert 1989: 506, note 2]). This has been interpreted in the literature time and again as if it were "nothing" (cf. Segel 2008), i.e., that the 3SGM form of the verb is unmarked not only phonologically but also morphologically.

E.g., Berman claims as follows:

> Tense marked verbs have person affixes in 1st and 2nd, but not in 3rd person. In the absence of a lexical noun subject, surface pronoun subjects (i.e., unbound pronouns; SI) are normally mandatory with 3rd person verbs in all tenses ... (Berman 1997: 326)[16]

However, this zero is a valid morphological zero, since it has overt allomorphs, not only in the form of the 3SGM prefix-conjugation verb, but also in other forms, both unbound (*hu* {3SGM.PRED} 'he') and bound (affixes [e.g., *j-ihje* {3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT} 'he will be'] or clitics [e.g., *jeʃ=no* {EXT=3SGM.PRED} 'he is (there)'], for which see Part II, §4) (cf. Haas 1974; McGregor 2003; Segel 2008; for another perspective see Lemaréchal 1997: ch. 1). Therefore, in all its occurrences, whether phonologically overt or zero, the 3SGM morph is indeed used to represent referents in general usage. This will be later compared to its non-referential usage in EXT and other so-called non-canonical constructions (§3.2.2).

As mentioned, the PM and the verbal stem constitute together a clause. By default, the PM will indicate the subject and the stem the predicate.[17,18] Where there is an external coreferential expression to the bound PM, the resulting construction is a complex structure that can be termed second-level predication (Izre'el 2012: §5.3.2):

Table 5: Second-level predication

S	P	
	P	S
a *hu*	[*haˈja-ɸ*]	
3SGM.PRED	be\PFV-3SGM.PRED	
'he was'		

S	P	
	S	P
b *hu*	[*j-ihˈje*]	
3SGM.PRED	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	
'he will be'		

[16.] It should be noted, that data do not support the claim that "surface pronoun subjects are normally mandatory with 3rd person verbs in all tenses". Research has shown that this claim can be maintained (if at all) only for suffix conjugation verbs (Shor 2019: §8.1).

[17.] For this view — as against the common view in Hebrew studies that takes the PMs in the verb to be agreement markers — see Izre'el 2012; Shor 2019: §5.1.2.2; for comparative views see Mithun 2003; Kibrik 2011: §3.3.2.

[18.] As we shall see below, there are (rare) cases where these functions are reversed.

Table 5 illustrates two cases where the predicate of the matrix clause is a clause in itself, which in these cases is a verb. The subjects of the two matrix clauses are unbound predicational 3SGM pronouns, co-referential with the bound PMs in the respective verbs. These two cases also exhibit the common SP sentence constituent order of Hebrew, which is manifested here as SV. As we have seen above (§1, Table 1), EXT constructions with verbal components are verb-initial. The function of the verb vis-à-vis the pivot will be discussed later (§3.2).

Predication within the verbal morphological complex is only a section of the entire gamut of components that can form predication, i.e., bipartite clauses (or sentences), consisting in their kernel of both predicate and subject. In fact, any part of speech (save bare prepositions, except for some special cases) can form either a predicate or a subject: nominal (substantives, adjectives, participles), pronominal (personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and other pronouns), adverbs and prepositional phrases; particles (including modal particles; see Part II, §3); as well as larger phrases, clauses and other types of syntactic complexes (Izre'el 2012: §3; 2018b: §3; cf., from a more general perspective, Van Valin 2005: 28; Van Valin 2008: §3; Van Valin 2015: 711). The syntactic function of the respective constituents, whether subject or predicate, will be determined according to their respective part-of-speech, according to relative definiteness, according to prosodic features interacting with constituent order, and according to contextual grounds, all of which may be interdependent.

In the following two examples, the same noun, *saˈlon* 'living room', is used once as a predicate (ex. 5), once as a subject (ex. 6 below). The locutors are discussing the structure of an apartment they are considering sharing with some friends. In ex. 5, sp1 is trying to make sp2, his girlfriend, aware of the actual location of the living room, which has been suggested for the couple to live in, yet seems to be rather small.[19,20]

(5) [1] sp1: *ˈχeder eˈχad kaˈtan ze* /   *ʃel=ˈbejgel* /
              room   one   small DEM[SGM]   of=Beigel
              'One small room is Beigel's,'

     [2]   *v   ha=ʃeˈni   ha=kaˈtan* /   *ze   saˈlon* ||
              and DEF=second DEF=small   DEM[SGM] living.room
              'and the other small (one) is a living room.'

     [3] sp2: *v   ha=ʃeˈni   hu ˈod.joter kaˈtan mi=ʃel=ˈBeigel* /
              and DEF=second he   more   small   from=of=Beigel
              'And the second one is smaller than Beigel's (room)?'

     [4] sp1: *lo* //   *ze   kmo   ˈbeigel* || *ze   ha=saˈlon* //
              NEG   DEM[SGM] like   Beigel   DEM[SGM] DEF=living.room
              'No, it is like Beigel('s room). This one is the living room.'
              (C842_sp1_107-113; sp2_111)

As mentioned above, the topic of the discussion is the living room (*saˈlon*), already referred to prior to this exchange. Therefore, the information status of this NP is "given", which is the default function of syntactic subjects. In both occurrences of this NP in this example (lines [2] and [4]), it comes alongside a demonstrative pronoun *ze* 'this', which, being high in the definiteness scale, is also a good candidate for a subject function. Since the context cannot be of

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help in neither of these cases, the identification of the respective syntactic functions of both constituents in these sentences will be determined by looking at other features. In both occurrences, the syntactic status of the demonstrative will be subject, whereas the one of the noun will be predicate. In line [2] the NP *saˈlon* is indefinite, whereas the demonstrative pronoun (resumptive of the topicalized phrase *haʃeˈni hakaˈtan* 'the other small (one)'), being higher on the definiteness scale than the indefinite NP and which precedes it, assumes the role of subject. Moreover, the prosodic accent,[21] which indicates the focus of the sentence (Mixdorff & Amir 2002), is located on the NP *saˈlon*. Lastly, the constituent order fits the unmarked one, i.e., SP. In line [4], both constituents are definite, but here too the demonstrative pronoun occupies a higher position on the definiteness scale than the definite NP. Here too the prosodic accent is carried by the NP *ha=saˈlon* 'the living room'. Both these features and the constituent order suggest the analysis of the demonstrative as the subject of the sentence and the NP as its predicate.

About a minute prior to this exchange, sp2 objected to the identification of a specific room mentioned by sp1 as the living room, suggesting another room which she referred to by the demonstrative pronoun *ze* 'this':

		P	**S**
(6)	*lo* *naˈχon* ‖	*ze*	*saˈlon* ‖
	NEG right	DEM[SGM]	living.room
	'Wrong.'	'It is this (one) that is a living room.'	
	(C842_sp2_096-097)		

Here too neither of the lexemes is new information, and definiteness is obviously higher in the demonstrative, as is the case with line [2] of ex. 5 above. Also, the sentence constituent order is the same as above, which might support an analysis of the demonstrative as the subject. However, the prosodic accent is carried by the demonstrative, which marks it as the focal constituent as well as identifies it as the constituent carrying assertive modality. The demonstrative pronoun *ze* 'this' is thus to be analyzed as predicate. The NP *saˈlon* 'living room', being a "given" referent, already mentioned several times before and being the topic of the discussion and of this utterance, will duly be analyzed as subject. Prosody is thus suggested to be a major determining feature of the predicative constituent. In some cases, it is the sole marker of syntactic functions.

In ex. 7, both the subject slot and the predicate slot of the embedded clause are filled by the same lexeme, viz., the demonstrative pronoun *ze*:

			S	**P**
(7)	*aˈni* *raˈiti*	*ʃe*	*ze*	*ze* ‖
	I saw.1SG	that	DEM[SGM]	DEM[SGM]
	'I saw that this was it.'			
	(P423_2_sp2_038)			

In this example, the decision as to which is the subject and which is the predicate leans on both the constituent order and the prosodic accent, which in this case is on the second

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[21.] In this study, *prosodic accent* always refers to "sentence accent"; "word accent" will be referred to as *stress*.

occurrence of the demonstrative. A similar example is the following one, this time a written one (ex. 8):

(8) תודה שאתה אתה!

	S	P
to'da ʃe	a'ta	a'ta !
thanks that	2SGM.PRED	2SGM.PRED

'Thank you for being who you are!'
(Email subject line; April 24, 2011)

In written texts, prosody is not manifest, of course, so that the sole overt criterion for determining the syntactic role of each of the constituents in this example is their order. SP, being the unmarked constituent order in Hebrew, is indicative also in this case. Still, silent reading would put the focus on the second occurrence of the pronoun *ata*.

Aside from the possibility to have higher level predications by embedded predications within a matrix clause (see above, Table 5/ab), subjects too can consist of clauses (Izre'el 2012: §5.4). Ex. 9 illustrates the case.

	P		S	
			S	P
(9)	**ʃlo'ʃa ja'mim**		*ze*	*ha'ja 'kaχa*
	three days		DEM[SGM]	was like.that

'Three days it was like that.'
(OCh_sp1_384)

Here, prosodic accent within the first part, the pronominal nature of constituents in the second part (*ze* 'this' and *kaχa* 'thus'), and the context, require that the phrase *ʃloʃa jamim* 'three days' be analyzed as predicate, whereas the clause which follows, viz., *ze haja kaχa* 'it was like that' as subject (Izre'el 2012: §5.4).[22]

Ex. 10 illustrates a case where the subject clause consists of only a verb, whereas the predicate is a pronoun. Preparing for dinner in the garden, there have been unsuccessful attempts to light a candle. A 10-year-old sibling sees that and offers:

	P	S	
		P	S
(10) [...]	***a'ni***	*ø-*	*ena'se*
	1SG.PRED	1SG.PRED	will.try

'Let ***me*** try.' (lit. '***I*** will try.')
(C714_sp5_015)

Obviously, the message centers on the person rather than on the action. The new message in the discourse flow is, therefore, *ani* 'I'. Since the bound pronoun in the verb usually conveys the subject, the way of focusing on the pronoun is to add an appositive unbound allomorph of the pronoun, which will also carry the prosodic accent, in itself a signal of focusing (Mixdorff &

[22.] It will be noted, incidentally, that the subject clause itself exhibits a second-level predication (see above for Table 5), as there are two co-referential expressions for its verbal predicate: the zero component within the verb *haja-ø* {be\PFV-3SGM.PRED} and the SGM demonstrative *ze*.

Amir 2002; Ozerov 2013: 333; cf. Féry 2017: §6.2.2). The change of focus has further changed the non-factual modality carried by the stem into assertive modality, which is carried by the pronoun. According to these criteria, the predicate of the newly formed matrix clause is the pronoun *ani* 'I' and the subject is the following constituent, i.e., the verb *enase* 'I will try'.

Another way — albeit a rare one — of making the PM of a verbal form its predicate is merely accenting the PM within the verbal morphological complex. As the prosodic accent regularly targets the stressed syllable of the word in Hebrew (Ozerov 2013: 327), accenting the PM inverts the default focal point from the stem to the PM. An example for this strategy has been brought forward by Leon Shor:

> While considering a particular dish dryer, my partner remarked *nitsta'reχ lehar'kiv o'to* 'We'll have to install it (=the dish dryer)'. In light of my incompetence in installing home appliances, I replied, *titstareχ* 'You will have to.', prosodically highlighting the segment *ti-*, which consists of the 2SGM.PRD bound marker (*t-*), and the first vowel of the verbal stem (*-i-*). The bound marker in the sentence *titstareχ* 'You will have to', functions as the predicate conveying the new information in this context, whereas the verbal stem functions as the subject, communicating the given information. (Shor 2019: §5.1.2.2)

Aside from bipartite clauses (or sentences), spoken Israeli Hebrew exhibits unipartite clauses, which constitute a large measure of our corpus (cf. Izre'el 2018b). A unipartite clause has been defined as a clause consisting of only a predicate domain (Izre'el 2018a; 2018b).[23] Ex. 11 illustrates this type of utterance. Sp1 told sp2 about a ride he had taken in Mongolia on a local breed of horses, and sp2 suggested that they were mules rather than horses. Sp1 insisted that this kind of animal was a genuine horse, and sp2 now responds by a verifying question:

(11) sp2: *sus   ma'maʃ /*
      horse real
      '(Is it) a real horse?'
    sp1: *sus   sus /*
      horse horse
      '(It is) a real horse,'
      rak   jo'ter na'muχ ||
      only more   short
      'but shorter.'
      rag'laim mekutsa'rot ka'ele ||
      legs   shortened   sort.of
      '(It has) sort of shortened legs.'
      (OCh_sp2_091; sp1_286-288)

In this exchange, quite typical of Hebrew casual talk, none of the units conforms to the common definitions of *clause* as a unit consisting of both subject and predicate. My analysis of these units takes them as full clauses, each consisting of only a predicate domain. Each clause is

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[23.] The notion of *predicate domain* may seem *prima facie* equivalent to the notion of *predicate phrase* (or, rather, *verb phrase*) as commonly used in other schools of thought (e.g., Chomsky, 1957; and followers). However, as already noted by Chomsky (1965), "[f]unctional notions like 'Subject', 'Predicate' are to be sharply distinguished from categorial notions such as 'Noun Phrase', 'Verb', a distinction that is not to be obscured by the occasional use of the same term for notions of both kinds" (p. 68). Furthermore, the term *phrase* seems to be contradictory to the notion of a complete clause or sentence (cf. e.g., Harris, 1951: 14), which in the framework followed here will make a false claim as regards the very notion of sentence or clause.

a complete syntactic unit. No predication or zero subject (or any other constituents) are assumed, and relations with extra-clausal referents are to be explained and analyzed on the discourse level. Such extra-clausal elements have been termed anchors (Izre'el 2018a: 244, §4).

Indeed, this type of data raises the need to revise the definition of clause: If a predicate does not have to be a verb; if any part-of-speech can function as a predicate (or as a predicative nucleus); if observation of language tells us that subjects are frequently non-existent in clauses, so that one cannot define a predicate as an attribute to an entity represented within the limits of the clause, or, if one wishes, as depending on a subject — then how do we know what a predicate might be and, consequently, how can we define a clause?

The syntactic approach taken here is built on the premise that syntax, information structure and prosody integrate in spoken language structure, forming a coherent unity. As such, syntactic components take their conceptual status from a complex analysis of which the primary originating force is contextual. Like many recent approaches to clause structure, I take the predicate (domain) to be its core constituent. However, in contrast to common views, I do not regard arguments as necessary components within the syntactic structure. Therefore, the predicate is the only necessary constituent — and a sufficient one — to constitute a clause. In other words, *clause* is defined as a syntactic unit consisting minimally of a predicate. The definition of clause is thus dependent on the definition of predicate.

The *predicate* (or the *predicate domain*) is viewed as the constituent carrying an individual piece of information within the discourse context, which by default will include a newly introduced element. As such, a predicate may be seen as the default representation of the comment. The expression of the predicate (or the predicate domain) is the raison d'être for the formation of a new chunk of speech which we term *clause*. In other words, it is the constituent that carries the informational load of the clause. By default, the focus of the clause will be found within the predicate domain. The predicate (or the predicate domain) carries the modality of the clause, where modality is seen as an essential component of the clause, the one that transforms a proposition to a sentence, thus including assertion, polarity, sentence types like declarative and interrogative, and beyond (Izre'el 2018b: §5).[24] For further details on this framework, see Izre'el 2012; 2018a; 2018b.

As we shall see below (§3.2), the concept of unipartite clauses can be applied also to matrix clauses, i.e., sentences, where a bipartite clause is embedded into one of the components of the predicate domain.

3   Existential-presentative constructions

3.1   Existential-presentative constructions with the existential marker *jeʃ*

Stemming from these insights on sentence structure, one might well reevaluate the structure of EXT constructions, recalling that the common view of the EXT constituent is that it is analyzed as the predicate of the EXT construction whereas the pivot is analyzed as its subject (Andrews 2007: 204; Foley 2007: §2.2).[25] Questions to be raised are the following: Does the EXT constituent, be it the dedicated marker or its verbal alternants, stand the criteria for defining it as predicate? If not, can the pivot stand these criteria and can be determined as predicate? In what follows, I will try to defend the latter position, namely that the pivot be regarded as a predicate,

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[24.] One might think of expanding the super-category of modality further and refer to it as stance (Keisanen & Kärkkäinen 2014). See also below, §3.2.

[25.] Whereas the notion of pivot in languages like English or Hebrew generally relates to subjects, its interpretation as predicate does not seem to contradict the notion of pivot (McNally 1997; 2016: §2.2.2; Francez 2007).

or rather the core component of the predicate domain. If so, what would the function of the EXT marker *jeʃ* be? Can it be viewed as the subject in a bipartite clause, or, rather, should it be viewed as a constituent in the predicate domain, thus forming together with the pivot a unipartite clause? Again, in what follows, I will try to defend the latter position.

First, some notes on previous research on EXT constructions are in order, giving special attention to Hebrew. In the plethora of studies devoted to EXT expressions, a major view takes the EXT constituent as predicate, whereas the pivot is perceived as its subject, albeit non-canonical (Lambrecht 2000; Beaver, Francez & Levinson 2005; McNally 2016: §2.2.1). This is also the common view on Hebrew EXT constructions (Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 323; Kuzar 2012: §§3.3.1-3.3.2; Ziv 2013; Halevy 2016; Melnik 2018). This analysis leans on the structural-paradigmatic properties exemplified above, where the paradigm shows suppletion between the EXT marker and verbal forms, and on a general tendency to adhere to consensual grammatical traditions (Givón 2001: I: 191-193, II: 255; Dryer 2007: §1.6; cf. Rosén 1977: §5.5.1), with the result that the EXT marker *jeʃ* is called "special existential predicate" (e.g., McNally 2016: §2.1)", "dedicated existential predicator" (Creissels 2014: §11), copula (Schwarzwald 2001: 67; Francez 2007: 72; see further below), or "verboid" (Halevy 2013: §§4,13, following Rosén 1965: 81-84; 1977: 107-108, who used the term for possessive constructions, which include also dative-pronominal reference [see Table 3 above]).

