THE SYNTAX OF EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS: THE SPOKEN ISRAELI HEBREW PERSPECTIVE PART II: NEGATIVE EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND NON-PRESENTATIVE USES OF EXISTENTIAL CONSTITUENTS

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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. Part I of the study dealt 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 was shown to be valid for both the existential marker* jeʃ *and for its suppletive verbal forms, derived from √hjj 'be'. Thus, existential-presentative constructions are formed as unipartite sentences, consisting of only a predicate domain. 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.*

Keywords: Existential constructions; clause structure; spontaneous spoken language; prosody; Israeli Hebrew

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1 Existential-presentative constructions: Summary of Part I

Existential-presentative (henceforth: EXT-PRES) constructions serve to present new referents into the discourse. Given the data at hand, it has been shown, 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 plus, 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 presentative-existential 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 1 (=Part I, Table 10) shows the variety of EXT-PRES constructions in colloquial Hebrew in their default constituent order (for the reverse order see Part I, §3.3). Prosodically focused elements are indicated by boldface characters.

Table 1: Variety of EXT-PRES constructions in colloquial Hebrew (defaut constituent order)[2]

		modal constituent	focus*	pivot
a		*jeʃ* EXT	^	*nivˈχer-et=ˈ**ʃait*** ‖ 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=**ʃaj*** ‖ et=DEF=wines of DEF=gift 'The gift wines will be available soon.' (C711_1_sp1_077)

* ^ prosodic accent

1.1 Issues discussed in Part II

Whereas Part I dealt basically with affirmative existential-presentative constructions, Part II opens with a discussion of negative existential (henceforth: NEG.EXT) constructions (§2). This

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[2.] 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.

chapter is followed by a chapter dealing with EXT constructions where the EXT constituent 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 Negative existential constructions

2.1 Preliminaries and introduction

As we have seen in Part I, §1 (Table 1; repeated below as Table 2), the negative counterpart of the EXT marker *jeʃ* is *en*[3] (glossed NEG.EXT), whereas for derivatives of √*hjj*[4] with integrated TAM denotation, negation is marked by adding the general negator *lo* (Shor 2020).[5,6,7]

[3.] 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 side 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 below). The same applies to other cases of alleged /ej/ diphthongs.

[4.] √ *hjj* is used as a symbol of the root. This triconsonantal symbol is a traditional way of citing the root, which in actuality presents itself as a set of allomorphs that construct derived and inflected forms. It should also be noted that root allomorphs are further bound to morphphonological rules. For the formation of verbs and so-called verbal nouns in Hebrew see Part I, §2.

[5.] The research is based on *The corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH)* <cosih.com>, analyzed by 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* [ɛ]) 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 2020: §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; a *predicational complex* is the phrase used to convey a unit consisting of a subject, a predicate, and the nexus between the two, being, as it were, a bipartite clause; see also note 7 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.

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

[7.] 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 5), PRED stands for *predicational*, which should be

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Table 2: Basic forms of Existential constructions

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

The NEG.EXT marker *en* thus consists of two denotations expressed by a single morpheme: negation and existence, signifying together assertion of non-existence. An illustrative example for the paradigmatic change between the NEG.EXT marker *en* and negated form of √*hjj* 'be' is ex. 1, where the youngest sibling of a family (sp5) was expected to bring some pomegranates he would pick from a tree nearby, but has come home without any. His father (sp2) asks him:

(1) [1] sp2: *ˈefo   ha=rimoˈn-im /*
          where DEF=pomegranate-PL
          'Where are the pomegranates?'
    [2]   *en /*
          NEG.EXT
          'Are there none?'
    [3] sp5: *lo   **haˈja** //*
          NEG be\PFV.3SGM.PRED
          'There weren't any.'
      (C711_4_sp2_091-092; sp5_006)

Both NEG.EXT constructions in this extract (lines [2], [3]) are, obviously, equivalent. When sp2 asks his son 'Where are the pomegranates? Are there none'?, he uses the NEG.EXT marker *en* (line [2]), which does not include any tense or aspect denotation. In his response, the boy uses a negated verbal form derived of √*hjj* 'be' (line [3]), thus adding a TAM marker referring to a past situation.

In the following sections, I will first deal with NEG.EXT constructions that can be analyzed as unipartite sentences (§2.2). Then I will ask whether *en*, like its affirmative counterpart, can be viewed as a modal marker (§2.3). In 3.2 I will discuss occurrences of the NEG.EXT constituent as a predicate in itself or as a predicative nucleus.

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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.

2.2 Negative existential constructions as unipartite sentences

The construction in ex. 2 is a prototypical negative equivalent of EXT-PRES constructions. The two speakers, whom we have already met more than once (exx. 5, 6, 64 in Part I), are a young woman (sp2) and her boyfriend (sp1), discussing the possibility of renting an apartment with some friends. Sp2 is worried that their roommates might be noisy.

(2) *ani rak mkaˈva ʃe lo j-ihˈje* **ˈraaʃ** || *miˈhem* ||
    I   only hope.SGF that NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT noise   from.them
    'I only hope there will be no noise from them.'
    (C842_sp2_078-079)

Following the *de dicto* marker *ʃe* 'that' (Inbar 2019; cf. Frajzyngier 1995), the NEG.EXT construction consists of the negation *lo*, the EXT constituent in the form of a verb derived from √*hjj* 'be', and a NP, introducing a new referent into the discourse, *raaʃ* 'noise', raising a hope that it won't happen (=exist). The construction *lo jihje raaʃ* {NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT noise} 'there will be no noise' is thus a sentence with no semantic or syntactic predication between its major components, viz., the negation, the verb carrying the TAM indication, and the noun *raaʃ* 'noise'. The new referent introduced into the discourse — *raaʃ* 'noise' — is duly focalized by prosodic accent. This construction is, therefore, a unipartite sentence, consisting of only a predicate domain. There is, of course, syntactic predication between the verbal stem *-ihje* {be\NFCT} and the non-referential PM *j-* {3SGM.PRED-}, forming a clause, which is embedded within the unipartite (matrix) clause (Part I, §3.2.1). Whereas the noun *raaʃ* 'noise' forms the pivot of this NEG.EXT construction, the preceding components, *lo jihje*, form together a single constituent being an equivalent to the NEG.EXT constituent *en* (Table 3):

Table 3: { *lo* + √*hjj* } as a single constituent

NEG.EXT		pivot
en		{ **ˈraaʃ** }
NEG.EXT		noise

NEG	EXT	pivot
{ *lo*	*j-ihˈje* }	{ **ˈraaʃ** }
NEG	3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	noise

The construction in toto functions as a presentative construction, very much the same as affirmative ones (Part I, §3). Ex. 3 is the immediate response of the boyfriend to his girlfriend's concern:

(3) **j-ihˈje** *ˈraaʃ* ||
    3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT noise
    'There *will be* noise.'
    (C842_sp1_065)

The analysis of this construction is different. Here, the NP *raaʃ* 'noise' is already given and the new element is the assertion that noise is indeed expected to be ('exist'), as against the girl's expectations. Therefore, it is the verb *j-ihje* {3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT} 'it will be' that is

accented. The two constructions thus differ not only in polarity, but in their fundamental syntactic analysis, thus:

Table 4: Unipartite vs. bipartite EXT sentences (1)

P	
lo j-ihˈje	*ˈraaʃ*
NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	noise

P	S
j-ihˈje	*ˈraaʃ*
3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT	noise

Whereas the negative construction is a unipartite sentence, the affirmative one is a bipartite one. We shall return to bipartite sentences in §3 below. One other illustration of a unipartite sentence with *lo* + √*hjj* is ex. 4, where the speaker tells his interlocutor how a local person managed to light a fire in a Mongolian *ger* (traditional dwelling place) after he and his friends failed to do so.

