

15.

Presentative datives in Modern Hebrew¹

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1. Introduction

The dative preposition *le-* is very common in Modern Hebrew (MH). From a semantic point of view, the contribution of the dative expression to the meaning of its clause seems to depend on the linguistic context. Studies such as Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010; Shibatani 1999, for

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example, therefore distinguish various kinds of dative constructions, and consider their semantics separately. This paper follows this approach, and focuses on MH constructions in which a dative PP is preceded by the presentative *hine* “here,” as in (1):

- (1) *hine* *la-xem* *ma'amar.*
 here *to-2.PL* *paper*
 ‘Here’s a paper for you.’

Constructions with similar components are found in other languages as well (Julia 2013; Russian: Grenoble & Riley 1996; Old French: Benedit 2006; Modern Italian: Cuzzolin 1998, De Cesare 2011, Zanuttini 2017; in Lithuanian: Petit 2011; Southern dialects of contemporary American English: Wood et al. 2020). It is therefore interesting to examine whether these presentative dative constructions are all similar in their semantics. This issue obviously touches on the fundamental question of compositionality: If the meaning is similar across languages, it seems reasonable to propose a compositional account for the construction, in which the meaning of the presentative particle interacts in some consistent manner with the meaning of the dative expression. Conversely, if no semantic similarity is observed, we must apparently assume that each construction is arbitrarily associated, as a unit, with a different meaning, and that the similarity between them exists only at level of the morphological components. Needless to say, it must first be determined to what extent there is a homogenous cross-linguistic category of presentatives (Petit 2010, 2011; Julia 2016, 2020; Porhiel 2012).

The discussion of the presentative dative construction is part of the broader issue of the typology of dative expressions. This topic is close to the heart of our dear colleague Léa Nash, who has made a substantial contribution to our understanding of the syntax of dative constructions (Boneh & Nash 2011b, 2012, 2017; Nash 2020). In the spirit of these studies, the present study will examine the relationship between presentative datives and other core and non-core datives.

This paper does not presume to answer all the questions mentioned so far, but only to outline the beginning of an answer. Focusing on the combination of *hine* + dative in MH, it will show that, even when considering a single language, there is more than one possible answer for some of the questions mentioned above. The next section (Section 2) will lay the groundwork by outlining the typology of MH dative constructions that will be adopted in the paper. Section 3 will describe the presentative constructions in MH. This will enable us to analyze the structure of the presentative dative construction(s)

in MH and to consider whether they constitute a separate category of dative construction or a sub-type of some other category. Sections 4-5 will compare the MH constructions to those in earlier stages of Hebrew, as well as to parallels in other languages, and proposes preliminary syntactic analyses to these construction, thus leading back to a discussion of the broader topics mentioned above. To be more specific, this paper focuses on the way the structures of sentences with presentative particles interact with the dative expressions that appear within them.

2. A typology of Hebrew datives

Linguists commonly make a broad distinction between two types of dative-marked NPs:

- **Core datives:** Dative-marked NPs that are arguments selected by the main predicate of the sentence, whose semantic role is recipient/goal, experiencer or agent (cf. Berman 1982).
- **Non-core datives:** Dative-marked NPs that are not selected by the main predicate of the sentence.

There is a vast literature on constructions containing non-core datives in various languages (e.g., Van Langendonck & W. Van Belle 1996; van Hoëcke 1996; Horn 2006; Lambert, 2010), including in MH, much of it dealing with how these datives should be classified (Berman 1982; Borer & Grodzinsky 1986; Landau 1999; Halevy 2004, 2007, 2013; Dattner 2014, 2019; Linzen 2014; Ariel et al. 2015). This paper follows Bar-Asher Siegal & Boneh's (2014, 2015, 2016) typology, which makes a basic distinction between two types of non-core datives: those that make a truth-conditional contribution to the meaning of the clause they are part of, and those that do not.

