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Third Person Human Reference in Israeli Hebrew Conversation

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE "DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY"

By

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List of Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
DEF	definite article
DEM	demonstrative
CST	construct state
EXT	existential
F	feminine
IMP	imperative
M	masculine
NEG	negator
NPRD	non-predicational
PL	plural
PRD	predicational
SG	singular

List of Transcription Notation

|	minor boundary
||	major boundary
/	major boundary with “appeal” tone
--	fragmentary (truncated)
-	truncated word
(0.5)	pause (measures in seconds)
<non-verbal>	non-verbal sounds

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Abstract

The present research investigates the process of referential choice in Conversational Spontaneous Israeli Hebrew, focusing on third person (non-locutor) reference to human referents. Referential choice relates to decisions language users make about which particular referential expression to use in order to appropriately code referents. The thesis sets out to meet three principal objectives: (1) characterize the reduced referential system of Israeli Hebrew from a typological perspective; (2) demonstrate the several ways how reference is established; and (3) describe how it is maintained.

This study addresses a number of linguistic phenomena often overlooked in existing research. First, the choice to focus on Israeli Hebrew – a Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic Phylum – provides an opportunity to examine the process of referential choice in a language with considerably different grammatical characteristics from those languages usually analyzed in reference studies, notably of the Indo-European family. Moreover, the explicit focusing on conversational language allows a review of the interactional and affective aspects of referential choice, in contrast to the identificational aspect on which most approaches to studying reference rely. Finally, the topic of reference establishment and maintenance in Israeli Hebrew is largely understudied, and this dissertation is, in part, an attempt to fill this gap.

The core premise of the research is that spoken language must be analyzed according to its own properties, removed from any preconceptions about the structure of language based on its written forms (Izre'el 2012, 2018a, 2018b). To this end, linguistic description and analysis should preferably be corpus-driven, and dependent solely on data as conceived by listeners rather than as generated by the speaker. Accordingly, the study is based on analysis of some 5 hours of recordings from 33 separate conversations chosen from the Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH). Another premise is that language is intimately related to discourse, and will therefore express only what is required within the discursive context, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic. A central hypothesis of this dissertation is therefore that referents are not an integral part of the linguistic structure but may or may not be represented in the discourse at any time.

The main finding is the classification of the reduced referential system of Israeli Hebrew as a mixed system employing four main types of reduced referential devices – unexpressed

reference, bound person-number-gender (=PNG) marker, unbound PNG-marker, and a combination of an unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker. These four alternatives are used in different grammatical domains where they either become primary or secondary options. Thus, the reduced referential system of Israeli Hebrew can be classified as "sensitive" (Kibrik 2011: 160–161) depending on three main categories – syntactic position, person, and predicate type.

A major theoretical-terminological implication of this discussion pertains to the terms "zero", "agreement", and "copula". Third person subject reference in the verbal clause is often described as involving a zero marking or agreement. It is shown here that considering third person verbs as "zero marked" is a misconception ascribable to several factors, and that the "agreement" interpretation of verbal bound markers is unwarranted, as argued in a recent criticism of the notion of "agreement" (Kibrik 2019). In addition, "tenacious" (Kibrik 2011: 95–96) person markers in Israeli Hebrew are often accorded the status of a copula in Israeli Hebrew linguistics. It is demonstrated that the copular interpretation of tenacious third person markers is flawed, and consequently, an argument that the copular analysis of tenacious person markers should be abandoned in favor of the "double marking" analysis is raised, according to which tenacious person markers constitute a second representation of the subject referent within a single sentence.

A second significant contribution the dissertation makes to existing literature is a demonstration and analysis of the establishment of reference – a detailed discussion of how this is done from the first mention of a referent, and tracing any subsequent mentions which further establish the referent's identity. Here it is found that the introductory mention of human referents in Israeli Hebrew conversation is performed mainly by lexical NPs, but may also be achieved by means of a person marker; the latter is typical when the referent is already assumed to be part of the personal or communal common ground of the interlocutors. Establishment of reference, however, is not always a one-step process, and it may potentially be extended through several additional contributions made by any of the interlocutors. Such an expanded process of reference establishment is shown to involve three types of repair – correction, calibration, and reinitiation. These findings suggest that establishment of reference in conversational Israeli Hebrew, and potentially in other languages as well, is not necessarily as straightforward as current prominent theories of reference seem to suggest, and that a more

flexible conceptualization is in order so that our models of reference be more attuned to the dynamic nature of spoken language.

The third objective of the dissertation is to describe how, once established, non-locutor reference to human referents is maintained. Two main findings are presented here in this regard. First, reference may be maintained not only by reduced referential devices, but also by full referential devices such as lexical NPs. In addition to their functions of reactivating a referent or securing a referent's recognition, reference-maintaining lexical NPs signal layers of meaning in addition to the purely referential one, when, to all purposes, a more attenuated form would suffice. Two such meanings include conveying a divergent stance in relation to the prior speaker's stance, and signaling the beginning of a new discourse unit involving the same referent.

Second, when reference is maintained by reduced referential devices, it employs four types of reduced referential devices – unexpressed reference, bound PNG-marker, unbound PNG-marker, and a combination of an unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker. These four represent, in turn, three alternations in three domains: (1) non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause – the combination of an unbound person marker and a bound person marker vs. bound person marker; (2) non-locutor subject expression in the adjectival-participial clause – unbound person marker (+NG-marker) vs. unexpressed reference (+NG-marker); and (3) non-locutor subject expression in other clauses, as well as non-subject expression – unbound person marker vs. unexpressed reference. While the first option in each alternation is regarded as the primary, more frequent one, conveying only informational meaning, the second option in each alternation is regarded as secondary, less frequent, often signaling more than purely referential meaning. These, findings here suggest, could either be to increase the vividness of a narrated event, enhance the emotive stance in relation to some state or event under discussion, or indicate that the clause is an elaboration of a prior clause.

1 Preliminaries

1.1 Introduction

When we speak or write, we constantly mention various entities, or referents. Though referents appearing in speech or writing often are concrete, physical entities, this obviously is not always the case. We are perfectly able to refer to disembodied entities, or about entities that exist only in people's minds or imagination. Referents are therefore best defined as mental representations of entities, events, or discourse segments, created, stored and retrieved in the minds of individuals participating in the exchange. When speakers decide to mention a referent, they must decide which particular referential expression to use in order to appropriately code that referent, a decision that involves referential choice (Rijkhoff 2002: 27; Kibrik 2011: 5; Kibrik et al 2016: 1). The present research deals with the process of referential choice in speech, as it occurs in Conversational Spontaneous Israeli Hebrew (henceforth: CSIH). More specifically, it sets out to meet three principal objectives: (1) to characterize the reduced referential system of Israeli Hebrew from a typological perspective; (2) to describe how reference is established, focusing on the introductory mention, i.e., the very first mention of the referent in question, and on its subsequent establishment, i.e., any additional mentions that serve to more thoroughly establish the referent's identity; and (3) to describe how reference is maintained, focusing on every mention of that referent after its identity has been established.

Despite a surge in publications and research on the establishment and maintaining of reference since the 1970s, this topic has remained largely understudied in Israeli Hebrew (henceforth: IH). The distribution of particular referential devices in IH was explored in several studies, but there have been virtually no studies that provided a systematic description of the referential system of IH – neither in written nor in spoken discourse. This dissertation is, in part, an attempt to fill this gap, an effort to contribute to ongoing scholarly debates by presenting the first systematic description of referential choice in CSIH. In the broader context, this research could potentially provide a basis from which to attain a better understanding of referential processes in languages other than IH.

As a Semitic language of the Afro-Asiatic Phylum, IH displays considerably different grammatical features from those of the languages usually analyzed in reference studies, most frequently Indo-European languages. One such grammatical feature involves the difference

between three groups of parts of speech – verbs, adjectives/participles, and forms other than those. Verbs constitute a predicational compound of two overt components: a lexical stem and a person-number-gender affix. Each verb indicates predication between these two primary components, thus making each verbal form essentially a bipartite sentence, consisting of both a subject and a predicate. Adjectives/participles, by contrast, constitute an attributive compound of two overt components: a lexical stem and a number-gender affix. Each adjective/participle indicates attribution between these two primary components, and thus each adjective/participle is an attributive phrase, consisting of a head and a modifying attribute (Goldenberg 1998a: 6–8). Forms other than verbs and adjectives/participles contain no incorporated markers. Consequently, when discussing reduced subject reference in IH, we cannot speak of a single most attenuated referential device, since it depends on the predicate type – a person-number-gender marker in verbal clauses, unexpressed reference combined with number-gender marker in adjectival/participial clauses, and unexpressed reference otherwise. This is in contrast to English, where unexpressed reference is considered to be the most attenuated option for reference in subject position. Such different characteristics of IH make it particularly interesting for study from a cross linguistic perspective.

Another potential contribution of this research pertains to the particular language variety investigated in this dissertation, namely the language of everyday conversation. It is widely accepted that "spoken language varieties, notably the language of everyday conversation, are the most frequently used among all linguistic systems" (Izre'el 2018a: 236). Yet, linguistic theorizing and research has tended to disregard, explicitly or implicitly, everyday conversation, giving precedence to written language. This "written language bias" (Linell 2005: 30), or "scriptism" (Taylor 1997: 52), is manifest not only in the relative neglect of research on spoken language, but also in applying models and methods primarily designed to standardize and explore written language to the research of spoken language. The study of reference is no exception to this tendency. Most of the approaches to reference, albeit highly influential, were mainly developed and tested on written discourse, or spoken narratives, which by and large resemble written narratives in their structure. In fact, it appears that focusing on mainly monologic registers – whose prominent dimension is informational, as opposed to interactional and affective – has led to the overemphasis of the informational, or identificational, function of referring expressions. From such a perspective, the selection of a referential expression should presumably allow the addressee to identify the intended referent in the most efficient

manner possible. As a result, “inefficient” referential phenomena related to the interactional dimension of spontaneous conversation – such as repair of reference, over- and under-specified reference – have been neglected (see also: Pekarek Doehler 2001: 304). It is for this reason that this study examines everyday conversation.

1.2 Overview of the dissertation

The dissertation is organized as follows. Chapter 2 reviews and discusses existing theoretical approaches to referential choice, identifying three broad approaches: monologue-oriented (§2.1), and dialogue-oriented (§2.2). Chapter 3 contains a linguistic background of IH, focused on the history of the language (§3.1), on relevant grammatical features (§3.2), and on reference-related research (§3.3). Chapter 4 states the premises that serve as a guide for this research, and provides information about the corpus and the notation used in this dissertation.

Chapter 5 tackles the first goal of this dissertation – characterizing the reduced referential system of IH from a typological perspective. To this end, an overview and a critical discussion of the main referential devices used in IH is presented in §5.1, leading to a characterization of the reduced referential system of IH from a typological perspective, appearing in §5.2. The characterization is supplemented further in §5.3, where the possibility of person markers to appear in a sentence that contains a coreferential NP is discussed, paving the way for a critical discussion of the notion “copula”.

Having discussed the reduced referential system of IH as a whole in the first parts of the chapter, Chapter 6 narrows down the scope of the discussion to third person human reference, to the exclusion of first and second person markers and demonstrative markers. Such a delineation is motivated in §6.1, followed by §6.2, which presents the quantitative distribution of the referential devices used for third person human reference, according to three positions in the realization of any particular referent: (1) introductory mention, i.e., the first mention of a referent; (2) subsequent establishment, i.e., any additional mentions that establish the referent’s identity; (3) maintenance of reference, i.e., every mention of the referent after its identity has been established. These data serve as the basis for the subsequent qualitative analyses presented in Chapters 7–9.

Chapters 7–8 are devoted to the second objective of the dissertation – to provide a qualitative description of how reference is established. Chapter 7 represents the first step in the effort,

focusing on the introductory mention. It describes the introductory mention of human referents, distinguishing between introductory mentions done with full referential devices (§7.1), and those with reduced referential devices (§7.2). Chapter 8 then delves into subsequent establishment: the addition of any mention that further establishes the referent's identity in cases where the introductory mention is inadequate. Additional mentions are discussed according to the their respective functions – correction, in which the first referential device is judged as being objectively inadequate to perform the actual referential act (§8.1); calibration, in which the first referential device is judged as being too general, or not sufficiently precise, to perform the actual referential act, and consequently, the second referential device adjusts the precision of the first one (§8.2); and reinitiation, in which the original utterance that contains the referential expression is reformulated in order to address some problems manifest in it (§8.3).

Chapter 9 addresses the third and final aim of the dissertation by describing how reference is maintained, through the method of focusing on every mention of a referent after its identity has been established. The lion share of the discussion in this chapter is devoted to reference maintenance via reduced referential devices, distinguishing between three domains – non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause (§9.1); subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause (§9.2); and subject expression in other clauses, as well as to the non-subject expression in all clause types (§9.3). The final part of the chapter discusses reference maintenance via full referential devices (§9.4).

Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation. A summary of the main findings and their implications appears in §10.1, while directions for future research are outlined in §10.2.

2 Theoretical approaches to referential choice

This chapter discusses and presents existing approaches to referential choice. These approaches can be regarded as "cognitive", since they seem to agree that referential choice in discourse is better regarded as pertaining to the mental representations of the discourse participants, and not directly to the text itself. Within this general cognitive orientation, it is possible to further distinguish between two main approaches: monologue-oriented (§2.1) and dialogue-oriented (§2.2).

2.1 Monologue-oriented approaches

Monologue-oriented approaches are largely based on monologues, intuitive examples, and elicited data. They tend to focus on the referent's status within the cognitive system, and on its role as the primary factor affecting referential choice. The correlation between the two could be formulated as follows: the more active the referent is in the speaker's and addressee's minds, the more economically it is coded. One of the first to indicate such correlation was Wallace Chafe. Summarizing his own work on the subject since the late 1970s, Chafe (1994: 72–81) writes that the choice of a referring expression is affected primarily by the activation status of the referent – whether new, accessible or given – which represents the change of the referent's activation status in the listener's consciousness. Thus, a 'new' referent is a referent activated after it had been inactive, in such cases where it is introduced into the discourse for the first time, for instance. An 'accessible' referent is a referent activated after it had been semiactive; for instance, a referent which was active at an earlier time in the discourse, or a referent associated with an active idea or with the non-linguistic environment (ibid.: 86). A 'given' referent is a referent activated after it had already been active, for instance recently mentioned referents or those present in the non-linguistic environment, such as interlocutors and salient people or objects brought into focal consciousness (ibid.: 79). Both new and accessible referents are usually expressed with accented, full noun phrases, whereas given referents are typically expressed in a more attenuated way, such as a weakly accented pronoun or with no overt expression.

From the perspective of referential coherence/continuity, Givón (1983, 2001: Ch. 9, 2005: Ch. 5, 2017: Ch. 1) ranks the various referent-coding devices in terms of their degree of referential continuity, distinguishing between three clusters of devices: highest-, intermediary- and

lowest- continuity devices. To the highest-continuity devices belong zero anaphora, unstressed pronouns and pronominal agreement, all of which signal the continued activation of the current topical referent. Stressed independent pronouns are viewed as an intermediary-continuity device, since they typically signal switch reference. The lowest-continuity devices include full NPs, used either to introduce brand new referents into the discourse, or to re-introduce old referents after prolonged absence (Givón 2001, vol 1: 463–464; 2005: 136–137; 2017: 6–12). The degree of continuity manifested in each of these three clusters has been shown to correlate with the distance between the referent's current textual location and its last previous occurrence in the text, ranging approximately from 1 clause for highest-continuity devices, 2-3 clauses for intermediary-continuity devices to over 3 clauses for lowest-continuity devices (Givón 2017: 12).

Several scholars such as Ariel (1990, 2001) and Kibrik (1996, 2000, 2011) highlighted the complexity of the process of referential choice and the multiple effects external factors could possibly have on it. Ariel's Accessibility Theory, for instance, contends that the selection of a referring expression depends on the accessibility status that the mental representation of the referent is assumed to have for the addressee at the current stage of the discourse (Ariel 1990: 69). The degree of accessibility depends on the variations of two broad factors: (1) the salience of the entity, ostensibly affected by its topical status and the competition over the role of the antecedent; and (2) the unity between the antecedent and the anaphor, created by both the linear distance between them and paragraph/episodic boundaries (Ariel 2001: 32–34). All of these factors can override in any single instance of reference. For example, discourse topics can maintain a relatively high degree of accessibility despite the considerable distance and, as a result, can be pronominally referred to even when they were last mentioned in a previous paragraph, or, in some cases, even without any explicit previous mention (Ariel 2001: 34–35). That being said, Ariel acknowledges that accessibility considerations cannot by themselves account for the complexities of referential choice and interpretation. Selecting a referring expression among equally potential expressions, for example, is explained by relevance-based considerations, as inference guides the addressee's effort to identify the appropriate referent among equally accessible referents (Ariel 2001: 38). Other apparent counter-examples include using higher-than-expected accessibility markers to create vivid images of past experiences, or to signal greater closeness to, and empathy with, particular referents. On the other hand, a

lower-than-expected accessibility marker may be utilized when the speaker wishes to focus on some specific aspect of the referent (Ariel 1990: 199–203).

Perhaps the most elaborate model for explaining referential choice has been offered by Kibrik (1996, 2000, 2011). Kibrik's model is designed to quantify the referent's activation status at any given moment in the discourse and to thus predict the actual referential choice, bringing into account the multifactorial character of referential choice. Within this model, statistically significant activation factors are ascribed weighted values, allowing the values of all factors to be identified at any given moment by summing up corresponding weights and producing referents' activation score. If an activation score is above a certain threshold, a reduced referential device suffices. If not, a full NP is used. The primary activation factors include various measurements of distance to the nearest antecedent, syntactic and semantic roles of the antecedent, protagonisthood, and animacy (Kibrik 2011: 403–411). Linear distance measures the linear distance spanning between the referential device to its antecedent, whereas rhetorical distance measures from each current unit back to the rhetorically closest unit containing an antecedent. According to Kibrik (2011: 412), rhetorical distance is the most powerful source of activation. As opposed to the measurements of linear distance and rhetorical distance, which reflect the local structure of discourse, paragraph distance takes into account the global discourse structure, making a case for the significance of episode/paragraph boundary in analyzing referential choices.

Efimova (2006) implemented Kibrik's proposed framework on a corpus of Japanese narratives, comparing the Japanese referential processes with those of Russian. An central part of her work was the comparison between written and spoken discourse. One of her most noteworthy conclusions was that referential choice in spoken discourse is somewhat looser than in written discourse: a referential "zero", for example, can be used in spoken discourse under a relatively small degree of activation, whereas full NPs can be used under a relatively high degree of activation (ibid.: 178–182). Kibrik and Prozorova (2007) have compared the referential processes of Russian Sign Language (RSL) with those of spoken Russian. In contrast to spoken Russian, anaphoric reference in RSL is performed by two major devices: *zero* NPs and bare, full NPs. The choice between these devices is directed by activation factors similar to those used in spoken language, of which the two major ones are the referential distance to the antecedent and the syntactic role of the antecedent. Although "zero" anaphors were found to be strongly associated with the highest level of activation, they can also be used under a

significant distance to the antecedent, in which case, various semantic and pragmatic cues help the addressee identify the intended referent such (ibid.: § 7). Kibrik et al. (2016) explore the issue of predictability of referential choice and its limits, using the corpus analysis and machine learning methods as well as experimentation with human participants. The authors raise a significant point for discussion, one rarely made explicit, namely that referential choice is inherently not fully categorical. There are certain conditions in which more than one referential option is appropriate, the researchers found, and thus different speakers may act differently on different occasions. This leads to the conclusion that ideal prediction of referential choice by an algorithm is, in principle, impossible.

It seems that the approaches presented so far share the assumptions that the primary communicative goal underlying the use of linguistic expressions is that of exchanging information, and thus that the act of referring is an action subservient to an identifying strategy. Consequently, the speaker should select referential expressions so as to allow the addressee to identify their referents by signaling the referents' degree of activation within the ongoing discourse. The various cognitive models differ mainly in the identification of the parameters affecting the degree of activation of referents at a given time in discourse (Giacalone Ramat & Andorno 2006: 451). Also, the referent is treated as a more or less constant entity, which does not change from one referring instance to the other. The immediate context in which the referential device is embedded is seldom seen as a possible factor of the referential device.

These assumptions, however, appear to have several shortcomings. First, the notion of referential devices as primarily identifying faces particular difficulty in analyzing cases of vague reference where speakers use underspecified referential expressions. As a result, vague reference is treated as a deviation from the norm. So do instances where there is a loose relation between the referents of the pronominal referential device and its antecedent, ranging from pronouns that are not fully co-referential with the textual antecedent to pronouns with no explicit textual antecedent in the preceding text. Such cases seem to undermine the (largely implicit) assumptions that a referent should normally be introduced before it can be pronominalized, and, when it does, that it stays more or less constant through subsequent mentions. These cases are usually motivated by various non-activation factors which are commonly regarded as exceptions to the general rule rather than as a principle onto itself and worthy of independent scrutiny, and consequently are scarcely, if at all, discussed.

The inadequacy of these assumptions is demonstrated by Yule (1982: 316) with the following sentence[1]:

(2.1) The onion is cut into small pieces and **it** is fried slowly in the fat.