(4) *hu ba / beʃniˈja / bepoˈzitsja / [...] ʃe lo jihˈje ˈruaχ /*
    he he.came in.second in.position that NEG 3SGM.PRED-be\NFCT wind
    'He came, in a second, (he took) a position [...] that there would be no wind'
    (OCh_sp1_321-325)

In ex. 5, the speaker wonders whether there was or was not hot dry weather (*χamsin* 'sirocco') that caused the fruit to fall down from the tree.

(5) *lo haˈja ˈejze χamˈsin beoˈto jom /*
    NEG be\PFV.3SGM.PRED some sirocco in.that day
    'Was there no sirocco that day?'
    (C711_4_sp2_058)

As in the previous examples, the NP *χamsin* 'sirocco' is new to the discourse, and is duly focused by prosodic accent.

Ex. 6 is another case where the pivot of each of the two NEG.EXT constructions represents a referent new to the discourse while denying its existence. In this example, the NEG.EXT constituent is *en*.

(6) *en ˈseχel en deaˈgot //*
    NEG brain NEG worries
    'No brain, no worries.'
    (C711_2_sp1_088)

The two NPs are prosodically marked as focal. Ex. 6 is, in fact, a common saying, which may not be the best representative of negative EXT-PRES constructions. It is not mere chance that this example was picked up for representing the class of unipartite clauses with the *en* constituent, since genuine new referents are rare with NEG.EXT constructions. This is the only

NEG.EXT construction in *CoSIH* with *en* corresponding in both segmental and prosodic structure to affirmative EXT-PRES constructions that includes a brand-new referent. All other similar constructions have pivots that show some relation to the preceding discourse or to the extra-linguistic context. In other words, while most of the affirmative EXT constructions introduce new referents into the discourse, NEG.EXT constructions include only a small fraction of occurrences with a similar function, i.e., where the pivot is brand new. Rather, the pivot or parts of it are either given, known or expected. Shor notes:

> Typically, the existence of a referent is *not* previously asserted with the negative utterance denying it, but rather the negative utterance provides some new information about the non-existence of a referent, *contrary to what might have been expected or desired*. (Shor 2020: 596; my emphasis)

An illustration of this observation is ex. 7, an utterance following a discussion about problems with meat production and import.

(7) *en   maˈkor **baˈsar** ||*
    NEG.EXT source   meat
    'There is no source of meat.'
    (C612_2_sp1_057)

Both constituents of the phrase *makor basar* 'meat source' were mentioned separately before, although the phrase as such is new. Talking about meat, the existence of a source for meat is, of course, expected. One other illustration is the following, extracted from a conversation between a soldier (sp1) and his commander (sp2), where the soldier complains that there were no reasonings in the army's response rejecting an appeal he had submitted.

(8) sp1: *ˈmahem   ha=nimuˈk-im /   haeˈmet /   ani lo   ʃaˈmati ||*
        what.they DEF=reasoning-PL   the.truth   I   NEG I.heard
        'What are the reasonings?' Frankly? I didn't hear (any).'
    sp2: *ani joˈdea || ki   gam lo haˈju   **nimuˈk-im** || zot.oˈmeret |*
        I   DEF=reasoning-PL because also NEG were-PL reasoning-PL   this.says
        'I know. Because there weren't any reasonings, that is,'
    (P931_2_sp1_176-178; sp2_114-116)

Here, the noun *nimukim* 'reasonings', a clearly given referent being the topic of this part of the conversation, is prosodically accented. In contrast to the general distribution of prosodic and segmental focus marking (see Part I, §3.2.3), here we have both: prosodic accent and coreferentiality between the PM in the verb and the pivot NP. Thus, there is double focus on the core component of the predicate domain. In plus, another focus adverb, *gam* 'also' (Glinert 1989: §2.2), precedes the negation *lo*. This triple focus marking may be related to some pragmatic or expressive motivation that we cannot pinpoint given the data at hand. It will be noticed, that sp2 has suspended his turn after uttering the last module, so that this extra focusing may be motivated by the need to highlight contrast or by some other similar motivation.[8]

A borderline case is presented in ex. 9. The speakers are those of ex. 2, now discussing the possibility that any of their roommates will make a pass at the girl. After the girl (sp2) has argued against this possibility ('They won't try; they know you are with me'), her boyfriend (sp1) points specifically at one of the guys:

[8.] This assessment owes much to an exchange of ideas with Leon Shor.

(9) [1] sp1: *ˈbaruχ   jnaˈse //*
        Baruch he.will.try
        'Baruch will try.'

  [2] sp2: *ma   piˈtom //*
        what suddenly
        'No way.'

  [3] sp1: *ken //*
        yes
        'He will.'

  [4] sp2: *baχaˈim   hu lo //*
        in.the.life he NEG
        'He will never (try).'

  [5]   'First of all, he is with [Vered], and I am a friend of Vered.'

  [6] sp1:   [<alveolar click>]
                                    NEG

  [7] sp2: *v   en   siˈkuj //*
        and NEG chance
        'and there's no chance.'
    (C842_sp1_189-191; sp2_173-179)

In line [7], the referent introduced into the discourse — *sikuj* 'chance' — has not been mentioned yet in the discourse, but it paraphrases earlier assertions by the same speaker (lines [2] and [4]).

In all the above examples the pivot or one of its constituents carries prosodic accent, thus signaling it as the focused element. While in affirmative EXT construction this would be the case with the majority (65%) of occurrences (n=157, excluding units with no pivot present in the construction), only about 43% of occurrences of NEG.EXT constructions (n=94, excluding units without a pivot) bear the prosodic accent on the pivot domain; in ca. 18% there is prosodic accent on the NEG.EXT constituent (vs. 9% in affirmative constructions);[9] in ca. 28% there is no prosodic accent at all (22% of affirmative constructions; see Part I, §3.1.1).

The following extract is the immediate continuation of ex. 9. Sp2 continues her arguments against her boyfriend's fear that one of their roommates-to-be may take a pass at her.

(9cont.) [8] 'Why, I have known him for some three years now.'