From this perspective, at least in MH, truth-conditional non-core datives all belong to the same category, that of the affected dative, which includes beneficiary/maleficiary and possessive datives (and under some classifications also ethical datives), exemplified in (2). Non-truth-conditional non-core datives are of two types: discursive datives, as in (3), and co-referential/reflexive datives, as in (4). The following are all attested examples:

(2)

- a. axarkax hu tas l-i le-šana
 afterwards 3.M.SG.NOM fly.PST.3.M.SG to-1.M.SG for-year
 la-mizrax, ve-hiš'ir ot-i xareda
 to.DEF-cast and-leave. PST.3.M.SG ACC-1.SG anxious
 ve-lexuca.
 and-stressed.F.SG
 'Then he flew to the Far East for a year on me, and left me anxious
 and stressed.'⁷
- b. mafti'a eyx af exad lo šavar la-hem
 surprising how no-one NEG break.PST.3.M.SG to-3.M.PL
 et ha-bayit.
 ACC DEF-house
 'It's surprising that no one has broken their house for them.'⁷

(3)

- a. eyze tas la-misxak' be-aškelon hu
 which fly. PST.3.M.SG to.DEF -game in-Ashkelon 3.M.SG.NOM
 lo holex pitom tas l-i
 NEG go.PRES.M.SG suddenly fly.PRES.M.SG to-1.M.SG
 le-švayc?!
 to-Switzerland?!
 'What do you mean fly to the (soccer) match? Even to Ashkelon he won't go, suddenly
 he's flying to Switzerland?! Unbelievable!'⁷
- b. ha-mišge ha-revi'i hu ha-xašiva
 DEF-mistake DEF-fourth 3.M.SG.NOM DEF-thinking
 še-misxar li-tvax kacar mesapek
 REL-commerce to.range short. M.SG provide. PRES.M.SG
 hizdamnu-yot lecharviav harbe maher u-vekalut ve-kan
 Opportunity.PL to.earn a lot quick and-easily and-here
 šovrim le-xa šloša xuk-im merkaziy-im šel
 break.PRES.M.SG to-2.M.SG three rule- PL central-M.PL of
 ha-xayim
 DEF-life
 'The fourth mistake is thinking that commerce in the short run provides an opportunity
 to make big profits quickly and easily, and here, contrary to your (=one's) expectations,
 three central rules of life are broken.'⁷

(4)

- a. lo mizman tasnu l-anu le-xaci šavu'a be-xul.
 NEG long.time.ago flew. PST.1.PL to-1.PL to-half week in-abroad
 'Not long ago we flew off for half a week abroad.'⁷
- b. nišbar l-o od kayic al
 break.PST.3.M.SG to- PST.3.M.SG another summer on
 ha-mirpeset.
 DEF-balcony
 'Another summer came to an end on the balcony.'⁷
 (#45 in Al-Zahre & Boneh 2010)

Affected datives impact the truth-conditions of the proposition by expressing that the event-participant denoted by the dative-marked NP is seen as affected by the circumstances described in the sentence, either materially or psychologically (Bar-Asher Siegal & Boneh 2014, 2016). In contrast, discursive datives and co-referential datives, which are always pronominal, lack this truth-conditional effect; their presence

or absence does not alter the truth conditions of the sentence at all. The discursive dative is restricted to first- and second-person pronouns, indicating the discourse participants, and thus cannot be a third-person pronoun or a full NP (cf. Borer & Grodzinsky 1986; Bar-Asher Siegal & Boneh 2014, 2015). It is felicitous in contexts where the proposition asserted constitutes an exception to a generalization that is available to these participants and is salient in the discourse (Bar-Asher Siegal & Boneh 2016). Finally, the co-referential dative, easily identifiable as a non-core dative because its inflectional features necessarily match those of the subject NP, is likewise non-truth conditional. An adequate formulation of its interpretative contribution has not been achieved (see Halevy 2004, 2007, 2013 and Al-Zahre & Boneh 2010 for recent attempts to account for its meaning in MH and Syrian Arabic, respectively), a fact we will return to in Section 4.

The difference between the affected dative and the discursive dative can be demonstrated by replacing the first-person singular pronoun in (3a) with a second-person singular pronoun or a first-person plural pronoun in the same context:

- (5) pit'om tas **li/lexa/lanu** le-švaic
 ... suddenly flew to.me/you/us to-Switzerland?! Unbelievable!

As stated, the referent of the discursive dative must be one of the discourse participants (i.e., either the speaker/s or hearer/s). However, this referent is not a participant in the event described by the root proposition *p* (the proposition without the dative, “he flies to Switzerland”). Consequently, changing its referent does not affect the truth conditions of the sentence. Conversely, in the case of affected datives, a change in the referent of the dative does alter the truth conditions, as expected in the case of referential expressions:

- (6) hu tas li/#lexa/#lanu le-šana la-mizrax (ve-hiš'ir oti xareda)
 ‘He flew to the Far East for a year, affecting me/you/us (and left me anxious).’