According to the perceived view, the referent of *it* in the second conjunct seems to be the same one as the referent of *the onion* in the first conjunct. However, on a closer inspection, the nature of the object referred to by *it* in the second conjunct is more accurately described as "the onion, cut into small pieces", as opposed to the "whole uncut onion" which is the referent of *the onion* in the first conjunct. Thus, the interpretation of certain pronouns might also be affected by the predication of which the antecedent is also a part ("predicate-determined"), rather than exclusively by their textual antecedents ("antecedent-determined"). The inadequacy of the latter approach is further demonstrated in cases where full interpretation of pronouns is only possible after processing the entire utterance in which the pronoun appears (ibid.: 317). All of these caveats led Yule to question the widespread tendency of treating reference assignment as the key task in utterance interpretation, dependent on pronouns always having identifying referential assignments. Occasionally hearers do not attempt to resolve pronominal reference, interpreting the speaker's message in terms of information predicated of some individual or group instead, whose referential identity is not a cardinal issue (ibid.: 318–319). Such an approach, Yule suggests, may help explain frequent types of pronominal uses in conversations where there is no appropriate antecedent in prior contexts. In fact, it seems that in many cases the speaker is mainly concerned with communicating a general message, or making a point regarding some situation, rather than making sure that the hearer identifies the referents of pronouns embedded in the utterance correctly. Consequently, interpretation of pronouns relies on at least one of the following elements: an antecedent nominal expression, an antecedent predicate expression, the "roles" of antecedent nominal expressions and the predicates attached to the pronoun (Brown & Yule 1983: 221).

[1] Yule uses this example to object to the widely held view regarding anaphora resolution, according to which pronouns receive their interpretation based on a *substitution* or *referring back* relationship between the anaphor and its textual/linguistic/explicit antecedent nominal (e.g. Halliday & Hasan (1976)). Today, the notion that pronouns' interpretation is fundamentally dependent on the accessibility of the referent's mental representation, and not exclusively on textual representations, is widely accepted. It seems, however, that Yule's objection is extendable to existing views according to which a specific referent's mental representation stays constant from one reference instance to another.

A more unified framework that reflects some of the suggestions made by Yule (1982) and Brown & Yule (1983) is a discourse-functional approach developed in Cornish (1999, 2009, 2010, 2014). Within this framework, developed mainly through using French and English written texts, anaphora and deixis are viewed as complementary discourse-referential procedures exploited by the speakers to "construct, modify and access the contents of mentally-represented models of an unfolding discourse" (2010: 218). Whereas deixis serves to orientate the addressee's attention towards a new discourse entity, or to a new aspect of an already-existing discourse referent, anaphora – the occurrence of an anaphor with the clause in which it occurs – signals the addressee to continue the focus of attention assumed to be established at the point of use (2010: 218; 2014: 7). By substituting the traditional term "textual antecedent" with "antecedent trigger," Cornish highlights a novel approach to two core features of reference. First, antecedent triggers may appear as precepts, utterance tokens or semiotically relevant non-verbal signals, rather than as linguistic elements. Second, Cornish argued that the function of the antecedent trigger was only to introduce a particular referent into the discourse, allowing subsequent anaphors to refer to an associated or related referent. Cornish stressed the proactive role of the anaphoric predication as a whole: what is predicated of the referent of the anaphor acts as a pointer towards a referent of a certain type while, at the same time, it filters out otherwise possible candidates for that same anaphor. An additional factor affecting anaphor resolution is the coherence between the discourse unit containing the anaphor and the discourse unit containing the antecedent trigger. The resolution of anaphors, Cornish suggests, occurs in two main phases depending on the establishment of coherence relations between relevant discourse units. In the first phase, the anaphors are given temporary assignments according to the coherence relation initially anticipated with the relevant discourse unit. In the second phase, after eventually confirming the anticipated coherence relation, the anaphors receive a full interpretation (2009: 589–590). The interpretation of an anaphor, then, is shaped by the interaction of several factors: the *antecedent trigger* which introduces a referent to the discourse, the *predications* applied to that referent up to the point of its retrieval, the *anaphor* together with its host predication as a whole and the nature of the coherence relation invoked in order to integrate the two discourse units at issue (2010: 228–230; 2014: 5–6).

Several scholars operating within the framework of Relevance Theory attempted to demonstrate how relevance-oriented considerations are no less crucial than activation considerations, some making the point that the former effectively renders the latter redundant.

Matsui (1998: 48) explicitly states that "while the accessibility factors involved in reference assignment have been studied with much enthusiasm, the question of what pragmatic criteria are used to evaluate the resulting interpretation seems not yet to have been addressed." Matsui investigates the factors affecting the accessibility of bridging reference and offers explanations within the framework of Relevance Theory. She suggests that when hearers choose an intended referent from a range of candidate referents, they tend to opt for the one which they believe coheres with an overall interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance (ibid.: 82). This strategy is exemplified by example such as the following:

(2.2) I moved from Brixton to St. John's Wood. **The rent** was less expensive.

Once a hearer assumes that "people who move from one place to another have some reason to do so" and that "they move willingly so that they can have preferable conditions", the second sentence can be interpreted as providing a reason as to why the speaker moved, hence interpreting *the rent* as *the rent in St. John's Wood*. In my view, this example crucially underscores that a given utterance is best understood as standing in some relation – a reason in this case – to the previous context, and referential choice and interpretation allow one to take that into consideration. Perhaps even more importantly, the hearer may create expectations as for the content of the upcoming utterance, and, thus, expect that a certain referent would be mentioned (ibid.: 85).

Focusing on pronouns, Hedley (2005) has suggested that when a speaker uses a pronoun, he signals that there is a contextually salient entity to which the speaker might be expected to refer, as well as that entity is highly relevant in that particular context. Reboul (1998, 1999), too, develops a relevance-oriented approach to reference resolution, proposed as an alternative model to Ariel's Accessibility Theory. Reboul outlines what she considers to be the two central limitations of Accessibility Theory: first, it does not try to account for reference assignment in general, instead only dealing with co-reference, and second, it does not take into consideration the fact that reference involves more than just linguistic processes or accessibility considerations (1998: §1).[2] According to Reboul, reference is not primarily a linguistic relation, but rather a pragmatic phenomenon, one involving visual and spatial perception, linguistic interpretation, encyclopaedic knowledge, and proprioception. In this approach, mental

[2] For a detailed account of objection raised against Accessibility Theory see Reboul (1997).

representations (MRs) are inherently flexible entities since they can be subject to various cognitive operations. These include creating a new MR, modifying an existing MR, grouping several MRs into one, duplicating an existing MR, creating a new MR, and extracting several MRs out of a single MR (1998: §2, 1999: §3). These operations are carried out in the course of reference resolution relying on the concept of relevance and are triggered by linguistic, perceptual or inferential means. For example, the interpretation of a specific referential expression might involve identification of a relevant MR with its corresponding object being the referent, or, alternately, it can involve the extraction of a new MR out of a relevant existing MR. Thus, MRs are not fixed but rather are re-constructed through the interpretation of each new referential expression. Reboul's account of reference resolution resonates with Cornish's since in both approaches the identification of the intended mental representation is a gradual process which only begins with the identification of an antecedent trigger. Objects contained in the antecedent trigger's mental representation may change their properties as a result of events predicated of them yet may still be subsequently referred to by a reduced referential device (1998: §5). This property is aptly demonstrated by Reboul (1999: §9) in the following example, borrowed from Brown & Yule (1983: 202):

(2.3) Take a plump, lively chicken. Kill **it**, prepare **it** for the oven, cut **it** into four pieces and roast **it** in the oven with thyme for an hour.

The first clause triggers the creation of a new MR. The specific information in that new MR is modified with each newly described event. Despite the changes that the object undergoes as the instructions proceed, the MR still remains the same. What possibly could summarize Reboul's view on referential processes is her rejection of accessibility as an explanatory (and hence primary) concept, in favour of relevance and semantic content, of which accessibility is derivative as an emergent property (Reboul 1997: 20–21).

Scott (2000), too, developed a relevance-based account of referring expressions. Arguing that it is impossible to generalize on the pragmatic appropriateness of a referring expression based on Ariel's notion of Accessibility alone, Scott contended that referential choice should be examined in relativity to the discourse context in which it is used. She exemplifies this point by comparing the use of a first name as opposed to a last name in order to refer to a person. Ariel's (2001: 31) accessibility scale ranks first names higher than last names, and last names higher than full names. Thus, if a full name is not used to refer to some person in a magazine headline, one would expect that the last name would be favoured to a first name. However,

Scott judges headline (2.4) to be less acceptable than headline (2.5), since in the given discourse context, there are two candidate referents with the last name *Minogue*:

(2.4) **Minogue** has new boyfriend.

(2.5) **Kylie** has new boyfriend.

In an alternative discursive context, where there are two or more girls with the first name Kylie, the referential choice would be reversed, making headline (2.4) more appropriate. Thus, referential choice is driven not only by the form of the referring expression itself but is also contingent upon the specificities of the particular expression in which it appears, which vary considerably depending on the discursive context in which it is used[3] (ibid.: 105–108). This is why referring expressions are seen as encoding information that restricts the set of potential referents to a point where, if all goes well, the intended referent is the most accessible, yielding a relevant interpretation in the expected way (ibid.: 246). In other words, there seems to be no need to assume that referring expressions encode overt instructions relating to the activation level of the intended referent – a hearer following the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure will always test potential referents in order of accessibility. He will only accept the first interpretation as the intended one if it leads to an interpretation on which the utterance is relevant enough in the particular discourse context (Scott 2015: 4).

Dahl and Hellman (1995), despite their not directly operating within the umbrella of Relevance Theory, also argued against the conventional view of anaphoric processing. The conventional view on the subject contends that co-reference between the antecedent and the anaphor is standard, implying that the interpretation of the antecedent is "there", waiting to be "picked up".[4] Instead, Dahl and Hellman suggest that the antecedent should be understood as forming the basis for operations, reminiscent of Reboul's operations, which creates a new discourse

[3] This suggestion is consistent with Kronrod & Engel's (2001) results in a study of referring expressions in newspaper headlines. They found that space constraints and the wish to arouse the reader's curiosity prompts more vague and brief expressions, resulting in high accessibility markers. Their main conclusion is that accessibility considerations are not the only factor involved in referential choice.

[4] An example of such an approach is the following definition of anaphora as "a phenomenon in which one expression – typically a pronoun – is interpreted as coreferential with another expression, which in turn provides the referent. Without this coreference, it would be impossible to determine the referent of the anaphoric expression" (Birner 2012: 130).

referent. One such operation is summation, in which a new discourse referent is forged out of the sum of preceding ones. The summated referents can belong to different orders[5] – first-order entities, i.e. discrete objects and individuals (example 2.6) and second-order entities, i.e. states and events (example 2.7):

(2.6) John asked Mary if **they** shouldn't have dinner together.

(2.7) If a white person drives this car it is a "classic". If I, a Mexican-American, drive it, it is a "low-rider". **That** hurts my pride.

As Dahl and Hellman note, while the summation in example 2.6 arguably involves a logical conjunction, the summation in example 2.7 is sensitive to the rhetorical structure – in this case, of contrast – of the antecedent. Another possible operation is abstraction, whereby an argument with a specific reference in the antecedent is given a generic interpretation in the anaphor:

(2.8) Smith beats his dog although **this** was forbidden fifty years ago.

All of these lead Dahl and Hellman to suggest that the referent may not be just "sitting" there, "waiting" to be referred to, but has to be created by some operation, instead. From this perspective, co-reference should not be treated as the fundamental relation underlying anaphora in general, but perhaps, as the most trivial subcase – as the result of applying the identity operation on the antecedent's extension. The authors consider an alternative in such approach, or, at least, a complement to attempts at describing referential choice in terms of an accessibility scale based on differences in memory location.

2.2 Dialogue-oriented approaches

Most of the studies discussed in §2.1, though being highly influential in the field of reference, did not usually focus on spontaneous conversation, and were instead mostly based on monologic discourse, be it written or elicited spoken narratives. Such narratives are usually not very different from written narratives and are thus mostly monologic – they exhibit a more or less well-organized structure and are dependent mainly on the speaker's cognitive process, since they are produced primarily by a single participant, with minimal contributions from others (Norrick 2000: 10–11). While the prominent dimension of such discourse is its semantic-

[5] For discussion of the referent order of entities see Cornish (1999: 47–51).

conceptual structure, including informational structure and semantic properties of referents, the interactional and affective dimensions in such discourse are marginal. Focusing on referential choices in monologic discourse has led, I believe, to the overemphasis on the cognitive factors on referential choice, while giving only limited attention to social, interactional and affective factors (Pekarek Doehler 2001: 304). Thus, it can be said that the linguistic study of reference is, for the most part, "written-language biased" (cf. Linell 2005).

In this section, I will discuss dialogue-oriented approaches primarily based on conversational data. In §2.2.1 general principles of reference in conversation will be presented, followed by summary of studies that examine referential uses that go against activation-based considerations. These uses include instances of the so-called "underspecified" reference (§2.2.2) and "overspecified" reference (§2.2.3).

2.2.1 General approaches

Studies based on conversational data promoted the understanding that referential processes are highly dependent on the local context of the referential act. These studies had shown that referring is an interactional achievement reliant on the active participation of the interlocutors and cannot therefore be reliably studied with a purely quantitative approach.

Emphasizing the collaborative and interactive nature of any referential act, several scholars argued against viewing the referential act as an act performed solely by the speaker, and that consists of simply planning and uttering a referring expression (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Smith & Jucker 1998; Clark & Bangerter 2004). Instead, any referring event could be construed as a sequence of components, each of which are negotiated – implicitly or explicitly – between the interlocutors. When reference assignment is unproblematic, the negotiation aspect is implicit: the speaker chooses a referring expression and the addressee acknowledges it, whether explicitly or implicitly. The negotiation becomes explicit when, anticipating a potential problem, the speaker checks for understanding or provides an accessible context in order to make the intended referent more accessible, for example, by means of explicit questions, tag questions, pauses, syntactic breaks and so on. The addressee, too, may actively participate in establishing reference by asking for a clarification, or by participating in the verbalization of the referential expression. Such a dialectical, ever-evolving conceptualization helps explain

why often in conversation, the speakers do not refer with a single, "ideal", noun phrase, but often construct the referent in instalments, expanding and replacing the expression on-line.

One of the first to engage in systematic exploration of reference in conversation was Fox (1987), who rejected the traditional correlation between referential choice and the distance to the last former mention of the relevant referent. Instead, Fox suggested that the relevant unit of analysis was the sequence – minimally an adjacency pair, such as question-answer, offer-acceptance, and announcement-assessment, which may further be elaborated by another pair which can be "tied" to the first by different relations (ibid.:22–28). She outlined the following structural pattern (ibid. :18–19): (1) The first mention of a referent in a sequence is done with a full NP; (2) After the first mention of a referent, a pronoun is used to display an understanding of the sequence as not yet closed; (3) A full NP is used to display an understanding of the preceding sequence containing other mentions of the same referent as closed. In addition to that basic pattern, various non-structural factors have been shown to override that pattern, resulting in using full NPs within a sequence, rather than in its boundaries (ibid: §3.6).

Some scholars working on conversation attempted to describe the process of referential choice as a compromise borne out of an attempt to satisfy several overarching constraints, or general conversational principles. The distribution of referential expressions in conversation has been linked to the interaction of more general conversational principles. Geluykens (1994: 15–16), for example, suggested that anaphora in English conversation be viewed as reflective of an incessant tension between two opposing pragmatic principles: the "Clarity principle" ("say as much as you must to avoid ambiguity," i.e., use a full NP whenever you have to), and the "Economy principle" ("say as little as you can get away with (given C)," i.e., use a PRO-form whenever you can). In evoking this set of principles, Geluykens argues against a purely quantitative approach to reference, evident, for example, in the measuring of referential distance. Attempting to explain a particular referential choice based solely on the amount of intervening material between two mentions of a referent is presumably ineffective since the nature of the intervening material may also be significant (Geluykens 1992: 16; 1994: 33).[6]

A similar set of principles was proposed by Huang (2000: 207–208, 318–319). Building on data from Chinese conversation, Huang proposed that the driving force behind anaphoric

[6] This was also acknowledged by several activation-oriented approaches, such Ariel's (1990, 2001) notion of unity, and Kibrik's (2011) notion of rhetorical distance.

distribution is the interaction between three pragmatic principles: Q-principle ("Do not say less than is required" or "Say as much as you need to achieve recognition"), I-principle ("Do not say more than is required" or "Say as little as you can to achieve minimization), and M-principle ("Do not use a prolix, obscure, or marked expression without reason").[7] Huang contends that these principles have more explanatory power than activation-based models because they account for instances in which full NPs are used for activated referents, as well as pronominal encoding used for inactivated referents. Under normal conditions, where these principles are concurrently met, a basic anaphoric pattern emerges: (1) Establishment of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an elaborated form, notably, a lexical NP; (2) Shift of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an elaborated form, notably, a lexical NP; and (3) Maintenance of reference tends to be achieved through the use of an attenuated form, notably, a pronoun or a zero anaphor.

Within the conversation-analytic tradition, Sacks and Schegloff (1979, 2007) outline how two general conversational preferences in English conversation – a preference for minimization, on the one hand, and for recipient design, on the other – are relevant and applicable in the domain of person reference. In the domain of person reference, the former preference leads to the following principle: "On occasions when reference is to be done, it should preferredly be done with a single reference form"; whereas the latter preference leads to the following principle: "If they are possible, prefer recognitionals". In English conversation, first names are the prototypical recognitionals, since they satisfy both preferences concurrently being a minimized reference form.

It is important to keep in mind that all of the aforementioned scholars acknowledge the possibility of incompatibility between their respective sets of principles. This may happen, for example, when a speaker anticipates that a particular referential form might be inadequate for the task of securing the referent's recognition. In such a case, the speaker may use a try-marker, meaning he would utter the referential form with an upward intonational contour, followed by a brief pause, in which he is attentive to any acknowledgement on behalf of the recipient. In other cases, the incompatibility between two principles may be detected by the recipient only in retrospection, in which case, the recipient may initiate a repair of the problematic referential

[7] For an extensive discussion of these principles, see Levinson (2000: §1.4).

device (Geluykens 1994; Huang 2000: 321–326; Jucker & Smith 2004: 156–163: Sacks and Schegloff 2007: 26–27).

Although the aforementioned approaches have deepened our understanding of reference in conversation, one may still point out some common shortcomings and oversights. First, most of these studies are based on English conversation; a fact which gives rise to concerns that the principles of these approaches would not be extendable to languages other than English. Second, the principles seem to focus on the informational domain of communication, primarily on issues of the referent's identification, consequently overlooking other possible motivations which might equally influence the choice of a referring expression. These thorny issues are addressed by Enfield (2012: 443), who proposes a system of five constraints he presents as more cross-linguistically valid.[8] This system observes the following imperatives: (1) Design the expression for the recipient (achieve recognition, invoke or display relationship proximity/type); (2) Minimize the expressive means (use a single referring expression, use a name rather than description, use only one name from a binomial if possible); (3) Fit the expressive format to the action being performed; (4) Observe local cultural/institutional constraints; and (5) Associate the referent explicitly with one of the speech participants. These principles depart from the previous ones mainly in the last three constraints. Number 3 relates to the observation that while the use of one referring expression over another is not entirely accounted for in terms of the achievement of recognition, it may occasionally be concerned with fitting the precise referring expression to the type of pragmatic action that the speaker is performing otherwise (e.g., Stivers 2007). Number 4 concerns the local, cultural constraints that often relate to matters of kinship, and to sensitivities of social life; number 5 relates to a general tendency observed in several speech communities to associate the referent as closely as possible to the current conversation participants by means of kinship relations (e.g., Brown 2007, Hanks 2007).

The approaches presented in this section attempted to provide general frameworks for the analysis of referential processes in conversation, highlighting that referential processes are crucially involved in the social-interactional organization of conversation and are irreducible to the transmission of informational content. This point is further elaborated on in the next two

[8] This system is largely based on a proposal made by Levinson (2007: 30–31).

sections, where I will present studies on “underspecified” reference (§2.2.2) and “overspecified” reference (§2.2.3).

2.2.2 “Underspecified” reference

Conversational studies that examined the distribution of reduced referential devices, such as pronouns or “zero” forms, demonstrated that traditional approaches to reference sometimes insufficiently account for certain uses. One such use involves the employment of reduced referential devices when, according to activation considerations, a fuller device would be expected. These phenomena are usually treated as deviations from the idealized notions of “normal” reference and present some difficulty to most of the prevalent approaches. One such phenomenon is the so-called “return pop” or “long distance pronominal anaphora” – when a minimal referential device is used over long distances, tying the pronoun or the “zero” anaphor to a referent other than the linearly most recent one in the preceding discourse (Huang 2000: 307). Despite its typological ubiquity, this phenomenon is scarcely attested in current theories of discourse anaphora, mainly since it does not seem to occur in any significant amount in monological discourse, which is the main type of discourse studied in the literature (Pekarek Doehler 2000a, 2000b).