3.1.1 Pivot as predicate or the core component of the predicate domain

As against the analysis of the pivot as (non-canonical) subject, some analysts viewed it as the predicate of EXT sentences. The idea that the pivot is predicate is not new, and goes back to the 18th century, when it was suggested that from the purely logico-semantic point of view, the EXT constituent can hardly be regarded as predicate. The philosophical insight that EXT constructions do not contain predication goes back to the great philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804). According to Kant,

> **[b]eing** is obviously not a real predicate, i.e., a concept of something that could add to concept of a thing. It is merely the positing of a thing or of certain determinations in themselves. In the logical use it is merely the copula of a judgment. The proposition **God is omnipotent** contains two concepts that have their subjects: God and omnipotence; the little word "**is**" is not a predicate in it, but only that which posits the predicate **in relation** to the subject. Now if I take the subject (God) together with all his predicates (among which omnipotence belongs), and say **God is**, or there is a God, then I add no new predicate to the concept of God, but only posit the subject in itself with all its predicates, and indeed posit the **object** in relation to my **concept**. Both must contain exactly the same, hence when I think this object as given absolutely (through the expression, "it is"), nothing is thereby added to the concept, which expresses merely its possibility. (Kant 1998: 567; emphases in the original [translation by Paul Guyer and Allen W. Wood])

Further in the early days of research on EXT expressions, or rather judgments, the philosopher Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841), wrote:

> Everything changes in the representation of these judgments, where there is no subject for the predicate. There arises in this way an existential proposition, which one misinterprets if one treats the concept of being as the original predicate. (Herbart 1813: 111; cited in translation by Martin 2006: 57).

The view that the pivot is to be analyzed as predicate was (re)introduced into the contemporary research of EXT constructions by Jenkins (1975) (McNally 2016: §2.2.2; see there

for some other similar analyses, as well as further below). As is common for modern linguistics, this analysis was offered for English, following the recently introduced transformational-generative grammar and phrase structure analysis. One other language for which a similar analysis has been suggested in this framework is Hebrew (McNally 2016: *loc. cit.*, who cites Hazout 2004 and Francez 2007).

These suggestions had stemmed from a generative approach, and the arguments brought forth were dependent upon formal subject-predicate relations, where English *there* (or Hebrew subjects affixed to √*hjj* 'be' verbal stems) assumed the function of an expletive or a dummy subject (Breivik 1981; Williams 1994: §4.2.2.2.2; McNally 2011: 1830-1832; 2016: §2.2.2; we shall deal with √*hjj* EXT constructions and the functions of their inherent PMs in §3.2 below). It will be noted that from a point of view of semantics, Francez claims that "[o]n the assumption that expletives and existential copulas do not contribute any meaning (...), a bare existential is comprised semantically of just the pivot predicate" (Francez 2007: 72). Further support is taken from the observation that the pivot is the only element that is obligatory in the structure of EXT constructions crosslinguistically (Francez 2007: §2.1):

> One of the central claims of this work is that pivots are the main predicates of existential constructions. The fact that pivots are the only elements that are both universally present and obligatory in the clause gives some indication that this is correct, even before having made any assumptions about the syntax or semantics of the construction (Francez 2007: 11).

McNally cites Hebrew and English as the sole languages for which an analysis of the pivot as predicate has been suggested. One can add to these some substantial work on Romance languages and dialects (e.g., Bentley, Ciconte & Cruschina 2015; Bentley 2020), mainly in the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG; see van Valin 2015 for an overview), where existential and locative constructions are seen as different albeit similar constructions:

> In semantic terms, existentials express propositions about existence or presence in an implicit contextual domain, whereas locatives express propositions about the location of an entity. ... Both existentials and locatives have a nonverbal predicate: the locative phrase in locatives and the postcopular noun or adjectival phrase in existentials. In locatives the predicate selects a thematic argument (i.e., an argument endowed with a thematic role), which serves as the syntactic subject ... . Contrastingly, in existentials, there is no thematic argument. (Bentley 2020)

Another analysis of existentials in Romance languages takes the pivot to be both predicate and argument (La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997):

> [A]n existential consists of the expansion into clause structure, via simple auxiliation, of a nominal which is [+argumental], [+predicative] (formally, is a P,2). (La Fauci & Loporcaro 1997: 46)

One other language for which the pivot has been analyzed as predicate is Syriac, a Semitic language whose written data come mainly from the first millennium C.E.:

> In existential sentences like those with the impers[onal] *īṯ*[26] (neg. *layt*) the X [viz., the NP or the pivot; SI] should actually be regarded as predicated to the phrase stating existence (or non-existence) rather than the other way round. (Goldenberg 1983: 117)

Later, Goldenberg prefers an analysis of the entire sentences as "block predication" (Goldenberg 2006: 335), an analysis taking existential sentences as prototypical to thetic

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[26.] Syriac *īṯ* (*iːθ*) is analogous to Hebrew *jeʃ*.

sentences, "with no exposition of a topical subject" (Goldenberg 2009: 8). Taking this thesis a step further, Halevy (2016) explains:

> Traditionally, the absence of a bipartite division of the proposition into S-P or Topic-Comment is regarded as the criterion for distinguishing between 'thetic' and 'categorical' sentences. The differences between these two kinds of sentences is at the level of *information structure* and of *perspectival structure* (V. Borschev & B. Partee 2002). In a 'categorical' (plain) sentence, P is in focus and S is within the presupposition, while a 'thetic' assertion is a sentence that consists solely of a rheme (viz., is a 'sentence focus'). In such a sentence, the semantic S′ [being the pivot in existential sentences; SI] is not conceptualized as actively involved in the event but as merely appearing 'on the scene'. In other words, the *perspectival center* in these sentences is the 'ground' (the event or the state of affairs), whereas the 'figure' (represented by the S′ constituent) is backgrounded and perceived as part of the '*rheme-only*' *sentence*. The event or state of affairs is viewed from the outside, as unit: while a plain sentence is subject-oriented, a thetic one is *event-central* (H.-J. Sasse 1987).[27] (Halevy 2016: 49)

From the point of view of information structure, Zimmerman (2016) notes as follows:

> Arguably, instances of thetic all-new focus fall under the notion of predicate-focus as well. Following Erteschik-Shir (1997), one may analyse the entire vP in (3) ... as predicating over an overt or covert situation argument:
> (3) C: What's going on over there?
>   There are [$_{vP}$ people singing karaOKE]$_F$. / [Some people are singing karaOKE]$_F$.
>   (Zimmerman 2016: 315)

Likewise, Bentley notes:

> In terms of information structure, existentials are typically all new or broad focus constructions. (Bentley 2020: summary)

In what follows, I will endeavor an analysis that will overcome the discrepancy between form and (semantic and informational) meaning in Hebrew EXT constructions, along with overcoming the problem of covert constituents or dummy subjects. The analysis of Hebrew sentence structure outlined above (§2) seems to lend itself to do precisely that. This analysis will enable us quite easily to regard the pivot as a predicate or rather the core component of the predicate. Note the first part of the definition of predicate (or predicate domain) as specified above (§2): The predicate domain is viewed as the constituent carrying the informational load of the clause within the discourse context, which by default will include a newly introduced element. Ex. 12 is a case in point.

(12) *jeʃ e /*   **aχ**   *kaˈze ||*
     EXT uh   fireplace like.this
     'There's a sort of fireplace.'
     (OCh_sp1_273-274)

The speaker is about to tell his interlocutor how difficult was it for him and his friends to light a local fireplace during a cold night they spent in a *ger* (traditional house) in Mongolia. In ex. 12, he introduces the new referent, this special fireplace, into the discourse. Lambrecht notes as follows:

> From the point of view of information-structure analysis, the label "existential" is somewhat misleading. Mere assertion of the existence of some entity is a rather special

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[27.] For more recent studies on theticity, See Sasse 1996; 2006.

kind of speech act which is of limited use in everyday communication. It is difficult (though not impossible) to conjure up a situation in which statement like "There are cockroaches" would be made with the unique purpose of stating the existence of such creatures. (Lambrecht 1994: 179)

The situation brought forward by the context of ex. 12 is in fact one of the cases where the existence of an entity unknown to the addressee is introduced. As this is not a commonly known, Western-like fireplace, the speaker feels the need to first introduce the very concept. While the speaker is well aware that his interlocutor knows what a fireplace is, the use of the hedge *kaze* 'sort of' is required, in his mind, because the introduced element is not only new to the discourse but also new to the addressee. In fact, the speaker immediately corrects himself:

(13) **lo** *aχ* ||
NEG fireplace
'Not a fireplace.'
(OCh_sp1_275)

His interlocutor interrupts with a question on an unrelated topic and when resuming this subject matter, the speaker will better describe the sort of fireplace he was talking about (see §3.4, ex. 74). Still, in the majority of uses of EXT constructions, the introduced entity is not genuinely new but is rather introduced into the discourse. In a similar spirit, Baruch (2009; 2013) suggests that the term "existence" should be defined as "being in the consciousness":

> [A]n existing object is one which is known to human beings, i.e., its concept lies in their consciousness, they have a name for it, and this name is used in their verbal communication. (Baruch 2009: 161)

Therefore,

> [t]he new information given ... is not the head of the subject NP (...), which is usually one of the nouns in the dictionary, but the modifier accompanying it. This modifier is the one granting the subject NP with its qualities of uniqueness and individuality, which are relevant for introduction. (Baruch 2009: 164)

This observation fits well the additional hedge *kaze* 'sort of' to the noun 'fireplace' in ex. 12. Still, it is the noun *aχ* 'fireplace', which is the nucleus of the pivot, that carries the sentence accent. Likewise, the pivot in ex. 14 consists of a noun along with an elaborate adjunct.

(14) [1] *tiʃmeˈu* *daˈvar* ||
    hear.NFCT.PL thing
    'Listen to this:'
[2] *jeʃ* **maˈkom** | *berˈχov* | *leˈvinski* | *be=* | *telaˈviv* |
    EXT place in.street Levinsky in= Tel.Aviv
    'There is a place in Levinsky Street in Tel-Aviv;'
[3] *ˈmiʃehi* | *ʃe* | *oˈsa* | *tavliˈnim* | *ʃe* | *roˈkaχat* |
    someone.SGF that making.SGF spices that concocting.SGF
    '(There is) someone (there) who makes spices, who concocts ...'
[4] *lo* *roˈkaχat* || *beˈetsem* *markiˈva* ||
    NEG concocting.SGF in.fact putting.together.SGF
    'not concocts, in fact, combines.'

[5] *kol mi'nej | e | tamhi'lim | ʃel kol mi'nej tavli'nim be'jaχad ||*
    all kinds.of uh blends   of all sorts.of spices   together
    'all kinds of uh blends ... of combinations of various kinds of spices together.'
    (Sh2c: 2315"-2329.5")

Following a discourse-regulative comment (line [1]), the speaker introduces her new topic, 'a place in Levinsky street in Tel-Aviv', using an EXT construction (line [2]). The general noun *makom* 'place' is followed by an adjunct describing the 'place': *berχov levinski betelaviv* 'in Levinsky street in Tel-Aviv'. In this excerpt, after the initial reference to 'a place in Levinsky street in Tel-Aviv' is made, the speaker introduces another referent, this time not making use of the EXT marker (line [3]-[5]), perhaps because now the new referential expression is anchored to the already presented location. The utterance in lines [3]-[5] is an expanded construction, constituting a unipartite sentence, or matrix clause, that contains two subordinate clauses which are unipartite clauses in themselves (line [3]), each following the particle *ʃe* 'that', and including an inserted parenthesis (line [4]).[28]

There are, of course, single-word pivots, as illustrated in ex. 15. In this extract, sp5, a 10-year-old boy, arrives with some fruit that he has just picked up. The exchange goes as follows:

(15) [1] sp3: *o || jeʃ **ʃa'lal** ||*
             oh   EXT booty
             'Oh! There's a catch!'
   [2] sp2: *'efo   ha=rimo'nim | en /*
             where DEF=pomegranates   NEG.EXT
             'Where are the pomegranates? Are there none?'
   [3] sp5: *lo ha'ja || jeʃ kta'nim | ʃe mehabus'tan   ha= /*
             NEG be\PFV.3SGM.PRED   EXT small.PL that from.the.orchard DEF=
             'There was none. There are small ones, from the orchard ...'
   [4] *ʃe **ʃam** | v jeʃ χelek **mikan** ||*
        that there   and EXT part from.here
        'over there, and some are from here.' (lit: 'there's some from here.')
        (C711_4_sp3_071-072; sp2_091-092; sp5_006-013)

Sp3, one of sp5's older sisters, welcomes her brother with a cheerful statement following the interjection 'Oh': *jeʃ ʃa'lal ||* 'There's a catch!' (line [1]). By this statement, the speaker introduces into the discourse her excitement of what is going on, not the mere existence of the fruit her brother is bringing in. The pivot, *ʃa'lal*, is actually borrowed from another semantic field, be it military battle and conquest ('booty') or, which is yet another metaphor deriving from the original one, fishing ('catch'). The speaker's use of this noun is, therefore, conveying not the very existence of the fruit brought in by her brother, but her joy of it. This information is conveyed by the pivot, a newly introduced NP. In addition, this string carries exclamative modality conveyed by the prosodic contour (cf. Martin 2015: 69-70), showing an especially strong prosodic accent.

This NP can therefore be regarded as predicate, consisting, in this case, of only a single noun. As will be shown below (§3.1.2), this NP will be eventually determined as the core

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[28.] Parenthetical utterances may interfere the sequence of a running utterance (Izre'el & Mettouchi 2015: §3.3). They can end in a major boundary, which, in such cases, does not mark the end of the matrix utterance (Izre'el 2020a: §3.7.2.1).

component of the predicate domain. Sp2, the father of the two siblings, asks about pomegranates (line [2]),[29] and the child (sp5) responses that there weren't any, only small ones found in another orchard (lit. 'from the orchard that is there') (lines [3-4]). In this case, the adjective *ktanim* 'small (ones)', along with its relative adjunct *ʃe mehabustan >ha=<*[30] *ʃe=ʃam* 'that (are) from the orchard over there', will be regarded as the core component of the predicate, which can be determined by similar criteria: new information, declarative modality and focus. Also by the same criteria, the pivot of the last construction (line [4], second part), *χelek mikan* 'some from here', will be determined the core component of the predicate domain, consisting of the nominal nucleus *χelek* 'part' and the adverbial adjunct *mikan* 'from here'.

In many EXT constructions, the marker *jeʃ* seems unnecessary in apparently similar meanings and functions. In the extract cited above as ex. 15, sp3 might have well said: *o || ʃalal || 'Oh! A catch!'* or, perhaps: *o || eze ʃalal || 'Oh! What a catch!'*. This is precisely the case with ex. 16, where the exchange between the speakers starts when sp1 sees a large atlas on the table, prepared by sp2 in advance for a conversation on a big trip sp1 has taken in East Asia (Izre'el 2018a: 253).

(16) *waj* ˈ*eze* ˈ*atlas* ||
      wow which atlas
      'Wow! What an atlas!'
      (OCh_sp1_001)

The motivations for such alternations are yet to be explored.

There are other cases where the introduced element consists of a single NP with no additional elements to further define it. Such cases serve either to introduce the existent referent into the discourse or pointing to its existence in a certain environment, e.g., location or timing, and asserting it, as is the case with the first construction in ex. 17, where the speakers discuss cases of problems with agricultural enterprises.

(17) *jeʃ* ˈ*dʒukim* | o *ʃe* *jeʃ* **maχaˈla** ka*ˈzot* v ka*ˈzot* |
      EXT cockroaches or that EXT disease like.this and like.this
      'There are cockroaches, or there is such and such disease,'
      (C612_4_sp2_065-066)

Ex. 17, like previous examples, demonstrates that pivots in EXT-PRES constructions consist of newly introduced referents into the discourse, which stand the first criterion set above for determining them as predicates. The predicate domain has been viewed as the element carrying the informational load of the clause within the discourse context, which by default will include a newly introduced referent. This is exactly the function of the pivot in EXT-PRES constructions, where it will be regarded as the core component of the predicate domain.

The second criterion set above for defining a predicate domain is that it be viewed as the domain where the sentence focus will be located. This is indeed the case with EXT-PRES constructions, where pivots are by default marked by prosody. We have indeed seen that in most examples one or more components of the pivot NP carries prosodic accent (indicated in the

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[29.] For the NEG.EXT constructions *en* (line [2]) and *lo haja* (line [3]) see Part II, §2.
[30.] The definite article *ha* was judged erroneous by the speaker and has accordingly been replaced by the particle *ʃe*.

transcription by boldface characters). One other example is ex. 18, where the prosodic accent is found on the final syllable of the pivot, viz., /ra/ (Figure 1).

(18)   *jeʃ   ʃmiˈra* ||
    EXT guarding
    'We have (to do) guarding (duty).' (Lit. 'There is guarding.)'
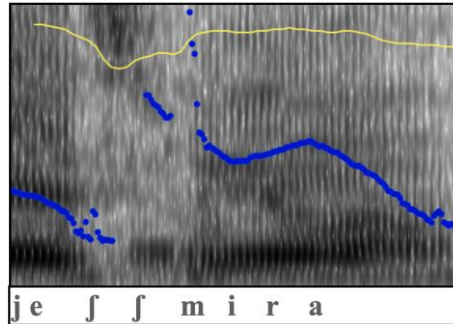   (P423_1_sp1_052)

Figure 1: Simple clause with prosodic accent on the pivot

As Figure 1 shows, the pivot, which is a new referent in the discourse, is marked by prosodic accent. In contrast, the EXT element, in this and all previous examples, lacks prosodic accent, so that the focused element is the noun *ʃmira* 'guarding'.[31] In the next section (§3.1.2) we shall look into the function and the syntactic status of the EXT constituent.