In (2a/6), the individual left anxious is said to be the speaker, not the addressee or any other individual; hence, changing the referent of the dative alters the truth conditions of the proposition. In other words, since the dative pronoun denotes a participant affected by the event described by the root proposition *p* (“He flew to the Far East for a year”), changing its referent unsurprisingly has a truth-conditional effect.

Given the distinction between core and the non-core dative constructions, and the internal divisions among the non-core datives,

it is only natural to ask how the presentative dative in (1) should be classified. Does it belong to one of the abovementioned categories, and if so, which one? Before addressing these questions, let me say a few words about the syntactic distribution of the presentative constructions in MH in general.

3. Presentative constructions

Presentative constructions include a presentative particle, whose function is mainly to direct attention to an element in the immediate speech situation, either in the physical surroundings or in the discourse. One of the most common presentative particles in MH is *hine*, an inheritance from Biblical Hebrew (Stern 2021). Syntactically, as in Biblical Hebrew (Blau 1977; Zewi 1996),² *hine* is always in sentence-initial position, and is followed either by a full sentence, in which case it serves as a kind of interjection, or by an NP, in which case it conveys a locative meaning, “here is.” Table 1 illustrates these two constructions.

| | |
|--|--|
| Proposition construction <i>hine</i> + <i>p</i> ‘here you go, <i>p</i> ’ | NP Construction <i>hine</i> + NP ‘here’s NP’ |
|--|--|

Table 1. Presentative constructions in MH

In the proposition construction, then, the particle *hine* introduces a complete sentence, which can be referred to as the “root proposition.” In (7) the root proposition is *hu ba* “he comes:”

- (7) *hine* *hu* *ba*.
 here 3.M.SG.NOM come.PRES.M.SG
 ‘Here he comes.’

In the NP construction, *hine* precedes a full NP (8a) or a pronoun (8b):

- (8) a. *hine sefer*.
 here book
 ‘Here’s a book.’
 b. *hine hu*.
 here 3.M.SG.NOM
 ‘Here it/he is.’

This categorization is merely descriptive, and it raises the following interrelated questions:

2. For a review of the literature on this particle in Biblical Hebrew see Zewi (1996). See also van der Merwe (2007) and Mille-Nsaudé & van der Merwe (2011).

- What is the structural relationship between the two constructions? Is their underlying structure the same, or do they have different syntactic structures?
- With respect to each of the constructions, what is the syntactic and the semantic role of the presentative particle?

It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a detailed account to answer these questions, I only aim to answer them to the extent that it matters for their appearance with personal datives. A clarification, however is required: naturally, in the proposition construction, the root proposition may contain the various types of datives (reviewed in Section 2), including an affected dative or a discursive one, as in examples (9) and (10), whose root propositions are identical to parts of (2a) and (3a), respectively.

- (9) hine hu tas li le-šana la-mizrax.
 'Here, he flew to the Far East for a year, affecting me.'
 (10) hine hu tas li le-švaic.
 'Here, (he) flies to-Switzerland?! That's weird!'²

However, the sentences in (9) and in (10) are not examples of the “presentative dative construction” that concerns us in this paper. The latter construction involves a dative that immediately follows the presentative particle. As a matter of fact, MH has two types of presentative datives, which, I will show, differ in both their syntax and their semantics. I call them the possessive presentative dative (PPD) and coreferential presentative dative (CPD):

Possessive presentative dative (PPD):

- (11) hine le-xa misrat ha-xalom-ot.
 here's to-2.M.SG job.of DEF-dream-PL
 'Here is your dream job.'³

In the PPD construction, the dative preposition can be followed by a full NP, a pronoun in any person and number, or a name:

- (12) a. hine le-bibi tšuva nicaxat.
 here to-Bibi answer unequivocal
 'Here is a unequivocal answer for Bibi.'⁴
 b. hine le-xa hizdamnut.
 here to-2.M.SG opportunity
 'Here is an opportunity for you.'⁵

3. The same tests exhibited in (5)-(6) are applicable here as well, thus indicating that these are the same types of datives as in the above examples.

These examples indicate the availability of a certain referent of the NP at the disposal of the entity denoted by the dative expression. In (12b), for example, the speaker indicates to its addressee that she has an opportunity (that she should not miss).