One of the first to document return pops in conversation was Fox (1987: 27–30), who demonstrated that pronouns can be used to return to an on-going concern after some stretch of talk in which the discussion was about something else. Using a pronoun in such context helps produce a feeling of “continuing” something that has been, and still is, going on. Fox suggests that speakers construct their utterances to display how they should be integrated into an existing structure, the unmarked option being integration within the immediately preceding context. Integration within non-adjacent context may be achieved by using linguistic devices that signal the specific point in a preceding discourse to which the utterance is to be tied, such as lexical repetition, grammatical role continuity, and semantic plausibility. Thus, pronouns may be used even in contexts of potential ambiguity, as long as the speaker can assume that the reference will be unambiguous (ibid.: 50–51, 57). By the same token, as a challenge to Givón’s topic continuity principle, Tao (1996) presents cases of return pops in spoken Mandarin Chinese, summarizing them in the following manner: “when a referent is mentioned continuously, and when there is no other NP referent that may be mistaken as the same referent, then the information about this referent is easy to retrieve from the short-term memory; thus, less overt

linguistic coding is needed for this referent" (ibid.: 490). Although the choice of a "zero" anaphora Chinese has been frequently attributed to that principle, Tao claims that in certain environments, a "zero" may function as a return pop signaling the return of a current discussion to a non-adjacent referent, thus indicating discontinuity, rather than continuity. The topic-continuity principle neglected the strength of inference in language processing, and, as a result, it does not offer full explanations for the whole range of anaphoric choices in discourse. In explaining these choices, Tao explains how Mandarin Chinese speakers process discourse information, by focusing on cues associated with the "zero" anaphors. These cues may include prior discourse context, specific semantic requirements of the verbs associated with the referents, the precise nature of the referents presented by "zero" anaphora, repetition of words associated with the referents, and language users' general knowledge of the world (ibid.: 505–507). Equally important is Tao's view of the interpretive process as an emergent reference, according to which the referent coded by a "zero" anaphor is constructed – and thus emerges – in the local context with the help of local discourse cues, or, in other words, as the combination of the referent and its environment. This view leads to the conclusion that what is stored in our memory cannot be only the referent as itself, but, rather, the referent alongside whatever discourse environment associated with it (ibid.: 509). Tao's view on reference interpretation fits nicely within some of the approaches described in §2.1, such as those proposed by Cornish (1999, 2009, 2010, 2014) and Reboul (1998, 1999). Taken together, these approaches maintain that the referent of a pronoun does not exist a-priori, awaiting for the addressee to pick it up, but, rather, must be actively created by modifying a pre-existing mental representation, thus employing all of the information associated with the referent since its previous mention, including the content of the referential segment itself.

Pekarek Doehler (2000b, 2001) uses data from French conversational language in order to show that long distance pronominal anaphora is often enabled because it is easily reactivated thanks to the participants' orientation towards the coherence of the activities in which the content of discourse is embedded. In classroom interactions where students are invited to produce responses to the teacher's questions, for instance, the teacher's questions may embed a particular referent as a central referent, preserving it as an object readily available, but not necessarily activated (Pekarek Doehler 2001: 309). Institutional interactions are organized into several interlocking sequences, each of which is both thematically related to its predecessor, and functionally linked to the overarching activity (Pekarek Doehler 2000b: 193–194). In other

words, minimal referential expressions can be seen not as presuppositions of activation, but rather as precursors of the addressee's willingness and ability to activate the referent (Pekarek Doehler 2001: 309–310). Such findings call for a different notion of accessibility – not so much as an inner cognitive state triggered by discourse or the situational context, but an interactionally-constructed phenomenon – implicating that issues related to topic or reference in discourse cannot be analyzed independently of sequential structure, activity type and participation structure in discourse (Pekarek Doehler 2000b: 195; 2001: 315–316).[9]

"Zero" anaphora has been frequently discussed in relation to referential systems of languages such as Chinese, Japanese and Korean, whose grammars do not require the overt realization of clausal arguments. In these languages, "zero" anaphora is typically treated as the default resource for expressing maximal continuity. In European languages, by contrast, "zero" anaphora has traditionally been considered as a unique phenomenon, presumably a result of ellipsis, or an omission of an overt expression. Several authors have nevertheless shown that "zero" anaphora may be employed by the interlocutors as an interactional resource even in languages such as English or German. Oh (2005, 2006), for example, has shown that "zero" anaphora in English is a useful resource with several functions, inter alia displaying that the current talk is designed as a resaying of some preceding talk, displaying that the current action is not designed to be a major action of its own, but only a supplementary or a secondary action, resuming a prior turn which has been temporarily suspended in favor of a parenthetical insert, and highlighting the continuity of the events being described, contributing to signaling the climax of a story.

Günthner (2006, 2011) and Imo (2014) similarly describe the functions of "dense" constructions in conversational German. These constructions include a range of syntactic patterns which might be considered incomplete according to the rules of Standard German, since in some of them, an obligatory argument of the verb is missing, while in others there is no finite verb or no verb at all (Gunthner 2011: 575, 586; Imo 2014: § 3.3). These authors suggest that "dense" constructions are employed in everyday storytelling as a method of indexing emotional involvement and accelerating the narrative rhythm by providing a dynamic

[9] A similar view was expressed by Lambrecht (1994: 104–105), who argued that cognitive accessibility should not be considered as the state of a referent in a person's mind, but rather as a "potential for activation", presupposing the speaker's assumption that "a hearer is willing and able […] to draw certain inferences which are necessary to arrive at the correct interpretation of a referent".

rendition of the portrayed events. This is done by distributing quickly following actions in short and emphatically marked intonation phrases. These "dense constructions" are therefore used to "contextualize dynamics, dramatic actions, suspense and emphasis" (Günthner 2006: 105; as translated by Imo (2014: 162)).

Another phenomenon that seems to "defy" some of the traditional approaches to referential choice concerns instances of loose relation between the referents of the pronominal referential device and its antecedent (Schwarz-Friesel 2007: 3–4; Schwarz-Friesel & Consten 2011: 355–357; Kibrik 2011: 553). Such pronominal referential devices could be graded from pronouns with no explicit textual antecedent in the preceding text (examples 2.9 and 2.10), to pronouns not fully co-referential with the textual antecedent (example 2.11):

(2.9) Is **he** still alive?
(uttered during the day on which President Kennedy was assassinated; Schegloff 1996: 451)

(2.10) So, what did **s/he** say?
(uttered to a spouse returning from a meeting in which a possible raise had been discussed; Schegloff 1996: 451)

(2.11) A: And I called uh it was with my hesitancy that I called Continental because I hate them so much.
B: Yeah.
A: I was on hold for ten minutes while **she** figured out this route I should've known that if it took **her** ten minutes I should've hung up. **She** had me st- go [*sic.*] from Philadelphia to New York to San Francisco to LA to Hawaii to Guam to Hong Kong to Singapo- [*sic.*]
(Gerrig et al. 2011: 176)

Schegloff (1996: 451) notes that in such cases, the speaker seems to treat the referent as being potentially "on the mind" of his interlocutors, and that therefore the referent may be "readily activated". A more systematic treatment of such uses is provided by Gerrig et al. (2011: 163–167) who suggested that such pronouns are licensed by the speakers' assumption that addressees will be able to infer the pronouns' referents based on information in the interlocutors' common ground (see also Jucker & Smith 1996). This includes the personal common ground – beliefs based on mutually shared personal activity (example 2.10); and communal common ground – beliefs based on membership in particular sociocultural communities or on shared sociocultural schemas (examples 2.9 and 2.11). Such uses elicited diverse labels in the literature – "pronouns without antecedents" (Filik, Sanford & Leuthold 2008); "reference to inferred antecedents/inferrables" (Ziv 1996; Gundel et al. 2005);

"unheralded pronouns" (Gerrig et al. 2011); and "indirect anaphors" (Stirling 1996; Cornish 2007). Many of these coined terms reflect the assumption that a co-referential textual antecedent is the normal case, in which case the relation between the referential device and its antecedent is purportedly direct. Consequently, uses such as those described in this section are viewed as "indirect" deviations from the norm. The origin of such a view seems to be in the overwhelming majority of co-referential anaphora in monologic, and predominantly narrative, discourse, which, as mentioned before, served as the principal source of studies on reference. Accordingly, non-co-referential pronominal anaphora received less attention in past research, especially in spontaneous spoken language.[10] However, recent corpus studies conducted on conversational data have revealed that such pronominal uses are not negligible.[11] Therefore, Gerrig et al. (2011: 178) concluded that "theorists who wish to have adequate models of pronoun production and comprehension would do well to include consideration of these pronouns".

In addition, as has been mentioned in §2.1, scholars such as Dahl & Hellman (1995) and Cornish (2009, 2010, 2014) have argued for a dynamic view of reference assignment and interpretation, according to which in any case referents do not exist a priori, "waiting" to be referred to, but instead have to be actively created or modified. On such accounts, the traditional textual antecedent is only a trigger for the creation of intended referent, along with other types of triggers, such as a percept or any semiotically relevant non-verbal signal. Another phenomenon that exhibits a loose relation between the referents of the pronominal referential device involves the so-called "vague" or "indeterminate" reference, where the referents of the pronouns are not clearly identifiable. Yule (1983: 318–320) had already suggested that in some cases, speakers are mainly concerned with communicating a general message, or making a point regarding some situation, rather than ensuring that the hearer correctly identifies the referents of pronouns embedded in the utterance. Similarly, Jucker et al. (2003) and Jucker &

[10] This phenomenon has received attention within stylistic analysis, where it has been shown that such anaphors are understood by the readers drawing on different types of knowledge and inference, such as schema knowledge, text world knowledge, and contextual frames (e.g., Emmot 2006). Also, this phenomenon was investigated using experimental methods by measuring reading times of invented segments (e.g., Cornish 2007).

[11] For English, Gundel et al. (2005: 353) reported that approximately 16% of the third person pronouns in their data lacked noun-phrase antecedents, of these roughly 5% were classified as inferrables. The remaining 11% consisted of pronouns that refer to non-nominal antecedent (i.e. event, activity, situation) and pleonastic pronouns. Similarly, Gerrig et al. (2011: 170) reported that in a corpus of English telephone speech, 7.4% of reference instances with *he* and *she*, and 43.1% of reference instances with *they* were non-coreferential ("unheralded" in their terminology).

Smith (2004) have raised objections to the traditional assumption that communication can only be successful if the addressee can uniquely identify each discourse entity. In contrast, they argue that in some situations and for some discourse referents what is needed is not unique identification, but rather identification that is sufficient for the current purposes. According to this view the most appropriate referring expression is not only supposed to allow the addressee to identify a referent to the correct level of individuation, but also should give the referent the appropriate level of focus or foregrounding. Thus, "more precise expressions imply to the listener that more individuation and focus is needed, whereas less precise expressions imply that a referent can remain in the background and that processing resources should be directed to other elements of the situation" (Jucker et al. 2003: 1743).

2.2.3 "Over specified" reference

Scholars operating within numerous frameworks have noted that lexical NPs may be used not only for (re)introducing the referent into discourse, but also for subsequent mentions of that referent. Such use apparently goes against the considerations of activation since a more elaborate referential device is used in these cases, despite the fact that a less elaborated device would have been equally sufficient.

Even some scholars working within the bounds of the Accessibility Theory paradigm acknowledged cases of apparent overspecified encoding that runs against the prediction models of Accessibility Theory, thus implicative of a special motivation on speakers' behalf. One possible motivation for using a lower-than-expected accessibility marker is the speaker's desire to uniquely emphasize a specific aspect of the referent (Ariel 1990: 199–203). Another possible motivation concerns matters of identification, such as clarifications, definitions, and the minimalization of potential ambiguity (Toole 1996: 278–279). Some researchers examined referential distribution in conversation by initially classifying mentions as either given or new and have been able to demonstrate that a significant proportion of given referents receive more elaborate coding than theories of information flow would predict. Working on Ecuadorian Spanish, Dumont (2011: §8.6) showed that almost a third of the total given NPs are expressed as full NPs. Dumont stressed that the speaker is able to accomplish different interactional goals – indexing list construction, repetition, managing turn-taking problems and indicating attitude toward that referent – through such a coding technique (ibid.: 201). Similarly, working on referent realization in Persian conversation, Shokouhi (2000) provided a finding that goes

against the predictions offered by Chafe (1994) – more than half of the given referents in his Shokouhi's data were realized as nominal form. He suggested that turn-taking system may also have impact on referential choice, since many of the lexical NPs realizing given referents occurred at the beginning of participants' turns. He also showed that such lexical NPs might be favored in repair constructions as well as in polite forms.

From a conversation analytic perspective, Fox (1987: 62–75) lists several non-structural factors which potentially override the basic anaphoric pattern, according to which a full NP is used either in the first mention of a referent, or in order to display an understanding of the preceding sequence as closed. These non-structural factors constitute various contexts which may favor a full NP within a sequence, rather than in its boundaries. These include the following: disagreements, discussing the recognizability of a referent, assessment situation, initiating a new discourse unit and performing repair of a previous utterance. Schegloff (1996: 453–458), too, shows that lexical NP ("initial reference form" in Schegloff's terms) in subsequent position may be employed as a device for restarting a turn. This may happen for example in environments of overlapping talk, or when the speaker changes the orientation of his upcoming utterance. In such cases the repetition of the lexical NP serves to signal that the current utterance is being produced anew, effectively overriding the prior utterance. Similarly adopting a CA perspective, Blythe (2009: 180–188) pinpointed various interactional contexts in Murriny Patha conversation, in which locally initial forms were found to be used in locally subsequent positions. These contexts include contrast, disagreements, complaints and repairs. Pekarek Doehler (1999) argued that over specified reference may be employed not only as a solution to identification difficulties, as might be suggested from Toole's (1996) findings, but also as a means for managing a plurality of perspectives and social-interactional positioning, or, alternately, as an instrument of discourse structuring and argumentation. The former is elaborated through the scenario of a classroom conversation concerning a literary text which is referred to with distinct lexical NPs by both the teacher and the students. Through the use of different codings, the teacher and the students manifest different perspectives on the referential sphere. The teacher's coding categorizes the referent in more technical terms, such as *ce texte* 'this text' and *cette lecture* 'this reading', whereas the students' referential choices categorize the referent as a literary object, such as *ce livre* 'this book' and *cette pièce* 'this play'. Furthermore, Pekarek Doehler shows how repetitions of full NPs may imply a modification of the angle from which the referent is being approached, i.e., from statement to evaluation, or

from main sequence to explanatory parenthesis. She also establishes that the modifiers of the head noun often perform interactional work by dissecting the referent into different groups. The repetition of the head noun may function as a rhetorical device reinforcing contrast between these groups.

Huang (2000: 307, 328) describes a pattern in Chinese conversation whereby lexical NPs are used in contexts of strong topic continuity. This pattern involves repeating a full NP in the second-pair part of an adjacency pair in order to encode the referent introduced in the first-pair part of that pair. Such repetition explicitly indicates the speaker's willingness to accept the referent as the common topic of the subsequent conversation. Once the common topic has been established, reduced anaphoric preserve the reference. Also highlighting the intersubjective function of lexical NPs is Taboada (2008), who applied the framework of Centering Theory on spoken Spanish and English. She found that contrary to her initial expectation, lexical NPs are used for accessible referents when the speakers wish to emphasize the referent, to signal familiarity with it, and to establish common ground between the interlocutors.

2.3 Summary of Chapter 2

Chapter 2 showed that the existing approaches to the study of reference can be subdivided into those which are mainly monologue-oriented and those which are dialogue-oriented. Monologue-oriented approaches tend to focus on the referent's activation status as the primary factor affecting referential choice. According to these approaches, full referential devices are expected when the referent's degree of activation is below a certain level, whereas reduced referential devices are expected when the referent's degree of activation is above a certain level. Dialogue-oriented approaches, on the other hand, focus on social-interactional factors that may affect referential choice, and explain uses that go against the considerations of activation. According to these approaches, reduced referential devices can be employed not only when the referent is activated, but also when the speaker assumes that the referent can be easily reactivated thanks to the participants' orientation towards the coherence of the activities in which the content of discourse is embedded. Likewise, full referential devices may be used not only for introducing the referent into discourse, but also for indexing disagreements, repair, and initiation of a new discourse unit.

3 Linguistic background

This chapter deals with the language investigated in this study, Israeli Hebrew. A general introduction to IH is provided in §3.1, followed by an enumeration of relevant facts about the grammar of IH (§3.2). Reference-related research on IH is discussed in §3.3.

3.1 Israeli Hebrew

Israeli Hebrew – also known as Modern Hebrew or Contemporary Hebrew[12] – is a language spoken mainly in the state of Israel. As of 2018, Israel has a population of approximately 9 million inhabitants – about half of the population, mainly native Jews, use Hebrew as L1, while the other half, mainly Arabs and non-native Jews, use Hebrew as L2. According to estimates, Hebrew is also the native language of ca. 1 million speakers living outside of Israel (Izre'el forthcoming b; https://www.ethnologue.com/language/heb).

Although IH is considered as a language with no major geolectal variance, a sociolectal/ethnolectal variance is commonly acknowledged between "General Hebrew" and "Arabicized/Oriental/Peripheral Hebrew" (Blanc 1964; Morag 1969; Glinert 1989: 3; Bentolila 2003; Henshke 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2015). The former is a socially unmarked variant, shaped predominantly by population groups of European descent. The latter is a socially marked variant, which characterizes the language of the geographical and social periphery in Israel, used mainly among Israel-born native Hebrew speakers of Middle Eastern and North African descent.

Hebrew was reintroduced as a spoken language at the beginning of the twentieth century, after it did not have any native speakers since Biblical and Mishnaic times. In a relatively short amount of time spanning a few decades, it became a fully-fledged vernacular and serves as the national language of Jews in Israel. Although this process has commonly, and somewhat simplistically, been referred to as the "revival" of spoken Hebrew, contemporary research tends to view this process as complex and multidimensional, and accordingly brings into question whether the term "revival" is an appropriate term for this complex process. Other terms, such

[12] The terms "Modern Hebrew" and "Contemporary Hebrew" reflect an underlying assumption that the present-day Hebrew is a direct continuation of the previous strata of the Hebrew language, an assumption that is not unproblematic (Izre'el 2003). In this study I use the label "Israeli Hebrew", initially coined by Rosén (1955).

as “revernacularization” (Spolsky 2012; Fishman 2012: 70) or “emergence” (Izre’el 2003; Reshef 2012) were accordingly proposed. The former term underscores the fact that although the pre-twentieth century Hebrew was not used as an everyday vernacular, it was not “dead” either – it was used as a language of liturgy and religious studies, used in writing secular literature, and held as the Jewish lingua franca. The latter term highlights the fact that IH is, in fact, a new linguistic entity, constituted of elements from all previous historical layers of the language, which were restructured by the contact-induced influence of the native languages of the first speakers of IH (Blau 1981: 151; Kutscher 1982: 243–244; Izre'el 2003: 88; Reshef 2013: 409).

Synchronic description of IH was not, for the most part, pursued until the 1950s since until then, scholars were doubtful whether a language, combining various historical layers, and influenced by foreign languages, could be regarded as having a structure of its own (Kuzar 2001: ch. 3; Khan 2003: 157–158). Starting from the 1950s, synchronic descriptions of IH began to appear. These descriptions were mainly based on two types of analysis – structuralist (e.g., Rosén 1955, 1962, 1977a, 1977b; Rubinshtein 1969, 1971), and generative (e.g., Ornan 1971; Sadka 1981; Azar 1977) – focusing mainly on intra-sentential analysis without paying attention to the discourse functions of syntactic structures. This “narrow” syntactic approach had begun changing in the 1970s, when numerous studies started examining the functions of syntactic constructions in their contexts of use (e.g., Bloom-Kolka et al. 1982). For comprehensive survey of IH studies, see Khan (2003) and Schwarzwald (2008). Since the 1990s, there has been a growing interest in the study of CSIH, expressed in a multitude of studies examining prosodic, morphological, semantic, and pragmatic aspects of CSIH. A comprehensive survey of studies devoted to CSIH has been carried out, for instance, by Borochovsky (2010: 45–69).

3.2 Relevant facts on Israeli Hebrew syntax

In IH, any part of speech can function as a predicate: nominal (substantives, adjectives, participles), pronominal (personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and other pronouns), adverbs and prepositional phrases, as well as larger phrases, sentences and other types of syntactic complexes. Verbs in IH have a special syntactic status since they are not primary predicates, constituting a morphological compound of two overt components: a verbal stem and a person-number-gender affix. Each verb indicates predication between these two

primary components, and thus each verbal form is essentially a sentence, consisting of both a subject and a predicate (Goldenberg 1998b; Izre'el 2012; forthcoming a; Zewi 2013). Israeli Hebrew has two types of verbal conjugations – suffix conjugation and prefix conjugation. Traditionally, these forms are considered to convey absolute tenses – past and future, respectively.[13] In the interest of clarity as to the meaning of these conjugations, I chose to use the more neutral terms "suffix conjugation" and "prefix conjugation". Verbs belonging to each of these conjugations will accordingly be termed SC-verbs and PC-verbs, respectively (see §5.1.2.2).

Furthermore, the syntactic approach adopted in this dissertation differs in several ways from that of more traditional approaches, necessitating a short introduction of the overall approach and its concomitant terminology. The syntactic approach adopted here can be described as functional, communicational, discursive, and information-oriented, rooted in the study of spoken Israeli Hebrew, demonstrated most prominently by Izre'el (2012, 2018a, 2018b). This approach does not conceive of the sentence as a mental entity that has an independent existence detached from any specific communicative act, but rather as an entity that emerges over the course of its production.[14] Accordingly, the syntactic components of the sentence (notably, the subject and the predicate) derive their conceptual status from a complex contextual analysis, not from predetermined and universally accepted notions of what these components should be. That is why, potential arguments at the semantic structure need not be represented in the syntactic form. In other words, arguments – including those occupying the subject position – are not regarded as necessary components within the syntactic structure.