Up until now, EXT-PRES constructions carried a sentence accent with them. There are cases, however, where the prosodic contour seems to carry no prominent prosodic accent. The contour in these cases shows steady declination (Cruttenden 1997: §4.4.4.4, 5.5.1; Wichmann 2000: §5.1.1; Gussenhoven 2004: §6; Izre'el & Mettouchi 2015: 23-24; Behrns, Mixdorff & Niebuhr 2020: §9.4.3; Cho & Mücke 2020: §2.3), starting with an initial high pitch on the EXT marker, being the first constituent in the construction. This is the case, inter alia, with ex. 19 (with Figure 2).

(19)   *jeʃ   dvaˈrim ʃe   ʦaˈriχ   lhitmoˈded iˈtam* |
    EXT things   that need[SGM] to.cope   with.them
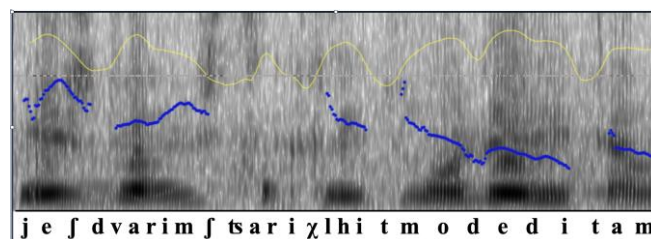   'There are things that one has to cope with,'
    (P931_2_sp2_018)

F**igure 2:** Declination with no prominent accent

In such cases, the focus is signaled by segmentation (or "phrasing"; cf. Féry 2013; 2017: §6.2.2), which by its very nature combines the speech stretch into a single focus domain, being, in the case of unipartite sentences, both predicate focus and sentence focus (for these notions,

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[31.] *ʃmira* is a *nomen actionis*, hence meaning 'the activity of guarding', 'a mission of guarding'.

see, inter alia, Lambrecht 1994: ch. 5; 2000). An interesting case is the following, where seemingly both the EXT marker and the pivot are accented (ex. 20 and Figure 3).

(20) **jeʃ** *tahaˈliχ* ||
      EXT procedure
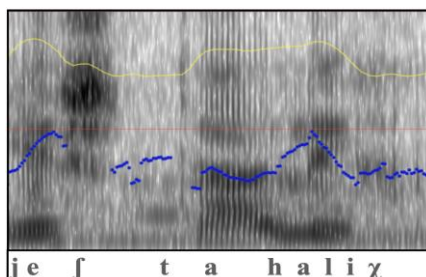   'There is a procedure.'
      (P931_3_sp2_141)

Figure 3: Expressive accents

However, deeper examination suggests, that the higher peaks are motivated by expressiveness rather than by information structure. The speaker, who is a military officer, makes it explicit to his soldier that an early release from military service requires a strict procedure, which is precisely what he is emphasizing in this utterance. Thus, we are left with a similar case of declination, yet with a different contour on both constituents.

Although quite rarely in the studied corpus, focus may be associated with a separate prosodic module[32] within the EXT construction stretch. The scantiness of the find requires further research on the other prosodic characteristics of such units.

In units where the EXT marker is not in first position but preceded by a conjunction or another particle, the pitch of the EXT marker is higher than that of the preceding element. In ex. 21, the speakers are discussing the structure of an apartment they are considering to share with some friends (cf. exx. 5 and 6 above).

(21) *v*   *jeʃ*   *mirˈpeset* | *v*   *jeʃ*   *saˈlon* |
      and EXT balcony   and EXT living.room
      'and there is a balcony, and there is a living room'
      (C842_sp2_057-058)
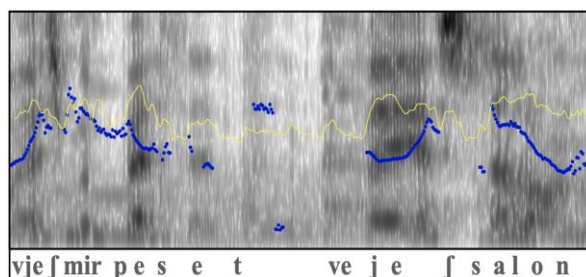
Figure 4: Higher pitch on the EXT marker when following a conjunction (1)

In both modules, no prominent accent is discernible. The actual declination starts with a high pitch on the syllables [mir] and [sa] respectively, which are not the stressed syllables of the respective two NPs *mirˈpeset* 'balcony' and *saˈlon* 'living room'. These pitch peaks should be

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[32.] Usually referred to as intonation unit; for the term *module* see Izre'el 2020a: §2.

ascribed to the phenomenon known as delayed peak (or late peak; Gussenhoven 2004: §5.9; Arvaniti & Fletcher 2020: §6.3.1; for Hebrew see Ozerov 2013: 327-328). In any case, the two conjunctions preceding the respective EXT markers should not be regarded as part of the EXT constructions in either case.

I dare to tentatively suggest, that this unaccented declining prosodic contour, which in these examples begins with a higher pitch on the EXT marker, developing into a relatively steady decline, indicates the unity of the EXT construction by its very form, to be interpreted accordingly as a unipartite clause, consisting of only a single clausal constituent, viz., a predicate domain, being the only necessary and sufficient constituent of a clause. For EXT constructions showing prosodic accent on the EXT constituent see Part II, §3.

Late declination peak of this type occurs also in cases where there is prosodic marking of focus, as in ex. 22 (with Figure 5), where focus is marked both by prosodic accent and segmentally, by the focus adverb *gam* 'also' (Glinert 1989: §22).

(22) *v   jeʃ   gam **mirˈpeset** //*
        and EXT also balcony
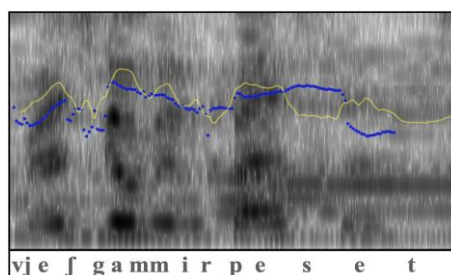   'And there is also a balcony.'
        (C842_sp2_057-058)

Figure 5: Higher pitch on the EXT marker when following a conjunction (2)

EXT constructions with no prominent accent within bare EXT constructions[33] marked by the EXT marker *jeʃ* are relatively rare and are not evenly distributed in the studied corpus. Conclusions as regards the motivation behind such structures must therefore await further research. For EXT constructions with no prominent accent which contain verbal forms of √*hjj* see §3.2.

Finally, the predicate has been defined as the domain carrying modality. The default modality, vis., the declarative one (Frajzyngier with Shay 2016: 179), is usually indicated by a declining prosodic contour (Martin 2015: 68-71). The interrogative modality is most commonly indicated by rising prosodic contour (Martin, *loc. cit.*; ex. 23 and Figure 6).

(23) *jeʃ ka=ˈele   ʃe   mitgajˈs-im /*
        EXT like=these that being.recruited-PL
        'Are there (people) that serve in the army?'
          (C1624_sp3_097)

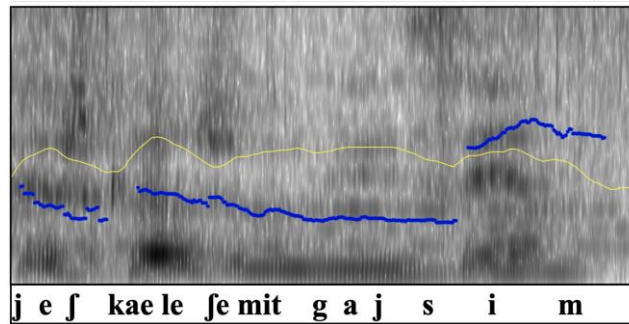[33.] I.e., not including possessive or locative constructions.

Figure 6: Interrogative EXT construction

Interrogative, exclamative and other modalities can be indicated either by prosody or segmentally. As we shall see in the following section (§3.1.2), it will be suggested that the EXT constituent in itself is also a carrier of modality.

As already claimed, the analysis of Hebrew clause structure outlined above (§2) seems to be a firm basis to account for the EXT-PRES construction as a unipartite sentence, consisting of only a predicate domain. This can be done if we can support the view that the EXT marker cannot be determined as a subject, which we shall do in the next section (§3.1.2).

3.1.2 The existential marker *jeʃ* as a modal marker

Having established the syntactic function of the pivot as predicate or as the core component of the predicate, we are now in a position to discuss the function of the EXT marker *jeʃ*. In EXT-PRES constructions, and in fact in any EXT constructions, the marker *jeʃ* cannot be regarded a subject, not even an expletive. Whereas the element 'there' in EXT constructions in English has been regarded by some authors as an expletive or a dummy subject (see above, §3.1.1), this cannot be the case with Hebrew *jeʃ*, which would be compared to the verb 'be' in English EXT constructions.[34]

It has been mentioned above (§3.1), that aside from the common view that *jeʃ* is the predicate of an EXT construction, it has been viewed as a copula. For Francez (2007: §2.1), both *jeʃ* and its negative counterpart *en* are copulas, in spite of his observation that Hebrew lacks a dummy element that occurs in the comparable English construction. Schwarzwald suggests that "[t]he adverbials *yeš* 'there is' and *ʔe(y)n* 'there is not' are also included among the copulas in Hebrew, because they can only occur in nominal sentences" (Schwarzwald 2001: 67). Hebrew does not require a copula to link between a subject and a nominal predicate, as will be clear when looking at examples like 4 (line [4]), 6, 7 or 8 above (§2) (see also shor 2020a). Their paradigmatic relations with forms of √*hjj* 'be', consensually regarded as copulas in Hebrew, must have contributed to this conception. However, my understanding of the notion *copula* is of an element that links two constituents in a predicational bond (cf. Pustet 2003: §1.1; Danon 2013: §1; Shor 2020a). Naturally, if there is no subject, there can be no copula. Furthermore, according to the approach taken here, elements are not *omitted* from syntactic structures but *added* to them (Izre'el 2018b; cf. Lee *et al.* 2009: 106). Thus, a unipartite sentence is regarded as consisting of only a predicate domain without a subject, let alone without referring to an elided subject. By the same token, verbal forms of √*hjj* are not copulative but their function is to

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[34.] Hazout, whose work on EXT constructions included Hebrew, did not discuss constructions with the EXT marker *jeʃ* (or its negative counterpart *en*) (Hazout 2004, note 1 on p. 394 and note 20 on pp. 414-415). Unfortunately, Hazout has never accomplished his work on *jeʃ* existentials, as he expected to do (note 20, p. 415; Hazout, p.c., January 7, 2018). For Hazout's ideas on EXT constructions with forms of √ *hjj* see §3.2.

add TAM meanings to the predicate (§3.2).[35,36] The conclusion is, therefore, that *jeʃ* is to be viewed as a constituent in the predicate domain, alongside the pivot, where the latter will be regarded as the core component of the predicate domain.

The EXT marker *jeʃ* may best be interpreted as a modal marker, carrying affirmative assertive modality. This perception goes well with the basic interrelationship between existence and simple assertion. As explained by Sasse,

> it is the linguistic expression of existence which brings out most clearly the difference between simple assertion — making a statement — and predicative assertion — making a statement about something. I know of no language which is unable to mark the distinction between an utterance that some entity exists, and an utterance about an entity that it exists. Those who find this too abstract will easily recognize the difference in examples (116) and (117) in English:
>
> (116) There is a God.
> (117) God exists.
>
> The latter is a statement about an entity, whereas (116) is not a statement about an entity, but asserts the existence of some entity. (Sasse 1987: §4.2)

The function of the EXT marker is thus to assert the existence of a referent, usually implying its existence in a certain location. As such, *jeʃ* is an integral part of the predicate domain. Support for its modal function is achieved by looking at the following small paradigm, where the EXT marker can be compared with two other, modal elements (Table 6):

Table 6: *Jeʃ* in paradigmatic relations with *hine* and *tsariχ*

a	*jeʃ*	*χadˈkeren*	
	EXT	unicorn	'There is a unicorn.'
b	*ˈhine*	*χadˈkeren*	
	PRES	unicorn	'Here is a unicorn.'
c	*tsaˈriχ*	*χadˈkeren*	
	need[SGM]	unicorn	'There is need for a unicorn.'

In Table 6/b, the presentative-deictic marker *hine* has the force of evidential modality (Palmer 2001: §2.2.1; for issues in the definition of evidentiality and its relation to modality see, inter alia, Boye 2012; 2018; for the presentative marker *hine* in spoken Israeli Hebrew see Shor, Inbar & Izre'el, in preparation); in Table 6/c, the modal word *tsariχ* marks deontic modality of necessity (Palmer 2001: §§3.2.1, 4.1). Let us expand a little on these comparisons.

Such utterances form unipartite clauses, where each of the modal elements precedes a NP, the latter forming the core component of the predicate domain. Another example would be the most common way to ask for coffee in Hebrew:

(24) *efˈʃar   kaˈfe /*
     possible coffee
     'Can (I/we) get some coffee?'

In ex. 24, possibility is marked segmentally by the constituent *efʃar*, whereas the interrogative modality is indicated by intonation.

[35.] A common perception of copula is one of a dummy element whose function is to carry TAM markers. Pustet 2003: §1.1 (citing Lyons 1968 and Stassen 1997) brings forth arguments against this view.
[36.] For the obligatory subject in verbal forms see §3.2.

When coming before the pivot in EXT constructions, the EXT marker *jeʃ* serves to draw the addressee's attention and consciousness to the existence of an entity, mostly in a certain place or scene (Lambrecht 1994: 179, cited above, §1), or in relation to another referent, hence the relationship to locative and possessive constructions (§1).

Such constructions have been accordingly termed EXT-PRES constructions (§1; Givón 2001: II: §16.3.2). In this respect, the Hebrew EXT marker *jeʃ* may be compared to the English fused form *there's*, which was referred to by Breivik as a 'presentative formula' carrying a pragmatic 'signal information', i.e., it "functions as a signal to the addressee that he must be prepared to direct his attention toward an item of new information" (Breivik 1981: §3.22).

The EXT marker *jeʃ* thus relates to the Hebrew presentative marker *hine* (Table 6/b), which is deictic in nature, carries evidential modality, and used to draw attention to the presence of a referent or a situation in the immediate location or scene.[37] The speaker in ex. 25, looking at an atlas, is trying to locate sites he has visited:

(25) ˈhine seʧuˈan | juˈnan | ˈefo juˈnan | ˈhine | guanʃi | eze ʃofi || χatgal ||
       PRES Sichuan   Yunnan where Yunnan PRES   Guanshi which beauty Hatgal
       'Here (is) Sichuan; Yunnan; where's Yunnan? Here (it is); Guanshi; how nice! Hatgal!'
       (OCh_sp1_027-030)

The presentative marker *hine* indicates that the speaker has discovered on the map a site he knows, as well as introducing into the discourse the name of this site, whose addressee is not yet aware of and therefore it is not in his (immediate) consciousness. This is the case with the first occurrence of the element *hine*. However, when it comes in a separate information unit, after the question 'where's Yunnan?', its function is that of a predicate, the function of which is to assert the discovery of Yunnan on the map. This information module thus forms a unipartite clause, anchored to the previous interrogative sentence (cf. Izre'el 2018a: 244-245 and §4).

As a carrier of evidential modality, *hine* can function as to bring to stage not only referential expressions of visual or concrete referents, but also propositions. In the following extract, the speakers are traveling by car and talking about someone they know. One of the speakers notices that the person of whom they were speaking is driving a car just behind them:

(26) ˈhine hu meaχoˈrenu ||
       PRES   he behind.us
       'Here he is behind us.'
       (P311_2_sp5_033)

The deictic presentative marker *hine* thus adds evidential modality to the predicative assertion *hu meaχorenu* 'he is behind us'.

In very rare cases, *jeʃ* too can precede a bipartite clause. The speaker in ex. 27 tells his interlocutor about a bus ride in China, where no regular stops are found along its route.

[37.] Tobin (1991) suggested a paradigmatic relationship between *jeʃ* and *hine* (alongside the NEG.EXT marker *en* and the marker *od* 'still, yet¸ another, more'), interpreting the first as carrying the "invariant meaning" 'existence of X is relevant at present' and *hine* as carrying the "invariant meaning" 'existence of X is affirmed'. This paradigmatic set was based on a suggested core meaning of existence for all four markers as well as on their person inflection, which has an extra *n* between the marker and the PM, interpreted by Tobin as a focusser. See further Part II, §4.

(27) *kloˈmar jeʃ ˈmiʃehu baˈdereχ   oˈʦer |*
      that.is   EXT someone in.the.way stopping
      'That is, there's someone on the road stopping (the bus),'
      (OCh_sp1_156)

The pivot thus consists of a full bipartite clause, with a subject *miʃehu baˈdereχ* 'someone on the road' and *oʦer* 'stopping', a participial predicate. The EXT construction will still be analyzed as a predicate domain in its entirety, comprising a unipartite clause very much like other EXT-PRES constructions, consisting of the EXT marker *jeʃ* and a pivot which in itself consists of a bipartite clause.

Interestingly, *hine* can present also an EXT construction which asserts the existence of a referent (ex. 28):

(28) אוי הנה יש מנהל
      oj ˈhine jeʃ   mnaˈhel
      oh PRES EXT manager
      'Oh, look, there is a manager.'
      (Message by Ushi231; *Tapuz Forums* [internet], February 3, 2011)

In ex. 29, civil-guard volunteers are collecting materials at the logistics depot. One of the speakers probably refers to a form to be signed when he utters:

(29) *baˈrur ˈhine jeʃ=le=ˈχa   eˈχad rek ||*
      clear   PRES EXT=to=2SGM.NPRED one   empty
      'Sure, look, there's an empty one for you.'
      (P311_2_unid_020)

The enclitic complex *leχa* {to=2SGM.NPRED} can be interpreted as possessive (cf. §1, Table 3), but the context seems to prefer its interpretation as ethical dative, which will leave this construction in the sphere of bare existentiality along with the indication of presentation (cf. also §3.3, ex.63, line [2], with note 59). The speaker might have well said *ˈhine jeʃ eˈχad rek* 'look, there's one empty'. Indeed, modalities are not necessarily contradictory and can therefore occur in the same clause (for a brief summary of the notion of modality as understood in this framework see Izre'el 2018b: 1691-1694).