     [9] *en   siˈkuj //*
        NEG chance
        'There's no chance.'
        (C842_sp2_180-181)

The NP *sikuj* 'chance' is already given. This difference between the two constructions is reflected by prosodic structure: there is a prominent prosodic accent on its first occurrence (line [7]), while in the second occurrence (line [9]) it is the NEG.EXT *en* that is accented. Two different analyses of these constructions are thus in order. Whereas in line [7] the construction will be analyzed as a unipartite clause, consisting of only a predicate domain, the construction in line

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[9.] To the latter one may perhaps add units in which ca. 11% (vs. 4% of affirmative constructions) the prosodic accent is carried by another constituent (plus several cases of possessive or locative constructions).

[9] will be analyzed as a bipartite clause, consisting of both a predicate and a subject, very much like similar constructions with *jeʃ* (§3.1).

Table 5: Unipartite vs. bipartite NRG.EXT sentences (2)

		P	
[7] *v*	*en*	***sikuj*** //	
and	NEG	chance	

	P	**S**
[9]	***en***	*sikuj* //
	NEG	chance

The construction *en sikuj* 'no chance' is a quite common phrase in Hebrew. In our corpus, there is one other occurrence of this phrase, yet in this case it is followed by the particle *ʃe* 'that' and then suspended (ex. 10 with Figure 1).

(10) *en   siˈkuj   ʃe* |
    NEG   chance   that
    'There's no chance that'
    (Y34_sp1_195)
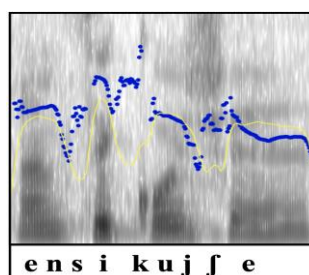
Figure 1: Pitch curve of *en sikuj ʃe* 'There is no chance that'

All things considered, this unit lacks prosodic accent and shows standard declination starting with the NEG.EXT (with delayed peak on the syllable [si]) (for similar cases with *jeʃ* see Part I, §3.1.1, ex. 19 and following; for delayed peak see Part I, §3.1.1, exx. 21-22). A similar case is ex. 11 (with Figure 2), here in a complete unit.

(11) *en   ma   laaˈsot* ||
    NEG   what   to.do
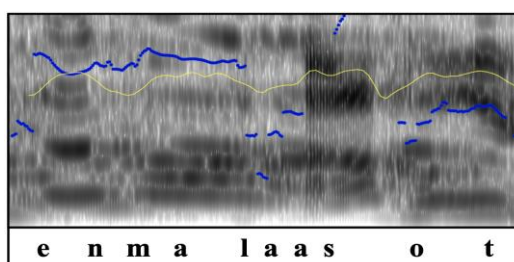   'There is nothing to do.'
    (P311_2_sp4_004)

Figure 2: Pitch curve of *en ma laasot* 'There is nothing to do.'

Attention is to be drawn to the fact that perception of prominence at unit-initial position is sometimes made difficult due to the high pitch at this position being the starting point of declination. One other case is ex. 12 (with Figure 3). The speaker cites a newspaper headline, which says:

(12) *en   le'an   liv'roaχ* ||
    NEG to.where to.escape
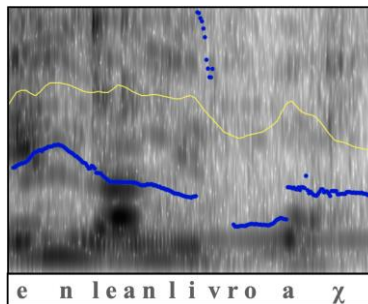   'There is nowhere to escape.'
    (C714_sp5_033)

Figure 3: Pitch curve of *en lean livroaχ* 'There is nowhere to escape.'

Being a headline, it is all new information. The pitch on *en* is higher, but not raised enough as to unequivocally point to marking focus. Intensity does not suggest prominence either. It will be noticed that duration on this syllable is longer than the following syllables. This contrasts the expectation of the default rhythm of a prosodic module, where syllables in module-initial position tend to be shorter (Amir, Silber-Varod & Izre'el 2004). This is the case also in ex. 13 (with Figure 4), where the speaker tells his interlocutor how he handles first-time telephone conversations with girls. He says:

(13)   'I stop it [i.e., the telephone conversation] after half an hour, so that it does not look too exaggerated'
    a'ta   me'vin /   en   'taam   lim'ʃoχ ||
    2SGM.PRED understand   NEG.EXT reason to.drag
    'You see? There is no use to drag (it) on.'
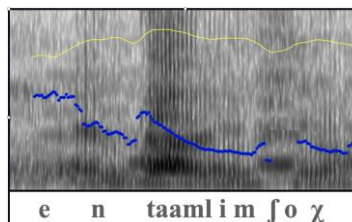   (P423_2_sp1_167-169)

Figure 4: Pitch curve of *en taam limʃoχ* 'There is no use to drag (it) on.'

The pivot is not a given referent, yet it elaborates in a way on the speaker's previous statements. Thus, it falls in the gray area between new and given referents, as observed by Shor (see above). When looking at the pitch curve, the NEG.EXT marker *en* seems not to be especially prominent pitch-wise, recalling its unit-initial position, which is the standard for declination start. Intensity does not suggest prominence either. However, the duration of this syllable is

longer than all other syllables in the unit, including the last one, which, as already mentioned, is against the expectation in module-initial position.

Another case in point is the following. Sp1, who is telling his interlocutor about his trip to Mongolia, has mentioned that one trip by bus took him 42 hours, which seemed too long for the distance covered. The surprised listener suggested that perhaps the bus had too many stops to make on the way, probably relying on his experience from Western bus routes with regular stops (see also Shor 2020: 597, ex. 19). Sp1 then explains:

(14)   [1] sp1: ***en***   *aʦiˈrot mtuχnaˈnot //*
               NEG.EXT stops   planned
               'There are no planned stops'
       [2]   *hem noˈsim /*
               they travelling.PLM
               'They drive ...' (suspended)
      [3] sp2: <laughter>
      [4] sp1: ***en***   *aʦiˈrot mtuχnaˈnot //*
               NEG.EXT stops   planned
               'There are no planned stops'
         (OCh_sp1_150-152; sp2_057)

There are two occurrences of the utterance *en aʦirot mtuχnanot* 'There are no planned stops'. In the first one (line [1], Figure 5), as in the case in ex. 13, *en* is longer than what might be expected in a standard prosodic module. However, the pitch is relatively higher, showing a sharp cline (after a delayed peak). Accordingly *en* is perceived more prominent.
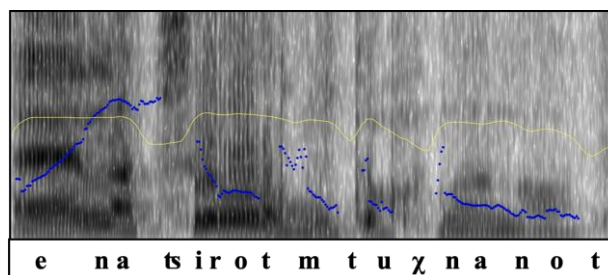