Within such a framework, then, any type of linguistic element may, in principle, potentially serve as the predicate or the subject of a sentence. The sentence in this framework is defined as a unit consisting minimally of a predicate domain, which could be either nuclear (consisting of a single element that serves as the nucleus) or extended (consisting of a nucleus accompanied by complements and modifiers). The predicate domain is the component that carries the informational load of the sentence within the discourse context; by default, it contains a newly

[13] Some scholars, however, view them as conveying relative tenses (Kalev 2017), still others view them as conveying aspect (Dekel 2014: §4.2).
[14] The term *sentence* is used here as the reference unit of syntax, and is therefore equivalent to the term *clause*, as used in other approaches, including in the present context.

introduced element, carries the modality of the sentence, and includes the focus of the sentence.[15] Two main classes of sentences can thus be identified: (1) unipartite, consisting only of a predicate domain, and (2) bipartite, consisting – in its minimal manifestation – of a predicate and a subject.

Another feature relevant to the discussion in this dissertation involves the status of various plural forms in several pronominal domains in IH grammar. In these domains, a distinction is traditionally made between feminine plural forms, and masculine plural forms. In formal registers this distinction is for the most part preserved. However, the use of the original feminine forms has decreased in favor of the original masculine forms, up to a point where the former are rarely used in informal registers, most conspicuously in spontaneous conversation (Dekel 2014: 140; Muchnik 2014: 188, Cohen 2016: 99, 116, 122, Schwarzwald 2016: 255). This is also evident in the absence of the original feminine plural forms from the *CoSIH* database. Since the former masculine plural forms are no longer marked for gender in CSIH, they will be glossed throughout the dissertation accordingly, as summarized in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1 – PLM-to-PL shift in CSIH

	PL forms (trad. PLM)		PLF forms		Discussed in:
Universal pronouns	*kulam*	PL	*kulan*	PLF	§5.1.1.2
Predicational pronouns	*atem*	2PL	*aten*	2PLF	§5.1.2.1.1
	hem	3PL	*hen*	3PLF	
Non-predicational pronouns	*=(a/e)χem*	2PL	*=(a/e)χen*	2PLF	
	=am/ahem	3PL	*=an/=ahen*	3PLF	
Distal demonstratives	*hahem*	PL	*hahen*	PLF	§5.1.2.1.2
Verbal suffix conjugation	*-tem*	2PL	*-ten*	2PLF	§5.1.2.2.1
Verbal prefix conjugation	*j---u*	3PL	*t---na*	3PLF	
	t---u	2PL	*t---na*	2PLF	

3.3 Relevant studies

The distribution of particular referential devices in CSIH was explored in several studies dealing mainly with the choice between various pronominal alternatives. Polak-Yitzhaki

[15] Modality here is broadly conceived of as any modification of the proposition, and includes not only the better known types of modality, such as epistemic, evidential, deontic, dynamic and their like, but also assertive (including negative assertion), volitional, exclamative, etc. This view of modality thus also includes traditional types of sentences (see, among others, Frajzyngier & Shay 2016; Martin 2015)

(2007), for example, examined the functional distribution of different types of subject pronouns in verbal sentences – free, bound and proclitic. She found that each of these types has a different discursive function – whereas free pronouns serve to mark a new conversational action, such as a break in a narrative sequence, switch reference and emphasizing the role of the agent, bound pronouns refer to highly active referents, such as the interlocutors, and express continuity. Polak-Yitzhaki also succeeded in quantitatively demonstrating that first and second person verbs typically appear with only a bound pronoun[16], whereas third person verbs typically appear with an additional external pronoun.[17] Proclitic pronouns were found to appear mainly with 1st and 2nd person cognition verbs in the present tense, thus relating to the interlocutors' thoughts, abilities, and desires. Cohen (2016: 155), who examined the person markers paradigms in CSIH, ascribed the split between first/second person verbs and third person verbs not to any grammatical requirement but to a pragmatic one – since the third person is not an active participant in the conversation, it must be repeatedly specified to the participants, in excess of the language's grammatical rules, to ensure that the listeners understand who is being talked about. Since Polak-Yitzhaki's (2007) and Cohen's (2016) interest lay in describing the variation in pronominal representation, their studies did not dedicate a discussion to the choice of lexical NPs, a referential choice highly relevant in the third person.

A significant contribution Cohen's (2016) study made was the shift from the concept of "pro-drop" language to the concept of "pro-add" language, at least with regard to the verbal clause in CSIH (ibid.: 238). Since verbal forms in IH incorporate person affixes that function as the subject of the clause, the use of external subject in verbal clauses serves as an addition to the verb, one possibly accounted for by specific conditions.[18] From this perspective, Cohen attempts to explain the presence of external third person pronouns in various clause types. In the verbal clause, for example, she notes that an external third person pronoun is systematically used as a subject of statement verbs after a conjunction that opens a verbal clause, and in contexts of contrast between two different agents. In other cases, either a lexical noun is added to the verb as an external subject, or the subject of the clause is marked only by the verbal affix.

[16] 75% of the first person SC-verbs, 90% of the second person SC-verbs and most of the first/second PC-verbs.
[17] 80% of third person SC-verbs and all but three third person PC-verbs.
[18] More generally, Givón (2017: 127) questions the appropriateness of the term "pro-drop" to "zero"-anaphora languages such as Mandarin, Japanese, Ute, Spanish, Hebrew or Swahili. Based on diachronic evidence, such languages are suggested to be "pro-add" languages.

The verbal clauses in the latter case typically form a part of a comprehensive utterance in which the explicit subject is mentioned in the first unit, and all sequential verbs take the same subject (ibid.: 124–132; 136–145). Another motivation for achieving reference solely via verbal affixes has been suggested by Auer and Maschler (2013: 161–162) in the context of a conversational narrative. These authors suggest that such clauses ('V only' pattern in their terms) serve to advance the narrative within an episode by moving its actions along, contributing to the story's dramatic quality, increasing audience involvement and arriving at the dramatic climax sooner.

Fundamental aspects of reference are dealt with by Izre'el (2012; 2018a; 2018b) in the context of his discourse-based syntactic approach to spoken language. Underlying the approach is a premise that syntax, information structure and prosody integrate in spoken language structure, forming a coherent unity, and that syntactic components take their conceptual status from a complex analysis of which the primary originating force is contextual. Izre'el stresses that since language is intimately related to discourse, it will express only what is essential within the discourse context, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic.

Focusing on clauses with no representation of the subject, ones consisting of only a predicate domain, Izre'el (2018a, 2018b) demonstrated that such "unipartite" clauses are frequent in spontaneous spoken Hebrew, and proposed a classification based on whether or not the predicate is anchored in referential expressions beyond the clause domain, and where that anchor would be located in the discourse structure. The main distinction drawn here is between unipartite clauses with intra-discursive and extra-discursive anchoring. Intra-discursive anchoring can be established to an explicit linguistic expression in prior discourse, and may further be divided into structural anchoring, that is, having a virtual or a potential syntactic link with another element in the discourse, or non-structural anchoring. A subtype of intra-discursive anchoring is broad anchoring, found in clauses anchored in a discourse stretch rather than in a single referent. Extra-discursive anchoring relates to clauses that cannot be ascribed to any explicit linguistic expression in the discourse; instead, they are anchored in elements external to the discourse, either within the origo of this specific discourse or external to it.

Adopting the premises proposed by Izre'el, Azuelos-Atias (2016) proposed an extralinguistic motivation for the occurrence of unipartite sentences in CSIH, namely the assumed level of mutual understanding between the interlocutors. In situations characterized by close intimacy and high level of understanding, speakers tend to explicitly express only these parts of their

message which cannot be inferred by the interlocutor. In other words, speakers tend to decrease the redundancy level of their utterances when speaking to their intimates. In contrast, if the speakers believe that for some reason they might be improperly understood, they will tend to increase the redundancy level, explicitly conveying not only what cannot be inferred by the interlocutor, but also what can be (ibid.: 458).

3.4 Summary of Chapter 3

This chapter described the language investigated in this study, Israeli Hebrew, focusing on relevant grammatical features, and on existing reference-related literature. It showed that IH displays considerably different grammatical features from those of the languages usually analyzed in reference studies, a notable example being the existence of three morphologically-distinct predicate types: verbs, adjectives/participles, and forms other than those. Such different characteristics of IH make it particularly interesting for study from a cross linguistic perspective. It was also shown that although the distribution of particular referential devices in IH was explored in several studies, there have been virtually no studies that provided a systematic description of the referential system of IH – neither in written nor in spoken discourse.

4 Methodology

4.1 Research premises

This study is situated within a functional and dialogical approach to language. The common idea of functional approaches is that language is first and foremost an instrument for communication between human beings, and that this fact is central in explaining why languages are as they are. On this view, communication is not confined to the narrow sense of conveying propositional information, but encompasses the whole range of speech events which take place in human societies, including the setting up and maintenance of social relations. Structural properties of language are derived from its function, and consequently functionalists have given much attention to defining how the shape of language data is connected to its communicative purposes and to human cognitive resources (Butler 2003: 2–3; Kibrik 2011: 17–18; Thomas 2019: 6).

Dialogical approach to language stresses the contextual and emergent nature of human discourse (Linell 1998, 2005, 2009; Imo 2014). The basic underlying assumption is that the study of language should be based on actual communicative events, and, more specifically, on the examination of how the collaborative and situated interaction influences linguistic patterns in everyday conversation. Speech is viewed as an emergent product in a social semiotic event and language as providing one set of resources for the accomplishment of goals and tasks within this event. As a result, the nature of language as an abstract and balanced system of pre-established discrete elements is questioned and problematized. Instead, language forms and structures must be thought of in a more situated, context sensitive fashion. Within this framework, linguistic structures are not considered quasi-autonomous and context-free elements, but rather understood as locally adapted tools to perform activities and to achieve understanding.

Sharing the main assumptions of the abovementioned approaches, Izre'el (2012, 2018a, 2018b) stresses that spoken language must be analyzed according to its own properties, removed from any preconceptions about the structure of language based on its written forms. To this end, linguistic description and analysis should preferably be corpus-driven, and depend solely on data as conceived by listeners rather than as generated by the speaker. In other words, since we do not have direct access to the cognitive processes in the speaker's brain, building up a theory

of language should rely only on actual speech, and not on hypothesized cognitive processes in the speaker's brain.[19] That is why, the present study adopts a corpus-driven approach, viz., building up a theory of language from authentic data (Tognini-Bonelli 2001), as opposed to corpus-based, viz., looking for data to establish a preconceived theory.[20]

Even more relevant to the current dissertation is Izre'el's cognitive-pragmatic assumption that since language is intimately related to discourse, it will express only what is needed to be expressed within the discourse context, be it linguistic or extra-linguistic. Accordingly, a central assumption of this dissertation is that referents are not an integral part of the linguistic structure; they may or may not be represented in the discourse at any time.

The dissertation does not confine itself to a particular methodological approach to language study, such as Conversation Analysis (Sacks and Schegloff 1979, 2007) or Interactional Linguistics (Barth-Weingarten 2008). Rather, it employs useful tools and concepts developed within various methodological approaches for the analyses and arguments made.

4.2 Corpus and notation

The study performed in this dissertation is based on analysis of recorded texts drawn from *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew* (*CoSIH*) (available from http://cosih.com/english/index.html). In its totality, *CoSIH* consists of ca. 13 hours of recorded texts that were made by informants during the years 2001-2002. Each recording consists of conversations between one core speaker and various interlocutors with whom the speaker interacted on the day the recording was made. The recording equipment was carried by the informant in a way that did not attract any attention of either interlocutors or the surrounding people. In order to overcome the problem of linguistic awareness the following procedure was used: when informants were approached by *CoSIH* representatives, they were told that the goal of the research was "recording the daily life of Israeli inhabitants". When the representatives came to collect the recordings, then they told the informant that the recordings would be used for the compilation of *CoSIH* and asked for the informant's consent to use the data.

[19] This perspective does not contradict the possibility to look into cognitive processes while scrutinizing the received materials (Izre'el 2018b: 1684).
[20] "It is not about using spoken French to illustrate a theory, but finding a theory that allows to approach the data of spoken French" (Blanche-Benveniste & Jeanjean 1987: 90; translated by Izre'el 2018b: 1684).

The corpus used for this dissertation contains a majority of the original, reliably-transcribed recordings of *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew*, consisting of 33 conversations with a total length of ca. 5 hours.[21] These recordings are presented in *CoSIH* as ELAN transcriptions aligned with their audio files. The database for this study includes 27 texts with a total duration of ca. 4 hours. Table 4.1 below provides data in relation to these texts. The remaining six texts were not used in the study due to methodological reasons: (1) C514_2 – a telephone conversation in which only the core speaker is heard; (2) C612_2, C612_3, C612_4 – face-to-face conversations in which the core speaker is not a native Hebrew speaker, having immigrated from Brazil at the age of thirteen; (3) D932, D933 – a lecture at a college. I chose to exclude these texts from the database for this study, attempting to make the database as homogeneous as possible, exclusively consisting of face-to-face dialogical interactions between native Hebrew speakers.

Table 4.1 – The corpus[22]

	Conversation	Duration	Speakers	IMs
1	C514_1	2′ 45″	2	155
2	C711_0	9′ 39″	2	533
3	C711_1	4′ 54″	5	228
4	C711_2	4′ 56″		230
5	C711_3	5′ 00″	4	243
6	C711_4	5′ 00″		308
7	C712_2	4′ 38″	4	190
8	C714	13′ 00″	5	602
9	C842	19′ 34″	2	533
10	C1624	17′ 12″	3	751
11	D142	8′ 57″	4	529
12	OCD1	3′ 18″	3	198
13	OCD2	4′ 21″		341
14	OCD3	2′ 46″		235
15	OCH	20′ 12″	2	1176
16	OM	4′ 40″	6	412
17	P311_2	14′ 48″	10	950
18	P423_1	15′ 00″	7	683
19	P423_2	14′ 59″	3	858
20	P931_1	9′ 46″	4	515

[21] In addition, *CoSIH* includes two groups of texts: (1) texts that formed part of a research corpus compiled by Nurit Dekel for her doctoral dissertation (Dekel 2010), the transcriptions of which are presented in PDF format, and their total length is over 5 hours; and (2) non-transcribed recordings, with a total length of around 3 hours.
[22] Additional information, such as the conversations' topics and the interlocutors' sociolinguistic background can be found in < http://cosih.com>.

21	P931_2	9′ 55″		553
22	P931_3	7′ 14″		347
23	Y111	5′ 55″	3	345
24	Y32	7′ 32″	2	418
25	Y33	8′ 39″		502
26	Y34	11′ 59″		686
27	Y311	7′ 33″		318
		244′ 12″		**12,839**

Throughout the dissertation, references follow the system used in *CoSIH* (as shown in Table 4.1) and speakers are referred to as sp1, sp2, etc. The transcription of the examples in the text is usually broad phonetic, with some attention to the phonological system. Phonological input is added mainly in the representation of /h/, which is omitted in most environments in contemporary spoken Hebrew, and in the representation of some of occurrences of /j/, which may also elide in certain environments. For typographic and reading convenience, the rhotic phoneme, which in standard IH is uvular, is represented as *r*; the mid vowels are represented as *e* and *o*, although their pronunciation is usually lower. Glossing follows, mutatis mutandis, the Leipzig Glossing Rules (available from http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php). See list of abbreviations (p. V). Transcription notation is based on Izre'el (2002) (following in essence Du Bois *et al*. 1992). See list of transcription notations (p. VI). In the interest of protecting the anonymity of the persons mentioned in the conversations, their names have been changed to names resonating a similar syllabic structure

5 Referential system of Israeli Hebrew

This chapter provides an overview of the referential system of IH and outlines the scope of inquiry appearing in subsequent chapters. §5.1 describes and discusses the main referential devices in IH, focusing on their morphosyntax as well as on related phenomena. In §5.2, the reduced referential system of IH is outlined from a typological perspective. In §5.3, I illustrate the interaction between full and reduced referential devices, while I delimit the scope of inquiry in this dissertation to third person reference to human referents, and summarize the main referential devices typically employed for that type of reference in §5.4. The closing part of the chapter, §5.5, presents the methodology applied in this study and the resulting quantitative overview of the referential devices used in the database for third person human reference.

5.1 Israeli Hebrew referential system

Crosslinguistically, reference to entities is commonly performed by two major types of expressions: full referential devices, such as common nouns and proper names, and reduced referential devices, such as free pronouns, bound pronouns, and zero reference (Kibrik 2011: 37, 2013: 227–228). The same is true for IH, where a distinction is made between full referential devices (§5.1.1) on the one hand and various types of reduced referential devices on the other (§5.1.2).

5.1.1 Full referential devices

5.1.1.1 Lexical NPs

As in other languages, IH distinguishes between two main types of lexical NPs – common nouns and proper nouns. Every common noun in IH has a grammatical gender, either masculine or feminine. For nouns denoting human (and in several cases non-human animate) referents, the grammatical gender corresponds to biological gender, whereas the grammatical gender of a noun denoting inanimate referents seems to be arbitrary (Muchnik 2014: 16). Although there are specific morphemes that are typically correlated with a specific gender, the correlation is not absolute, as demonstrated in Table 5.1 below:

Table 5.1 – Gender and number in IH nouns

Common suffixes	Masculine	Feminine
No suffix	*'meleχ* ‘king(M)’	*'dereχ* ‘road(F)’
-a	*ʃul'ja* ‘apprentice(M)’	*ʃil'ja* ‘placenta(F)’
-it	-	*tav'nit* ‘pattern(F)’
-et	-	*'refet* ‘cowshed(F)’
-ut	-	*χe'rut* ‘freedom(F)’
-im	*ba'n-im* ‘boy-PL’	*na'ʃ-im* ‘woman(F)-PL’
-ot	*a'v-ot* ‘father(M)-PL’	*ba'n-ot* ‘girl-PL’

Feminine nouns typically end in *-a* or *-(V)t*, such as *ʃil'ja* ‘placenta(F)’, *tav'nit* ‘pattern(F)’, *'refet* ‘cowshed(F)’, and *χe'rut* ‘freedom(F)’. The affix *-a* may, however, also appear in masculine nouns, such as *ʃul'ja* ‘apprentice(M)’. Masculine nouns, by contrast, typically have no endings, such as *'meleχ* ‘king(M)’. Occasionally a feminine noun might not have an ending either, such as *'dereχ* ‘road(F)’. The plural morphemes *-im* and *-ot* are typically used for masculine and feminine nouns, respectively: *ba'n-im* ‘boy-PL’and *ba'n-ot* ‘girl-PL’, for instance. Yet there are cases where these morphemes appear with the opposite gender, such as in *na'ʃ-im* ‘woman(F)-PL’ and *a'v-ot* ‘father(M)-PL’ (Schwarzwald 2001; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 132–139; Dekel 2014: 79; Muchnik 2014: 15; Cohen 2016: 26). Accordingly, the gloss of a common noun will indicate its gender when relevant.

Common nouns may function as the head of a noun phrase, and are subject to modification by diverse elements which particularize their meanings. These modifiers can belong to different classes of words, of which the main ones are: demonstrative determiners (ex. 5.1), attributive adjectives (ex. 5.2), nouns (construct) (ex. 5.3), prepositional phrases (ex. 5.4), clauses (ex. 5.5), and quantifiers (ex. 5.6).

(5.1) *'ejze ma'zal ʃe ma'ʦat laχ et=**ha=avo'd-a** **ha=zot** ||*
which luck that you.SGF.found to.you.SGF ACC=**DEF=work-SGF** **DEF=DEM.SGF** ||
‘How lucky you are that you found **this job**.’

(Y32_sp2_087)

(5.2) *pi'tom ra'ʔiti **neku'd-a** **ʃχo'r-a** ||*
suddenly I.saw **spot-SGF** **black-SGF** ||
‘Suddenly I saw **a black spot**.’

(C711_0_sp1_200)

(5.3) ***oha'd-ej af'dod*** | *niʃ'ma li 'maʃehu me'od ra'gua* ||
fan-PL.CST Ashdod | sounding.3SGM to.me something very calm ||
'**Ashdod fans**, it sounds like something very calm to me.'

(C711_4_sp1_002-003)

(5.4) ***jela'd-im be=ki'ta hej*** ||
child-PL in=grade fifth ||
'**Children in fifth grade**.'

(C714_sp4_119)

(5.5) *a'naχnu medab'rim al=ana'ʃim* || *al=**ana'ʃ-im ʃe ov'd-im be'toχ=ha=maa'reχ-et*** ||
we talking.PLM on=people || on=**people-PL that working-PLM in=DEF=system-SGF** ||
'We're talking about people. About **people who work in the system**.'

(P931_2_sp2_122-123)

(5.6) *jeʃ* ***ʃn-ej neha'g-im*** ||
EXT **two(M)-PL.CST driver-PL** ||
'There are **two drivers**.'