A response to a tweet showing an Arab police officer goes like this:

(30) הנה יש גם שוטר ערבי
      ˈhine jeʃ   gam ʃoˈter   ʕaraˈvi
      PRES EXT also policeman Arab
      'So there is also an Arab policeman.'
      מה אמרו שכולם רופאים ואחיות?
      ma ʔamˈru ʃekuˈlam   rofˈʔim vʔaχaˈjot?
      what they.said that.all.of.them doctors and.nurses
      'Why did they say that all of them are doctors and nurses?'
      (Twitter, Ronit haBibistit @ronitlev, June 19, 2020)

The observation that *jeʃ* is a modal marker will also explain its use in constructions like the one in ex. 31, expressing deontic types of modality, notably in formal registers.

(31) יש להכין תשתית

jeʃ *lehaˈχin* *taʃˈtit*

EXT to.prepare infrastructure

'Preparing an infrastructure is needed.'

(From a section title on price comparisons of boiler installation, internet home services site, <www.tovtoda.co.il>, retrieved March 26, 2018)

An alternative for this line can be seen in ex. 32:

(32) צריך להכין תשתית

ʦaˈriχ *lehaˈχin* *taʃˈtit*

need[SGM] to.prepare infrastructure

'Preparing an infrastructure is needed.'

(A title to a post in a *Make It Yourself* internet forum, *Tapuz Forums*, May 5, 2016)

In ex. 32, the modal word *ʦariχ* 'need[SGM]', 'necessary' is used exactly in paradigmatic relation with *jeʃ* in ex. 31, suggesting the modal value of the EXT marker. Both constructions will be interpreted exactly the same by any Hebrew speaker (or reader). Ex. 33 is an idiomatic expression that can occur in everyday spoken registers as well:

(33) *jeʃ* *leʦaˈjen* |

EXT to.indicate

'It should be noted.'

(C514_1_sp1_053)

Possessive constructions attest to a similar function of *jeʃ*. In ex. 34, a military officer reflects the thoughts of his subordinate who complains about the time he still has to serve.

(34) [1] *o* *ʃe* *jeʃ* *li* *l-isˈχov* *od* *χaˈʦi* *ʃaˈna* |

or that EXT to.me INF-carry\INF more half year

'Either **I have** to carry yet another half a year,'

[2] *o* *ʃe* *jeʃ* *li* *meˈever* *lχaˈʦi* *ʃaˈna* |

or that EXT to.me over to.half year

'or **I have** over six months,'

[3] *hiˈgati* *lχaʦi* *ʃaˈna* | *siˈjamti=ota* | *jeʃ* *li* *od* *ʃaˈna* *aˈχat* ||

I.reached to.half year I.finished=it EXT to.me more year one

'I reached the (first) half year, I have finished it, (yet) **I** (still) **have** another single year.'

(P931_2_sp2_191-196)

In line [1], the pivot consists of an infinitive form with a complement phrase. In each of the two following parallel constructions, the pivot consists of only a NP. All three constructions carry similar meanings. [38] Indeed, the relation between existence and modality has strong

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[38.] Both Ziv (1982a: 272) and Halevy (2020b: 557, note 14) note that such constructions are not available in past or future contexts, i.e., with forms of √ *hjj* 'be'. However, I might well think of possible

typological support, which is especially known by constructions of *habēre* forms + tenseless verbal forms or similar expressions (Biber *et al.* 1999: §6.6, where they are termed "semi-modals"; Mitkovska & Bužarovska 2014; among others). Note that the English translations in ex. 34 ('I have' in all three cases) nicely reflect the basic forms and the alternation in modal value. If *jeʃ* is to be regarded as a modal constituent, a shift, or rather an alternation in value, will be traced in the alternation between epistemic and deontic modality in the latter construction.[39] See further a note on existential *jeʃ* and *en* as interjections and modality (see Part II, §5, end).

3.2   Existential-presentative constructions with forms of √*hjj* 'be'

As mentioned in the introduction (§1), when time, aspect or non-assertive modalities of existence are to be expressed, forms of √*hjj* 'be' are used, forming paradigmatic relations with the EXT marker *jeʃ*. Following the arguments brought forth in §3.1, it will be clear that since the pivot is analyzed as predicate, or the core component of the predicate, forms of the verbal system which come in the suppletive constructions to the EXT marker *jeʃ* cannot assume this function. The analysis of a verb not as the predicate of a clause goes against intuitions built upon established traditions, because it seems contradictory to the well-rooted, Aristotelian-based tradition, that a verb must assume the function of a predicate in a clause (Izre'el 2018b). It should further be emphasized, that in EXT-PRES constructions, the prosodic accent is never found on the verbal form, so that it cannot assume the role of a predicate. Can it assume the function of a subject, then? As described in §2, a clause — including finite verbs which form clauses in themselves — may well assume the function of a subject in a (matrix) clause (cf. exx. 9, 10 in §2 above). Thus, in principle, this might be valid also for our case here. However, as I will try to show in the following sections, very much like the EXT marker *jeʃ*, any of the suppletive forms in its entirety — be it a phrase or a clause (including a verb) — should also be analyzed as a modal constituent within the predicate domain, thus forming a unipartite (matrix) clause along with the pivot, which is the core component of the predicate domain. Table 7 lists the affirmative forms already presented in Table 1 (§1), now giving notice also to the functions of the respective components.

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occurrences of such constructions, as in the case of a high-school student who, in response to his mother's inquiry why can't he help her tomorrow, might say thus:

jihˈje		*li*	*la-aˈsot har ˈbe ʃuˈrim* |
3SGM-be\NFCT		to.me	INF-do\INF much homework

kmo	*ʃe*	*jeʃ*	*li*	*haˈjom* |
like	that	EXT	to.me	today

v	*kmo*	*ʃe*	*haˈja*	*li*	*etˈmol* ||
and	like	that	be/PFV.3SGM	to.me	yesterday

'I will have to do a lot of homework, as I have today and as I had yesterday.'

The constraints on similar constructions with other verbs, in either functions, need, therefore, further research.

[39.] Similar constructions to those attested in ex. 34, line [1] are attested as early as Mishnaic Hebrew (attested from the first centuries of the Christian era), so that the development seems to have taken place much earlier than the Modern period and took a different path. Azar terms this construction "existential-modal sentence", since it "expresses the existence (or non-existence) of ability, possibility, necessity or obligation to do something or that something will be done" (Azar 1995: 88; my translation). For the history of "existential possessive modality" in written Hebrew during the first phases of the emergence of Israeli Hebrew see Rubinstein 2019.

Table 7: EXT √*hjj* forms as modal constituents

	modal constituent		pivot	
a	*jeʃ*		χadˈkeren	
	EXT		unicorn	'There is a unicorn.'
b	*haˈja-ø*		χadˈkeren	
	be\PFV-3SGM.PRED		unicorn	'There was a unicorn.'
c	*j-ihˈje*		χadˈkeren	
	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT		unicorn	'There will be a unicorn.'
d	*tsaˈriχ*	*l-ihˈjot*	χadˈkeren	
	need[SGM]	INF-be\INF	unicorn	'There should be a unicorn.'

The respective modal constituents in b and c are finite verbs, which have been seen above (§2) as full clauses. These clausal units (=verbs) are thus embedded into the predicate domain of the EXT-PRES constructions, rather than form bipartite sentences with the pivot. As one will recall, some modal components within sentences may well be structured as clauses in themselves. Simple English examples are *I doubt (whether...)* or *I think (that...)*. Of course, clauses may well be embedded into another clause performing a plethora of functions: subject clauses, object clauses, adverbial clauses, relative clauses, etc. Unto these, one may add discourse markers like *ata mevin* {2SGM.PRED understand[SGM]}, *at mevin-a* {2SGF.PRED undersand-SGF}, *atem mvinim* {2PL.PRED understand-PL} 'you understand', which should be regarded as clauses not only because of their formal structure but also because of their semantic or functional status. To these one may add quotatives like 'he said that' (Clift & Holt 2007: 5). One will further recall Thompson's analysis of clauses introducing direct discourse (or complement taking predicates [CTPs]) as epistemic/evidential/evaluative formulaic fragments — rather than main clauses in a complex sentence — introducing, or projecting, the speaker's stance towards the content clause that follows, the latter being accordingly analyzed as the principal clause in the construction (Thompson 2002 with previous references; for a different view see Newmeyer 2010; cf. also Maschler 2012 with previous bibliography). Like clausal discourse markers, such introductory units should be analyzed as complete clauses both syntactically and semantically, albeit not as main clauses but as stance clauses (cf. Aijmer 1996). It will be noted, that in a larger framework, the category of stance can be seen as including (or perhaps replacing) the likewise broad category of modality (Keisanen & Kärkkäinen 2014). Finally, the phrase in section d of the table includes an infinitive form, which is a non-clausal modal phrase by its very nature.

In what follows, I will first deal with the infinitival forms of √*hjj* (§3.2.1); then I will deal with verbal complexes, which by definition consist of both a verbal lexeme and a person marker (PM), as explained in §2 above. Spontaneous spoken Israeli Hebrew exhibits two different configurations in its verbal EXT-PRES constructions. One construction — which is more common is the colloquial language — uses a non-referential PM in the form of 3SGM.PRED; another one uses a referential PM which assumes the gender and number of the pivot. Constructions with non-referential PMs will be dealt with in §3.2.2; EXT-PRES constructions with referential PMs will be dealt with in §3.2.3.

3.2.1 Phrases including infinitives of √*hjj* 'be'

As mentioned above (§3.2), looking at the EXT-PRES paradigm, where verbal forms come in paradigmatic relations with the EXT marker *jeʃ*, one will realize that the forms located at the

initial position of these constructions are best analyzed as assuming the function of a modal constituent very much like that of the EXT marker *jeʃ* (§3.1.2).

This claim will be especially clear when one looks at infinitival forms of √*hjj* 'be', where there is no incorporated PM, the latter being an immediate candidate for assuming a subject function in a clause. In ex. 35, the modal phrase *ʦaˈriχ lihˈjot* {need[SGM] to.be} 'there should be' corresponds to the NEG.EXT marker *en* (l. [2]) and to the affirmative EXT marker *jeʃ* (l. [3]).[40]

(35) [1] *beˈχol e /   mimˈsad /   memʃalˈti /   ʦaˈriχ   lihˈjot esˈrim aˈχuz   e /*
         in.all   uh   institution   governmental   need[SGM] to.be   twenty percent uh
     [2] *poaˈlim e /   araˈvim //*
         workers uh   Arab.PL
         'In every governmental institution there should be 20 percent of Arab workers.'
     [3] *v   en //*
         and   NEG.EXT
         'But there are not.'
     [4] *harˈbe paˈχot miˈze   jeʃ //*
         much   less   from.this EXT
         'There is much less than that.'
         (C1624_sp1_479-486)

As already discussed above, the root *hjj* 'be' is suppletive to the EXT marker *jeʃ*, thus carrying the same meaning. The modal phrase *ʦariχ lihjot* 'there should be' consists of the modal *ʦariχ* 'need[SGM]', which somewhat obscures the assertive modality of the lexeme *lihjot* 'to be', i.e., the infinitival form of √*hjj*. As noted above (§3.1.2), modal forms are not necessarily mutually exclusive or incompatible with each other.

3.2.2   Verbal forms with non-referential person markers

This section deals with EXT-PRES constructions that use non-referential person markers (PMs) in their verbal forms. These non-referential PMs are identical to the 3SGM person PM.

Looking back at the paradigms in Table 1 (§1) and Table 7 (§3.2), it will be noticed, that the pivot (*χadˈkeren* 'unicorn') in these examples is a SGM noun, so that the PM in the respective verbs may reflect the same gender and number as the pivot. However, it can also indicate a non-referential marker, neutralized as regards gender and number. The analysis of the PM in the verb as non-referential is supported by instances where the pivot is feminine and/or plural. In the examples below, exx. 36/a-b exhibit singular feminine pivots; exx. 37/a-b exhibit plural pivots.

(36) a *haja-ø   tmuˈna ʃel — [...] ameriˈkaim /   kiʦoˈnim //*
       be\PFV-3SGM.PRED   picture.F of   American   extremists
       'There was a picture of American extremists.'
       (C714_sp5_044-048)
     b *ʃe   j-ihˈje   taχaˈrut //*
       that 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT   competition.F
       'Let there be competition.'
       (C711_1_sp1_021)

[40.] Occurring without a pivot, the NEG.EXT marker *en* (l. [3]), constitutes, of course, the predicate domain *in toto* (see Part II, §3). For line [4], see §3.4 below, ex. 65.

(37) a   *haˈja-ø*   *kvar*   ˈ*kama* *peˈr-ot* ||
        be\PFV-3SGM.PRED already some   fruit-PL
        'There have already been some fruits.'
        (C711_4_sp2_048)

     b   *od.meˈat*   *j-ihˈje*   *et=ha=jeˈn-ot*   *ʃel=ha=ˈʃaj* ||
        shortly   3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT   *et*=DEF=wine-PL of=DEF=gift
        'The gift wines will be available soon.'
        (C711_1_sp1_077)

As against the general function of the 3SGM.PRED PM as carrying referential meaning (§2), in EXT and other special constructions (Halevy 2016; Melnik 2017; 2018) this morph does not carry a semantic marking. In other words, this PM is non-referential. It functions merely as the syntactic subject of the verbal complex, which is, as we have seen (§2), inherent to the verbal morphological complex, forming as such a bipartite clause in itself.

Can we regard this PM also as the subject of the pivot? Or can we perhaps analyze it as the subject of the complex {be_stem pivot}, the latter to be regarded as a predicate phrase?

As mentioned in §2, morphological patterns in verbal forms function as TAM markers. This is exemplified in the following examples (exx. 38-40). For the sake of convenience, I use the gloss 'be' for √*hjj*. As will be explained below, the root in these examples is in fact devoid of its meaning.

(38) [...] *hi*   *hajˈt-a*   *χaveˈr-a* |
         3SGF.PRED be\PFV-3SGF.PRED friend-F
     '[...] she was a friend,'
     (P931_1_sp2_192)

(39) *hi*   *t-ihˈje*   *beˈseder* ||
     3SGF.PRED 3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT alright
     'She will be fine.'
     (C514_2_sp1_092)

(40) *t-ihˈj-u*   *eˈrim*   *l=ma*   *koˈre*   *sivˈχem* |
     2PL.PRED-be\ NFCT-CIRC awake.PL to=what happening around.you.PL
     'Be aware of what's going on around you,'
     (P423_1_sp7_046)

Since patterns cannot be pronounced on their own, they must be interdigitated with roots (§2), which in this case is √*hjj*. Therefore, in all three examples, the TAM markers are the verbal patterns of the respective stems, whereas the root is devoid of any lexical meaning. This is proved by looking at their paradigmatic counterpart where no auxiliaries are needed. Thus, present time reference is made with no verbal auxiliary or any other verbal form, as in exx. 38a-40a:

(38a) *hi*   *χaveˈr-a* |
      3SGF.PRED friend-F
      'She is a friend,'

(39a) *hi*   *beˈseder ||*
     3SGF.PRED alright
     'She is fine.'

(40a) *aˈtem*   *eˈrim*   *l=ma*   *koˈre*   *sdivˈχem |*
     2PL.PRED awake.PL to=what happening around.you.PL
     'You are aware of what's going on around you,'

Using the EXT marker[41] in any of these cases would be ungrammatical, since existence is not meant by any of these constructions (exx. 38b-40b):

(38b) * *hi*   *jeʃ=ˈna*   *χaveˈr-a |*
     3SGF.PRED EXT=SGF.PRED friend-F

(39b) * *hi*   *jeʃ=ˈna*   *beˈseder ||*
     3SGF.PRED   EXT=SGF.PRED alright

(40b) * *aˈtem*   *jeʃ=ˈnam*   *eˈrim*   *l=ma*   *koˈre*   *sivˈχem |*
     2PL.PRED EXT=PL.PRED awake.PL   to=what happening around.you.PL

We have seen, that in exx. 38-40, the root *hjj* is devoid of any meaning, so that the TAM marking, signified by the verbal pattern, affects not the verbal root with which it is interdigitated, but the NP predicate or the nexus between the predicate and the subject. In contrast, the verbal forms in exx. 36-37 contain a root that is not devoid of meaning, but signifies existence, which is reflected by their paradigmatic alternation with the EXT marker *jeʃ* (Table 1, §1 = Table 7, §3.2). Thus, the TAM meanings, carried by the respective verbal patterns, affect this very root, viz., the morpheme carrying the EXT meaning, rather than the core component of the predicate domain, viz., the pivot.

One other observation concerns the issue of PMs in the respective constructions. Whereas in exx. 38-40 the bound PM is coreferential with the external, independent pronoun, this is not the case with the bound PMs in exx. 36-37. In other, more common terms, whereas in each of the sentences in exx. 38-40 there is agreement between the respective forms, there is no agreement between the bound PMs and the respective pivots in exx. 36-37.[42]

The common view about the so-called canonical subject in Hebrew is that it controls the verbal predicate for person, number and gender agreement (cf., among many others, Melnik 2013: §4; 2018: §3.1). This is, indeed, a cross-linguistic feature (Keenan 1976: 316;[43] Corbett 2003; among many others). Likewise, EXT constructions in many languages have been noted to show lack of agreement between what is commonly seen as the EXT predicate and the pivot, the latter seen as the subject of the sentence (e.g., Lambrecht 2000: §3.4; Girard 2003: §1.3; Givón 2017: §3.3).