Coreferential presentative dative (CPD):

- (13) *hine* *l-o_i* *micmuc_i šel* *ayin,* *ve-hi* *kvar* *en-ena.*
here’s to-3.M.SG blink of eye, and-3.F.SG already NEG.exist
‘Here, in a blink of an eye, she’s gone.’⁷

In the CPD construction the dative preposition is followed by a pronoun that agrees with the subsequent NP. Here are some further attested examples:

- (14) a. *hine* *la-hem_i* 12 *prak-im_i* *še-xalfu* *be-mehirut*
 here to-3.M.PL 12 episode- PL REL-pass.3.PL in-speed.of
 ha-bazak.
 DEF-flash
 ‘Here are 12 episodes that passed in a flash.’⁷
 b. *hine* *l-o_i* *post_i...*
 here to-him post
 ‘Here’s a post...’⁷

Sentences in the CPD construction put the entity denoted by the NP at the heart of the discussion, as the topic of the discourse.

Looking at the examples in (11)-(14), we may ask, first of all, which category of presentative construction each of them belongs to. Are they examples of the proposition construction (in Table 1), in which *hine* is followed by a full sentence, or examples of the NP construction, in which the material following *hine* does not constitute a full sentence. On the face of it, even before providing a theoretical account for the various presentative constructions, the two constructions should be easy to distinguish by removing *hine* and checking whether we are left with a viable sentence (as shown in Table 2, using the examples from (7-8)):

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ✓ <i>hine</i> + <i>p</i> | <i>hine hu ba</i> ‘Here he comes.’ |
| ☒ <i>hine</i> NP | * <i>hine sefer</i> ‘Here he is/’ |

Table 2. Diagnostic test for identifying the type of presentative construction

Applying this test to the examples of the constructions with datives, we see that in the case of the CPDs, removal of *hine* results in ungrammaticality (15), whereas in the case of the PPDs, the result is marginally acceptable (16):

- (15) **hine* *l-o_i* *micmuc_i šel* *ayin,* *ve-hi* *kvar* *en-ena.*
 here’s to-3.M.SG blink of eye, and-3.F.SG already NEG.exist-3.F.SG

- (16) ?hine le-xa misrat ha-xalom-ot.
 here's to-2.M.SG job.of DEF-dream-PL

Thus, according to this test, while CPD clearly belongs to the category of NP-construction presentatives, the case of the PPD is less clear. We will return to this issue below.

Having introduced the PPD and CPD from the perspective of presentative constructions, let us examine them from the perspective of the typology of MH datives, reviewed in Section 2, and examine whether the Presentative Datives constitute an independent category of dative construction.

First, let us consider whether the datives in these constructions contribute to the semantics of the sentence. The PPD and CPD seem to differ in this regard. In the case of the CPD, omission of the dative expression does not seem to affect the meaning of the sentence, as illustrated by (17). Obviously, since in this construction the dative expression must necessarily agree with the subject, the test of changing its person or number is inapplicable.

- (17) hine (l-o) micmuc, šel ayin, ve-hi kvar en-ena.
 here's (to-3.M.SG) blink of eye, and-3.F.SG already NEG.exist-3.F.SG

In the case of the PPD, changing the referent of the dative expression does affect the truth-conditions:

- (18) hine lexa/#lo/#lanu uga.
 here to-you/to-him/to-us cake
 'Here is a cake for you.'

Another question is whether the PPD and CPD constructions belong in any of the categories of dative exemplified in (2)-(4). I would like to argue that they do: each belongs to a different category we are already familiar with. In addition, they also differ in terms of the presentative constructions they are part of. Table 3 presents the characterization I propose for the PPD and CPD:

| | Type of presentative construction | Type of dative construction |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| PPD | Proposition construction | Core dative |
| | | Predicative possessive construction |
| CPD | NP construction | Non-core dative |
| | | Co-referential/reflexive dative |

Table 3. The differences between the presentative dative constructions

Table 3 provides the basic analysis for the presentative dative constructions we encountered according to the two typologies introduced earlier: the one of the datives and the other of the presentative constructions. We turn now to support these schematic claims and by this to provide preliminary analyses for these constructions. As part of this discussions we will also discuss whether there can be other presentative dative constructions, for example NP construction with a core dative, or proposition construction with a non-core dative.

4. The PPD construction

I propose that the presentative particle *hine* introduces an existential Predicative Possessive Construction in which the dative marks the possessor (see, Stassen 2009; Bar-Asher 2009; Bar-Asher Siegal 2011 for typologies of predicative possessive constructions in general and in Semitics in particular):

- (19) *hine* *le-xa* *misrat* *ha-xalom-ot*.
 here's to-2.M.SG job.of DEF-dream-PL
 'Here is your dream job.'