(OCh_sp1_161)

The position of the modifier in relation to the head noun depends on its type: most immediately follow the noun they modify (ex. 5.1–5.5), whereas quantifiers normally precede the noun they modify (ex. 5.6).[23] Different types of modifiers reveal different agreement patterns – demonstrative determiners and attributive adjectives correspond to the head noun in gender, number, and definiteness (ex. 5.1–5.2); construct nominals, prepositional phrases and clausal modifiers do not exhibit agreement with the head noun (ex. 5.3–5.5)[24]; and numerals often tend to correspond to the head noun in gender (ex. 5.6) (Glinert 1989: 117–120; Dekel 2014: 118–119).

Proper nouns, or names, are typically used for uniquely identifiable referents, most often to persons, places, and objects. In using a proper name, the speaker assumes that the recipient is familiar with the referent in question, as well as with its name, to some degree. Personal proper nouns are a heterogeneous category and may be realized, among others, as a full name, first name, last name, and nicknames. Since the data for this dissertation come from everyday

[23] Except for the numerals *e'χad* 'one.M' and *a'χat* 'one.F', which follow the head noun.
[24] However, various elements within the clausal modifier may agree with the head noun. For example, in example 5.5, the participle *ov'd-im* 'work-PLM' agrees in gender and number with the head noun *ana'ʃ-im* 'people-PL'.

conversations between friends and family members, it is perhaps not surprising that first names are the most frequent type occurring in the data. In example 5.7, for example, Dor is the speaker's son and the utterance is addressed to the speaker's daughter during a family gathering, whereas in example 5.8, Dafi and Tomer are two people with whom both of the interlocutors are acquainted:

(5.7) *meχa'kim* *l=**dor*** ||
waiting.PLM to=**Dor** ||
'We are waiting for **Dor**.'

(C714_sp2_018)

(5.8) ***'dafi*** *am'r-**a*** *ʃe* ***'tomer*** *b=a=* | *niv'χeret ha'zoti* ||
Dafi said-**3SGF.PRD** that **Tomer** in=DEF= | team this.SGF ||
'**Dafi** said that **Tomer** is in this team.'

(C711_0_sp1_251-252)

Much less frequently in my data, particularly in contexts in which the identification of the referent was an issue, a full name was used. In example 5.9, for example, sp1 utters the full name Roni Rosenberg as a candidate understanding of the first name Roni, which was previously mentioned by sp5. In example 5.10, a full name is used by sp1 as an answer to a question posed by sp2, which explicitly sought to establish the referent's identity. Note that sp1 first used the referent's first name, possibly assuming that it would suffice, before providing the referent's full name.

(5.9) 1 sp5 *im ze* *ha'ja* ***'roni*** | *ha'jiti so'ne* ||
if DEM was.3SGM.PRD **Roni** | I.was hating.SGM ||
'If it were **Roni**, I would have hated her.'

2 sp1 ***'roni 'rozenberg*** /
Roni Rosenberg /
'**Roni Rosenberg**?'

3 ***hi*** *mela'med-**et*** *b=betha'sefer* /
3SGF.PRD teaching-**SGF** in=the.school /
'Does **she** teach at the school?'

(C714_sp5_057-058, sp1_147-148)

(5.10) 1 sp2 *mi ze* /
who DEM /
'Who is it?'

2 sp1 **ˈbeni** | (1.3) **ˈbeni karˈmeli** ||
Beni | (1.3) **Beni Karmeli** ||
'**Beni**, (1.3) **Beni Karmeli**.'

(OCD_sp2_073, sp1_090-091)

5.1.1.2 Indefinites

The category of indefinites consists of items specialized in non-specific reference. Table 5.2 summarizes the main indefinites used in CSIH (Dekel 2014: 142–143; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 175):

Table 5.2 – Indefinites in CSIH

	'person'		**'non-person'**
	Unmarked	**SGF**	
Positive	*'miʃehu, eˈχad* 'someone'	*'miʃehi, aˈχat* 'someone.F'	*'maʃehu* 'something'
Negative	*af.eˈχad* 'no one'	*af.aˈχat* 'no one.F'	*ʃum.daˈvar, klum* 'nothing'
Universal	*kuˈlam, kol.eˈχad* 'everyone'	*kol.aˈχat* 'everyone.F'	*haˈkol* 'everything'

Although indefinites are usually described under the 'pronoun' label, I chose to include them in this subsection because, in CSIH, indefinites are functionally equivalent to generic lexical NPs, such as *adam*, *iʃ* 'person' and *davar* 'thing', and are accordingly often used as a first mention of a particular referent. The examples below illustrate this:

(5.11) *ze ja'χol lik'rot l=**kol.e'χad*** ||
DEM can to.happen to=**everyone** ||
'It can happen to **everyone**.'

(P931_1_sp2_143)

(5.12) *hi lo am'ra **klum*** /
3SGF.PRD NEG she.said **nothing** /
'She said **nothing**?'

(C711_4_sp1_059)

5.1.2 Reduced referential devices

Kibrik (2011: 73–77, 2013: 228–231) identified languages of the world as employing three fundamental types of reduced referential devices – free pronouns, bound pronouns, and zero forms. While some languages are committed, or at least strongly inclined, to one particular referential device, others are more flexible in their use of reduced referential devices. In order to better represent the various reduced referential devices in CSIH, I will use a terminology that breaks with that of Kibrik in three principal issues. First, the term "pronoun" is replaced with the term "marker" in order to circumvent the drawbacks usually associated with the former term. Second, the term "free" is replaced with "unbound" since unbound person markers in CSIH have two allomorphs – a free and an enclitic one – depending on their syntactic position, and the free allomorph may be realized as a proclitic. Third, the term "zero" is replaced with "unexpressed" in order to avoid the drawbacks associated with the former term (see discussion in §5.1.2.2). Accordingly, the reduced referential system of CSIH exhibits a rather intricate mixture of unbound markers (Kibrik's "free pronouns"), bound markers (Kibrik's "bound pronouns") and unexpressed reference (Kibrik's "zero forms").[25]

I begin by discussing unbound markers in §5.1.2.1, and proceed to bound markers in §5.1.2.2. One of the conclusions drawn from these discussions is that the system of reduced subject reference in the verbal clause is 'split' with regard to the preferred reduced referential device – a bound person marker for locutor reference, and a combination of a bound person marker and an unbound person marker for non-locutor reference. §5.1.2.3 will present and discuss several hypotheses regarding the origin of this split distribution, concluding with a discussion of unexpressed reference in §5.1.2.4.

5.1.2.1 Unbound markers

Israeli Hebrew uses several types of unbound markers as a means of referring. The main kinds are person markers (§5.1.2.1.1), demonstrative markers (§5.1.2.1.2), and nominal interrogative markers (§5.1.2.1.3).

[25] Strictly speaking, the phrase "reduced referential device" implies the existence – however feeble – of linguistic material, and excludes accordingly unexpressed reference from its scope. In this dissertation, however, I employ the term "reduced" more broadly, in a way that equates extreme reduction with non-expression.

5.1.2.1.1 Person markers

Every person marker in IH is marked for person and number. While second and third person markers are additionally marked for gender, first person markers do not make gender distinctions. Person markers are distributed in two complementary sets according to their syntactic position – predicational (PRD) and non-predicational (NPRD) – as illustrated in Table 5.3:

Table 5.3 – Unbound person markers in CSIH

	Predicational (PRD)	**Non-predicational (NPRD)**
1SG	*a'ni*	*=i/=aj*
1PL	*a'naχnu*	*=(e)χa*
2SGM	*a'ta*	*=(a/e/'ai)χ*
2SGF	*at*	*=('a/'e)nu*
2PL	*a'tem*	*=(a/e) 'χem*
3SGM	*hu*	*=o/=av*
3SGF	*hi*	*=a/='eha*
3PL	*hem*	*=am/a'hem*

Predicational person markers are used in subject or in predicate positions, and may be realized either as free forms or as proclitics.[26] Non-predicational person markers are enclitic forms used in attributive syntactic positions; that is, used as modifiers or following a preposition (Glinert 1989: §7.3.2; Dekel 2014: 139).[27] We can see a transition between these two types of markers within the same utterance in the following examples:

(5.13) *u'laj* ***a'ni*** *e'se* *l=**i*** /
maybe **1SG.PRD** I.will.do to=**1SG.NPRD** /
'Maybe **I** will prepare (a lasagna) for **me**?'

(C711_0_sp1_038)

(5.14) ***a'ta*** *ro'ʦe-Ø* *ʃe* *a'ni* *ak'lit* *l=**χa*** *et=ze* /
2SGM.PRD wanting-SGM that 1SG.PRED I.will.record to=**2SGM.NPRD** ACC=DEM /
'Do **you** want me to record that for **you**?'

[26] Proclitics are formed by reduction of the free form's syllabic structure: *a'ni>an=/ni=/n=*; *a'naχnu>'aχnu=/'naxnu=*; *a'ta>ta=*; *at>t=*; *a'tem/tem=*; *hu>h*; *hi>h*; *hem>m*. Proclitic person markers have not traditionally been described in treatments of CSIH, and only recently started to gain scholarly attention (Polak-Yitzhaki 2007: §6; Cohen 2016: Ch.7; and Schwarzwald 2016: 255–256). It should be noted, however, that cliticization of person markers is not a new phenomenon, and has been attested in spoken Hebrew since the time of the British Mandate (Bar-Ziv Levy 2017: 88–90).

[27] Written Hebrew may further include enclitic pronouns in completive position, however these are extremely rare in CSIH, as evidenced by their absence from my database.

(C711_2_sp1_004)

(5.15) 1 sp3 ***χave'r-a ʃel=a*** |
friend-SGF of=3SGF.NPRD |
'**Her friend**'

2 ***hi*** *haj't-a gam ro'ʦ-a ʃe ja'voʔu el=**'eha*** ||
3SGF.PRD was-3SGF.PRD also wanting-SGF that they.will.come to=**3SGF.NPRD** ||
'**She** would also like people to visit **her**.'

(C711_3_sp3_022-023)

In example 5.13, after sp1 initially mentions herself with a 1SG.PRD marker *a'ni* in a subject position, she mentions herself again using the 1SG.NPRD marker *=i* in an attributive position. Similarly, in example 5.14, after sp1 mentions the recipient with a 2SGM.PRD marker *a'ta* in a subject position, he mentions him once again using the 2SGM.NPRD marker *=χa* in an attributive position. Finally, in example 5.15, after initially mentioning the referent 'her friend' using a common noun, sp3 mentions her again twice – first via the 3SGF.PRD marker *hi* in a subject position, and then with the 3SGF.NPRD marker *='eha* in an attributive position.[28] Note that although in all three examples (5.13)–(5.15) the predicational markers functioned as subjects, this is not always the case.

5.1.2.1.2 Demonstrative markers

Demonstratives constitute a small class of linguistic expressions, the primary function of which is to indicate the location of a referent relative to the deictic center, as well as to coordinate the interlocutors' joint attentional focus. Such coordination either directs the addressee's attention to a previously non-attended referent, or manipulates the addressee's attention among multiple referents already in the shared attentional focus (Diessel 2006: 469–470). Demonstrative markers in CSIH are comprised of the so-called "proximal" and "distal" demonstratives, the latter constructed from unbound third person markers, prefixed with the definite article *ha* 'the', and thus morphologically unrelated to the unmarked set of demonstratives. The distal demonstratives are used far less frequently than their proximal counterparts, and are used not only to indicate objects perceptibly less immediate or farther away, but also to contrast between

[28] In fact, each of these utterances includes additional referential elements referring to the referents in question – the person bound marker in *Ø-e'se* '1SG.PRD-will.do' (ex. 5.13); the nonperson (number-gender) marker in *ro'ʦe-Ø* 'want-SGM' (ex. 5.14); the person bound marker in *haj't-a* 'was-3SGF.PRD' and the nonperson (number-gender) marker in *ro'ʦ-a* 'want-SGF' (ex. 5.15). The referential capacities of these elements are discussed in §5.1.2.2.

two entities from the speaker's point of view (Schwarzwald 2001: 34, Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 170–172, Halevy 2013: 693–694; Dekel 2014: 143–145). The demonstrative paradigm is displayed in Table 5.4:

Table 5.4 – Demonstrative markers in CSIH

		Unmarked	SGM	SGF	PL
Non-attributive	proximal	*ze*	-	*zo/u, 'zot(i)*	*'ele/u*
	distal	-	*ha'hu*	*ha'hi*	*ha'hem*
Attributive	proximal	-	*ha'ze*	*ha'zo/u, ha'zot(i)*	*ha'ele/u*
	distal	-	*ha'hu*	*ha'hi*	*ha'hem*

In informal registers, the demonstrative *ze* is by far the most frequent item. Although traditionally defined as a masculine singular form, in its non-attributive uses, *ze* functions as an unmarked form used mostly in connection with inanimate referents, regardless of their gender or number (Dekel 2014: 128; Cohen 2016: 179, 184). In addition, it may assume non-referential functions in which it does not stand in for any particular entity and is not co-referential with an antecedent in the linguistic context (Halevy 2006; Borochovsky 2010: 183–207). The examples below illustrate the distribution of *ze* in various syntactic positions – subject (ex. 5.16, 5.18), predicate (ex. 5.17, 5.18), object (ex. 5.19), and modifier (ex. 5.20–5.22):

(5.16) ***ze*** *gam χa'ʃuv-**Ø*** ||
DEM also important-**SGM** ||
'**This** is also important.'

(P931_3_sp2_150)

(5.17) *ha=ma'lon hu* *kol **ze*** ||
DEF=hotel 3SGF.PRD all **DEM** ||
'The hotel is all **this**.'

(D142_sp1_249)

(5.18) ***ze*** ***ze*** ||
DEM **DEM** ||
'This is it.'

(C612_4_sp1_278)

(5.19) *taχ'nis* *et=**ze*** *l=a=tik* ||
put.inside.IMP.SGM ACC=**DEM** to=DEF=bag ||
'Put **it** in the bag.'

(C842_sp2_199)

(5.20) ***ha=a'ʦiʦ*** ***ha=ze*** *met-**Ø*** ||
DEF=pot(SGM) DEF=DEM.SGM dead-**SGM** ||
'**This plant** is dead.'

(C712_2_sp4_002)

(5.21) *'efo* ***ha='glid-a*** ***ha=zot*** /
where **DEF=ice.cream-SGF DEF=DEM.SGF** /
'Where is **that ice cream**?'

(C711_3_sp3_030)

(5.22) *kχi* *et=**ha=ugi'j-ot*** ***ha='ele*** *mi'meni* ||
take.IMP.SGF ACC=**DEF=cooky-PL DEM.PL** from.me ||
'Take **these cookies** away from me.'

(C711_0_sp2_216)

5.1.2.1.3 Nominal interrogative markers

As in many other languages (Lindström 1995), IH has an animacy distinction in regards to nominal interrogative markers – *mi* 'who' and *ma* 'what'. Contrary to common views that these forms have no referential capacity, I view them as referential devices because of their close connection to the identification of referents. The interrogative marker *mi* 'who' is typically used in connection with animate – primarily human – referents (example 5.23), whereas *ma* 'what' is used in connection with various types of inanimate referents (example 5.24):

(5.23) 1 sp3 ***mi*** *hi'gia-**Ø*** *et'mol* *χuʦ.mi='bahat* ||
who arrived-**3SGM.PRD** yesterday beside=Bahat ||
'**Who** arrived yesterday besides Bahat?'

2 sp2 ***'eli ve 'liza*** ||
Eli and Lisa ||
'**Eli and Lisa**.'

(C711_1_sp4_002, sp1_007)

(5.24) 1 sp4 *aba* | ***leχabot*** *o* ***lehorid*** ***et=ha=kol*** ||
father | **to.turn.off** or **to.decrease** **ACC=DEF=volume** ||
'Dad, to **turn it off** or **to decrease the volume**?'

2 ***ma*** *ata* *maadif* ||
what you.SGM preferring.SGM ||
'**What** do you prefer?'

3 sp2 ***toridi*** ***et=ha=kol*** ||
decrease.IMP.SGF **ACC=DEF=volume** ||
'**Decrease the volume**.'

(C714_sp4_036-038, sp2_015)

In (5.23), sp3 initiates a new referential chain with *mi*, 'who', seeking to identify a human referent (line 1). Sp2 reciprocates by providing the identity of that referent (line 2), thus closing the chain. In (5.24), *ma* 'what' is used in connection with two options mentioned in line 1, of which sp4 asks sp2 to choose one. In response, sp2 continues the referential chain, by choosing one of the options.

5.1.2.2 Bound PNG-markers

IH makes use of bound PNG-markers that are morphologically incorporated into finite verbal forms. These forms are structured as a morphological complex consisting of two overt components: a verbal stem and a PNG-marker. Each verbal form indicates predication, or nexus, between these two components (Goldenberg 2006: 175; Izre'el 2012: 219–220; Zewi 2013: 830). Each verbal form, then, essentially is a bipartite clause, consisting of both subject and predicate. Let us examine the structure of CSIH verbs more closely in Table 5.5:

Table 5.5 – Verbal morphology in CSIH

	suffix conjugation	prefix conjugation
1SG	*ga'dal-**ti*** grew-**1SG.PRD** '**I** grew'	*Ø*[29]*-eg'dal* **1SG.PRD**-will.grow '**I** will grow'
2SGM	*ga'dal-**ta*** grew-**2SGM.PRD** '**you(SGM)** grew'	***t**-ig'dal* **2SGM.PRD**-will.grow '**you(SGM)** will grow'

[29] To be more precise, the 1SG bound marker alternates between *Ø-* and *j-*, the latter being charachteristic of informal and less monitored speech (Diskin Ravid 1995: 43; Bolozky 2003: 133–134). For more information about this alternation, see p. 50.

2SGF	*ga'dal-**t*** grew-**2SGF.PRD** '**you(SGF)** grew'	***t**-igd'l-**i*** **2SGF.PRD**-will.grow-**2SGF.PRD** '**you(SGF)** will grow'
3SGM	*ga'dal-**Ø*** grew-**3SGM.PRD** '**he** grew'	***j**-ig'dal* **3SGM.PRD**-will.grow '**he** will grow'
3SGF	*gad'l-**a*** grew-**3SGF.PRD** '**she** grew'	***t**-ig'dal* **3SGF.PRD**-will.grow '**she** will grow'
1PL	*ga'dal-**nu*** grew-**1PL.PRD** '**we** grew'	***n**-ig'dal* **1PL.PRD**-will.grow '**we** will grow'
2PL	*ga'dal-**tem*** grew-**2PL.PRD** '**you(PL)** grew'	***t**-igd'l-**u*** **2PL.PRD**-will.grow-**2PL.PRD** '**you(PL)** will grow'
3PL	*gad'l-**u*** grew-**3PL.PRD** '**they** grew'	***j**-igd'l-**u*** **3PL.PRD**-will.grow-**3PL.PRD** '**they** will grow'

Each of the verbal forms in Table 5.5 is a minimal bipartite clause, consisting of both a subject and a predicate. The PNG-markers are in fact "tenacious" bound markers (Kibrik 2011: §3.3.2) – they are present in the clause irrespective of whether the referent is activated, and regardless of whether a corresponding full NP is present or not.[30] In this respect, IH verbal system exhibits a similar structure to that of many other languages, in which pronominal subjects are normally expressed by means of affixes on the verb. According to Kibrik (2011) and Dryer (2013), this structure is very common, used by 437 languages out of the 711 languages compared in the WALS database. The bound PNG-markers are predicational, that is, they may function as a subject or as a predicate.

Although in the majority of instances these markers function as the subject, they may occasionally function as the predicate. One such instance has recently occurred in my own speech, while I was shopping for a dish dryer with my partner. While considering a particular dish dryer, my partner remarked *nitsta'reχ lehar'kiv o'to* 'We will have to install it (=the dish dryer)'. In light of my incompetence in installing home appliances, I replied, *titstareχ* 'You will have to.', prosodically highlighting the segment *ti-*, which consists of the 2SGM.PRD bound marker (*t-*), and the first vowel of the verbal stem (*-i-*). The bound marker in the sentence

[30] This type of bound markers is also termed "cross-index" by Haspelmath (2013: 207).

titstareχ ‘You will have to’, functions as the predicate conveying the new information in this context, whereas the verbal stem functions as the subject, communicating the given information.[31] Still, since this type of usage is extremely rare, and in the great majority of instances of CSIH, the bound PNG-markers function as the subject of the verbal clause, I will refer to bound PNG-markers as subject markers in general discussions of subject reference in the verbal clause.