These two differences between the respective sets of constructions, viz., ±meaning of the root and ±referentiality of the bound PM, suggest different syntactic functions between the PM being subject of the predicate domain in exx. 38-40 vs. being the subject of the verbal stem in a

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[41.] For EXT forms with bound PMs see Part II, §4.
[42.] For the preference of describing this relationship in terms of "coreferentiality" rather than "agreement" cf. §2 with note 17.
[43.] As noted by Keenan (1976: 316), subject-predicate agreement can be neither necessary nor sufficient condition for defining a (basic) subject.

verb derived of √*hjj* in Table 7. These analyses are presented below for exx. 36b and 39 as 36[an] and 39[an] respectively:[44]

(36[an])

		P		
	MOD		**PIVOT**	
	S	**P**		
ʃe	*j-*	*ihˈje*	*taχaˈrut*	*//*
that	3SGM.PRED-	be(**EXT**)\NFCT	competition.F	

'So that there will be competition.'
(C711_1_sp1_021)

(39[an])

S		**P**		
	S		**P**	
hi	*t-*	*ihˈje*	*beˈseder*	*//*
3SGF.PRED	3SGF.PRED-	be(**VOID**)\NFCT	alright	

'She will be fine.'
(C514_2_sp1_092)

There can be no predicational relation between the pivot and the verb, as the latter takes the slot of the EXT marker *jeʃ*, which does not show any defining feature of a subject and has been shown above to be a modal constituent and therefore part of the predicate domain. One may still ask whether the bound PM can be viewed as an expletive, or dummy subject, in a construction similar, although not identical, to the following French, German or English respective constructions (exx. 41-43):

(41) French:
Il y   a   trois enfants ici.
it there has three children here
'There are three children here'.
(Gaeta 2013: 487; ex. 13c)

(42) German:
Es   gibt viele Kinder in der   Schule.
it   gives many children in the:DAT:SG school
'There are many children in the school'.
(Gaeta 2013: 495; ex. 28)

(43) English:
and they've /sòld the 'back of their gárden # and there's /two hòuses #
(Breivik 1981: 15, ex. 63)

However, Hebrew is not a language that requires a subject to construe a clause to the extent that expletives are used profusely or obligatorily, or, in the terminology of Hagège (1978, following Sauvageot 1972), Hebrew is not a "langue à servitude subjectale". Hebrew does use

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44. For the analysis of ex. 39[an], manifesting second-level predication, see §2 for Table 5 and Izre'el 2012: §5.3.2.

expletives from time to time, or at least constructions that are similar to constructions including expletives, but these are not obligatory and seem to be used only for pragmatic reasons. One such example is ex. 44.

(44) *ze*   *meˈgia*   *leˈminus arbaˈim* *maaˈlot* *hakfaˈrim* *haˈele* ||
      DEM[SGM] reaching[SGM] to.minus fourty degrees the.villages these
      'It reaches up to -40° these villages.'
      (OCh_sp1_247)

The element *ze*, a SGM demonstrative pronoun used also as a non-animate 3ʳᵈ PM in Modern Hebrew (Cohen 2016: 128-129, 179, 184; Shor 2019: 48), serves here as a semantically empty subject, anticipatory of the right-dislocated topic *hakfarim haele* 'these villages'. As in cases where the empty subject is a verbal affix discussed here, the predicate of this syntactic subject is a SGM participial form.[45] The overall structure of this construction would thus take the dislocated topic *hakfarim haele* 'these villages' to be the subject of the sentence, whereas its predicate (domain) will be the embedded clause *ze magia leminus arbaim maalot* 'it reaches up to -40°'.

The use of this type of construction is perhaps governed by the need to put extra focus on the new information, which is in this case *magia leminus arbaim maalot* 'reaches up to -40°'. This needs not concern us here, of course (for previous research on right dislocation in Hebrew see Ziv & Grosz 1994; Ozerov 2010: §3.3.2.1.1; further Boumfeld 2018 on cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences).

Where a subject is required by the linguistic structure, as is the case of verbs — including, of course, verbal stems from √*hjj*, either carrying EXT meaning or void — it uses, correspondingly to other languages (cf. exx. 41-43), the 3SGM.PRED PM.[46] As we have seen above, this 3SGM.PRED PM in EXT-PRES constructions does not have the pivot as its predicate, but it serves as the subject of the stem of the verb unto which it is affixed, a stem that consists of √*hjj*, carrying EXT meaning, being a suppletive form to the EXT marker *jeʃ*, and a TAM pattern. Together, this verb as a whole serves as the modal-EXT constituent of the sentence, being in paradigmatic relation with the simple EXT marker *jeʃ*. Since a verb is in fact a clause on its own, it should thus be seen as an embedded clause within the EXT matrix clause, together constituting a sentence.

3.2.3   Verbal forms with referential pronominal markers

We have seen above (§3.2.2) that whenever TAM marking is to be incorporated in EXT constructions, speakers use forms of √*hjj* 'be' with a non-referential PM (-*ø* or *j*-, which are identical to the 3SGM referential PM) instead of the EXT marker *jeʃ* or negated such verbal forms instead of the NEG.EXT marker *en* (§1; also Part II, §2). This is the most common structure used in colloquial Israeli Hebrew. However, there are cases where the PM is coreferential with the pivot and thus functions as a marker of gender or number. This type of construction is standard in written and non-colloquial spoken Hebrew, but they also form part of the colloquial inventory. Of course, differences in form are pertinent only for feminine or plural pivots. Table 8 illustrates the relevant inflected forms for a feminine NP:

[45.] Hebrew participles are not inflected for person, only for gender and number.
[46.] The use of the 3SGM PM is not limited to EXT constructions, however, and can be found, inter alia, in many PS sentences (see, inter alia, Melnik 2002; 2017).

Table 8: Feminine and plural pivots

F:	a	*haj ˈt-a*	*tmu ˈn-a*
		be\PFV-3SGF.PRED	picture-F
		'There was a picture'	
	b	*t-ih ˈje*	*tmu ˈn-a*
		3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT	picture-F
		'There will be a picture.'	
PL:	a	*ha ˈj-u*	*tmu ˈn-ot*
		be\PFV-3PL.PRED	picture-PL
		'There were pictures.'	
	b	*j-ih ˈj-u*	*tmu ˈn-ot*
		3PL.PRED-be\NFCT-CIRC	picture-PL
		'There will be pictures.'	

Prima facie, if the pivot is regarded as predicate, then perhaps the PM in the preceding constituent, viz., the verb, should be regarded as its subject. One difficulty is the lack of an explicit subject as is the case in equational sentences.[47] Attempts to see the "post-copular NP" as predicate in English have already been mentioned above (§3.1.1). Whereas the verb 'be' has been taken as copula, the initial element *there* has been suggested to be an expletive subject (e.g., Breivik 1981; Williams 1994: §4.2.2.2.2; 2006). McNally commends this analysis:

> On this analysis, English existentials are considered analogous to copular sentences [...], with the expletive *there* as the subject, the pivot as the predicate, and any additional phrase after the pivot (typically known as the coda phrase) as an adjunct or modifier of some sort. This view establishes a parallelism between existentials and other sorts of copular sentences with expletives, such as examples 16*c*–16*e*.
> (16a) There are two types of diesel engines used to power large ships. (...)
> (16b) Macabeo and parellada are two types of grape.
> (16c) That'll be our guests arriving.
> (16d) It's your son on the phone.
> (16e) This is Robin.
> The main argument for such an analysis is its simplicity. In every respect other than subject–verb agreement, which depends on the pivot, the expletive behaves as a subject. (McNally 2016: 218-219)

This difficulty in comparing the two constructions, viz., EXT constructions with equational ones, makes itself clear when comparing such verbal EXT-PRES constructions to similar cases where a NP follows a 'be'-form which in itself follows an explicit subject. In ex. 45, the speakers are debating about the nature of a certain device they saw in a friend's apartment.

(45) *ze   lo ha ˈja-ø   tele ˈvizja ||*
     DEM[SGM] NEG be\PFV-3SGM.PRED television
     'It wasn't a television set.'

[47.] Equational constructions are usually referred to as copular sentences also in Hebrew (Berman & Grosu 1976; Danon 2013). As noted above (e.g., §3.1.2), a different perspective as regards the notion of copula is taken in this study.

> ze   haˈja-ø   maχˈʃev
> DEM[SGM]   be\PFV-3SGM.PRED   computer
> 'It was a computer.'
> (C842_sp2_125-126)

The demonstrative pronoun *ze*, which in this case functions as an inanimate 3SGM pronoun (Cohen 2016: 184; Shor 2019: 48), obviously refers to the device they were debating about. It thus assumes the subject function. The bound PM is accordingly coreferential with the subject. In both cases, the pronominal subject is *ze*, used as a general pronominal marker neutralized as regards gender (and number; Dekel 2014: 144-145). A clear case where both PMs, a demonstrative pronominal subject and its coreferential bound PM show the same gender is illustrated by ex. 46, line [2].

(46) [1] *maˈzal ʃe   ze   haˈja-ø   ˈroni niˈre   li //*
          luck   that DEM[SGM] be\PFV-3SGM.PRED Rony seems to.me
          'Fortunately it was Rony, it seems to me.'
      [2] *lo //   zot   hajˈt-a   eˈla //*
          NEG   DEM[SGF] be\PFV-3SGF.PRED Ela
          'No. It was Ela.'
          (C714_sp5_054-056)

As in the case of ex. 45, there is uncertainty about the identity of the subject spoken of, this time the speaker himself makes the correction. While in the first occurrence of this type of sentence (line [1]) he uses the gender-number neutral demonstrative, in the second occurrence he uses a SGF form of the demonstrative pronoun. It will be noted that the bound PM in either case is coreferential with the form of the subject whatever the gender of the underlying referent's exponent might be, which in this example is feminine in both cases, because the referents mentioned are women.

These comparisons suggest that the similarity between the two structures, the EXT-PRES one and equational and other similar constructions, is only superficial (cf. also Francez 2009: 44).

As we have seen, Hebrew does not have a dedicated element that can be seen as the subject of the pivot in EXT constructions. The bound PM does not assume this role either (§3.2.2). Still, there has been an attempt (only one, to the best of my knowledge) to overcome the difficulties in analyzing the bound PM as subject. Starting with an analysis of English EXT constructions and working in the generative framework, Hazout (2004; 2008) sees the post-copular NP in EXT constructions (i.e., the NP that follows the 'be'-verb, viz., the pivot) as a predicate in a small clause, where the initial constituent of the sentence, viz., 'there', is seen as an expletive. Hazout adds Hebrew data to his study, dealing only with structures including the verb of being, and within those, only sentences where the 'be'-verbs agree in gender and number to the following NP predicate. Hazout did not account for the many instances where the predicate and the verbal PM are non-referential, which are especially prominent in spontaneous, everyday spoken Hebrew, neither did he account for EXT constructions with the EXT marker *jeʃ*.[48]

Let us now return to EXT-PRES structures where the bound PM is coreferential with the core component of the predicate. As we have seen (Table 8, §3.2), this coreferentiality manifests

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48. As mentioned above (note 34), Hazout has never accomplished his work on *jeʃ* existentials, as he expected to do.

itself in the gender and number of the bound PM. The arguments put forward above (§3.2.2) against analyzing the bound PM as subject of the pivot NP, as well as those raised in this section, can further be enhanced by the paradigmatic argument which suggest that the verbal complex, whether it contains a non referential PM or as coreferential with the core component of the predicate, should be analyzed on the same level as the EXT marker *jeʃ*, i.e., as a modal constituent in a unipartite (matrix) clause. The following paradigm is similar to the one cited in Table 7 (§3.2), yet with a feminine NP as the pivot.

Table 9: Feminine pivots with either non-referential or referential PMs

		modal constituent		**pivot**	
a		*jeʃ*		*tmuˈn-a*	
		EXT		picture-F	'There is a picture.'
b	1	*haˈja-ø*		*tmuˈn-a*	
		be\PFV-3SGM.PRED		picture-F	'There was a picture.'
	2	*haˈjt-a*		*tmuˈn-a*	
		be\PFV-3SGF.PRED		picture-F	'There was a picture.'
c	1	*j-ihˈje*		*tmuˈn-a*	
		3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT		picture-F	'There will be a picture.'
	2	*t-ihˈje*		*tmuˈn-a*	
		3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT		picture-F	'There will be a picture.'
d	1	*ʦaˈriχ*	*l-ihˈjot*	*tmuˈn-a*	
		need[SGM]	INF-be\INF	picture-F	'There should be a picture.'
	2	*ʦriˈχ-a*	*l-ihˈjot*	*tmuˈn-a*	
		need-SGF	INF-be\INF	picture-F	'There should be a picture.'

We should now ask the question: what is the difference, if any, between structures with a non-referential PM and structures with a coreferential one? It will be recalled, that the latter type of construction is the standard in written and non-colloquial spoken Hebrew. Is this a free variation, caused by unattended interference from non-colloquial varieties? Or, rather, can we account for the use of referential PMs in colloquial Hebrew?

As mentioned above, differences in the use of bound PMs are relevant only in feminine or plural pivots, which unfortunately restricts the options of observation to a large degree, the corpus of spontaneous spoken Hebrew being too limited for such research. As someone who has been studying these constructions for a long time now, my personal experience tells me that the use of non-referential PMs in EXT-PRES constructions is much more widespread in daily speech than what can be learned from *CoSIH*.[49]

Aside from conversational speech, one can hear such structures also in the media and in other types of formal speech. One prominent case is the following. Amos Oz, one of the most eminent Israeli writers, known also for his eloquent language in both writing and speech, gave a lecture at Tel-Aviv University on June 3, 2018. The following is a short excerpt from this lecture:[50]

[49.] The corpus data is too scanty to enable definite statistics. Still, only 7 out of 20 bare EXT constructions (not including locational or possessive ones) exhibit coreferentiality between the PM and the pivot. It will further be noticed that the data for *CoSIH* was recorded some 20 years ago. The corpora studied by Melnik show a different distribution (Melnik 2014: 73-75; 2018: §4.4.1).
[50.] The lecture can be watched at

(47) [1] *j-ihˈje*   *milˈχem-et=ezraˈχim* |
        3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT war-F=citizens
        'There will be civil war,'
    [2] *j-ihˈje*   *mehuˈm-ot* |
        3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT riot-PL
        'there will be riots,'

In both lines, the verb has a 3SGM PM, viz., non-referential, whereas the pivot is feminine (line [1]) or plural (line [2]). What would a transcript of this speech look like? Transcribers (in written transcripts as well as in subtitles) are apt to correct the language of speakers according to what they deem to be the "correct", standard language suitable to be put in writing (Borochovsky Bar Aba 2006; 2010: ch. 3; Izre'el 2020b). Would the transcriber dare to change Amos Oz's words? Would Oz be regarded as a person whose language should be corrected? Would Oz be regarded as a lay speaker like all of us, common people? Or, perhaps, would Oz's speech forms be respected as such?

The answer to this question can now be answered, since this lecture was brought to print posthumously[51] by Amos Oz's family and friends (Oz 2019), giving us the opportunity to see what the transcript of these forms actually looks like. As expected, the edited transcript does show coreferentiality between the pivot and the PM in the respective verbal forms, as follows:

(48) תהיה מלחמת אזרחים, יהיו מהומות,
    t-ihje   *milχem-et ezraχim, j-ihj-u*   *mehum-ot,*
    3SGF.PRED-be\NFCT war-F.of   citizens 3PL.PRED-be\NFCT-CIRC riots-PL
    'there will be civil war, there will be riots,' (Oz 2019: 33)

Thus, the transcriber (or editor) has changed Oz's spoken utterances so that they fit the acknowledged standards of written Hebrew. As mentioned above, this follows a common trend in transcription of spoken Hebrew, where transcribers correct what seems to them "wrong" or "non-standard" Hebrew in the actual uttered language.[52]

Let us get back to the use of coreferential bound PMs in verbs derived of √*hjj* 'be' in colloquial Hebrew and try to account for EXT constructions in which the verbal form contains a referential PM. The corpus of spontaneous spoken Hebrew being too limited for such research (see note 49), I was still able to identify a certain strategy that may help us understand the nature of the latter configuration.

<https://video.tau.ac.il/events/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=8704:amos-oz&Itemid=555>, where the relevant passage starts at 49'41", or at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6DXUiZhRow>, where the relevant passage starts at 40'11".

[51.] Oz died on December 28, 2018.

[52.] Had Oz published this lecture himself, he would probably do the same and make the written version fit his standards of written Hebrew. Thus, he would have changed much of his wording, including these forms, so that they show coreferentiality between the pivot and the PM in the respective verbs. A clue to this conclusion can be seen in Oz's article "Dreams that Israel Should Get Rid of Quickly" (Oz 2017), upon which his 2018 lecture at Tel-Aviv University was based. Still, it is illuminating to compare Oz's use of the clause *ʕim lo tihjena kan ʃte mdinot* 'If there won't be here two states' right at the beginning of this article (p. 109). The use of the 3PLF form *tihjena* {*t-ihje-na* 3PLF-be\NFCT-CIRC} — where the bound PM is coreferential with the feminine plural predicate phrase *ʃte mdinot* 'two states' — suggests how Oz would put into writing other EXT-PRES constructions like the ones cited in ex. 47. Other occurrences of affirmative EXT-PRES constructions in the same article support this conclusion, e.g., *vadaj jihju* {*j-ihj-u* 3PLM.PRED-be\NFCT-CIRC} *lo mʕaṭim ʃe* ...' ... 'surely there will be not few (people) who ...' (p. 131).

This strategy involves prosodic structure. As pointed out earlier (§§3.1, 3.1.1), the default prosodic structure for EXT-PRES constructions puts the prosodic accent on the pivot. This is the standard procedure for constructions with either the EXT marker *jeʃ* or with verbs where the bound PM is non-referential. In both these types of construction, the prosodic accent marks the focus.

When looking closer at the data, pivots in constructions with coreferential PMs do not carry a prosodic accent.[53] Thus, there is a clear complementary distribution between the use of non-referential PMs and the existence of prosodic accent on the pivot. The following examples illustrate this complementary distribution.

We have already seen illustrations for the common prosodic pattern of EXT-PRES constructions with the EXT marker *jeʃ*, e.g., ex. 18 with Figure 1). Ex. 49 with Figure 7 and ex. 50 with Figure 8 illustrate similar prosodic structures, representing the default structure for constructions with EXT constituents consisting of a √*hjj* 'be' verb with a non-referential bound PM.