The first fact in support of this analysis is that, while the PPD construction is typical of high-register texts (19), it alternates in MH with a similar but more colloquial Predicative Possessive C construction, exemplified in (20a-c), which includes an overt existential particle either before or after the dative.⁴ Both constructions include a presentative element and a dative NP as external possessor, and differ only in whether an overt existential particle is present:

- (20) a. *hine* *yeš* *le-xa* *et* *misrat* *ha-xalom-ot*.⁴
 here's exist to-2.M.SG ACC job.of DEF-dream-PL
 'Here is your dream job.'
- b. *hine* *le-xa* *yeš* *misrat* *xalom-ot*.
 here's to-2.M.SG exist job.of dream- PL
 'Here is your dream job.'
- c. *hine* *le-bibi* *yeš* *etgar*.
 here to-Bibi exist challenge
 'Here is a challenge for Bibi.'⁷

As noted earlier, the PPD allows all pronouns as well as full NPs, as expected in a possessive dative construction (as demonstrated in 20c):

4. Out of contexts it seems that the constructions, with and without the existential particle *yeš*, differ in the type of speech act they convey. Accordingly, sentences with *yeš* (20, 22, 20') affirm what has been stated/presented earlier while those without (19, 21) offer something new. However, examining occurrences of these constructions in the media

- (21) *hine* *le-dani* *misrat* *ha-xalom-ot*.
 here's to-Danny job.of DEF-dream-PL
 'Here is Danny's dream job.'

This analysis also accounts for the fact that the PPD can appear with negation (unlike the English presentative dative); moreover, the negator is *en*, which the default negator in MH predicative possessive constructions.⁵

- (22) *hine* *en* *le-xa* *pitaron*.
 here NEG.exist to-2.M.SG solution
 'Here, there is no solution (for you).'⁷

Assuming that the syntactic role of *hine* in (19) and in (20a-c) is similar, both are cases of the proposition construction in Table 1. When an overt existential particle is present, this is easy to see, since the omission of the presentative leaves a grammatical sentence, while also leaving the meaning largely unchanged.

- (20') (*hine*) *yeš* *le-xa* *misrat* *xalom-ot*.
 (here's)exist to-2.M.SG job.of DEF-dream-PL

As for the dative in this possessive construction, according to most analyses it represents a case of *have*-drift (see Ziv 1976, among others). In this process, the coding characteristics of the possessor and the possessee in non-transitive possessive predications (in Hebrew the construction in question is an existential + dative construction; see Bar-Asher Siegal 2011) change to match those of the agent and patient in transitive predication. Thus, the dative marks a selected argument denoting the possessor, and accordingly can be regarded as a core-dative. It is beyond the scope of the current paper to provide a complete synchronic and diachronic account for this construction. Regardless of the specific analysis, the dative marking of the possessor seems to be part of the main predication of possession.

reveals that they interchange in exactly the same contexts. For example, consider the the following variants:

- (i) *hine* (*yeš*) *le-xa* *xomer* *le-maxšava*.
 here exist to-2.m.sg material for-thought
 'Here's something you can think about.'⁷

The two variants, with and without the existential particle, appear often as a concluding remark to a proposal made by the speaker, and thus exhibiting the same speech act.

5. Similarly to the standard Predicative Possessive Construction in MH, despite the existential particle, there is no Definiteness Effect with this construction. I wish to thank Nora Boneh for raising this issue.

If this analysis is in the right direction, we must still explain why the omission of *hine* from PPDs, which lack an overt existential particle, yields sentences that are only marginally acceptable, as shown in (16):

- (16) ??*hine* le-xa misrat ha-xalom-ot.
 here's to-2.M.SG job.of DEF-dream-PL

This seems to be the result of the historical development of Hebrew. In Classical Hebrew, the existential particle in the predicative possessive construction was optional, as shown by the two Biblical Hebrew examples in (23):

- (23) a. yēš lā-nū 'āb zāqēn.
 exist to-1.PL father old
 'We have an old father.' (Gen 44:20)
 b. wē=lō štē nāšīm ...
 and=to-3.M.SG two wives
 'He has two wives...' (1 Sam 1:2)

The PPD construction seems to be based on the variant in (23b). All layers of Hebrew have PPDs consisting of a root proposition similar to (23b), preceded by *hine*, or else by the presentative particle *hare*, which replaced *hine* in Rabbinic Hebrew (see Stren 2021). An example from the Bible is presented in (24a), while (24b) is an example from Rabbinic Hebrew:

- (24) a. wa-ttabo 'ābigayil 'el nābal
 and-come.PST.3.F.SG Abigayil to Nabal
 wē-hinnē=l-ō mište bē-bet-ō.
 and-here=to-3.M.SG banquet in-house-3.M.SG
 'When Abigail went to Nabal, he was in the house holding a banquet.'
 (1 Sam 25: 36)
 b. hare l-kā maptēh-ōte-kā šē-mmāsartā
 here to=2.M.SG key- PL.OF-2.M.SG REL- deliver.PST.2.M.SG
 bē-yād-ī.
 in-hand-1.SG
 'Here are the keys you gave me.' (Abot d-reabbi Nathan 4, Fol 1)

Equivalents with an explicit existential particle are also attested in various stages of Hebrew; the example in (25) is from the 12th century:

- (25) wē-hinnē yeš l-ō celem...
 and-here exist to-3.M.SG image
 'Here, he has an image...' (Ibn Ezra, Genesis Chapter 1, Spain 12th century).

However, while the PPD construction of Classical Hebrew was inherited by MH, the use of the predicative possessive construction with no overt existential particle (23b) is very restricted in MH. It is confined to certain environments in the written language.⁶ This explains why

6. I wish to thank Hagit Migron for raising this issue.

sentences like (16) are only marginally grammatical: they are familiar to MH speakers, but are not freely available for use. Accordingly, MH sometimes inherited “constructions” from classical Hebrew not in a systematic way. Thus, a presentative appears with a construction that is not in regular use in MH. In the context of the presentative it appears in a frozen formula, used mostly in high register.

Alternatively it might be explained, at the synchronic level. In the MH predicative possessive construction, the existential particle appears only when no other grammatical component precedes the dative expression. Thus, when the clause includes the negator *en*, or the verb *be* marked for past (*haya*) or future (*ihive*), the existential particle is absent:

- | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------------|--------------|--------|
| (26) | a. | en | l-i | sefer. |
| | | NEG.exist | to-1.SG | book |
| | | ‘I don’t have a book.’ | | |
| | b. | haya | l-i | sefer. |
| | | be.PST.3.M.SG | to-1.SG book | |
| | | ‘I had a book.’ | | |

In light of this, we might suggest that the particle *hine* in the PPD construction can occupy the same position as the negator and the tense marker, thus rendering the existential particle optional. A complete analysis of existential sentences and of the predicative possessive construction in MH is beyond the scope of this paper. I will only note that, according to most syntactic analyses of these constructions, the existential particle is not the predicate but an optional expletive particle (see e.g., Francez 2007, 2009; and also Boneh 2003). Furthermore, as noted MH went through a process of *have*-drift. In such a development that dative pronominal expressions were reinterpreted as agreement features, and therefore they require a grammatical host. The existential particles is the default one, but also the existential negator (26a) and the Hebrew equivalent verb of “to be” (26b). Accordingly, it is possible that in the PPD, the presentative particle can also be such a host.

Due to space limitation, I will only note that it is very likely that the presentative particle in this construction is kind of an interjection that originate in the left periphery of the clause. Interestingly, as noted by Hill & Stavrou (2004: 164-167) similar expressions host clitics in Romanian, when there is no other grammatical expressions to host them.

5. The CPD construction

5.1. CPD as a presentative- and as a non-core dative construction

In light of our discussions so far, in analyzing the CPD constructions one should answer the following questions:

- a. What is the syntactic structure of the CPD-construction?
- b. What is the nature of the dative expression when added to this construction?

Following our discussion in Section 4, it seems plausible to assume that CPD is based on the basic NP-presentative construction. Therefore, in what follows I propose that the CPD is an ordinary NP-presentative construction with a coreferential dative which is essentially just an optional expression of agreement. According to this analysis, the dative clitics agree with the NP of this construction, and the presentative (*hine*) is the host of the agreement expression.

As for the dative, I take it as the default hypothesis that there is only one type of co-referential dative and, accordingly, that the CPD construction does not constitute a separate type of dative. This means that I will argue that the dative expressions in both sentences in (27) operate similarly:

- (27) a. *hine* *l-o_i* *micmuc_i* *šel ayin,* *ve-hi* *kvar* *en-ena.*
 here's to-3.M.SG blink of eye, and-3.F.SG already NEG.exist
 'Here, in a blink of an eye, she's gone.'
- b. *ha-ayin_i* *micmeca* *l-a_i*
 DEF-eye blink.PST.3.F.SG to-3.F.SG
 'The eye blinked.'