Given the referential nature of bound markers, it might have been expected that reduced pronominal subject reference in the verbal clause would be achieved solely through bound markers. This, however, is only partially the case. Indeed, first and second person verbs do typically appear without free PNG-markers, whereas third person verbs usually appear with them (Bolozky 1984: 126; Ariel 1990: §6.1; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 164–166; Bar 2007; Polak-Yitzhaki 2007: 166; Cohen 2016: 128, 133). This opposition is quantitatively illustrated in Table 5.6, based on Polak-Yitzhaki (2004: 33–34) and Cohen (2016: §6.1):[32]

Table 5.6 – Distribution of pronominal subjects in verbal clauses

	Suffix conjugation				**Prefix conjugation**			
	+ Free PNG-marker		**- Free PNG-marker**		**+ Free PNG-marker**		**- Free PNG-marker**	
	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)
1SG	34%	16%	66%	84%	94%	97%	6%	3%
1PL	5%	7%	95%	93%	11%	3%	89%	93%
2SGM	0%	15%	100%	85%	0%	3%	100%	97%
2SGF	17%	10%	83%	90%	0%	6%	100%	94%
2PL	0%	7%	100%	93%	0%	0%	100%	100%
3SGM	74%	81%	26%	19%	78%	82%	22%	18%
3SGF	87%	75%	13%	25%	80%	63%	20%	27%
3PL	81%	80%	19%	20%	-	86%	-	14%

A large portion of first and second person verbs, as seen in Table 5.6, appears without free PNG-markers – 66%–100% of the SC-verbs, and 89%–100% of PC-verbs. An exception to this tendency are 1SG PC-verbs, which normally appear with an external subject.[33] A large

[31] This syntactic analysis follows the approach outlined in §3.2, according to which syntax, information structure and prosody integrate in spoken language structure, and syntactic components take their conceptual status from a complex analysis of which the primary originating force is contextual.
[32] The percentages in Table 5.6 were calculated based on absolute numbers reported in the respective sources.
[33] See footnote 35.

proportion of third person verbs, on the other hand, appear with an external subject – 74%–87% of the SC-verbs, and 63%–86% of PC-verbs.

Example 5.25 illustrates a frequent pattern of first-person SC-verbs:

(5.25) 1 ***a'ni*** *ja'da-**ti*** *ʃe* ***a'ni*** ***Ø-e**tsta're*χ *et=ze a'*χ*arka*χ *'ʃuv.paam* |
1SG.PRD knew-**1SG.PRD** that **1SG.PRD** **1SG.PRD**-will.need ACC=DEM after.that again |
'**I** knew **I** would need it again afterwards'

2 *az 'lama li liz'rok et=ze* /
so why to.me to.throw ACC=DEM /
'so why should I throw it away?'

3 (1.0) *kʃe a'zav-**ti*** *et=ha=ki'buts* | *az 'sam-**ti*** *et=ze b=a=arga'zim* |
(1.0) when left-**1SG.PRD** ACC=DEF=kibbutz | so put-**1SG.PRD** ACC=DEM in=DEF=boxes |
'(1.0) When **I** left the kibbutz, **I** put it in the boxes'

(C711_0_sp1_097-101)

We can see that when sp1 mentions herself for the first time in her turn, saying *a'ni ja'dati* 'I knew', the first-person reference is achieved by both the 1SG.PRD bound person marker *-ti* and the 1SG.PRD unbound person marker *a'ni*. In the two additional SC-verbs in this turn, *a'zavti* 'I left' and *'samti* 'I put', sp1 refers to herself solely via the 1SG.PRD bound person marker *-ti*. Since first and second person verbs tend to appear without an external pronominal subject, prior studies demonstrate that external subjects may be triggered by particular semantic, pragmatic, and interactional contexts. From an interactional perspective, Hacohen & Schegloff (2006) demonstrated that external first and second person subjects may appear in environments of dispreferred actions, from disagreement with the prior talk of the recipient, through reporting prior talk involving disagreement or rejection, to report of a conversation whose upshot is marked as being negatively valenced for the current recipient. Additional motivations were illustrated by Cohen (2016: 80–82, 100–103, 110–113) – highlighting the contrast between the first or the second person and other referents, highlighting subjectivity in utterances with mental-perception/statement/modal verbs, highlighting intersubjectivity with the recipient of the (typically deontic) utterance, and conveying the speaker's surprise regarding the content she is about to relay to her listeners.

Focusing on the expression of the third person, recall that Table 5.5 demonstrated that third person verbs are morphologically marked. For the sake of convenience, I present the third person verbal morphology in Table 5.7 below:

Table 5.7 – Third person verbal morphology in CSIH

	suffix conjugation	prefix conjugation
3SGM	*ga'dal-**Ø*** grew-**3SGM.PRD** '**he** grew'	***j**-ig'dal* **3SGM.PRD**-will.grow '**he** will grow'
3SGF	*gad'l-**a*** grew-**3SGF.PRD** '**she** grew'	***t**-ig'dal* **3SGF.PRD**-will.grow '**she** will grow'
3PL	*gad'l-**u*** grew-**3PL.PRD** '**they** grew'	***j**-igd'l-**u*** **3PL.PRD**-will.grow-**3PL.PRD** '**they** will grow'

As Table 5.7 illustrates, 3SGF.PRD and 3PL.PRD morphemes are represented by overt forms: *-a* and *-u* in the suffix conjugation, *t-* and *j---u* in the prefix conjugation, respectively. The 3SGM.PRD morpheme is overtly represented by *j-* in the prefix conjugation, and non-overtly by a morphological zero *-Ø* in the suffix conjugation.[34] The theoretical decision to represent the 3SGM.PRD verbal affix as a morphological zero is due not only to its paradigmatic contrast with the overt personal affixes in the suffix-conjugation paradigm, but also to the fact that the 3SGM morpheme in IH has additional overt allomorphs. In other words, then, the 3SGM.PRD morphological zero is not the sole realization of the 3SGM morpheme (Segel 2008: 6).

Example 5.26 illustrates the use of the 3SGF.PRD bound marker in two SC-verbs: *raa't-a* 'saw-3SGF.PRD' and *heχ'lit-a* 'decided-3SGF.PRD':

(5.26) 1 sp2 *ha'rej 'lama hit'χil kol ha=χi'kuχ ʃe'li ve=ʃel='**gili**/*
after.all why started.3SGM.PRD all DEF=friction my and=of=**Gili**/
'Why did all the friction between me and **Gili** start?'

2 *kʃe **hi** raa't-**a** ʃe a'ni matχi'la lehats'liaχ*
when **3SGF.PRD** saw-**3SGF.PRD** that I starting.SGF to.suceed
'When **she** saw that I was starting to succeed'

3 *ve a'ni kvar matχi'la leha'gia l=a=ra'ma ʃe'l=**a** |*
and I already starting.SGF to.reach to=DEF=level of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'and already starting to reach **her** level'

[34] It should be pointed out that not every instance of a bound third person marker is referential. Non-referential 3SGM bound markers can be found in verbs that participate in several constructions: a presentative-existential construction (Izre'el 2018c), an existential-like thetic construction (Halevy 2016), and non-referential 3PL bound markers can be found in third-person plural impersonals (Berman 2011). Such non-referential instances are not examined in this paper.

4 (0.6) *pa'ʃut heχ'lit-**a*** *lid'roχ* @--
(0.6) simple decided-**3SGF.PRD** to.step @--
'(0.6) **She** simply decided to step---'

(OCD_3_sp2_001-003)

Both of these verbs represent actions performed by sp2's co-worker, Gili, represented here by means of the 3SGF.PRD bound marker in the verbs *raa't-a* 'saw-3SGF.PRD' and *heχ'lit-a* 'decided-3SGF.PRD'. Gili is also represented by the unbound marker *hi* 'she' in the clause with *raa't-a* 'saw-3SGF.PRD'; in the clause with *heχ'lit-a* 'decided-3SGF.PRD', however, the 3SGF.PRD bound marker is Gili's sole representation. This demonstrates that the subject referent in verbal clauses is always realized internally as a part of the third person verbal form. It could also be realized externally, as a lexical NP or an unbound person marker. Reduced subject reference in verbal clauses, then, involves a choice between a bound marker alone, or a combination of a bound and unbound markers. In making the quantitative analysis, bound person markers were counted as such only when they appeared as the exclusive representation of the subject referent.

The above discussion is intended to demonstrate that the third person in the CSIH verbal system is marked by bound person markers. Still, third person verbal forms in IH are often surprisingly regarded as containing an 'empty' or 'zero' element. The WALS studies, for example, categorized IH as a language with zero marking in all third person singular forms (Siewierska 2013). Coffin and Bolozky (2005: 165) went further, claiming that third person verbs do not include person features. Glinert (1989: 53, fn. 2) claimed that third person verbal inflection marks only gender and number, whereas person is zero-marked. Ariel (1998b: 94; 2000: 238) similarly claimed that SC-verbs have 'zero marking' in all third person forms, while PC-verbs do not have 'zero' marking at all. Oddly enough, Ariel (2000: 238) illustrates the "zero" marking of third person SC-verbs by exemplifying the inflection of the verb *safar* 'to count' in the following manner: *safar+Ø, safr**a**+Ø, safr**u**+Ø* (my emphases). It is unclear why Ariel decided that the endings *-a* and *-u* form part of the verbal stem rather than represent the person marking of the verbal form.

Regarding all third person verbs as 'zero marked' is, in fact, a misconception disseminated by several reasons. First, despite their obvious capacity to function as independent clauses in themselves (as demonstrated in example 5.26), third person verbs in CSIH typically appear with an additional external subject, such as a free pronoun or a lexical NP (Bar 2007; Cohen 2016: 128, 133). The tendency of third person verbs to appear with an external subject is unlike

first and second person verbs, which typically appear without any external subject (Ariel 1990 § 6.1; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 164–166; Polak-Yitzhaki 2007: 166; see §5.1.2.2). The apparent need of an external subject may have been erroneously interpreted as evidence for the 'zero' marking of all third person verbal forms.

Furthermore, in grammatical and lexicological treatments of Hebrew, verbs are usually cited using their 3SGM SC-verb, the only third person form in which the person is expressed by a morphological zero, and not by an overt morpheme (see Table 5.7). The fact that the regular citation form of the verb lacks an overt person marker might have been mistakenly extended to the entire third person category.

What also could have contributed to this view is the theoretical interpretation of verbal bound person markers as agreement markers dependent on, or controlled by, the external subject, themselves being devoid of referential capacity.[35] The agreement approach has often been adopted by scholars operating within a generative framework which, under some of its implementations, presupposes an underlying pronoun in the subject position which is deleted in sentences lacking a subject pronoun, a phenomenon glossed as "pro-drop". Within this framework, a distinction is drawn between languages that allow pro-drop, such as Spanish or Italian, and languages that do not, such as English or French. Israeli Hebrew, according to this approach, is said to be a 'partial pro-drop' language with regard to person – pro-drop is allegedly permitted in the first and second persons, but restricted in the third person (Vainikka & Levy 1999; Levy & Vainikka 2000; Gutman 2004; Melnik 2007). It is interesting that these concepts are often employed by scholars who do not strictly adhere to a generative framework, possibly as a result of the influence of traditional European linguistics, later enhanced by generative approaches, on general linguistics. Glinert (1989: 53, fn. 1), for instance, defined the verbal bound markers as "**just** 'agreement formatives'" (my emphasis), while acknowledging at the same time that "the pronoun they agree with is often omitted". The fact that third person verbs in IH typically appear with external subjects may have also been contributive to the view that verbal inflection has the status of an agreement due to the expectation that a referent would be represented in a clause by a single linguistic element.

Applying the agreement analysis to IH verbs is highly problematic for several reasons. First, it is particularly counterintuitive when applied for first and second person verbs, since in most

[35] For an overview of typological, diachronic, and functional aspects of agreement, see Haig & Forker (2018).

cases such verbs appear with no external subject to agree with. Indeed, Croft is correct in pointing out that in many of the world's languages, "the putative controller is absent from the sentence" (Croft 2001: 227). An agreement analysis would presumably be more valid for third person verbs which indeed tend to appear with an external subject; it would be preferable, however, to provide a unified interpretation of the verbal inflection, one which applies to all the persons, regardless of the presence or absence of an external subject (see also Kibrik 2011: 208). The distinction between pronouns and agreement may eventually prove redundant if one were to frustrate the expectation according to which arguments should not be expressed more than once. An alternative approach would be to allow discourse referents to have multiple representations/indexes within a single construction ("multiple symbolization" Langacker [2008: 188]; "double indexation" Siewierska [2010: 259]; "double expression" Haspelmath [2013: 212]) so that all of the indexes jointly constitute the subject argument, thereby distributing the act of reference over several referential elements.

A recent proposal in this direction has been made by Kibrik (2019), who argued against the prevailing form-to-form approach to agreement, according to which agreement is a morphosyntactic mechanism of copying features from one linguistic element (controller) to another one (target). Based mainly on evidence from Russian, Kibrik shows that the form-to-form approach encounters massive difficulties when confronted with data such as missing controllers or feature mismatches. Instead, he proposes to reconceptualize agreement as a cognition-to-form mapping, according to which agreement features, such as person, number, and gender, are associated with referents in the cognitive representation. Whenever speakers intends to mention a referent, they attend to that referent, leading to its activation in the speaker's working memory along with the corresponding lemmas. Whenever a language cares about a particular referential feature, it requires speakers to activate it along with the referent. As the speaker produces a clause containing the referent, relevant features are mapped onto language-specific sites where these features must be marked in the given language. Apparent agreement between various sites is considered a side effect of mappings from the same cognitive source. Kibrik's proposal, alongside similar suggestions made in other studies (e.g., Barlow 1999; Langacker 2008; Haspelmath 2013; Croft 2001, 2013), indicate the need for a radical revision of our current understanding of agreement.

The view adopted in this dissertation breaks with both the common 'zero' approach and the agreement approach often implemented in relation to third person verbal inflection. First, it is

evident that third person verbs are morphologically marked: SC-verbs with *-Ø* (3SGM.PRD), *-a* (3SGF.PRD), *-u* (3PL.PRD), and PC-verbs with *j-* (3SGM.PRD), *t-* (3SGF.PRD), *j---u* (3PL.PRD). It seems reasonable, then, to adopt Kibrik's (2011: 236) convention to "not posit zero whenever an overt referential device is present that can possibly carry referential function". The absence of an overt person marker in 3SGM SC-verbs does not mean that the form is unmarked for person: it is defined with regard to the rest of the paradigm. Thus, the absence of an overt person marker in this case should be seen as a morphological zero (Kibrik 2011: 233).[36] Consequently, I propose that the system of reduced subject reference in the verbal clause is 'split' with regard to the preferred reduced referential device (see Kibrik 2011: 160–161) – a bound person marker for locutor reference, and a combination of a bound person marker and an unbound person marker for non-locutor reference. Put differently, the preferred reduced referential device for non-locutor subjects in the verbal clause is informationally redundant, in that it employs two distinct forms that provide the identical information; whereas the preferred reduced referential device for locutor subjects in the verbal clause is informationally efficient, because it employs a single, and the most attenuated, form possible.[37] An important question one might pose at this stage is how this split situation came about. This question will be the focus of discussion in §5.1.2.3, in which I will suggest several possible explanations.

On a more general level, I contend that describing referential systems by notions such as 'ellipsis', 'deletion', 'zero anaphora', 'zero pronoun', and 'pro-drop' – notions that, explicitly or implicitly, presuppose the omission of some non-existent component in an underlying syntactic structure – is unwarranted. These terms seem to reflect a static view of language as a set of formal objects, rather than as actions and processes embedded in a temporally unfolding communicative and cognitive project. According to the static view of language, these formal objects can be moved from a specific location to their current location in the utterance, or removed altogether, leaving an empty slot – as implied by the terms mentioned above (Ewing 2005: 89; Kibrik 2011: 77; Linell 2013: 59–61).[38] These terms, moreover, are highly Anglocentric: although these concepts have been used in linguistics since ancient times (e.g.,

[36] This view is in line with the criteron for positing morphological zeroes formulated by Cysouw (2003: 64): "The crucial argument for the existence of a zero is that the counterpart (here: speaker and addressee marking) is obligatorily marked in a certain 'slot' of the linguistic structure. The emptiness of this slot can then be interpreted as having a meaning".

[37] With the exception of 1SG PC-verbs (see p. 48).

[38] See especially Linell (2013: 61, note 5): "…there is no reason to assume that a 'fronted' non-subject…. has ever 'been' anywhere else before it became 'fronted'. In languaging, speakers put items at the beginning of a turn or utterance, because there are communicative reasons to do so.".

Izre'el 2018b), the concepts and related terms have resurfaced in contemporary linguistics primarily to explain the various characteristics of English, mainly due to the coincidence that English was native language of a majority of researchers (Toyota 2003: 70). These terms are ill-fitted for languages with a rich verbal morphology which tend not to express all the referents in the clause explicitly, left, instead, to be inferred from the entire range of semantic and pragmatic factors present in the actual interaction.[39] The ubiquity of this phenomenon in the languages of the world suggests that the term "pro-drop" is an "upside-down misnomer" (Givon 2017: xiv), whereas the exact opposite seems to occur – "pro-add". Finally, these terms indicate that the missing arguments left unspoken must be reconstructed. Such a reconstruction is highly speculative, however, and is not supported by empirical evidence (Moneglia & Cresti 2006: 101–102). In fact, as suggested by Hopper (2011: 36) and Lee et al. (2009: 106), full clauses with overt arguments are perhaps better seen as secondary and expanded forms, rather than as primary and basic ones.

5.1.2.3 Origins of the locutor/non-locutor 'split'

In §5.1.2.2.1 I noted that the system of reduced subject reference in the CSIH verbal clause is 'split' with regard to the preferred reduced referential device: a bound person marker for locutor reference, and a combination of a bound person marker and an unbound person marker for non-locutor reference. In this section, I will address the following question: how might have this split come about? Since the main interest of this dissertation lies in the synchronic analysis of CSIH referential system, I will only venture possible hypotheses, leaving their corroboration for future diachronically-oriented research.

To begin with, the split between locutor and non-locutor reference may be viewed in the light of the pragmatic opposition between first and second persons and the third person, which stems from the different cognitive status of the speaker and of the addressee, and all the other referents (Benveniste 1966a, 1966b; Bolozky 1984: 127; Ariel 1998b: 106; Siewierska 2004: 5–8; Kibrik 2011: 42–43). The speaker and the addressee are activated in each other's minds during the

[39] Dryer (2013) points out that: "given the fact that languages that require a pronoun in subject position are fairly infrequent, there is a danger of such an approach being Anglo-centric, analysing other languages as being underlyingly like English despite their superficial differences". This seems especially true for many languages in East and Southeast Asia or in Australia, that are known for amply using "zero" reference. In relation to Japanese, for example, Ono & Thompson (1997: 489) claim that "zero anaphora" is a misleading metaphor for describing aspects of Japanese clause structure since in Japanese, referents like much of the information are inferred from the entire range of semantic and pragmatic factors which are present in the actual interaction in which speakers are engaged.

course of the conversation, with each mention of them relying on their prominence in the communicative situation; they are, in other words, consistently accessible. This is why it would be expected that they be referred to through the most reduced referential device available, in case of subject referents in the Hebrew verbal sentence: first and second person bound markers. Non-locutors, however, tend to be less activated than the speaker and the addressee, leading one to expect that they would be referred to with a less reduced referential device, such as an unbound third person marker or a lexical noun phrase. Ariel (2000: 218) formulates this expectation explicitly: "Third person referents are by default of rather low accessibility. They are not automatically extremely accessible as the speaker and the addressee are. Hence, they require special circumstances to merit pronominal or zero reference." This, according to Ariel (2000: 220), is why, the use of "zero" subject in many languages is sensitive to person, with first and second person much more compatible with "zeroes" than the third person. Although the resort to the cognitive/pragmatic opposition between the locutors and non-locutors seems convincing, it is nevertheless insufficient, since there are languages that do not exhibit the aforementioned split, and employ bound person markers as their preferred reduced referential device for every person. It seems to me, then, that such a pragmatic explanation ought to be supplemented with motivations that directly address the diachronic aspect of CSIH reduced referential system.

According to Kibrik (2011: Ch. 7; 2013), referential systems do not have to be stable over time. A language may change its dominant reduced referential device over a period of time. Such a change can follow different routes – in some languages it is a shift from unbound person markers (Kibrik's "free pronouns") to bound person markers (Kibrik's "bound pronouns"), while in others the original bound person markers shift into unbound person markers. The latter type of change is exemplified by Kibrik, who is concerned particularly with three Indo-European languages belonging to different subgroups – German (Germanic), French (Romance), and Russian (East-Slavic).

For more than almost a millennia, Kibrik writes, these languages evolved their dominant reduced referential device in subject position from bound person markers, represented by the verbal inflection in the present tense, to unbound person markers. This process was caused by different reasons and was brought to varying degrees of fruition. In the case of German and French languages, formerly bound person markers were relegated into marginally referential agreement markers and had undergone partial erosion, and unbound person markers gradually

became the main carriers of reference. This is thought to have been caused by the syntactic principle of verb second position, which favored the use of unbound markers in the clause-initial position, leading up to a point where they became virtually obligatory. In a similar fashion, the referential potential of the erstwhile bound person markers in Russian decreased, yet to a lesser extent than had occurred in German and French, reflecting a wider range of instances where bound person markers are the sole carrier of reference in Russian as opposed to German and French.[40] The shift from bound person markers to unbound person markers in Russian has had different causes than the concomitant shift in German and French. Kibrik (2013) names two factors that may have been responsible for such a development: language-internal structural changes and external linguistic influences. The former relate to the disappearance of person marking in the past tense, leading to the expansion of unbound subject markers in the past inflection, subsequentially extended to all types of clauses. The latter are connected with contact-induced influence of languages, most likely Germanic languages, where unbound person markers feature as a dominant reduced referential device in the subject position.