(49) *aˈval haˈja-ø   χavaˈj-a* //
      but   be\PFV-3SGM.PRED experience-F
      'But it was an experience.' (lit. 'there was an experience/adventure.')
      (OCh_sp1_879)
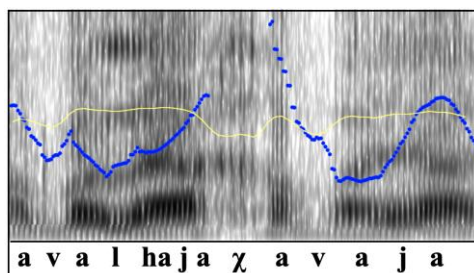
Figure 7: EXT-PRES construction: default prosodic structure (1)

(50) *ʃe   j-ihˈje   taχaˈrut* ||
      that 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT   competition.F
      'Let there be competition.'
      (C711_1_sp1_021)

Figure 8: EXT-PRES construction: default prosodic structure (2)

In contrast, ex. 51 with Figure 9 and ex. 52 with Figure 10 illustrate cases where no prosodic accent is discernible.

[53.] It will be recalled that relevant data must exclude many constructions with SGM NPs as pivots, because the bound PM used in these constructions are identical to non-referential PMs.

(51)   *hajˈt-a*   *haʃka-ˈa*   *noˈsef-et* |
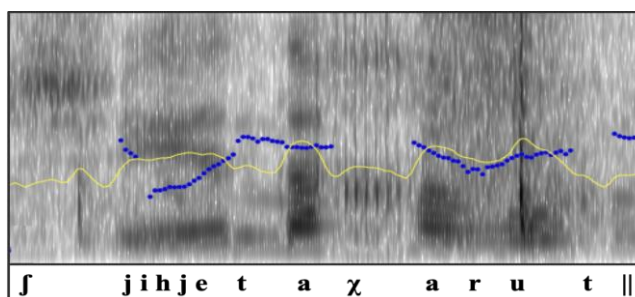   be\PFV-3SGF.PRED   investment-F   additional-F
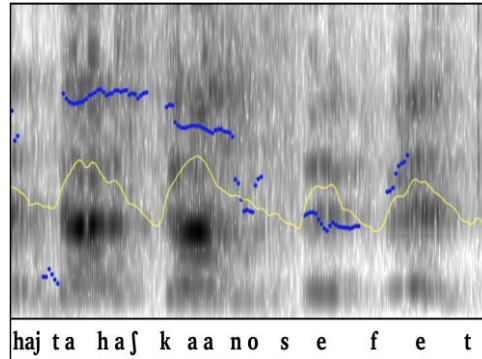   'There was an additional investment.'
      (D933_sp2_033)

Figure 9: Lack of prosodic accent (1)

(52)   *haˈj-u*   *harˈbe*   *ʃviˈt-ot* |
      be\PFV-3PL.PRED many   strike-PL
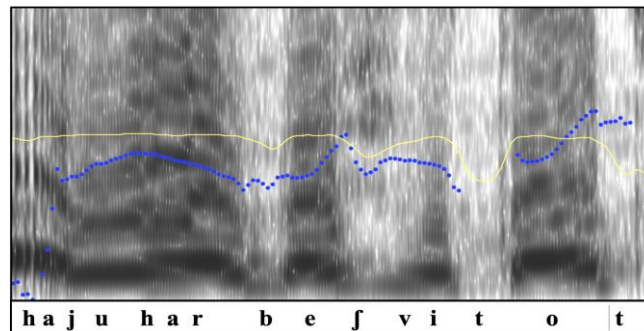   'There have been many strikes'
      (C1624_sp1_019)

Figure 10: Lack of prosodic accent (2)

In ex. 51 (Figure 9), the pitch curve shows standard declination (cf. above, §3.1.1) until just before the final syllable, with a perceptible descent on the penultimate syllable. This is the stressed syllable of the word *noˈsefet* 'additional', which would carry the prosodic accent for marking the focus (Bolinger 1986: §2; Cruttenden 1997: §2; Reinhart 2006: ch. 3; for Hebrew see Ozerov 2013: §1). The final rise is a continuing tone, signaling that another prosodic unit should follow to this utterance (Du Bois *et al*. 1992: §6.2; for Hebrew see Silber-Varod 2011: §6.7.4; 2013: §6.2.3). In ex. 52 (Figure 10), the pitch contour is flat until the final syllable, where, again, a continuing tone is present, which in this case coincides with the stressed syllable of the word *ʃviˈtot* 'strikes'.[54]

Thus, there seems to be a complementary distribution between the use of non-referential PMs and the existence of prosodic accent on the pivot. There are 15 affirmative EXT-PRES constructions with feminine or plural pivots in the *CoSIH* data, all conforming to this

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[54.] Had the final rise indicated a prosodic accent, one would expect the intonation curve to end with a continuing rise-fall boundary tone (Silber-Varod 2011, 2013: §6.2.4).

distributional pattern. Similar distributional patterns are discernible, albeit less conclusive, in locative-existential and possessive constructions.[55] For negative constructions see Part II, §2.2.

The conclusion from this strategy is, therefore, that what is present here is not free variation or the interference of two varieties: colloquial and standard or formal (pace Halevy 2016: §4.2.2; 2020a: 90; 2020b: 548; Melnik 2018).[56] Complementary distribution suggests that the two signifiers are related to a single sign, depending on environment.

As already mentioned time and again, prosodic accent marks the focus (§2), a feature that helped us define the pivot as a predicate or the core component of the predicate (§3.1.1). It stands to reason, that where prosodic accent is not present, one may look for another strategy for indicating focus. It is suggested, that being in complementary distribution, the two configurations share the same function, viz., marking focus. That is, whereas in configurations using non-referential PM focus on the pivot is marked by prosodic accent, in the alternative configuration, it is segmental focusing that is being used, marking focus on the pivot by using a coreferential bound PM in the verbal complex.

Now, we should ask ourselves why a different signifier is used and what are the environments, or the contexts, that bring about the complementary distribution between these two signifiers. It is suggested, that this complementary distribution in form is dependent on discourse structure. More specifically, it depends on the status of the pivot within the discourse context. One will thus distinguish between a brand-new pivot and one that may be accessible to the hearer one way or another, yet one that the speaker feels the need to (re)introduce it as a discourse topic, still using an EXT-PRES construction. When a brand-new element is introduced, the verbal complex will contain a non-referential PM and the focus will be indicated by prosodic accent on the pivot. On the other hand, when a relatively accessible referent is (re)introduced as a discourse topic, the focus will be marked by segmental means, i.e., by a configuration where the bound PM of the verb is coreferential with the pivot. This latter configuration is found with indefinite NPs for the pivot almost exclusively.[57] The element used as pivot in this configuration is thus higher on the givenness or accessibility scale (cf. Prince 1981; Ariel 1990; 2001; 2006; Fretheim & Gundel 1996: passim; Siewierska 2004: §5.1 with previous bibliography; Baumann 2005; Baumann & Grice 2006; Rochemont 2016).

Let us look at the context of ex. 51, which is an extract from a college class dealing with accounting (ex. 51a). The teacher spoke about additional investment in a company, and ignored this topic for a while. When he comes back to it, he says:

(51a) [1] *jeʃ li | od tnuˈa beˈkeren hon haʃaˈna ||*   'I have another capital fund movement this year.'

     [2] *naˈχon / maskiˈmim iˈti /*   'Right? Do you agree with me?'

     [3] *beˈgin ha=haʃkaˈa | ha=noˈsefet ||*
         due   DEF=investment-F DEF=additional-F 'Due to the additional investment.'

[55.] There are 8 affirmative locative-existential and 21 affirmative possessive constructions with similar confines, aside from two other, less clear types. These constructions should be investigated separately. At this time, I can only mention that out of the 8 locative-existential construction, only one seems to defy this distributional pattern; out of the 26 possessive constructions, six seem to defy this pattern. More data are needed in order to reach any solid conclusions regarding all these types of existentials.

[56.] Both Halevy and Melnik acknowledge the tension between colloquial vs. formal varieties of Israeli Hebrew. Halevy (following Goldenberg) recalls attraction of features from the pivot by the PM; Melnik suggests a diachronic change towards the non-referential configuration.

[57.] *CoSIH* does not include any such construction with a definite pivot. The colloquial corpora of *NMELRC* include only one such example. As no prosodic data is given, I will ignore this sole example. Definite pivots will be discussed in §3.4.

[4]	*naˈχon /*			'Right?'
[5]	*hajˈt-a*	*haʃka-ˈa*	*noˈsef-et /*	
	be\PFV-3SGF.PRED	investment-F	additional-F	'There was an additional investment.'
[6]	*v gam begiˈna |*			'and also due to this one,'
[7]	*tihˈje li tnuˈa	beˈkeren hon |*			'I will have a capital fund movement,'
	(D933_sp2_027-036)			

Being unsure whether the students follow his line of thinking, the teacher reminds them that the other movement was due to the additional investment they discussed earlier (line [1]) and tries to verify whether the students remember this point (line [2]). Still, he adds another point to evoke their memory (line [3]). In this case, he uses a definite NP. Still unsure whether they remember, the teacher tries again to verify whether the students follow him (line [4]). Probably, the students' eyes did not reflect understanding, so the teacher decided to reintroduce this topic into the discourse. This time he used an EXT-PRES construction with an indefinite NP (line [5] = ex. 51 above). Since the pivot was not a new one, he did not use the regular pattern of EXT-PRES construction with a prosodic accent marking the focus on the pivot. Instead, he used the alternative segmental configuration of focus marking, i.e., a coreferential bound PM in the verb.

The background for the EXT construction in ex. 52 is a faculty strike at the university. The speakers are two students who wonder about the possibility of cancelling the current semester because of the lasting strike. The NP 'strike' has not been mentioned, though, in this conversation (ex. 52a).

(52a)	[1]	*hamoˈrat hasˈport ʃeˈlanu haˈjom amˈra /*	'Our sports teacher said today,'
	[2]	*ʃe	meˈaz ʃiˈvim veaˈχad	*	'that since '71,'
	[3]	*ʃeˈhi hitˈχila lilˈmod |*	'by the time she had started her studies'
	[4]	*hi	keil- —*	'she, like,'
	[5]	*haˈj-u*	*harˈbe*	*ʃviˈt-ot |*	'There have been many strikes,'
		be\PFV-3PL.PRED	many	strike-PL	
	[8]	*veˈhi joˈdaat al kol aˈχat |*	'and she knows about every one (of them),'
	[9]	*v	af ˈpaam lo	*	'and they have never'
	[10]	*bitˈlu siˈmester ze lo kaˈra |*	'canceled a semester; this hasn't happened,'
	[11]	*v	aˈfilu kʃe haʃviˈtot haˈju gdoˈlot joˈter ||*	'even when the strikes were bigger.'
		(C1624_sp1_013-025)	

The pivot in the EXT construction (line [5] = ex. 52) contains a NP consisting of the plural noun *ʃvitot* 'strikes' preceded by the quantifier *harbe* 'many'. The pertinent new information here is the quantifier, yet the NP *ʃvitot* 'strikes' is strongly related to the present situational background of this exchange, viz., a faculty strike. Therefore, the referent presented in this EXT construction, although new in itself, is strongly embedded in the context and in the situation. I take this situation to be the reason for the different marking of focus in this case.

There have been some accounts of focus indication by PMs in several languages (e.g., Corbett 2006: §2.2.9 and p. 201 note 24, citing Kibrik [& Testelec] 1999 for Tsakhur; Harris 2007: 196 for Udi [summarizing her work in Harris 2002]; see further, *inter alia*, Edwards 2006 on Egyptian Arabic). Coreferential or appositive PMs to NPs are known in some languages as a strategy for the indication of definiteness (e.g., Lyons 1999: §§2.4.2-3, 5.2). It will be noted, at

this juncture, that Lyons sees person and definiteness as a single category (*op. cit.*: § 8.5). Using a different strategy for indicating definiteness is indeed a reasonable choice in languages with no definite article. Among Semitic languages, this is the case, for example, in Geez (Classical Ethiopic; Dillmann 1899: §172). In Amharic and some other contemporary Ethiopian languages, a process of grammaticalization has resulted in the use of the possessive 3rd PM as a definite article (Rubin 2010, who compares this process to a similar one attested in Indonesian and several other Malayo-Polynesian languages). In Syriac, a classical Christian Aramaic language, appositional PMs are used for indicating definiteness, notably in personal names, for indicating focus, contrast, familiarity, givenness on various points of its scale, specificity, and their like (Wertheimer 1996: §2; Khan 1984 deals with other Semitic languages as well; see further Khan 1988).

Strategies may differ, but the principle of using PMs for the indication of definiteness is common to all these languages. A closely related structure to the one dealt with here has been attested in Rural Palestinian Arabic (Hoyt 2002; 2011: §5; also cited by Corbett 2006: §6.7.2). Hoyt analyzed the difference in PM strategy as an indication of specificity. Ex. 53 illustrates this difference in form and meaning.

(53) a čill   yowm **b-iiǰi**   la-l-ṣaff   **ulaad**
         every day   INDIC-come3MS to-the-class boysMP
         "Everyday boys (some or another) come to class."
      b čill   yowm **b-iiǰu**   la-l-ṣaff   **ulaad**
         every day   INDIC-come3MP to-the-class boysMP
         "Everyday (some particular) boys come to class."
         (Hoyt 2002: 112, ex. 2; glossing and translation as in the original; boldface characters indicate the relevant forms)

It should be noted, that Arabic has a definite article used regularly (among other means) to mark definiteness, as is clear from the NP *la-l-ṣaff* {to-DEF-class} 'to the class'.

As explained by Hoyt (*loc. cit.*), the difference between the first and the second configurations is dependent on the referent of the NP *ulaad* 'children', whether it is generic (in the first case) or specific (in the second case). That is, when the children referred to are not necessarily the same set of children, a 3SGM, non-referential PM on the verb will be used, whereas to indicate the same set of children, a coreferential PM will be used.

One other example, closer to the constructions dealt with in this study (although not identical in its setting) is the following EXT construction:

(54) a **baaḵi**   /**baaḵye** hanaak **ħayye** bidd-**ha**   **toočil** ifraax ṭeer
         bePARTMS /bePARTFS there   snakeFS wish-CL3FS eat3FS   chicks bird
         "There was a snake there that was going to eat a bird's chicks'
      b baaḵi   /☞**baaḵye** hanaak **ħayye** bidd-**ha**   **toočil** ifraax il-ṭeer
         bePARTMS /bePARTFS there   snakeFS wish-CL3FS eat3FS   chicks the-bird
         "There was a snake that was going to eat the bird's chicks'
         (Hoyt 2002: 113, ex. 4; glossing and translation as in the original; boldface characters indicate the relevant forms)

Hoyt explains the difference between the two structures as follows:

[I]ndefinites with "rich descriptive content" (such as adjectives or relative clauses) can favor full agreement. In particular, the more referentially specific the modification, the more likely there is to be a preference for full agreement. In (4a) [our 54a], the NP *ħayye* 'snake' is modified with a relative clause containing an indefinite construct state NP, *bidd-ha toočil ifraax ṭeer* "intending to eat bird chicks," and there was no preference in form of agreement. In (4b) [our 54b], the relative clause includes a definite construct state NP *ifraax il-ṭeer* "the bird's chicks," referring back to a specific bird mentioned previously in the discourse. Because of this anaphoric NP, the relative clause in (4b) [54b] is of higher referential specificity than the one in (4a) [54a], and correspondingly, there is a (admittedly slight) preference for full agreement. (Hoyt 2002: 113)

These observations do not include prosodic information.

Returning now to our data, it will be noted that exceptions are rare. Bare affirmative EXT-PRES constructions all conform to the complementary distribution described. The few exceptions occur in either NEG.EXT constructions (for which see Part II, §2.2), or in locative or possessive ones which are hard to account for. One example (ex. 55 and Figure 11) illustrates one type of exceptions. The speaker is a soldier, telling his officer his difficulties at home and in his military service, which are interrelated.

(55) *haˈj-u   li   matsaˈv-im   meˈod   əm |*
      be\PFV-3PL.PRED to.me situation-PL   very   uhm
      'I had situations (which were) very uhm'
      <alveolar click> *kaˈʃ-im* //   *biʃviˈli* //
                        difficult-PL   for.me
      'difficult. For me.'
      (P931_1_sp1_167-169)

Figure 11: Coreferential PM with an unexpected prosodic accent on the pivot

Since the topic of the conversation is difficulties (or, if one likes, difficult situations), the use of a coreferential PM on the verb comes with no surprise. The same could be said about the lack of prosodic accent had the utterance ended at this point. However, after some hesitation and a minor prosodic boundary, there follows a modifier to the noun *matsavim* 'situations', viz., *kaʃim* 'difficult', which carries a strong prosodic accent. Furthermore, the afterthought *biʃvili* 'for me', being an utterance on its own, also carries a strong prosodic accent, although weaker than the preceding one. It seems that the prosodic accent on the modifier within the pivot domain is not structural but expressive. The same can be said of the following utterance. If so indeed, this makes no exception to the structural rules proffered above.

In any case, the data obtained from *CoSIH* for this study is too small to reach any decisive conclusions. Still, we have noticed a complementary distribution between two configurations, suggesting that both mark focus on the pivot, which is an indefinite NP. Furthermore, we have observed one basic condition for using a coreferential PM, i.e., that the pivot is a fairly accessible discourse element. My tentative conclusion is, therefore, that this segmental focus marking indicates weak definiteness or, rather, relative accessibility.[58] For inherently definite NPs used as pivots or NPs marked directly as such see below §3.4; also Part II, §3.

3.3 Non-initial position of the existential constituent in existential-presentative constructions

In some cases, the EXT marker follows the pivot rather than preceding it. Although now in clause-initial position, the pivot still keeps the prosodic accent of the construction, marking it as focal. Most cases of this configuration are those including an interrogative proform referring to a pivotal NP (ex. 56) or being a modifier to the pivot (exx. 57, 58), being the default position for an interrogative word in Hebrew (Glinert 1989: §26.4).