The main challenge to this proposal is that, in MH, co-referential datives are always cliticized to verbs, never to other particles or to nouns. To deal with this challenge, I propose a certain analysis of NP-construction presentatives, coupled with a particular approach to the co-referential dative.

5.2 Referential datives as expressions of syntactic agreement

Addressing the co-referential dative in Syrian Arabic, Al-Zahre & Boneh (2016) argue that the co-referential clitics are not referential, but are the morphological reflex of checked uninterpretable phi-features. In other words, they are optional expressions of syntactic agreement.

Applied to co-referential datives in MH, this analysis relies on the fact that these datives contribute nothing to the meaning of their sentences. Previous studies (see references above) proposed that they add various measures of emphasis. It can be demonstrated, however, that the various semantic effects attributed to this dative are already provided by the context, and that a similar connotation is conveyed without them. For example, Halevy (2013), among others, argues for multiple functions of the reflexive datives in MH. Among the various

functions of these datives, she mentions that these expressions are used when the agent is acting autonomically:

- (28) ani mevakeš lešotet (l-i) levad.
 I ask.PRS.M.SG wander.INF to-1.SG alone
 ‘I want to wander alone’ (example #25 in Halevy).

The autonomy of the agent, however, is clear from the context itself (“alone”), and is expressed with or without the dative expression.

With this information we turn in the next section to examine the structure of the NP-presentative construction with the dative, and to explore whether the reflexive dative are agreement markers can be implemented in such an analysis. Since, generally speaking, MH NP-presentative constructions exhibit various similarities to the Italian presentative construction with the presentative particle *ecco*, we will aim to apply Zanuttini’s (2017) analysis for this construction to Hebrew as well. I will first summarize her analysis by applying her observations to the Hebrew construction, but will also note some differences between the Italian and Hebrew constructions.

5.3 The structure of the NP-presentative construction

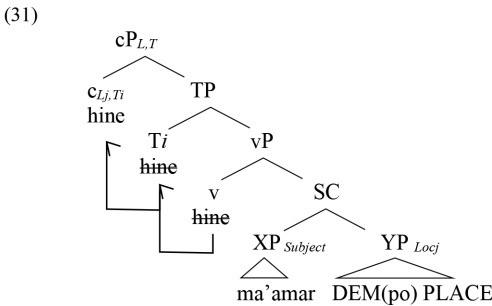
The NP-construction presentatives convey a “here and now” meaning. That is, they indicate that the referent of the NP is present at the time and place of utterance. Since this meaning is associated with the particle *hine*, it may seem natural to assume that *hine* functions in this construction as a locative/temporal predicate. Interestingly, this approach seems to be at odds with the etymology of this particle in Hebrew, for, according to most accounts, *hine* – unlike its English equivalent *here*—does not originate in a locative expression (see Zewi 1996 for various theories about the etymology of *hine*, and Petit 2010 for a cross-linguistic survey of the etymology of presentative particles). Moreover, *hine* differs from other locative elements in its syntactic distribution, most notably in that it cannot appear after the subject, as shown in (29a) vs (29b):

- (29) a. ha-yeled ba-kita.
 DEF-child in.DEF-class
 ‘The child is in the classroom.’
 b. hine ha-yeled/ * ha-yeled hine
 here DEF-child
 ‘Here’s the child.’

Nor can this particle be modified by expressions like *bidyug* “exactly” that modify locative adverbs, as shown in (30a) vs. (30b):

- (30) a. hu bidyuk kan.
 3.M.SG.NOM right here
 ‘He’s right here.’
 b. *bidyuk hine hu
 right here 3.M.SG.NOM

Following Zanuttini’s (2017) analysis for the Italian presentative *ecco*, it is possible to propose that, in MH, the contribution of *hine* to the locative and temporal meaning is achieved through two null elements that are c-commanded by this particle: a null T, and a locative constituent headed by a null noun with locative meaning (*L*).



According to this analysis, the structure of the presentative (31) includes the functional head T. Evidence for the presence of a phonetically null T is in fact provided by our presentative dative, based on Al-Zahre & Boneh’s (2016) analysis, which regards these datives as a representation of agreement. But in this regard, there is a difference between Hebrew and Italian. While, according to data presented in Zanuttini (2017), the Italian presentative particle can co-occur with a dative clitic marked for any person, in MH there must be an overt subject and the dative clitic must agree with it.