Were we to extend the discussion's premises to CSIH, it may be possible to surmise that the locutors/non-locutors split in the system of reduced subject reference in verbal clause has been a result of both language-internal and language-external factors. The latter is especially probable in the context of IH, a language that emerged during the first decades of the twentieth century whose first speakers were primarily Yiddish and Russian speaking immigrants, to whom Hebrew was a second language (Izre'el 2003; Spolski 2014: 255; Doron 2016: 7). In this respect, it is widely acknowledged that many grammatical constructions in CSIH – accusative marking of the definite NP in existential/possessive constructions (Taube 2016), the use of the demonstrative *ze* 'this' in a copula-like function (Kagan 2016), constructions with superfluous negation (Rubinstein, Sichel and Tsirkin-Sadan 2016), to name but a few – may be traced back to the influence of the contact with these languages. Accordingly, I hypothesize that contact-induced influence of Yiddish and Russian, the native languages of the first speakers of IH, could have been a contributive factor to the apparently redundant use of unbound person markers so common in CSIH. Bar-Ziv Levy (2017: 43–44) provides important evidence from the British Mandatory period for the superfluous (from the prescriptivist

[40] According to different counts, referential occurrences only through bound person markers account for between 25% and 33% of all referential occurrences in Russian (Kibrik 2013: 234).

perspective) use of unbound subject person markers in spoken Hebrew – regardless of the verbal form and the person. This use has been ascribed to the 'foreign' influence of European languages, consequently criticized by language educators, who tried to promote the use of bound person markers in subject position (to use a modern terminology) in the verbal system, citing its being a 'core feature of Hebrew' throughout its historical strata (Epstein 1947: 95–103). Discussing the influence of European languages, and particularly that of Yiddish, on the development of IH, Blanc (1954: 389) writes:

> This "Europeanization" has gone further than replica translations of words and phrases. Much of the grammatical structure of Israeli Hebrew has undergone, and is still undergoing, the same process. **The increased use of the personal pronoun with the verb in the three-tense system**, the word order, [...], and many other phenomena are contrary to classical usage and **result from European influence**. (my emphases)

Speakers of languages with extensive use of unbound subject markers, says Kibrik (2013: 251), tend to transfer this property of their native language when speaking a second language in which the "inflection only" pattern prevails. Taking this evidence together, it seems reasonable to assume that contact-induced influence of Yiddish and Russian has contributed to the expansion of unbound subject markers in CSIH. Such an expansion could also have been motivated by a language-internal factor, namely analogical extension from participial clauses, which form a paradigm with SC- and PC-verbs, and are traditionally viewed as conveying present tense. Unbound subject markers are the norm with participial predicates since participles are not marked for person; hence, it is plausible that this norm might have been extended to the suffix and prefix conjugations.

Still, judging from the current distribution of unbound subject markers in the verbal conjugations, we can see that the analogical extension has not reached its full potential, having become limited to the non-locutor domain of the suffix and prefix conjugation, whereas the locutors domain (with the exception of 1SG PC-verbs; see p. 48) mostly kept bound person markers as its dominant reduced referential device (see Table 5.6). This implies that other factors may have been at play, limiting the use of unbound subject pronouns to the third person. I propose this is motivated by the relative opaqueness of non-locutor bound markers in relation to the locutor bound markers – both in suffix conjugation and even more so in the prefix conjugation.

Let us recall the structure of the suffix and prefix conjugations initially illustrated in Table 5.5. In order to highlight the difference between locutor and non-locutor forms, the information in Table 5.5 is re-arranged accordingly in Table 5.8:

Table 5.8 – Verbal morphology in CSIH

	Unbound person markers	**Suffix Conjugation**	**Prefix conjugation**
1SG	*a'ni*	*ga'dal-**ti*** grew-**1SG.PRD** '**I** grew'	***Ø**-eg'dal* **1SG.PRD**-will.grow '**I** will grow'
1PL	*a'naχnu*	*ga'dal-**nu*** grew-**1PL.PRD** '**we** grew'	***n**-ig'dal* **1PL.PRD**-will.grow '**we** will grow'
2SGM	*a'ta*	*ga'dal-**ta*** grew-**2SGM.PRD** '**you(SGM)** grew'	***t**-ig'dal* **2SGM.PRD**-will.grow '**you(SGM)** will grow'
2SGF	*at*	*ga'dal-**t*** grew-**2SGF.PRD** '**you(SGF)** grew'	***t**-igd'l-**i*** **2SGF.PRD**-will.grow-**2SGF.PRD** '**you(SGF)** will grow'
2PL	*a'tem*	*ga'dal-**tem*** grew-**2PL.PRD** '**you(PL)** grew'	***t**-igd'l-**u*** **2PL.PRD**-will.grow-**2PL.PRD** '**you(PL)** will grow'
3SGM	*hu*	*ga'dal-**Ø*** grew-**3SGM.PRD** '**he** grew'	***j**-ig'dal* **3SGM.PRD**-will.grow '**he** will grow'
3SGF	*hi*	*gad'l-**a*** grew-**3SGF.PRD** '**she** grew'	***t**-ig'dal* **3SGF.PRD**-will.grow '**she** will grow'
3PL	*hem*	*gad'l-**u*** grew-**3PL.PRD** '**they** grew'	***j**-igd'l-**u*** **3PL.PRD**-will.grow-**3PL.PRD** '**they** will grow'

Ariel (1990: 116–117, 2000: 237–238) discussed the relative transparency/opaqueness of the bound subject markers in the CSIH verbal system. Comparing the bound subject markers of SC-verbs and PC-verbs, Ariel concludes that the respective person markers are different: the person markers of SC-verbs are relatively transparent in that they resemble the corresponding unbound marker to a high degree, whereas the person markers of the PC-verbs are relatively opaque as they hardly resemble corresponding unbound markers. Ariel only discusses this issue, however, in relation to first and second persons, since to her, third person verbs are "zero" marked. This position, as I have already shown, is untenable not least because most of the third person forms have an overt person ending (see discussion in §5.1.2.2). I would therefore

propose that in order to accurately understand the split between locutor and non-locutor subject reference, we should also compare the relative transparency/opaqueness of non-locutors and locutors person marking within each paradigm.

Starting with the suffix conjugation, it is clear that the locutor person markers (*-ti*, *-nu*, *-ta*, *-t*, *-tem*) are considerably more transparent than their non-locutor counterparts (*-Ø*, *-a*, *-u*). The former, with the exception of *-ti*, are essentially a shortened form of the corresponding unbound subject markers (*anaχnu*, *ata*, *at*, *atem*), whereas the latter are entirely unrelated to the corresponding unbound subject markers (*hu*, *hi*, *hem*) (Ariel 1990: 117; Levy & Vainikka 2000: 366). The opaqueness of the third person in the prefix conjugation is greater since we are dealing here with two contributive factors to their opaqueness. First, the locutor person markers (*Ø-*, *n-*, *t-*, *t---i*, *t---u*) are more transparent than non-locutor person markers (*j-*, *t-*, *j---u*), but less so than in the suffix conjugation. The former, with the exception of *-Ø*, share a consonant with the corresponding unbound subject markers (*anaχnu*, *ata*, *at*, *atem*), whereas the latter are entirely unrelated to the corresponding unbound subject markers (*hu*, *hi*, *hem*). Second, two non-locutor person markers are ambiguous: the prefix *t-* marks both 2SGM and 3SGF, and the prefix *j-* has become a marker of 1SG in addition to the original 3SGM, especially in informal and less monitored speech (Diskin Ravid 1995: 43; Bolozky 2003: 133–134).[41] This change in spoken Hebrew has been documented almost a century ago (Bar-Ziv Levy 2017: 103–104). The merger of 1SG and 3SGM PC-verbal forms may partially explain the observation that in CSIH 1SG PC-verbs tend to appear with an external subject *ani* '1SG.PRD' (see §5.1.2.2). This suggests that not only are non-locutor person markers more opaque than locutor person marker within the prefix conjugation, but also that they appear to be more opaque than their counterparts in the suffix conjugation. This seems consistent with Bolozky's (1984: 128) observation that third person PC-verbs are less acceptable without unbound subject markers than third person SC-verbs. We can see, then, that non-locutor bound markers are generally more opaque than their locutor counterparts, but are especially so in the prefix conjugation.

In conclusion, the possible explanations raised in this section relate to two primary questions: (1) Why have unbound subject person markers come to be used in CSIH without any pragmatic motivation and considering the fact that bound person markers would suffice? (2) Why is the

[41] In Cysouw's (2003: §2.2) terminology, we can say that the bound marker *t-* exhibits a "Dutch-type" homophony, in having an identical marking for second and third person, whereas the bound marker *j-* exhibits a "Spanish-type" homophony in having an identical marking for the first and second person.

system of reduced subject reference in the CSIH verbal clause 'split' with regard to the preferred reduced referential device – a bound person marker for locutor reference, and a combination of a bound person marker and an unbound person marker for non-locutor reference? The answer to the first question involves a potential contact-induced historical influence of Yiddish and Russian that contributed to the expansion of unbound subject markers in CSIH, as well as a language-internal analogical extension from participial clauses where unbound subject markers were the norm because participles are not marked for person. The answer to the second question involves two possible explanations: (1) non-locutors are by default less activated than locutors, and will therefore be expected to be referred to with a less attenuated referring option than locutors, and (2), because non-locutor person markers are relatively more opaque than their locutor counterparts, a more transparent referential device may have been felt as needed.

5.1.2.4 Unexpressed reference

In this section, I describe two types of unexpressed reference in CSIH – unipartite adjectival/participial clauses (§5.1.2.4.1) and other types of unexpressed reference (§5.1.2.4.2).

5.1.2.4.1 Unipartite adjectival/participial clauses

The adjective/participle in IH is a morphological complex comprised by two components, an adjectival/participial lexeme/stem, and a nonperson (number-gender; henceforth: NG) marker. Let us examine the structure of adjectival/participial morphology more closely in Table 5.9 (adapted from Izre'el 2012: 220):

Table 5.9 – Adjectival/participial morphology in CSIH

	Participle			**Adjective**
	'grow(s)' 'growing'	'barefoot'	'frighten(s)' 'frightening' 'scary'	'big'
SGM[42]	*ga'del-**Ø***	*ja'χef-**Ø***	*maf'χid-**Ø***	*ga'dol-**Ø***
SGF	*gde'l-**a***	*jaχe'f-**a***	*mafχi'd-**a***	*gdo'l-**a***
PLM	*gde'l-**im***	*jaχe'f-**im***	*mafχi'd-**im***	*gdo'l-**im***
PLF	*gde'l-**ot***	*jaχe'f-**ot***	*mafχi'd-**ot***	*gdo'l-**ot***

[42] The decision to represent the SGM marker as a morphological zero throughout this dissertation is rationalized by the fact that it stands in paradigmatic opposition with overt number-gender markers in the paradigm (see footnote 33). Strictly speaking, however, the SGM morpheme in IH satisfies only the first condition – not the second one – for positing morphological zeroes, laid by Segel (2008: 6), since it does not have any overt allomorphs. Nevertheless, this choice was made primarily for practical reasons, namely making the referential capacity of the SGM marker more visible to the reader.

As illustrated in Table 5.9, participles and adjectives belong to the same paradigm, which differentiates the respective forms for number and gender, but not for person. The structural similarity is crucially reflected in the fact that in addition to their usage as temporal forms denoting an activity or a process that occurs in the present, future or past depending on what is implied by the context, participles are also a common source for adjective derivation (Halevy 2013; Werner 2013; Taube 2013). In this respect, some participles are used only as temporal forms, others are used exclusively as adjectives, still others may be used as both, depending on the context. The participles in Table 5.9 illustrate this behavior – the SGF participle *gde'l-a* may be used only as a temporal form (e.g., *ha=jal'da gde'la ma'her* 'the girl grows up fast'); the SGF participle *jaχe'f-a* may be used exclusively as an adjective (e.g., *ha=jal'da jaχe'fa* 'the girl is barefoot'); and the SGF participle *mafχi'd-a* may be used either as a temporal form (e.g., *ha=jal'da mafχi'da o'ti* 'the girl scares me'), or as an adjective (e.g., *ha=jal'da mafχi'da* 'the girl is scary'). Despite their structural similarity, participles and adjectives have usually been treated separately in traditional grammars – adjectives as part of the description of noun phrase structure, participles as part of the description of verbal inflection. As a result, the referential capacities of each of these categories are typically regarded differently – participles' NG-markers are accorded the same referential status as that of the verbal PNG-markers, whereas adjectives' NG-markers are considered agreement markers without referential capacity.

In contrast, I argue that the adjectival/participial NG-markers represent a single referential device, a nonperson marker incorporated in the participle/adjective. Participles and adjectives are morphological complexes consisting of a lexical component and a nonperson NG-marker that relates to a referent to which the lexical component relates. Much like verbs, participles and adjectives are independent forms which incorporate a referential element that refers to properties of the referent. They are set apart from verbs by nature of these properties – person, number, and gender, in verbal forms; number and gender in adjectival/participial forms. A similar claim was made by Croft (2013: 96), who explicitly argued that "all indexes, including nonperson indexes, refer". Croft's definition of 'index' is markedly broad, inclusive of bound person forms and bound forms that index other properties of referents, such as gender and number (ibid.: 96–97). This argument is also consonant with Kibrik's (2019) proposal that "agreement" inflections are usually referential.

In formulating this argument, I adopt Goldenberg's (1998a; 2013: ch. 14) notion of adjectives as "the syntactically independent expression of an entity as characterized by some quality or

state" (Goldenberg 2013: 230). In his discussion of the attributive relation in Semitic languages, Goldenberg resists definitions of the adjective as a "word that names a quality" or as "the main set of items which specify the attributes of nouns", suggestive of a dependency of the adjective on the noun it modifies. Instead, Goldenberg argues that an essential part of the adjectives' meaning is that they do not name qualities but possessors of qualities (Goldenberg 1998a: 6–7), defining them as "an attributive complex with pronominal reference and attribute as distinguishable components, the former represented by the inflexional markers and the latter given in the lexeme involved" (ibid.: 8). The view is also compatible with the cross-linguistic ubiquity of free adjectives – nearly every language in the sample examined in WALS studies has adjective-without-noun constructions, with the majority (73/124=59%), allowing bare adjectives without any additional construction markers be used as complete noun phrases denotive of an understood object (Gil 2013; see also Croft 2001: 227).

Examples 5.27–5.30 illustrate the use of nonperson NG-markers in attributive and predicative adjectives:

(5.27) *hem ka'nu* ***maχ'ʃir*** ***χa'daʃ-Ø*** *ni'ra* *li* ||
they they.bought **device(SGM) new-SGM** seeming.3SGM.PRD to.me ||
'They bought **a new device** I think.'

(C711_0_sp1_116)

(5.28) *gam ko'rin 'ʃara* ***χada'ʃ-im*** ||
also Korin she.sang **new-PLM** ||
'Korin also sang **new (songs)**.'

(C714_sp1_086)

In examples 5.27–5.28, the adjective *χa'daʃ* 'new' is used attributively. There is, however, a difference between the two in the realization of the modified referent: while in example 5.27, the modified referent is realized both by the noun *maχ'ʃir* 'device' and by the SGM marker incorporated in *χa'daʃ-Ø* 'new-SGM', in example 5.28 the modified referent is realized only by means of the PLM marker incorporated in *χada'ʃ-im* 'new-PLM'.

(5.29) ***'aba*** ***ʃe'li*** *mis'ken-Ø* ||
father my miserable-**SGM** ||
'**My father** is miserable.'

(Y33_sp2_139)

(5.30) *ma* ***hu*** *a'var-**Ø*** || *mis'ken-**Ø*** ||
what **3SGM.PRD** went.through-**3SGM.PRD** || miserable-**SGM** ||
'The things **he** went through. Poor **(guy)**.'

(Y33_sp2_234-235)

In examples 5.29–5.30, the adjective *mis'ken* 'miserable' is used predicatively. There is a difference in the realization of the predicated referent, however: the clause in example 5.29 is bipartite, with the predicated referent realized in the subject position by the lexical NP *'aba ʃe'li* 'my father' and also indexed by the SGM marker incorporated in *mis'ken-Ø* 'miserable-SGM'. By contrast, the second clause in example 5.30 is unipartite, consisting only of a predicate without an overt subject. An overt referential expression to which this predicate can be ascribed, could be located in the previous clause. At the same time, that referent is indexed by means of the SGM marker incorporated in *mis'ken-Ø* 'miserable-SGM'. In the framework proposed here, such clauses are not regarded as including a zero subject or representing ellipsis of any kind. Instead, the link between the predicate *misken* 'miserable' and its referential anchor, *hu* 'he', is taken to be not on the syntactic level but on the discourse level (Izre'el 2018a, 2018b).

A similar picture arises in the use of participles, as illustrated in example 5.31:[43]

(5.31) 1 sp1 *'lama* ***hu*** *lo o'se-**Ø*** *'joga* | *o 'maʃehu ka'ze* --
why **3SGM.PRD** NEG doing-**SGM** yoga | or something like.this --
'Why doesn't **he** do yoga, or something like that'

2 sp2 *o'se-**Ø*** || *o'se-**Ø*** ||
doing-**SGM** || doing-**SGM** ||
'**He** does. **He** does.'

(Y33_sp1_193-194, sp2_247-248)

The participle *o'se-Ø* 'doing-SGM' is used here by both speakers in relation to a man they have been discussing. Each of the speakers' utterances realize the man differently, however: the clause in line 1 is bipartite, with the predicated referent realized in subject position by the 3SGM.PRD marker *hu* and also indexed by SGM marker incorporated in the participle *o'se-Ø* 'doing-SGM'. Each of the two clauses in line 2, by contrast, is unipartite, i.e. consisting only of

[43] For the purpose of this dissertation, the terms "participle" and "participial clause" are reserved for clauses in which the participle is employed with a temporal reference. Clauses with participles that are used as adjectives are subsumed under the term "adjectival clauses".

a predicate without an overt subject. An overt referential expression, to which this predicate can be ascribed, is located in the clause in line 1. Still, that referent is indexed by means of the SGM marker incorporated in the participle *o'se-Ø* 'doing-SGM'. Again, such clauses are not seen as including a zero subject or as representing ellipsis of any kind. The approach taken here sees the link between the predicate *ose* 'does' and its referential anchor *hu* 'he' not on the syntactic level, but on the discourse level (Izre'el 2018a, 2018b).

Unipartite clauses such as we saw in (5.30) and in (5.31) are construed here as instances of "unipartite adjectival/participial clause". This category is different from other unipartite clauses (with non-verbal and non-adjectival/participial predicates), and unexpressed non-subject reference ("other types of unexpressed reference"; see §5.1.2.4.2) because in containing an NG-marker, adjectival/participial predicates differ from other predicate types. Unipartite participial clauses are not infrequent, as evidenced on reports by Polak-Yitzhaki (2004: 33–34) and Cohen (2016: §6.1):

Table 5.10 – Subject expression in participial clauses

Subject expression / **Referent**	**+ Free PNG-marker (=bipartite clauses)**		**- Free PNG-marker (=unipartite clauses)**	
	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)	Polak-Yitzhaki (2004)	Cohen (2016)
1SG	90%	88%	10%	12%
1PL	58%	72%	42%	28%
2SGM	97%	93%	3%	7%
2SGF	98%	85%	2%	15%
2PL	100%	50%	0%	50%
3SGM	60%	86%	40%	14%
3SGF	89%	93%	11%	7%
3PL	80%	74%	20%	26%

We can see that, compared to verbs (see Table 5.6), the system of reduced subject reference in the participial clause is more uniform with regard to the preferred reduced referential device: for almost every person there is a preference for subject representation (ranging from 50% to 100%). Such a distribution may intuitively be explained by the need to add a person marker to establish a disambiguated subject reference, in light of the fact that participles are not marked for person in themselves. At the same time, we should not forget that unipartite clauses with no subject representation are not infrequent (ranging from 7% to 50%). It is precisely in these cases, I would suggest, that participles function as predicates in unipartite sentence, anchored

either to an overt referential expression in the preceding discourse, or to elements that are external to the discourse, whether within the origo of this specific discourse or external to it (cf. Izre'el 2018a, 2018b).

At this point, a qualification is in order. The adjectival/participial NG-markers bear partial resemblance to nominal endings. They do not, however, have a similar morphological or referential status. Each adjective/participle is systematically marked for number and gender by means of a dedicated suffix. Singular nouns, by contrast, are neither marked for gender, nor for number. Plural nouns are marked only for number. Still, it is worth noting that gender can be indicated by certain derivational suffixes, notably *-t* and *-a*, which characterize most of feminine nouns. See a demonstration of this point in Table 5.11:

Table 5.11 – Comparison between adjectival/participial and nominal inflection

	Participle			**Adjective**	**Noun**
	'grow(s)' 'growing'	'barefoot'	'frighten(s)' 'frightening' 'scary'	'big'	
SGM	*ga'del-**Ø***	*ja'χef-**Ø***	*maf'χid-**Ø***	*ga'dol-**Ø***	*'meleχ* 'king(M)' *dereχ* 'road(F)'
SGF	*gde'l-**a***	*jaχe'f-**a***	*mafχi'd-**a***	*gdo'l-**a***	*ʃul'j**a*** 'apprentice(M)' *ʃilj**a*** 'placenta(F)'
PLM	*gde'l-**im***	*jaχe'f-**im***	*mafχi'd-**im***	*gdo'l-**im***	*ba'n-**im*** 'boy(M)-PL' *na'ʃ-**im*** 'woman(F)-PL'
PLF	*gde'l-**ot***	*jaχe'f-**ot***	*mafχi'd-**ot***	*gdo'l-**ot***	*a'v-**ot*** 'father(M)-PL' *ba'n-**ot*** 'girl-PL'

We can draw a few conclusions from the table. First, we can see that absence of an ending signifies a singular-masculine in the adjective/participial paradigm, whereas in the nominal paradigm, both singular-masculine and singular-feminine nouns can have no ending, since gender is inherent in IH nouns. Second, the ending *-a* unequivocally signifies singular-feminine in the adjective/participial paradigm; whereas both singular-masculine and singular-feminine nouns can have an *-a* ending. Third, the endings *-im* and *-ot* unequivocally signify plural-masculine and plural-feminine, respectively, in the adjective/participial paradigm. In the nominal paradigm, however, these endings are not exclusively used for neither masculine, nor plural nouns. This partial overlap of endings between the adjectival/participial and nominal paradigms can be seen as an instance of inflectional syncretism, i.e. "identity in form between two grammatically different inflections" (Trask 1997: 215).