(56) **ma** jeʃ baasiˈri latʃiˈi /
     what EXT in.the.tenth to.the.ninth
     'What is there on 9/10?'
     (C514_2_sp1_082)

(57) ˈkama zman kvar jeʃ ||
     how.much time already EXT
     'How much time has already passed ?'
     (OCh_sp1_808)

(58) ˈeze ˈjundaj jeʃ lahem || ˈlantra o ekˈsent ||
     which Hyundai EXT to.them Lantra or Accent
     'What (type of) Hyundai have they got? Lantra [sic] or Accent?'
     (OCD_1_sp2_018-019)

Rhetorical questions have a similar structure as direct interrogatives. In ex. 59, sp1 responses sarcastically to her mother's question, meaning that there is nothing left from yesterday:

(59) sp3: jeʃ ˈmaʃehu meetˈmol ʃe aˈtem roˈtsim lehoˈtsi /
         EXT something from.yesterday that you.PL want.PL to.take.out
         'Is there anything from yesterday that you want to take out?'
     sp1: <giggle> **ma** jeʃ meetˈmol ||
             what EXT from.yesterday
         <giggle> 'What is there from yesterday?'
         (C714_sp3_005; sp1_026)

[58.] Melnik (2018: §4.4.2) brings forward some divergent data for possessive constructions, which perhaps suggest that some refinement of the analysis proffered here may eventually be required, at least as regards possessive constructions.

Interrogative words functioning not in direct questions (Glinert 1989: §§ 26.6, 27.2) hold this default position at or close to the beginning of the construction, keeping together the entire pivot NP. Ex. 60 is an example of an indirect interrogative; ex. 61, which seems very similar to the interrogative construction in ex. 58, is a question functioning as an exclamation.

(60) **lo** joˈdaat ma jihˈje ʃam ‖
    NEG know.SGF what 3SGM.PRED.be\NFCT there
    '(I) don't know what is going to be there.'
    (Y311_sp2_051)

(61) raˈita [...] ˈeze ˈjundaj **jaˈfe** jeʃ lo /
    saw.2SGM which Hyundai beautiful EXT to.him
    'Did you see what a beautiful Hyundai he's got?'
    (OCD_1_sp3_042-043)

In yes/no questions, the default constituent order of EXT-PRES constructions is maintained (ex. 62):

(62) jeʃ **od** ˈtʃipsim /
    EXT more chips
    'Are there any more (potato-)chips?'
    (C714_sp2_035)

The prosodic accent is carried here by the adjunct *od* 'more', as expected, being an additional constituent in the pivotal NP phrase, since ˈtʃipsim '(potato-)chips' is a given referent, mentioned about 5" earlier and being present extra-linguistically. There are, however, cases where this default construction is kept also in sentences including sentence adverbial interrogatives like locative ones, as is the case in ex. 63:

(63) [1] sp2: ʃaˈna habaˈa j-ihˈje lanu **rimoˈnim** **baˈets** ʃeˈlanu ‖
           year the.coming 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT to.us pomegranates in.the.tree our
           'Next year we'll have pomegranates in our tree.'
     [2] sp1: ˈefo jeʃ leχa ets **riˈmon** ‖
           where EXT to.you tree pomegranate
           'Where is there a pomegranate tree?'
     [3] sp4: ˈefo jeʃ ets **rimoˈnim** bidiˈjuk ‖
           where EXT tree pomegranates exactly
           'Where exactly is there a pomegranate tree?'
           (C711_4_sp2_046; sp1_037; sp4_014)

In both interrogative sentences (lines [2] and [3]), the interrogative lexeme in clause-initial position is a locative one, whereas the pivot follows the EXT constituent.[59] In both cases the prosodic accent is put on the pivot.

    Apart from these regulated configurations, pivots in clause-initial position seem to occur when they have some anchoring to previous discourse, but are added with some extra feature.

[59.] In the first occasion (line [2]), the structure is similar to that of a possessive construction. I interpret the additional dative phrase (*l=χa* {to=2SGM.NPRED} 'to you') as an ethical dative, though (cf. ex. 29, §3.1.2).

This strategy is rare in *CoSIH* (only 6 cases). The initial position of the pivot, which would in any case be focused, adds extra-prominence to the pivot or to some attribute(s) of the introduced referent, although other motivations may be looked for. In ex. 64, sp1 describes an apartment he wants to rent with his girlfriend (sp2). They are discussing the location of the living room (cf. exx. 5 and 6 above).

(64) [1] sp1: *saˈlon   ze   ˈefo   ʃe   raˈinu   teleˈvizja /*
                 living.room DEM[SGM] where   that we.saw   television
                 'Is the living room the one where we watched TV?'

     [2]   ***ze***   *saˈlon /*
                 DEM[SGM] living.room
                 'Is this a living room?'

     [3] sp2: *ken //   ken //*
                 yes   yes
                 'Yes. Yes.'

     [4] sp1: *a //   **ze**   s- —   lo /   ma.piˈtom //*
                 Oh   DEM[SGM] l-   NEG   no.way
                 'Oh. This is a l- ... No, no way!'

     [5]   *ˈbejgel heˈra=li   ˈmaʃehu   aˈχer |*
                 Beigel he.showed=me something   other
                 'Beigel showed me another one,'

     [6]   *v   hu   aˈmar ʃe   **ze**   saˈlon ||*
                 and he   said   that DEM[SGM] living.room
                 'and he said that that one was a living room.'

     [7] sp2: ***od***   *saˈlon   jeʃ /*
                 more   living.room EXT
                 'Is there another living room?'
                 (C842_sp1_072-077; sp2_092-094)

The referent in line [7] is different from the one already mentioned by sp1 in lines [5]-[6], and this aspect is indicated by the expression *od* 'more, another', which is duly marked for focus by a prosodic accent and fronted for extra emphasis or contrast. In ex. 65 (already cited above as ex. 35), the speaker details (line [3]) her statement just given (lines [1]-[2]):

(65) [1] *beˈχol e /   mimˈsad /   memʃalˈti /   tsaˈriχ   lihˈjot esˈrim **aˈχuz**   e /*
                 in.all   uh   establishment governmental need[SGM] to.be   twenty percent uh
                 'In each governmental institution one must have 20%'

     [2] *poaˈlim   e /   araˈvim //   v   en //*
                 workers   uh   Arab   and NEG.EXT
                 'Arab workers. But there are not.'

     [3] ***harˈbe*** *paˈχot miˈze   jeʃ //*
                 much   less   from.this EXT
                 'There is much less than that.'
                 (C1624_sp1_479-486)

The speaker claims that there are fewer Arabs in governmental institutions (or offices) than their rate among the Israeli population. First, the speaker sets forth the expected ratio of Arabs in governmental offices, then she claims that this expectation is not fulfilled (lines [1]-

[2]); she further states that their number is in fact much less than that (line [3]). This is done by putting extra focus on the quantification, 'much less than that', by uttering it in initial position as well as by placing an extra strong prosodic accent on the adverb *harbe* 'much'.

Ex. 66 is an extract from a discussion about a forthcoming trip to Italy and the choice of hotels in the area.

(66) *ze   rak —   ze   bed.end.brekfest || χamiˈʃa | **χadaˈrim** jeʃ lo ||*
      DEM[SGM] only   DEM[SGM] bed-and-breakfast five   rooms   EXT to.him
      'It's only ... it's only B&B. It has (only) five rooms.'
      (D142_sp1_028-031)

After stating that the establishment referred to is a B&B, the speaker specifies that it has only five rooms, to make more explicit its type and capacity compared to hotels. He does it by reversing the order of the referential expression and the EXT marker, whereas the prosodic prominence remains on the referential expression. In this case, the construction is a possessive one. This is also the case in ex. 67.

(67) [1] *tiˈre | hem oχˈlim   od   riˈmon ||*
         look   they eating.PL more pomegranate
         'Look, they are eating another pomegranate.'
     [2] *ˈdana | ze   maˈle   **barˈzel** jeʃ le=ze ||*
         Dana   DEM[SGM] full   iron   EXT to=DEM[SGM]
         'Dana, it has much iron in it (lit: there is to it).'
     [3] *ze   aproˈpo || riˈmon ||*
         DEM[SGM] apropos   pomegranate
         'This is apropos pomegranate.'
         (C711_3_sp3_033-038)

The speaker feels the need to explain that she referred to the mentioned pomegranate when she stated a high iron content. She does so by triple marking of the focus on the referential expression in the possessive construction (line [2]): by its fronted position, by an especially prominent prosodic accent, and by adding a demonstrative pronoun, which serves here as yet another focus marker (cf. Glinert 1989: §37.9.2).

The conditions for the different constructions, whether dependent on the type of interrogative lexeme or on other, structural, informational, contextual, emotive, or other constrains, are yet to be investigated using a larger corpus.

3.4   Definite NPs as pivots

One of the most widely discussed topics in the study of EXT constructions, notably in English, is the so-called "definiteness effect" or "definite restriction", which limits the ability of definite and quantificational nominals to appear as the pivot of EXT-PRES constructions (McNally 2011: §3; 2016: §3; both with previous bibliography; also McNally, *Existential* (bibliography) s.v. "The Definiteness Effect" section and *passim*; further Lyons 1999: §6.2; Fischer, Kupisch & Rinke 2016). However, McNally notes that "a notorious fact about the definiteness restriction is the slipperiness of the data. Many examples of definites, demonstratives, and proper names are attested in English existentials in corpora" (McNally 2016: 227; similarly, Creissels 2019: 43). Creissels also notes, that

all accounts of the English construction *There is N (Loc)* insist on the strong definiteness restrictions that characterize it and suggest considering such restrictions as an essential characteristic of 'existential predication', but in many other languages these restrictions are inexistent, or at least much weaker. (Creissels 2019: 40)

In Hebrew, definite pivots are widely attested, as will be obvious from the following examples and from the extensive literature on this issue (Ziv 1976; 1982a; 1982b; 2013; Henkin 1994; Melnik 2018; Halevy 2020a; 2020b: §4.1; among many others). In ex. 68, the speaker reminds her work associates of the time they had a specific problem at work.

(68) *ʃe   haˈja   et=b- et=ha=baaˈja   ʃel **haˈpartikalz** //*
    that be\PFV.3SGM.PRED *et*=p- *et*=DEF=problem of   the.particles
    'When there was this problem with the particles.'
    (OCD_2_sp3_055)

Ex. 69 is an extract from a discussion where a family is planning to have dinner outside, debating whether candlelight will be enough or whether some light from the house should be added.

(69) sp4: *aˈnaχnu saˈmim   neˈrot /*
        we   putting.PL candles
        'Are we using candlelight?'
    sp2: *nadˈlik   po basaˈlon /   ktsat /*
        we.will light here in.the.living.room   a.little.bit
        'Shall we turn on the light in the living room? Some?'
    sp5: *lo   tsaˈriχ | ˈaba | jeʃ et=ˈele //*
        NEG need[SGM]   daddy   EXT *et*=DEM[PL]
        'There is no need to, daddy, there are these ones.'
        (C714_sp4_058; sp2_025-026; sp5_004-006)

Ex. 70 follows a discussion about a plant in a pot located inside the house. The speaker claims that there is enough light for this plant:

(70) [1] *haeˈmet hi ʃe   haˈχeder* <creeky voice> — *hu ˈmaze muˈʔar //*
      the.truth she that the.room   he very   lighted
      'In fact, the room is very bright.'
    [2] *bigˈlal   ʃ- — gam bigˈlal ʃe jeʃ et=ha=χaˈlon — ha=**aˈnak** ha=ˈze |*
      because th- also because that EXT *et*=DEF=window   DEF=giant DEF=this
      'Because ... also because there is this huge window,'
    [3] *v   gam haχaˈlon   ʃel hakoˈma haeljoˈna | noˈra muˈʔar ʃam //*
      and also the.window of the.floor the.upper   very   lighted there
      'as well as due to the window of the upper floor, it is very bright there.''
      (C714_sp1_003-008)

Ex. 71 (repeating ex. 37/b above) follows an exchange about wines. The speaker reminds herself and her interlocutors of wine bottles they usually receive as a holiday gift:

(71)   [...] od.meˈat jihˈje   et=ha=jeˈnot ʃel ha=ˈʃaj ||
       soon   3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT et=DEF=wines   of   DEF=gift
       'The gift wines will be available soon.'
       (C711_1_sp1_077)

Ex. 72 follows a narrative about two friends missing a bus leaving a small village in China, so that they had to wait until the next day to catch another one.

(72)   v   jeʃ ˈpaam **be ˈjom** et=ha=ˈotobus ||
       and EXT once   in.day   et=DEF=bus
       'And the bus leaves only once a day.'
       (OCh_sp1_860)

Here, the focus is carried by the time adverbial phrase, yet still within the predicate domain, constituting a unipartite sentence. An interesting case is the following. In ex. 12 (§3.1.1), repeated here as ex. 73, the speaker introduces into the discourse a "sort of fireplace" which is found in a *ger* (traditional house) in Mongolia.

(73)   jeʃ e | **aχ**   kaˈze ||
       EXT uh fireplace like.this
       'There's a sort of fireplace.'
       (OCh_sp1_273-274)

The introduction of this "sort of fireplace" is duly made by using an indefinite NP (*aχ* 'fireplace'), followed by a hedge (*kaze* 'sort of'). Immediately following this EXT-PRES construction, the speaker starts to describe what "sort of fireplace" it is, opening by contradicting its denotation as fireplace (*lo aχ* || 'Not a fireplace.'; ex. 13 above), but then he is drawn by his interlocutor to a side conversation of about 23". Then the speaker resumes the suspended narrative as follows:

(74)   [1] az e | haˈlaχnu   liˈʃon   po   baˈlajla |
           so uh   we.went   to.sleep here in.the.night
           'So uh, at night we went to sleep here,'
       [2] jeʃ et=ha= | aˈta joˈdea ha= |
           EXT et=DEF=   you   know   DEF=
           'There's this ... you know, the ...'
       [3] ha=ˈele   ʃe jeʃ laˈhem beˈemtsa ha=ˈger /
           DEF=DEM[PL]that EXT to.them in.middle DEF=ger
           'those that they have in the middle of the ger?'
       [4] ha= | ʃe   ze **gam** taˈnur | v **gam** kiˈraim |
           DEF=   that   this also stove   and also stovetop
           'The ... that are both heater and stovetop'
       [5] <cough> v **gam** e | ze /
                   and also uh   PROFORM
                   'and also uh whatever?'
           (OCh_sp1_295-304)

When resuming the narrative, the speaker uses a definite pivot (lines [2]-[5]), enhanced by the discourse marker 'you know'. Of course, the introduced referent has already been mentioned before, albeit in different terms, viz., by using an indefinite NP and a hedge (ex. 73 [=12]; also ex. 13: *lo aχ* {NEG fireplace} 'not a fireplace'). The first introduction of the referent suggested that — at least according to the speaker's knowledge — the interlocutor was not aware of the existence of that 'sort of fireplace'/'not a fireplace'. When resuming this topic, the speaker makes use of a definite pivot in his efforts to make the already introduced object more precise, albeit describing a generic object. The speaker refers, in fact, to a specific object, as is clear from the next speech unit, where reference is made explicitly by an anaphoric pronoun (*ze* DEM[SGM] 'this, it') (ex. 75):

(75) *ʃaˈloʃ baˈboker   ze   niχˈba* |
      three in.the.morning DEM[SGM] he.stopped.burning
      'At 3 a.m. it stopped burning'
      (OCh_sp1_305)

While not elaborating on possessive or locative constructions built upon the EXT constituent, I should note that both these types can also use definite NPs in a similar position (exx. 76 and 77 respectively).

(76) *kol eˈχad jeʃ lo   et=ha=piˈna ʃeˈlo* |
      all   one   EXT to.him *et*=DEF=corner his
      'Each one has its own space.'
      (C514_2_sp1_168-169)

In ex. 76, speaking about twin-fetuses, the possessed is the newly introduced NP, referring to a specific part of the womb where each of the twins is located. Ex. 77 exhibits two occurrences of locative expressions. The speaker is pointing at an atlas showing the location of the ancient Mongolian capital.

(77) *po* | *jeʃ po et=ha=ir* | *ʃenikˈret* | **kaˈrakorum** |
      here | EXT here *et*=DEF=town that.called   Karakorum
      'Here, there is a city here called Karakorum.'
      bekaˈrakorum | *jeʃ et=ha=* | *em* | *et=ha=* | **tiˈra   ʃel e* | **ˈʤingis** //
      in.Karakorum   EXT *et*= DEF = uhm   *et*= DEF =   castle of uh   Genghis
      'In Karakorum, there is the castle of Genghis (Khan).'
      (OCh_sp1_112-121)

The meaning of the first occurrence of *po* 'here' is a locative adverb. The second seems to be a discourse marker (or a rhythmic support; Ben-Tolila 2003: 6; Shatil 2005: §3.1.3). One other example is taken from a transcript of an interview with the owner of a surfing school, having just landed from Costa Rica:

(78) interviewer: ?אז מה היה לך בקוסטה ריקה
                    az ma   haˈja   leˈχa be=kostaˈrika
                    so what be\PFV.3SGM to.you in=Costa.Rica
                    'So, what did you have in Costa Rica?'

interviewee: [...] יש שם את הגלים הטובים בעולם

        jeʃ   ʃam   et=ha=gaˈlim   hatoˈvim   baoˈlam   [...]

        EXT   there   *et*=DEF=waves   the.best   in.the.world

        'The best waves in the world are there' (Lit. 'There are there the best waves in the world')

(https://www.haaretz.co.il/magazine/flights/.premium.HIGHLIGHT-1.9566576; published and retrieved on 24 February, 2021)

Although related to surfing, the pivot in the interviewee's response conveys new information, still marked as definite.