Figure 5: Pitch curve of *en aʦirot mtuχnanot* 'There are no planned stops' (line [1])

When the same construction is uttered the second time (line [4]), *en* is shorter relative to the following stretch and the cline is somewhat less sharp than in the first occurrence (Figure 6).
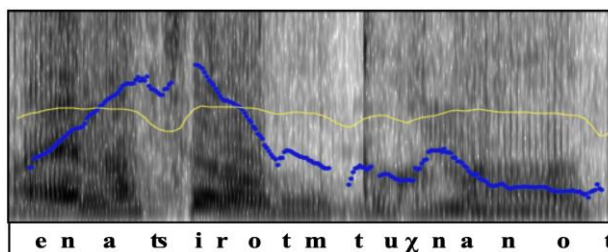

Figure 6: Pitch curve of *en aʦirot mtuχnanot* 'There are no planned stops' (line [4])

While duration is the dominant marker of word stress in Hebrew (Silber-Varod, Sagi & Amir 2016), this need not be the case for unit/sentence prominence. I know of only one preliminary study on prosodic features of focus that has shown that focus-related high pitch

affects duration (Mixdorff & Amir 2002), but an in-depth study of the acoustic correlates of sentence accent is still wanting.

In-depth research is also needed on the prosody of unit-initial position in EXT constructions, both affirmative and negative, in relation to general declination features in colloquial Israeli Hebrew. In the meanwhile, the syntactic analyses as illustrated above, notably on NEG.EXT constructions, has relied on evident perception and prosodic analysis of prominence, as well as on the segmental discoursive affinities of NPs within the construction.

2.3 The negative existential constituent as a modal marker

At this point, it would be instructive to ask whether *en*, like *jeʃ*, could be regarded as a modal marker. Firstly, *en* comes in paradigmatic relations with *jeʃ* (Tobin 1982; see also Part I, §3.2.2, with note 37). When deconstructing this element to its components, we get (1) negation; (2) existential marking. This deconstruction becomes overt in the suppletive *lo* + √*hjj* {NEG + be}. As has been shown in Part I, §3.2, the EXT component, in whatever form it takes, is to be considered as modal. As for the negation component, its relation with modality has been discussed in the literature on various terms and from different viewpoints. E.g., Apostel claims, that "[n]egation is a modality, in this sense that it expresses a propositional attitude of the subject towards the entity denied" (Apostel 1972: 277, cited by Horn 2001: 63; see further, *inter alia*, De Haan 1997; Givón 2001: I: §6.4.2 and ch. 8; Berto 2015). One will further observe, that polarity has been viewed as part of the modality category, being the two extreme points of the modality continuum (Halliday 2014: §4.5; Butler 2003: ch. 9). Therefore, both *en* and its suppletive *lo* + √*hjj*, very much like *jeʃ* and its suppletive verbal forms, will be regarded as markers of modality. See further §5.

3 Existential constituents as predicate or predicative nucleus

3.1 The affirmative existential constituent (*jeʃ* ~ forms of √*hjj*) as predicate or predicative nucleus

There are cases where the EXT marker *jeʃ* is to be analyzed as a predicate in its own right or as the nucleus of a predicate domain. We have seen similar cases of the NEG.EXT component in ex. 35 in Part I (§3.2.1), line [3] and in ex. 1 (§2.1 above). An example of *jeʃ* constituting in itself a complete predicate domain is illustrated by ex. 15. A Jewish student (sp3) is speaking for the first time in his life with a Christian Arab student (sp1). He asks her about life and culture among Arabs in Israel.

(15) sp3: *en   harˈbe nisuˈim   ʃel=ha=musleˈmim   im=notsˈrim /*
        NEG.EXT   many   marriages of=DEF=Muslims   with=Christians
        'Are there not many marriages between Muslims and Christians?'
    sp1: *jeʃ /   aˈval ze /   mesuˈbax ||*
        EXT   but   this   complicated
        'There are, but this is complicated.'
    (C1624_sp3_025; sp1_069-071)

Sp3 enquires about mixed Muslim-Christian marriages, using an interrogative NEG.EXT construction. The first module in sp1's responsive utterance consists of only the EXT marker *jeʃ*. The modal EXT constituent thus makes a predicate domain in itself, being a unipartite clause. In ex. 16, a family is preparing for dinner in the garden. Sp3 believes that one chair is missing.

(16) sp3: ˈrega // ʦaˈriχ od kiˈse //
minute need[SGM] more chair
'(Wait) a minute. There is need for another chair.'
sp2: **jeʃ** // **jeʃ** po // ˈhine //
EXT EXT here PRES
'There is. There is (one) here. Here.'
(C714_sp3_028-029; sp2_030-031)

The response of sp2 consists of three utterances, each of the first two forming an EXT construction. Since 'chair' has been mentioned in the previous turn, it need not be repeated, and both clauses consist of only a predicate domain. The first contains only the EXT marker *jeʃ*, the second adds a locative adjunct. The prosodic accent in the second utterance is placed on the EXT marker, so here too it forms the nucleus of the predicate domain. The last utterance is sp2's turn consists of the presentative (evidential) marker *hine*, which makes a unipartite clause on its own (cf. Part I, §3.1.2, ex. 25).

That a modal marker can constitute a full clause is also illustrated by ex. 17, where the last utterance is comprised of a unipartite clause consisting of only the modal word *efʃar* 'possible'.

(17) sp1: amˈru li efˈʃar be=ʃmoˈna=meot ˈʃekel //
they.said to.me possible in=eight=hundred shekel
'They told me it was possible (to do it) for 800 shekels.'
sp2: naˈχon // efˈʃar //
right possible
'(That's) right. It is possible.'
(Y33_sp1_117; sp2_115-116)

As in ex. 16, the unipartite clause is anchored to the previous turn, in the expression *beʃmona=meot ʃekel* 'for 800 shekels'.

Apart from cases where the EXT marker constitutes a unipartite clause on its own, there are cases where an already mentioned referential expression is repeated or referred to and takes the pivot position in a construction with a segmental structure similar to an EXT-PRES one. In such cases, the focus will duly be located on the EXT marker, thus to be analyzed as the predicate of a bipartite clause, whereas the referential expression will be analyzed as its subject. In ex. 18, the speakers are discussing directions:

(18) sp2: ˈsmola naˈχon // ki po **en** ˈsmola //
leftward right because here NEG.EXT leftward
'Turning left (there) is fine, because here there's no left turn.'
sp1: **jeʃ** ˈsmola //
EXT leftward
'There *is* a left turn.'
(P311_2_sp4_069; sp1_311; *CoSIH*'s reference should be corrected to sp3_139bis.)

Both the EXT negation *en* (used here in a locative construction) and the affirmative EXT marker *jeʃ* are prosodically prominent, which makes another cue for their predicative function, aside from the givenness of the other components and their communicative function.