According to Zanuttini (2017), in Italian the T is always null, and is similar to an indexical element like “now,” since its interpretation is restricted to the time of utterance. She captures this indexicality by viewing the null T as dependent for its tense-value on a feature in the left-periphery that expresses the time at which the utterance is spoken (*cT*).

Like the Italian data, the Hebrew data also gives rise to certain observations that suggest the presence of a null locative element. First, the presentative *hine* can cooccur with an overt locative expression like *po* “here”:

- (32) hine po ha-link le-ha’azana.
 here here DEF-link to-listening
 ‘Here is the link for listening.’⁷⁷

This is also true of the presentative dative construction:

- (33) hinc l-o po set trans šeli
 here to-3.M.SG here set trans POSS.1.M.SG
 še-huklat lifne šana be-midburn.
 REL.record.PST.PASS.3.M.SG before year at-Midburn.
 ‘Here is my trance set that was recorded a year ago at Midburn.’⁷

Following Zanuttini’s (2017) analysis of the presentative construction, it is possible to consider the CPD as a regular co-referential dative, and following Al-Zahre & Boneh (2016), this dative expression can be regarded as a reflex of checked uninterpretable phi-features. Earlier I observed that the “ordinary” Hebrew co-referential dative appears after verbs. However, according to Zanuttini these datives can appear also as clitics of the presentative particle, given the analysis that this particle c-commands a null T.

In this analysis the NP in this construction, is the subject a small clause, and a complete syntactic analysis will account for how it raises to a position that allow the agreement with the dative expression.

Regardless of whether we adopt Zanuttini’s analysis for Hebrew, the importance of her analysis is that it allows other particles to be the host of the datival expressions, and that we encounter similar phenomena in other languages as well (see also, Hill & Stavrou 2004: 164-167), mentioned earlier, for a similar agreement feature with presentatives in other languages).

It is interesting to note that the CPD does not appear in historical Hebrew sources, and that not all speakers of MH even recognize it as a valid construction. Perhaps it was introduced into the language by speakers whose native languages have a similar construction. Alternatively, assuming the analysis above, which treats it as a coreferential dative, the construction may have arisen naturally by adding this dative to an NP-construction presentative – a construction that was widely used throughout the history of Hebrew.

6. Conclusions

This paper dealt with two presentative dative constructions in MH, characterizing them from two angles: as dative constructions and as presentative constructions. It was shown that this dual perspective allows to account for both the syntactic and the semantic differences between them.

As noted in the introduction, similar presentative dative constructions are attested cross-linguistically. It will therefore be

interesting to compare the MH constructions to their equivalents in other languages, and examine whether the similarities and/or differences stem from similarities and differences in the use of datives, or in the structure of presentative constructions. Hebrew, at least, demonstrates some compositionality in the way the various types of datives interact with the structures of the presentative constructions.

Table 3 illustrated the available combination in MH. To what extent these are the only available construction? Following our analysis, when a predicative possessive construction interacts with presentative, it is reasonable that it is an interjection that joins the proposition after its formation, and as such it originates in the left periphery, thus we cannot expect such a construction just with an NP, since the dative pronoun is part of the root proposition itself. As for the combination of the reflexive dative with the presentative, as noted in the footnote, at least in Hebrew it may interact also with proposition.⁷ In Hebrew, at least from the data we encountered so far, presentatives do not host other datives, such as the discursive dative or the affected dative. In Italian, following the data presented by Zautunni, they seem to be the host of other non-core datives. Interestingly, in English they appear only in dialects that have other non-core datives (Wood et al. 2020), this fact indicates some correlation between the two phenomena.

A future cross-linguistic typology should explore the range of the available combinatorial associations between the types of presentative constructions and dative expressions, and thus such a comparison will advance our understanding of the syntactic and semantic nature of both types of linguistic elements, and to the way they compositionally interact.

7. It must be noted that in rare cases we encounter in Hebrew, cases in which the CPD appear with a clause:

| | | | | |
|-----|------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| (i) | hine | l-a _i | šana _i | matxil-a _i |
| | here | to-3.F.SG | year(F.SG) | being.PRS-F.SG |

'Here's another year begins.'⁷

Similarly to Zanuttini's analysis for Italian, one could say that the subject of the small clause can be a clause as well. In such examples we see two agreements of the subject ('year' in this example): one with the dative clitics and one with the verb, as is the case wti other reflexive datives. In light of this, the division, that we started with, between proposition- and an NP-presentative constructions can be rejected even at the descriptive level. A future detailed study of this constructions will have to provide a detailed analysis for such the agreement in such sentences.

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