As the above examples show, definite pivots can refer to specific and non-specific referents, and can be given by either the textual context or the *origo*, to use Bühler's (1934; 2011) term.[60] All in all, a student of Hebrew might ask whether there is any definiteness restriction in Hebrew at all. In one of the more frequently cited articles on definite existentials in Hebrew (Ziv 1982a), the issue finds its solution by suggesting that the term *existential construction* is in fact a misnomer:

> The restriction on the occurrence of definites may, thus, simply apply to only a subset of the set of sentences originally conceived of as 'existential' and the occurrence of definite NP's in the sentences under consideration might turn out to be non-problematic since these sentences would not belong to the relevant set of existentials to which the restriction is applicable. (Ziv 1982a: 74)

For a substantial part of the super-category of existentials, Ziv notes locatives (whether or not locative elements are surfaced) and reminders, among others (see also Ziv 1982b; 2013). Recalling other reservations on the cross-linguistic applicability of the definiteness effect, including the find in English corpora cited above, it may be asked whether one should at all try to set out from this alleged restriction to find explanations for exceptions, or rather set out for a research based on other premises, closer to ones suggested for the marking of definiteness or specificity in any individual language or in language in general.

The vast research on this topic in general linguistics comes out with a variety of explanations. E.g., Lyons summarizes his discussion of the topic thus:

> The definiteness effect, whatever it is, applies to some semantic or pragmatic grouping of noun phrase types or uses which largely includes but also overlaps with those marked as grammatically definite in some languages. Given this, it is more likely to be a semantic or pragmatic constraint than a syntactic one. It has much in common with the constraint on indefinite subjects or topics examined in 6.1; that too is a strong cross-linguistic tendency, stricter in some languages than in others, and also involving something broader than grammatical definiteness. (Lyons 1999: 246; for some further observations on Romance languages, see Fischer 2016)

As this would take us away from the topic of the present research, it should be left out as a desideratum. One last point is nevertheless to be noted: Unfortunately, the available corpus data are not enough to draw any firm conclusions regarding, inter alia, the difference between indefinite pivots focused by appositive pronouns and definite pivots, both seem to denote given, known, specific, expected or reminded NPs as their pivots. This too should be left for future research.

[60.] *"Origo* (Latin "origin, source" – what is meant is the actual speech situation) ... is at the bottom of all deictic processes and ... the point of departure for all deixis*"* (Abraham 2011: xviii).

One other widely discussed topic is the vagueness of case marking on pivots, which is described as indetermination between subject and object or as including both subject and object properties, at least superficially. This latter feature is attested not only in EXT constructions, but also in thetic sentences in general (Lambrecht 2000), as well as in unaccusative or other so-called VS constructions in Hebrew (Kuzar 2012: §3.3; Melnik 2002; 2006; Halevy 2016; among others). This is illustrated by ex. 79.

(79) *niš'ar*   *'et*   *ha-'uga*   *me-'etmol*
     remained$_{3M.SG}$ DOM the-cake$_{F.SG}$ from-yesterday
     'There's the cake left from yesterday'
     (Halevy 2016: 32, ex. 1a; transcription, glossing and translation as in the original)

As has been seen in the examples above, definite pivots are preceded by the element *et*. This element is usually interpreted as an accusative marker, or rather as a differential object marker (DOM) (Bossong 1991; Haspelmath 2018). As is clear from the examples above, *et* is not an accusative or object marker, and therefore it has simply been glossed as *et*. Some authors endeavored a structural explanation for this element, like a general (or default) "non-subject" case, or a pragmatic designation as "non-topic" (Henkin 1994; Halevy 2016; cf. Lambrecht 2000).

At this point, attention should be drawn to the analytic basis from which all such endeavors stem, which is a preconceived, traditional analysis of the pivot as subject (see above, the introductory section to §3.1). As against these analyses, the analysis proffered in this study, is that the pivot be viewed as the core component of the predicate domain, a domain which constitutes a unipartite clause on its own (§3.1.1). Thus, *et* cannot be viewed as preceding an argument. This contrasts the common observations of DOM, super-categorized as DAM, i.e., differential argument marker (Witzlack-Makarevich & Seržant 2018), or, as suggested by Haspelmath, "differential P flagging" or "split P flagging" (2021a: §5; 2021b: §1, §4.1).[61] In any case, the designation of *et* as a "non-subject" seems, prima facie, to conform to its position in front of a definite NP used as a nucleus of the core component of the predicate, since *et*, in its most common position in Hebrew, comes in front of a definite direct object, which of course occurs regularly as a constituent within the predicate domain.

There are nevertheless some difficulties with this designation of *et* that arise from data suggesting the focalization of NPs preceded by *et*, as in ex. 80.

(80) *raq*   *'et*   *ha-ma'amar-im*   *xaser*   *'adayin*
     only DOM the-article$_{M.PL}$ lack$_{3M.SG}$ still
     'Only the articles are still missing; roughly: there is only the articles still missing'
     (Halevy 2016: 43, ex. 20; transcription, glossing and translation as in the original)

Halevy notes that "even when S′ (i.e., the constituent following *et*; SI)[62] is fronted as a contrastive subject-focus, it can still retain this non-typical accusative marker", and that "[i]t thus seems uncontroversial to postulate that: *S′ can be assigned an Object-like marking if and*

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[61] Haspelmath's "P" is seemingly broader than Halevy's "patient", since "the core generalization concerns P-arguments of monotransitive verbs, and their flagging by case-markers or adpositions" (Haspelmath 2021a: §5).

[62] S' is Halevy's symbol for "an explicit postverbal NP representing the logic-semantic subject (S′) that is deficient in topicality and behaves like an O (though it is not a Patient argument)" (Halevy 2016: 27).

only if S' is focalized" (Halevy 2016: 43; italics in the original). Without elaborating on this type of data, let me just note that according to my perspective, the focalized constituent would be viewed as the predicate, whereas the second part (*xaser 'adayin* 'still missing') will be viewed as the subject of this sentence. Therefore, this type of construction does not make any exception, since *et* can still be labelled as a non-subject indicator.

Other occurrences of fronted *et*-components still seem to raise difficulties, however. Note the following example:

(81) [1] *at*   *te-*   *tejadˈʔi*   *et=ha=**hoˈrim*** *ʃeˈli ||*
      2SGF.PRED 2SGF.PRED- 2SGF.PRED.will.inform *et=*DEF=parents of.me
      'You will inform my parents.'
      [2] ***jeʃ*** *l=aχ*   *et=ha=ˈtelefon*   *ʃelaˈhem ||*   *naˈχon /*
      EXT to=2SGF.NPRED *et=*DEF=telephone of.them   right
      'You have their phone (number). Right?'
      (Y32_sp2_021-023)

The accented EXT constituent (along with the enclitic possessor element) in line [2] will be analyzed as predicate (see Part II, §3), whereas the (inferred) definite NP *hatelefon ʃelahem* 'their phone (number)' is viewed as the subject of the sentence. Unfortunately, *CoSIH* lacks any clear data of bare EXT constructions with definite NPs preceded by *et* in initial position where the EXT constituent is focused, comes in second position, and viewed as the predicate of the sentence. As a possible (invented) example, one could think of a situation similar to those resulting in lists (cf. Part II, §3.1, ex. 21), where items are being picked up for a joint activity. One of the speakers may utter the following (ex. 82), referring to one of the items, suggesting that there is no need to add it to the collection of items already prepared for packing:

(82) *et=ze*   *kvar*   ***jeʃ*** *||*
      *et=*this   already   EXT
      'This one (we've) already got.'

In such cases, a definite NP preceded by *et* should be viewed as topic (e.g., Berman 1978: 136; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: §51.3)[63] and as the subject of the sentence (cf. Sechehaye 1926: 164-165). (For other constructions where the EXT constituent functions as a sole predicate beside subjects see Part II, §3, although we lack examples with definite NPs.) In any case, any labelling of *et* must remain tentative at this stage of research. Perhaps a semantic labelling should be looked for rather than a grammatical or pragmatic one. I am aware of one endeavor that follows this path, at least partly, viz., by Danon (2002a; 2002b; 2008). While insisting that the main motivation for the use of *et* is structural, Danon still suggests that *et* has an effect on the meaning of the definite NP by marking it as individual or specific (Danon 2002b; 2008; cf. also 2001). Danon notices that this semantic motivation for the use of *et* is in the course of occupying a more central place in spoken Hebrew at the expense of structural constraints (Danon 2008: 275). Given the available data, especially within the framework proffered here, a semantic explanation for *et* and its uses seems to be preferred over a structural one. Further research is, therefore, needed, research which must include a fresh look at definiteness, givenness and accessibility, and semantic-syntactic relationship between sentence constituents

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[63] But cf. Gundel & Fretheim 2004 for possible different perspectives, which may need further investigation for Hebrew.

involving the element *et*, noting also that — within the framework proffered here — pivots are not arguments but predicate nuclei. Such an investigation is, of course, far beyond the scope of this study.

3.5 Existential-presentative constructions: recapitulation

EXT-PRES constructions serve to present new referents into the discourse. Given the data above, it will be clear that all variants of affirmative EXT-PRES constructions in Hebrew, at least in its spontaneous spoken varieties, share a similar structure. All are unipartite clauses, viz., clauses that contain only a predicate domain. The predicate domain consists of a core component, viz., the *pivot*, which carries a prosodic accent marking the focus of the predicate domain. In addition, the domain contains an existential-assertive modal expression, be it the EXT marker *jeʃ* or a verbal complex derived from √*hjj* 'be'. The default constituent order will be {EXT pivot}. When the modal constituent is a verb, it contains, aside from the verbal stem, also a PM, which can be either non-referential (in the majority of cases) or referential, the latter agreeing in gender and number with the pivot NP. In either case, the pivot will be an indefinite NP. The referential PM functions as a focus marker, coming in complementary distribution with the prosodic focus marker. Pivots which are segmentally marked for focus are higher on the givenness scale than pivots with a prosodic focus marker. Aside from these, definite pivots are also in current use in Israeli Hebrew, usually marked by the definite article as well as by the element *et*. Definite pivots are also high on the givenness scale, yet the relationship between the uses of definite pivots vs. indefinite pivots with segmental focus marking is still to be sought. Whereas in the default constituent order of existential-presentative sentences the EXT *jeʃ* precedes the pivot {EXT pivot}, constructions with content interrogative words functioning as pivot (along with some other rare cases) follow the default constituent order of content questions, viz., {pivot EXT}. Table 10 shows the variety of EXT-PRES constructions in colloquial Hebrew in their default constituent order (for the reverse order see §3.3). Prosodically focused elements are indicated by boldface characters.

Table 10: Variety of EXT-PRES constructions in colloquial Hebrew (defaut constituent order)[64]

		modal constituent	focus*	pivot
a		*jeʃ* EXT	^	*nivˈχer-et=***ˈʃait** ‖ team-F=sailing 'There is a sailing team.' (C711_0_sp1_226)
b		*haja-ø* be\PFV-3SGM.PRED	^	**tmuˈna** *ʃel* — [...] *ameriˈkaim* | **kitsoˈnim** ‖ picture.F of American extremists 'There was a picture of American extremists.' (C714_sp5_044-048)
c		*hajˈt-* be\PFV-	*-a* -3SGF.PRED	*haʃka-ˈa noˈsef-et* | investment-F additional-F 'There was an additional investment.' (D933_sp2_033)
d	*od.meˈat* soon	*j-ihˈje* 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	^	*et=ha=jeˈnot ʃel ha=***ˈʃaj** ‖ *et=*DEF=wines of DEF=gift 'The gift wines will be available soon.' (C711_1_sp1_077)

* ^ prosodic accent

[64.] The analysis of the form *hajta* 'she was' as *hajt-a* {be\PFV-3SGF.PRED} in c (rather than the commonly accepted *haj-ta*) follows Gonen 2009: §2.5.6.

4   Conclusions

This study endeavors a novel analysis of existential constructions, stemming from a different theoretical setting of clause and sentence structure than the one usually taken in the literature. The basic argument for a fresh look at the accepted analyses is the need to base a theory on real data. As noted by Sinclair,

> To me a corpus of any size signals a flashing neon sign 'Think again', and I find it extremely difficult to fit corpus evidence into received receptacles ... *the language obstinately refuses to divide itself into the categories prepared in advance for it*. (Sinclair 2001: 357; my emphasis)

The corpus used as the main source of data for this study is a corpus of spoken colloquial Israeli Hebrew (*CoSIH*), which immediately suggests that prosody cannot be subsidiary for the analysis of language. One other principle is that syntax is discourse-based, since sentences never occur out of context, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic. These, among other leading factors lying behind the thesis proffered here, suggest that clause and sentence structure are dependent upon the definition of predicate, which will in turn define the notion of clause. The outcome of this appreciation is that we can make a primary distinction between unipartite clauses or sentences, which consist of only a predicate domain, and bipartite clauses or sentences, which include both predicate and subject (§2).

The analyses of existential constructions developed in the two Parts of this study lean on this perception and have been shown to overcome the discrepancy between form and (semantic and informational) meaning in Hebrew existential constructions. This part of the study has dealt with existential-presentative constructions, i.e., constructions that are used to introduce referents into the discourse, mostly new ones. Most of the constructions have been analyzed as consisting of an existential constituent, viewed as a modal marker (§3.1.2), and a pivot, which has been analyzed as the core component of the predicate domain (§3.1.1). Looking at existential-presentative constructions this way, they are necessarily to be viewed as unipartite clauses. Having based these discussions on the affirmative existential marker *jeʃ*, it has further been shown (§3.2) that its suppletive verbal forms, derived from √*hjj* 'be', should be analyzed just the same, constituting an existential constituent formed as a verb, being a complete clause in itself. Accordingly, the existential-presentative clause will be regarded as a matrix clause, into which the verbal complex is embedded. These constructions can therefore be regarded as unipartite sentences as well. Among these constructions, a distinction has been made between √*hjj* verbal forms with non-referential person markers and those with referential person markers, where the latter, found with pivots which are higher on the accessibility scale, function as focus marking devices, coming in complementary distribution with prosodic marking of focus.

As noted in the introductory section (§1), EXT constructions were defined in the literature as "specialized or non-canonical" (McNally 2011: 1830; see also 2016: 212). Are they indeed? The analytical framework offered here, suggesting that EXT-PRES constructions are unipartite sentences, removes some difficulties in two of the main features usually pointed at when comparing EXT constructions with other constructions in the language: (1) constituent order; (2) (lack of) agreement between subject and predicate.

(1) A common observation as regards EXT constructions is that their constituent order differs from that of the unmarked one. In more explicit terms, it is usually claimed that constituent order in EXT constructions in SV(O) languages, including Hebrew, is VS or predicate initial (Kuzar 2012: §§3.3.1, 3.3.2; Melnik 2018: §3.1). This view follows the typological observation in other languages, viz., that EXT constructions may have non-canonical constituent order (e.g., Veselinova 2013: 108), an alleged typological feature that seems to be biased by

research in European languages (Creissels 2014: 15). It will be noted at this juncture that VS order is a characteristic that makes itself manifest also in other types of sentences (Melnik 2002; 2006; Kuzar 2012: §3.3; Maschler 2015).[65]

(2) One other common observation as regards EXT constructions is that there is no person-gender-number agreement between the predicate (or verb) (i.e., the PM incorporated within the verbal forms of √*hjj*) and the pivot (Oren 2013; Givón 2017: 97; Melnik 2018: §3.2). Prima facie, this seems to be an appropriate observation, given the perception of the pivot as subject. However, aside from the analysis of the pivot as predicate rather than subject, this apparent lack of agreement has been perceived rather as non-coreferentiality of the PM vis-à-vis the pivot (§3.2.2).

It will be further noted that these two features, viz., inverse order of the unmarked SP order and so-called lack of agreement, usually go together (Melnik 2020: §3.1). In colloquial Hebrew, lack of coreferentiality seems to be more common in PS (or VS) constructions (see §3.2.3 with note 46).

However, these common observations go against the analyses proposed here. As suggested in this study, in accordance with EXT-PRES constructions construed of the EXT *jeʃ* alongside the pivot {EXT pivot}, one should view the suppletive, verbal equivalents as unipartite (matrix) clauses all the same, the EXT constituent being an embedded clause, viz., a verb within the EXT matrix clause. This has been demonstrated in ex. 36[an] (§3.2.2). As regards constituent order, once EXT constructions have been defined as unipartite sentences, they consist of only a predicate domain, so that the question of subject-predicate order or the issue of subject-predicate agreement becomes immaterial. In accordance with this latter observation, the pivot has been analyzed as the predicative nucleus of the EXT construction rather than its subject. Therefore, the verb cannot assume the function of predicate. As mentioned, the verb has been analyzed as a modal constituent in the form of a clause which is embedded into the EXT construction.

In addition to the bulk of evidence showing an {EXT pivot} constituent order for EXT-PRES constructions, the corpus includes some evidence for the reverse order (§3.3), either in content interrogatives or, rarely, where the pivot has some anchoring to previous discourse, yet with some extra feature added, seemingly laying an extra prominence on the pivot.

In Hebrew, definite pivots are widely attested, referring to specific and non-specific referents, and can be "given" by either the textual context or the *origo*. An explanative thesis is still wanting, as the corpus data do not permit an assessment of the reasons for the use of definite pivots against those focused by referential PMs. Further, the precise meaning of the particle *et* (usually referred to as an accusative marker) still awaits further in-depth research. A semantic direction may perhaps lead to a satisfactory conclusion.

Aside from all those EXT-PRES constructions used to introduce referents into the discourse, the EXT constituent can come as a predicate in either unipartite clauses as its sole constituent, or in bipartite sentences, accompanied by a subject. In these cases, the EXT constituent will be focused. This latter issue will be dealt with in Part II of this study (§3). Also in Part II, negative existential constructions will be discussed (§2), as well as two minor issues, viz., *jeʃ* and *en* with bound (clitic) referential markers (§4) and the use of *jeʃ* and *en* as interjections and discourse markers (§5).

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[65]. Kuzar (2012: ch. 5) endeavors an explanation of these sentence patterns as a continuum of ±EXT alongside other types of lexemes.

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