Ex. 19, already cited in Part I (§3.4, ex. 81), exhibits an existential-possessive constituent used as the predicate of a sentence:

(19) [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)

As analyzed in Part I, §3.4, the definite NP *hatelefon ʃelahem* 'their phone' [line [2]] is viewed as the subject of the sentence, being an inferred referent drawn from the knowledge that "my parents" (line [1]) have a telephone where the addressee can call them. Therefore, the EXT constituent (along with the enclitic possessor element) is analyzed as predicate, which is accordingly marked for focus by a prosodic accent.

An alternative constituent order, in which the EXT marker *jeʃ* comes in the default position of the predicate domain, i.e., following a subject, can also show a different syntactic status of the basic components, where the alleged pivot assumes the subject function and the EXT marker is its predicate. This strategy is quite rare. In fact, there are no such occurrences in *CoSIH*. In ex. 14, drawn from a movie,[10] settlers in territories occupied by Israel are preparing for the time they will need to vacate their homes. The speaker has been asked whether the settlers have chains so that they can fasten themselves to resist forced evacuation.

(20) ... שלשלאות יש, אבל
    ʃalʃelaˈot jeʃ, aˈval ...
    chains   EXT, but ...
    'There are chains, but ...'
    (ShosheletSchwartz2005:4)

In such cases, the focus, indicated by prosodic prominence, will be on the EXT marker. One might think of a scenario where such construction is relatively common in everyday speech, viz., going over a checklist, for example, as when packing in preparation for a trip:

(21) *χulˈʦot*   ***jeʃ*** */*
    shirts   EXT   'shirts check'
    miχnaˈsaim ***jeʃ*** */*
    pants   EXT   'pants check'
    garˈbaim   ***jeʃ*** */*
    socks   EXT   'shirts check'
    ...

Usually in such lists, all items are contextually given, possibly even in writing. Therefore, the added elements are new information, focused both by their position in the clause and by prosodic accent, and carrying each clause's assertive modality. The structure of these clauses is therefore SP.

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10. The transcript is drawn from the *NMELRC* corpus. I have not heard this recording.

Ex. 22 illustrates a case where the EXT marker *jeʃ* must be analyzed as the predicate together with the adverb *kvar* 'already'. This example is drawn from an internet forum calling for people to join an existing group.

(22)

kvuˈʦa kvar   jeʃ.... lo   peiˈla omˈnam _)) aˈval im   hapaˈnim kaˈdima...:))
group already EXT   NEG active indeed   but   with the.face   forward
'A group has already been formed (lit. 'A group already there is")…. Admittedly, still inactive _)) But looking ahead...:))'
(<http://www.motke.co.il/index.php?idr=440&v=297&pid=204589>)

The lexeme *kvuʦa* 'group' is already mentioned in the title and in the introduction to all posts. Therefore, it is a given topic, accordingly analyzed as the subject of the first clause; *jeʃ* is its predicate, asserting the existence of a group, which seems to be evident from the title, adding a note that it is inactive and a call to make it an active group.

As for definite NPs, *CoSIH* is extremely scanty in data of bare EXT constructions with definite NPs preceded by *et* in initial position where the EXT constituent is focused, come in second position, to be viewed as the predicate of the sentence. One such example is presented in ex. 23, where the countries mentioned are known to be (or thought to be) part of a potential coalition formed by the US to act against the organization who sent the terrorists of the 9/11 attack. The speaker is surprised to learn that Israel will not be asked to take part in that coalition, whereas Egypt and Syria will.

(23) *ʃe   mitsˈraim v /   ˈsurja v   ˈele **j-ihˈj-u** /   v   israˈel lo //*
     that Egypt   and   Syria and these 3PL.PRED-be\NFCT-CIRC and Israel   NEG
     'That Egypt and Syria and the others will take part (lit. be), and Israel won't.'
     (C714_sp4_087-090)

The nominal subject and the bound one (PM) incorporated within the 'be' verbal complex are co-referential, as is the rule for SP(V) constructions in Israeli Hebrew (cf. Part I, §2).

In sum, aside from EXT-PRES constructions, there are cases where the EXT constituent is used not to present a new referent into the discourse, but to assert the existence of one, either per se or in relation to another referent (i.e., location or possessor). Such sentences can be unipartite or bipartite, depending on the incorporation of a topic (>subject) in the sentence.

3.2 The negative existential constituent (*en ~ lo+√hjj*) as a predicate or a predicative nucleus

As is the case with affirmative EXT constituents (§3.1), negative ones can function as predicates. This is especially manifest when the NEG.EXT constituent (either *en* {NEG.EXT} or *lo+√hjj* {NEG+be}) is the sole constituent in a sentence. We have seen examples of such cases in Part I, §3.2.1, ex. 35, line [3], and ex. 1 (§2.1) above, repeated and extended here as ex. 24.

(24) [1] sp2: *ˈefo   ha=rimoˈn-im /*
              where DEF=pomegranate-PL
              'Where are the pomegranates?
        [2]   *en /*
               NEG.EXT
               'There are none?'

[3] sp5: *lo ha ˈja* //
    NEG be\PFV.3SGM.PRED
    'There weren't any.'
[4] sp2: *lo ha ˈja*   (*ba ˈeʦ*) /
    NEG be\PFV.3SGM.PRED   in.the.tree
    'There weren't (any) on the tree?'
    (C711_4_sp2_091-093; sp5_006)

All three NEG.EXT constructions in this extract (lines [2], [3], [4]) are, obviously, unipartite sentences, consisting of only the NEG.EXT marker (line [2]) or its negated verbal forms equivalents (lines [3] and [4], the latter includes also a locative-adverbial phrase), functioning as a predicate or a predicate domain, being the necessary and sufficient constituent to constitute a clause (Part I, §2). In ex. 25, *en* is the sole constituent in an utterance uttered in response to a self-clarification question.

(25) sp2: *v   jeʃ gam **mir ˈpeset** //*
    and EXT also balcony
    'And there's a balcony too.'
sp1: *basa ˈlon /*   *en* //
    in.the living.room   be\PFV.3SGM.PRED
    'In the living room? There is none.'
(C842_sp2_087; sp1_070)

In this case, there is no prominent prosodic accent on the NEG.EXT marker, but it is marked for focus by its occupying an utterance on its own (cf. Part I, §3.1.1 for ex. 19).
In ex. 26, the speaker complains about his financial situation.

(26) 'I am able to hold out in terms of work and in terms of savings left to us until December,'
v   az /   en //
and then   NEG.EXT
'and then — (there's) nothing (left).'
(P931_3_sp1_041-047)

Following the conjunction *v* 'and' and the adverb *az* 'then', there comes the NEG.EXT marker *en* as the predicate of the clause, being the only necessary and sufficient constituent. In other words, the clause is a unipartite one. As in ex. 25, the focus is indicated by segmentation, which in this case it is achieved within an utterance consisting of more than a single prosodic module.
Aside from singletons like the ones illustrated above, *en* and *lo+√hjj* can function as predicates in bipartite sentences. Two such cases have already been discussed above (exx. 9cont. and 18, the latter in a locative construction). Another illustration is ex. 27, in this case answering negatively to a question put forward by the interlocutor (sp2). Sp1 tells sp2 about his trip in Mongolia, and the conversation at this point touches upon the quality of roads in that country.

(27) [1] sp2: *ˈrega   en   ʃam **kviʃ** nor ˈmali /*
    moment NEG.EXT there road normal
    'Wait, is there no decent road over there?'

[2] sp1: **_en_** _kviʃ_ // _ze_ _aˈfar_ ||
NEG.EXT road DEM[SGM] dust
'There is no paved road. It is all dust.'

[3] sp2: _a_ _birtsiˈnut_ / _haˈkol_ /
oh seriously DEF.all
'Oh, seriously? All over?'

[4] sp1: _ʃviˈle_ | _ʃviˈle_ _aˈfar_ || **_en_** _kviʃim_ //
paths paths.of dust NEG.EXT roads
'Paths ... dust paths. There are no roads.'

...

[5] sp2: _en_ _kviʃ_ **_biχˈlal_** /
NEG.EXT road at.all
'Are there no roads at all?'

[6] sp1: _aˈta_ _joˈtse_ _mi=ˈulan.ˈbator_ **_en_** _kviˈʃim_ //
2SGM.PRED going.out from=Ulan.Bator NEG.EXT roads
'(Once) you leave Ulan Bator, there are no paved roads.'

(OCh_sp1_179-188; sp2_160-164)

The NP _kviʃ_ '(paved) road' is introduced into the discourse by sp2's question (line [1], a locative sentence). In this case, the pivot carries the prosodic accent, while the NEG.EXT constituent does not (cf. Shor 2020: 609-611). When repeated, the NP _kviʃ_ is already a given referent and the prosodic accent is now carried by the NEG.EXT marker (lines [2], [4], [6]). When sp2 asks again about the roads (line [5]), neither are accented, as the new information conveyed is _biχlal_ 'at all', which is duly given prominence. The syntactic analysis for these sentences will accordingly be as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6: Ex. 27 — syntactic analyses

		P		
[1]	_en_	_ʃam_	**_kviʃ_**	_normali_ /
	NEG.EXT	there	road	normal

	P	**S**
[2]	**_en_**	_kviʃ_ ||
	NEG.EXT	road

	P	**S**
[4],[6]	**_en_**	_kviʃim_ //
	NEG.EXT	roads

	S		**P**
	clause		
[5]	_en_	_kviʃ_	**_biχlal_** /
	NEG.EXT	road	at.all

Line [1] will be analyzed as a unipartite clause, lines [2], [4], [6] as bipartite clauses. As for line [5], the analysis is more complex. I have analyzed it as a bipartite sentence. The adverb _biχlal_ 'at all' fits the criteria determining a predicate (cf. Part I, §2): it carries the informational

load of the sentence; it is the new element in the discourse; it is focused by prosodic accent; it further carries the interrogative modality marked in this case by prosody as well. It will be recalled, that in Hebrew every part of speech can function as predicate (Part I, §2). The subject here is a clause (Part I, §2), in this case a NEG.EXT clause, being a given element mentioned in the immediate preceding discourse.

In ex. 28, The issue discussed is the relationship between a soldier doing his mandatory service and his wife, as told to his commander in a personal conversation.

(28)   [1] @..@ *maaˈreχet jχaˈsim   kaˈzot   bmkoˈmot aχeˈrim |*
                  system   relations like.that in.places   other.PL
            '... such a relationship in other places,'
        [2] *v   ha=maaˈreχet jχaˈsim   haˈzot   lo   **hajˈta** //*
             and   DEF=system   relations the.this   NEG   was.3SGF.PRED
             'and this relationship was not there.'
             (P931_2_sp1_054-055)

In line [2], the phrase *maareχet jχasim* 'relationship' is already a given NP, marked as definite by the definite article *ha*, found in the initial position of the sentence and functioning as subject. The NEG.EXT constituent occupies the second position, carries prosodic accent and agrees in gender and number with the subject (Part I, §2), accordingly to be analyzed as predicate.

In comparison with affirmative constructions (Part I, §3.4), definite NPs are very rare among NEG.EXT constructions. In *CoSIH* there are only two such occurrences among more than 90 relevant constructions (including several locative constructions) and none among some 65 negative possessive constructions. Only one of these occurrences (ex. 29 and Figure 7) has a similar constituent order as the default one of EXT constructions, where the NEG.EXT constituent occupies an initial position in the sentence. The conversation is revolved around types of meat in restaurants.

(29)   **en**   *et=ha=basˈar haˈze //*
        NEG.EXT *et*=DEF=meat   the.this
        'This meat is unavailable.'
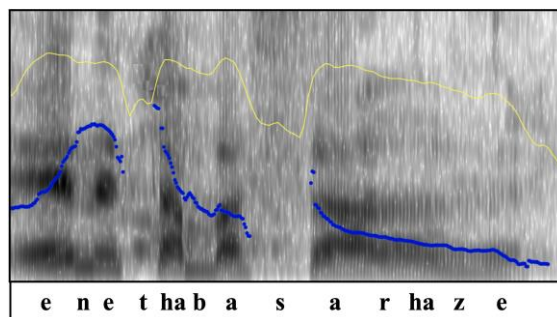   (C612_2_sp1_036)

Figure 7: Bipartite NEG.EXT clause with initial *en*

The NP *habasar haze* 'this meat' is given and marked as definite by the definite article. As against the construction in ex. 28, the construction here is similar in form to the default structure of EXT constructions, with an additional *et* preceding the definite NP (Part I, §3.4). In this case, however, it is not the NP that is focused but the NEG.EXT marker *en* (with a

delayed peak on *et*; cf. §2.2 above and Part I, §3.1.1, exx. 21-22). Given these data, I prefer to analyze this construction as a bipartite clause, with *en* {NEG.EXT} as predicate and *et=ha=basar haze* 'this meat' as subject.

4 Some notes on *jeʃ/en* with bound (clitic) referential markers

Both EXT markers, affirmative *jeʃ* and negative *en*, can host clitic referential markers. While both written and spoken Hebrew attest to such forms, *CoSIH* lacks any data on these forms, except for one fragmented unit. The colloquial Hebrew corpora of *NMELRC* (including data mostly from internet forums and movies) lack sound and prosodic information. The paradigms below (Table 7), are based mainly on data drawn from the colloquial Hebrew corpora of *NMELRC*, with some additions of forms attested elsewhere. Therefore, the paradigms below are only provisional as far as everyday spoken Hebrew is concerned. Forms unsupported by data are indicated by [ ].

Table 7: *Jeʃ/en* with clitic referential markers

	affirmative
SGM	*jeʃˈno*
SGF	*jeʃˈna*
PLM	*jeʃˈnam*
PLF	*jeʃˈnan~jeʃˈnam*

	negative
1SG	*eˈneni~eˈnenu*(M)~*eˈnena*(F)
2SGM	[*enˈχa*]~*eˈnenu*
2SGF	*eˈneχ~eˈnena*
3SGM	*eˈnenu*
3SGF	*eˈnena*
1PL	[*eˈnenu*]~[*eˈnam*]~[*ʔeˈnan*(PLF)]
2PLM	*enˈχem~*[*eˈnam*]
2PLF	[*enˈχem*]~[*ʔenˈχen*]~[*eˈnam*]~[*ʔeˈnan*]
3PLM	*eˈnam*
3PLF	*eˈnan~*[*eˈnam*]

The affirmative paradigm consists of forms where only number is distinguished in all forms; gender is differentiated in the SG forms, whereas the PLF forms, identified by their *-n* endings, occur only rarely in colloquial Hebrew in either these or other person paradigms (cf. Shor 2019: 34). Whereas the affirmative forms do not mark person, the negative ones show variation in this respect, where forms marked for person alternate with forms marked only for number and form marked for both gender and number. These variants unmarked for person are identical with the forms of the 3rd person.[11] Note the following examples:

[11.] The affirmative paradigm likewise shows a historical change where forms of the 3rd person take over the entire paradigm at the expense of the 1st and 2nd forms (Tobin 1982: 343). The Academy of the Hebrew Language indeed instruct language learners to use the forms marked for person in the negative paradigm (<https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2014/06/10/את-אינך-או-אינה/>), and also — although not formally — in the obsolete affirmative one

(30) גם שאני אינני אני ישנו

gam ʃe aˈni   eˈn=eni   aˈni   jeʃ=ˈno
also that 1SG.PRED NEG.EXT=1SG.PRED 1SG.PRED EXT=SGM.PRED
'Even when I am away, I am available.'
(Hebrew movies corpus @ *NMELRC*)

Both EXT markers in ex. 30[12] refer to 1SG referents. The NEG.EXT is the host for a clitic marked for both person and number, whereas its affirmative counterpart hosts a clitic which is marked only for number. As against this, in ex. 31 the NEG.EXT hosts a clitic marked only for number.

(31)   אתה יודע שאני איננו אתה הגבר בבית

aˈta   joˈdea   ʃe aˈni   eˈn=enu
2SGM.PRED know.SGM that 1SG.PRED NEG.EXT=SGM.PRED
aˈta   haˈgever baˈbait
2SGM.PRED the.man in.the.house
'You know that when I am away, you are the man at home.'
(Hebrew movies corpus @ *NMELRC*)

In ex. 32, extracted from lyrics of a contemporary song about mourning over the death of a family member, both the negative and affirmative markers host clitics unmarked for person.

(32) *aˈta   eˈn=enu*   [...] *aˈta   jeʃ=ˈno*
2SGM.PRED NEG.EXT=SGM.PRED   2SGM.PRED EXT=SGM.PRED
'You are gone. [...] You are here.'
(Lyrics; *Tfila* 'Prayer';
<https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=938&wrkid=20732>)

The following two examples are also taken from lyrics of contemporary songs. The first (ex. 33) exhibits the use of a clitic marked for person, number and gender, whereas the second (ex. 34) exhibits the use of a clitic marked for number and gender, but unmarked for person.

(33) *at   ejˈn=eχ*
2SGF.PRED NEG.EXT=2SGF.PRED
'You are gone.'
(Lyrics; *At Ejnex* 'You Are Gone';
<https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=802&wrkid=15392>)

(34) *at   eˈn=ena*
2SGF.PRED NEG.EXT=SGF.PRED
'You are gone.'
(Lyrics; *Mibaad laDimʕa* 'Beyond the Tear'
<https://shironet.mako.co.il/artist?type=lyrics&lang=1&prfid=92&wrkid=36225>)

(<https://m.facebook.com/AcademyOfTheHebrewLanguage/photos/a.181203348616396/3966342763435750/?type=3&source=57>; <https://hebrew-academy.org.il/2018/10/04/ישנו-או-יש/>).

[12.] Since the time exx. 30 and 31 were first retrieved, the site has become unavailable, so that more specific references could not be obtained.

In these examples, the NEG.EXT constructions are bipartite sentences, comprised of both subject (unbound pronoun) and a predicate domain, in itself comprised of a complex of the NEG.EXT marker with an enclitic which is anaphoric to the subject. In this respect, these constructions are similar, or parallel, to bipartite EXT sentences consisting of verbal complexes with forms of √hjj 'be' (cf. §3.1, ex. 23; also Part I, §2). The following analytic scheme is a comparison between the two structures.

Table 8: Verbal and {NEG.EXT=PM} forms compared

S		P	
S		P	S
[1] *at*		[*haˈji-t*]	
2SGF.PRED		be\PFV-2SGF.PRED	
'You were.'			

S		P	
S		P	S
[2] *at*		[*en=eχ*]	
2SGF.PRED		NEG.EXT=2SGF.PRED	
'You are missing.' (lit. You are not').			

The clitics with no person marking may *mutatis mutandis* be compared to adjectival or participial forms used as predicates, as follows:

Table 9: Adjectival and {NEG.EXT=PM} forms compared

S	P
S	P
[1] *at*	[*kaˈjem-et*]
2SGF.PRED	exist\PTCP-F
'You were.'	

S		P	
S		P	S
[2] *at*		[*eˈn=ena*]	
2SGF.PRED		NEG.EXT=SGF.PRED	
'You are missing.'			

The difference between the two lies in the syntactic status of the gender/number marker: whereas in nominal, adjectival or participial forms the gender/number marker stands in attributive relationship with the lexical form (Goldenberg 1995), in (NEG.)EXT constructions it has a predicative relationship with the (NEG.)EXT marker. By this it is similar to the verbal form exemplified in the previous scheme (s.v. [1]). For their status as referential devices rather than agreement elements, cf. Shor 2019: §5.1.2.4.1.

One last note that may be made at this juncture is that polysemic forms of the NEG.EXT *en* are used for negating nominal predicates, notably participles. In this function, the form *en* — very much like the case of √hjj 'be' (Part I, §3.2.2) — is devoid of its EXT meaning. Yet, in

contrast to the case of √*hjj*, the NEG.EXT marker *en* does carry a meaning, viz. negation. Note the following example:

(35) *hi   eˈn=ena   χaveˈr-a*
    3SGF.PRED NEG=3SGF.PRED friend-F
    'She is not a friend,'

This example may be compared with ex. 36 (already cited in Part I, §3.2.2, ex. 38).

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

A more prevalent set of variants of this negator is one which lacks the extra morph *en*

(37) *hi   eˈn=a   χaveˈr-a*
    3SGF.PRED NEG=3SGF.PRED friend-F
    'She is not a friend,'

However, both these sets are rarely used in colloquial Hebrew, which usually prefer the common negation *lo* also in these constructions (Rosén 1977: 226-227; Dekel 2014: §4.8.1.2):

(38) *hi   lo   χaveˈr-a*
    3SGF.PRED NEG friend-F
    'She is not a friend'

As already seen in Part I, §3.2.1, ex. 38b (repeated here as ex. 39), the affirmative EXT marker is not an option in such constructions:

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

The affirmative counterpart of exx. 37 or 38 will be the construction presented as ex. 40 (already cited in Part I, §3.2.2, as ex. 38a).

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

Let us look now at affirmative EXT constructions with clitic referential markers. We have already seen two examples of the complex *jeʃno* is exx. 30 and 32 above. In contrast with negative forms, affirmative ones in bipartite constructions make a small minority of the data. They mostly occur in sentence-initial position (or following conjunctions or subordinators), as shown by ex. 41:

(41) ישנן עוד שיטות

    jeʃ=ˈnan   od   ʃiˈt-ot
    EXT=PLF.PRED more method-PL
    'There are other methods.'
    (Internet Tapuz forums @ *NMELRC*)

Such constructions do not seem to differ in any way from bare EXT markers, as shown by comparing ex. 41 to ex. 42. In both cases, the speaker suggests other methods for resolving problems discussed in the immediate context.

(42)   *jeʃ **od** draˈχ-im //*
    EXT more way-PL
    'There are other ways.'
    (P931_2_sp1_148)

Forwarding a similar observation, Tobin (1982) endeavors a sign-oriented approach to these constructions, suggesting that the inflected ones contain a focus element in them as follows:

                jeʃ+FOCUSSER+gender/number information

For Tobin, the element *n* is a focusing sign. By using the longer string,

> the speaker makes a greater investment in the forms of the language through the meaning FOCUSSER as well as number and gender information, in order specifically to draw attention to and help the addressee identify an entity whose existence or presence is deemed relevant. (Tobin 1982: 349)

I should remind my readers, that forms of √*hjj* with referential PMs have been found to indicate focus where a relatively accessible referent is (re)introduced as a discourse topic (Part I, §3.2.3). In these constructions, no other morph is added to the string. On the contrary: these constructions lack prosodic accent, which is a focus marker in the contrasting constructions, i.e, those with no referential PMs. Unfortunately, the data at hand, which are deficient in any case, do not contain prosodic information. Therefore, I will leave this issue for further research, when new data are available.

5 *jeʃ* and *en* as interjections and discourse markers

Both EXT markers, the affirmative and the negative ones, can function as interjections, as illustrated by exx. 43 and 44 respectively. Ex. 43 is taken from a conversation between family members about a school teacher, Roni, who is disliked by some students. The youngest boy cites a conversation he has heard at school.

(43) *piˈtom   hi ʦoˈeket /   **jeʃ** //   efˈʃar   lfaˈter et=ˈroni //*
    suddenly she shouting.FSG EXT   possible to.fire *et*=Roni
    'All of a sudden she shouts: "Yes! Roni can be fired!"'
    (C714_sp5_062-064)

In ex. 44, the speaker shares with his interlocutor his amazement from a lake in Mongolia he has visited.

(44) \<alveolar click\> ***en*** //   *ze madˈhim* //   *laˈkaχnu siˈra* /   *ˈʃatnu* /
                      NEG.EXT this amazing   we.took boat   we.sailed
                      'Oh no! This is amazing. We took a boat, sailed,'
    (OCh_sp1_441-444)

Interestingly, both affirmative *jeʃ* and negative *en* are used in similar functions, as expressions of positive feelings. As observed by Shor, both negators, *lo* {NEG} and *en* {NEG.EXT}, are used as "affirmative intensifiers, particularly in contexts of heightened emotion" (Shor 2020: 613).

Another interesting case is ex. 45, where the speaker tells his friend about his preference as regards girlfriends.

(45)   *ani lo hoˈleχ im=baχuˈrot ʃe* /   *en* //   *ze hasigˈnon ʃeˈli* ||
      I   NEG go.out with=girls   that   NEG.EXT this the.style mine
      'I do not go out with girls who ... (suspended) Oh no! This is my style.'
      (P423_2_sp1_141-143)

In this case, the function of *en* may be interpreted as either an affirmative or a negative intensifier, depending on whether it refers to the preceding sentence (negative) or to the following one (affirmative). Indeed, *en* can also be used as an interjection with an unambiguous negative meaning, as observed by Tobin some 30 years ago:

> [T]he use of these existential particles in Modern Hebrew ... may become most apparent from the following set of 'real-life' examples taken from my three sons watching a basketball game.
> When their team scored a basket they all simultaneously exclaimed: *yeš!*
> When the opposing team failed to score they all simultaneously exclaimed: *ein!*
> (Tobin 1991: 103-104, with some omissions)

Further research is needed into the issue of these uses of both *jeʃ* and *en* in Hebrew. I should only note at this juncture, that these uses, notably their functioning as interjections, lend further support to categorizing these two expressions as modal (Part I, §3.1.2 and above §2.3 for *jeʃ* and *en* respectively). While Wierzbicka (1992: 188) is more cautious about categorizing interjections with modality, Cuenca (2013) explicitly categorizes interjections among modal markers, drawing a cline between modal markers and discourse markers, where interjections will be found at the pole of the gradient along with modal markers. According to Cuenca, "modal markers ... include (at least) three word classes, namely, modal adverbs, interjections and modal particles" (Cuenca 2013: 192).

6   Conclusions

This study has endeavored 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 in this study, 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 (Part I, §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. Part I of the study has dealt with affirmative existential-presentative constructions, i.e., constructions that are used to introduce referents into the discourse, mostly new ones. These constructions were analyzed as unipartite sentences.

Part II of the study has been devoted to all other constructions that include existential markers. The first chapter (§2) has dealt with negative existential constructions. These constructions usually correspond in form to affirmative EXT constructions. It has been noted, though, that pivots in NEG.EXT construction tend to be not brand-new referents, but provide "some new information about the non-existence of a referent, contrary to what might have been expected or desired" (Shor 2020: 596). Furthermore, there are differences in the extent of prominence marking on the constituents between affirmative and negative constructions.

Aside from EXT-PRES constructions used to introduce referents into the discourse, the EXT constituent can come as a predicate in either unipartite clauses as their sole constituent, or bipartite sentences, accompanied by a subject. Affirmative EXT constructions have been dealt with in §3.1; negative ones have been dealt with in §3.2.

Both EXT markers, affirmative *jeʃ* and negative *en*, can host clitic referential markers (§4). Their use is quite scanty in colloquial Hebrew, however. Similarly to Tobin's (1982, 1991) analysis, I interpret the function of these forms as indication of focus.

Lastly, an illustration of the use of *jeʃ* and *en* as interjections and discourse markers has been given (§5).

Let me remind my readers, that this study has dealt only with EXT constructions, although not ignoring the close structural similarity between existential, locative and possessive constructions. Still, I have not elaborated on this resemblance in this article, neither have I discussed possession or location, apart from citing some data from either locative or possessive constructions where they seemed necessary for enabling a better analysis of EXT constructions. Similarities and differences between these three sentence types need further research within the framework proffered here.

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