5.1.2.4.2 Other types of unexpressed reference

This category includes two subtypes: other unipartite clauses (with non-verbal and non-adjectival/participial clauses) (example 5.32), and unexpressed non-subject reference (example 5.33):

(5.32) 1 sp2 *bat.'kama* ***hi*** /
how.old **3SGF.PRD** /
'How old is **she**?'

2 *b=gi'lenu* /
in=our.age /
'Our age?'

3 sp1 *ʃa'na k- pa'χot* ||
year ERR less ||
'A year younger (than us).'

(Y33_sp2_018-019, sp1_047)

(5.33) 1 sp1 *ve b=a=ʦa'va ze jaf'ria l=**a*** ||
and in=DEF=army DEM it.will.disturb to=**3SGF.NPRD** ||
'And in the army it will disturb **her**.'

2 *az aχ'ʃav b=a=avo'da ze lo jaf'ria* /
so now in=DEF=army DEM NEG it.will.disturb /
'So now at work it won't disturb (**her**)?

(P423_2_sp1_055-056)

In (5.32), sp2 asks sp1 about the age of a woman they have been talking about for some time, and mentions this woman using *hi* 'she'. Before sp1 has the opportunity to answer, sp2 proposes a candidate answer to her own question, *begi'lenu* / 'our age?' (line 2), an answer soon revealed to be mistaken, as has been made evident by sp1's ensuing response, *ʃana* (…) *pa'χot* 'one year younger (than us)' (line 3). The two utterances in lines 2 and 3 provide information about the woman who was last mentioned by means of *hi* 'she'; neither of these utterances includes an explicit mention of that woman. Note, too, that both speakers could have mentioned this woman again using *hi* 'she', in what could have been a grammatical sentence: *hi begi'lenu* / 'is she our age?' and *hi ʃa'na k- pa'χot* 'she is one year younger (than us)'.[44] In

[44] These sentences may differ in their level of acceptability.

order to analyze such instances without recourse to notions such as “zero anaphora” and “ellipsis” (see discussion in §5.1.2.2), the utterances *begi'lenu* / ‘our age?’ and *ʃa'na k- pa'χot* ‘one year younger (than us)’ are viewed as unipartite sentences anchored to an intra-discursive component (Izre’el 2018a). In (5.33), sp1 mentions a woman twice in an attributive position – first by using the unbound 3SGF.NPRD marker =*a* (line 1), and then by using unexpressed reference (line 2). Unexpressed reference in this case appears to be possible due to the repetition of the verbal predicate that governs the preposition *l* ‘to.

5.2 The reduced referential system of Israeli Hebrew in typological perspective

Based on the discussion in §5.1, I will now venture a provisionary characterization of IH reduced referential system from a typological perspective. In his proposal of a typological framework through which to analyze referential systems, Kibrik (2011: 160–161, 2013: 228–230) speaks of referentially ‘consistent’ versus ‘inconsistent’ languages. The former use a single preferred type of reduced device for activated referents; the latter do not have one preferred reduced referential device, displaying instead a ‘split’ referential choice. Inconsistency, or sensitivity, in the referential choice can be of two kinds – either a language is predisposed to a particular reduced referential device, but might still use another on occasion, or a language uses two types of referential devices to a comparably equal degree. In either case, we are dealing with a particular referential device sensitive to contexts which determine whether it interchanges with another.

From this perspective, the reduced referential system of IH can be classified as inconsistent, or sensitive, with respect to three main categories – syntactic position (subject vs. non-subject), person (locutors vs. non locutors), and predicate type (verbal vs. adjectival/participial vs. other). The resulting referential system displays four types of alternations, which are commensurate to several types of languages. This system is demonstrated in Table 5.12 below:

Table 5.12 – Reduced referential system of CSIH according to alternation types

		Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	
Primary:	A	Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker	Bound PNG-marker	Unbound PNG-marker (+Bound NG-marker)	Unbound PNG-marker	
Secondary:	B	Bound PNG-marker	Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker	Unexpressed reference (+Bound NG-marker)	Unexpressed reference	
Domain:		Verbal clause		Adjectival/participial clause	Other clause types	All clause types
		Non-locutor subject expression	Locutor subject expression	Subject expression	Subject expression	Non-subject expression
Examples	A	***hu*** *ka'tav-**Ø**.* **3SGM.PRD** wrote-**3SGM.PRD** '**He** wrote.'	*ka'tav-**ti**.* wrote-**1SG.PRD** '**I** wrote.'	***hu*** *ko'tev-Ø.* **3SGM.PRD** writing-SGM '**He** is writing/**He** writes.'	***a'ni*** *b=a=mis'rad.* **1SG.PRD** in=DEF=office '**I** am at the office.'	*ka'tav-ti* *l=**o**.* wrote-1SG.PRD to=**3SGM.NPRD** 'I wrote **him**.'
	B	*ka'tav-**Ø**.* wrote-**3SGM.PRD** '(**He**) wrote.'	***a'ni*** *ka'tav-**ti**.* **1SG.PRD** wrote-**1SG.PRD** '**I** wrote.'	*ko'tev-Ø.* writing-SGM '(**He**) is writing.'	*b=a=mis'rad.* in=DEF=office. '(**I**) am at the office.'	*ka'tav-ti.* wrote-1SG.PRD 'I wrote (**him**).'
Comparable to:		Russian (non-past) (Kibrik 2013: 233–235)	Latin (Kibrik 2011: 210)	Russian (past) (Kibrik 2013: 233–235)	English (Weir 2012: 106)	English (Givón 2017: 152)
	A	*on igra-et.* he play-PRES.3SG 'He plays.'	*lūd-it.* play-PRES.3SG 'He/she/it plays.'	*on igra-l-Ø.* he play-PAST-M.SG 'He played.'	*I won't be in the office tomorrow.*	*…'n he starts chasing her around…*
	B	*igra-et.* play-PRES.3SG 'He/she/it plays.'	*is lūd-it.* 3SG.NOM play-PRES.3SG 'He/she/it plays.'	*igra-l-Ø.* play-PAST-M.SG 'I/you/he played.'	*Ø won't be in the office tomorrow*	*Yes…and he chases Ø around in a circle…*

Type 1 alternation relates to non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, and involves an opposition between the combination of a unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker (primary) and bound PNG-marker (secondary). This alternation was demonstrated in (5.26), reproduced below:

(5.26') 1 sp2 *ha'rej 'lama hit'χil kol haχi'kuχ ʃe'li veʃel* ***'gili*** /
DM why started.3SGM.PRD all the.friction my and.of **Gili** /
'Why did all the friction between me and **Gili** start?'

2 *kʃe* ***hi*** *raa't-**a*** *ʃe a'ni matχi'la lehats'liaχ*
when **3SGF.PRD** saw-**3SGF.PRD** that I starting.SGF to.suceed
'When **she** saw that I was starting to succeed'

3 *ve a'ni kvar matχi'la leha'gia l=a=ra'ma ʃe'l=**a*** |
and I already starting.SGF to.reach to=DEF=level of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'And already starting to reach **her** level'

4 (0.6) *paʃ'ut heχ'lit-**a*** *lid'roχ* @--
(0.6) simple decided-**3SGF.PRD** to.step @--
'(0.6) **She** simply decided to step---'

(OCD_3_sp2_001-003)

Type 2 alternation relates to locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, and involves opposition between a bound PNG-marker (primary) and the combination of an unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker (secondary). This alternation, illustrated in (5.25), is reproduced below:

(5.25') 1 ***a'ni*** *ja'da-**ti*** *ʃe* ***a'ni*** ***e**-tsta'reχ et=ze a'χarkaχ 'ʃuvpaam* |
1SG.PRD knew-**1SG.PRD** that **1SG.PRD 1SG.PRD**-will.need ACC=DEM after.that again |
'**I** knew **I** would need it again afterwards,'

2 *az 'lama li liz'rok et=ze* /
so why to.me to.throw.away ACC=DEM /
'So why should I throw it away?'

3 (1.0) *kʃe a'zav-**ti*** *et=ha=ki'buts* | *az 'sam-**ti*** *et=ze b=a=arga'zim* |
(1.0) when left-**1SG.PRD** ACC=DEF=kibbutz | so put-**1SG.PRD** ACC=DEM in=DEF=boxes |
'(1.0) When **I** left the kibbutz, **I** put it in the boxes,'

(C711_0_sp1_097-101)

Type 3 alternation relates to subject expression in adjectival/participial clauses, involving opposition between unbound PNG-marker (primary) and unexpressed reference (secondary). In both cases, bound NG-markers contribute to the identification of the referent. This alternation, illustrated in (5.31), is reproduced below:

(5.31’) 1 sp1 *'lama* ***hu*** *lo o'se-**Ø** 'joga | o 'maʃehu ka'ze* --
why **3SGM.PRD** NEG doing-**SGM** yoga | or something like.this --
‘Why doesn’t **he** do yoga, or something like that’

2 sp2 *o'se-**Ø*** || *o'se-**Ø*** ||
doing-**SGM** || doing-**SGM** ||
‘**He** does. **He** does.’

(Y33_sp1_193-194, sp2_247-248)

Finally, Type 4 alternation relates to subject expression in other clauses, as well as to non-subject expression in all clause types, involving opposition between unbound PNG-marker (primary) and unexpressed reference (secondary). This opposition, illustrated in (5.32) and (5.33), respectively, are reproduced below:

(5.32’) 1 sp2 *bat.'kama* ***hi*** /
how.old **3SGF.PRD** /
‘How old is **she**?’

2 *b=gi'lenu* /
in=our.age /
‘Our age?’

3 sp1 *ʃa'na k- pa'χot* ||
year ERR less ||
‘One year younger (than us)’

(Y33_sp2_018-019, sp1_047)

(5.33) 1 sp1 *ve b=a=ʦa'va ze jaf'ria l=**a*** ||
and in=DEF=army DEM it.will.disturb to=**3SGF.NPRD** ||
‘And in the army it will disturb **her**.’

2 *az aχ'ʃav b=a=avo'da ze lo jaf'ria* /
so now in=DEF=army DEM NEG it.will.disturb /
‘So now at work it won’t disturb (**her**)?

(P423_2_sp1_055-056)

We have seen thus far the complexity of reduced referential system of IH as illustrated by four types of alternations with respect to three main categories – syntactic position (subject vs. non-subject), person (locutors vs. non locutors), and predicate type (verbal vs. adjectival/participial vs. other). Regarding the referential options themselves, we can see how they differ with respect to the number of overt referential devices that cumulatively participate in each referential act and with respect to their status – from using no overt referential device (unexpressed reference; secondary), through the use of one referential device (single expression: bound PNG-marker or unbound PNG-marker; primary/secondary), to the use of two referential devices at the same time (double expression: unbound PNG-marker+bound PNG-marker; primary/secondary). To illustrate this variation, Table 5.12 was re-arranged as Table 5.13 below:

Table 5.13 – Reduced referential system of CSIH according to the number of overt referential devices in each option

	Device	Domain	Status	Example	Comparable to:
Unexpressed reference	-	Adjectival/ participial clause; Subject expression	Secondary	*ko'tev-Ø.* writing-SGM '(**He**) is writing/(**He**) writes.'	*igra-l-Ø.* play-PAST-M.SG 'I/you/he played.' (Russian past; Kibrik 2013: 233–235)
		Other clause types; Subject expression	Secondary	*b=a=mis'rad.* in=DEF=office '(**I**) am in the office.	*Ø won't be in the office tomorrow.* (English; Weir 2012: 106)
		All clause types; Non-subject expression	Secondary	*ka'tav-ti.* wrote-1SG.PRD 'I wrote (**him**).'	*Yes…and he chases Ø around in a circle…* (English; Givón 2017: 152)
Single expression	Bound PNG-marker	Verbal clause; Locutor subject expression	Primary	*ka'tav-**ti**.* wrote-**1SG.PRD** '**I** wrote.'	*lūd-it.* play-PRES.3SG 'S/he plays.' (Latin; Kibrik 2011: 210)
		Verbal clause; Non-locutor subject expression	Secondary	*ka'tav-**Ø**.* wrote-**3SGM.PRD** '(**He**) wrote.'	*igra-et.* play-PRES.3SG 'He/she/it plays.' (Russian non-past; Kibrik 2013: 233–235)
	Unbound PNG-marker	Adjectival/ participial clause; Subject expression	Primary	***hu*** *ko'tev-Ø.* **3SGM.PRD** writing-SGM '**He** is writing/**He** writes.'	*on igra-l-Ø.* he play-PAST-M.SG 'He played.' (Russian past; Kibrik 2013: 233–235)
		Other clause types; Subject expression	Primary	***a'ni*** *b=a=mis'rad.* **1SG.PRD** in=DEF=office '**I** am in the office.'	*I won't be in the office tomorrow.* (English; Weir 2012: 106)
		All clause types; Non-subject expression	Primary	*ka'tav-ti l=**o**.* wrote-1SG.PRD to=**3SGM.NPRD** 'I wrote **him**.'	*…'n he starts chasing her around…* (English; Givón 2017: 152)
Double expression	Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker	Verbal clause; Non-locutor subject expression	Primary	***hu*** *ka'tav-**Ø**.* **3SGM.PRD** wrote-**3SGM.PRD** '**He** wrote.'	*on igra-et.* he play-PRES.3SG 'He plays.' (Russian non-past; Kibrik 2013: 233–235)
		Verbal clause; Locutor subject expression	Secondary	***a'ni*** *ka'tav-**ti**.* **1SG.PRD** wrote-**1SG.PRD** '**I** wrote.'	*is lūd-it.* he.NOM play-PRES.3SG 'S/he plays.' (Latin; Kibrik 2011: 210)

Table 5.13 reaffirms the conceptualization of the reduced referential system of CSIH in this dissertation as a mixed system employing four types of referential options that can be represented along an axis of the quantity of overt material used in a particular referential act – unexpressed reference, single expression (bound PNG-marker or unbound PNG-marker), or double expression (unbound PNG-marker+bound PNG-marker). Each of these options is employed in different grammatical domains where they can either be primary or secondary options. Where possible, unexpressed reference is always a secondary referential option. Single expression is reflected in the use of either a bound PNG-marker, which may feature either as a primary or a secondary option, or an unbound PNG-marker, which is always the primary option. Finally, double expression is reflected in the use of the combination of unbound PNG-marker and bound PNG-marker, a combination that may be a primary or a secondary option. Neither of these referential options is regarded as a reduction – by means of deletion or omission – of a more complex referential option. To put it clearly, unexpressed reference and single expression via bound PNG-marker are not viewed as resulting from an omission of an unbound PNG-marker, but rather as referential options sui generis (see discussion in §5.1.2.2).

The communicative naturalness and the cross-linguistic ubiquity of these two functionally-equivalent options have been recently reaffirmed by Givón (2017). Evoking the cognitive principle "Information that is already activated requires the smallest amount of code", Givón points out that the most natural way to signal the continued activation of the currently-active referent is by using the smallest code units in the grammar of reference, namely unexpressed reference or bound person markers (Givón 2017: 50; Givón's zero reference and pronominal agreement, respectively). At the same time, Givón demonstrated that diachronically, unexpressed reference and bound person markers represent two steps in a process in which the former predates the latter. According to the diachronic scenario proposed by Givón, the basic grammatical signal of referential continuity is unexpressed reference, coexisting with stressed independent person markers, which become over time de-marked into unstressed anaphoric person markers, and cliticize, most commonly on the verb. When such clitic person markers become bound person markers, they displace unexpressed reference as the grammatical signal of referential continuity (Givón 2017: 99–100, 126–127). This diachronic scenario brings into question the application of the term "pro-drop" to languages not predisposed to independent subject pronouns, suggesting the opposite – that languages such as Spanish, Hebrew or Swahili, with their bound person marking systems, are "pro-add" languages (Givón 2017: 127).

Cross-linguistic studies have further established that bound person markers are the most common devices for subject expression in the world languages. For example, in her study of verbal person marking, Siewierska (2013) found that about 70% of the languages in her sample of 378 languages have bound person marking for the agentive argument. From a slightly different perspective, focusing on the expression of pronominal subjects, Dryer (2013) has similarly found that of his sample of 711 languages, about 61% of the languages have pronominal subjects expressed by affixes on verbs. The two other types of languages – those in which pronominal subjects are expressed by free person markers that are normally present (such as English), and those predisposed to unexpressed reference (such as Japanese) – account for about 20% of the languages in those two studies. These data underscore the naturalness of bound person markers as carriers of subject expression, and remind us again that conceiving bound person markers as expressing agreement, or as involving null pronouns, is unjustified. It is interesting to note that although unexpressed reference is a more transparent option than bound person markers for signaling the continued activation of the currently-active referent, languages predisposed to unexpressed reference are considerably less frequent (9% of the languages sampled in Dryer 2013), and are concentrated in two particular geographical regions – Southeast Asia and Australia.

To conclude this section, it was shown that in contrast to languages in which the referential systems exhibit a single alternation between two reduced referential devices (for example, a free pronoun versus unexpressed reference in English), the IH referential system has emerged as a mixed or "sensitive" (Kibrik 2011: 160–161) system that employs four main types of reduced referential devices – unexpressed reference, bound pronoun, free pronoun, and the 'free pronoun + bound pronoun' combination. These four referential devices represent four alternations between a primary alternant (the more frequent one, conveying only informational meaning) and a secondary alternant (the less frequent, often signaling more than a purely referential meaning). The first alternation relates to locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, involving an opposition between a bound PNG-marker and the 'unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker' combination. The second alternation relates to non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, and involves an opposition between the 'unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker' combination and a bound PNG-marker. The third alternation relates to subject expression in adjectival/participial clauses, involving an opposition between an unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference, with bound NG-markers contributing to the

identification of the referent in both alternants. The fourth alternation relates to subject expression in other clauses, involving an opposition between an unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference. It has also been pointed out that the four referential devices differ in the number of overt referential devices that participate cumulatively in each referential act – from using no overt referential device (unexpressed reference), through the use of one referential device (bound PNG-marker or unbound PNG-marker), to the use of two referential devices at the same time (bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker).

5.3 Interaction between full and reduced referential devices

5.3.1 General

In the previous section I proposed a description of CSIH reduced referential system from a typological perspective. The interaction between reduced and full referential devices, specifically the question whether or not reduced devices are present in the clause whenever a coreferential lexical NP is used, have been largely absent, however. Kibrik (2011: 95–96, 190–204) called this property of person markers "tenacity" – indicating the degree to which a person marker is present or absent in a sentence containing a coreferential NP. The notion of tenacity lead to a scalar opposition between "tenacious" pronouns, which remain along with a coreferential NP, and "alternating" pronouns, which are found in complementary distribution with coreferential NPs. Kibrik pointed out that bound person markers are typically tenacious, while unbound person markers are largely alternating. Bound PNG-markers in IH, we should recall, are present in the clause regardless of the presence of a corresponding lexical NP because they are inherent in the verbal complex (§5.1.2.2). The behavior of unbound PNG-markers in IH, on the other hand, is less clear due to a traditional distinction in IH between verbal and participial clauses, on the one hand, and nominal clauses, on the other.

In the verbal and participial clause type unbound PNG-markers are assumed to be in complementary distribution with coreferential NPs, whereas in the nominal clause type, the two may coexist. Examples 5.34-5.36 schematically illustrate these three clause types:

(5.34) a. ***dani*** *ka'tav-**Ø***
Dani wrote-**3SGM.PRD**
'**Dani** wrote.'

b. ***dani hu*** *ka'tav-**Ø***
Dani 3SGM.PRD wrote-**3SGM.PRD**
'**Dani he** wrote.'

(5.35) a. ***dani*** *ko'tev-Ø*
Dani writing-SGM
'**Dani** is writing/ **Dani** writes.'

b. ***dani hu*** *ko'tev-Ø*
Dani 3SGM.PRD writing-SGM
'**Dani he** is writing/**Dani he** writes.'

(5.36) a. ***dani*** *talmid*
Dani pupil
'**Dani** is a pupil.'

b. ***dani hu*** *talmid*
Dani 3SGM.PRD pupil
'**Dani he** is a pupil.'

(constructed examples)

Examples 5.34a and 5.35a represent the expected norm, whereas examples 5.34b and 5.35b represent syntactic configurations seldom discussed in the literature. In those rare occasions they are, they are analyzed as a marked construction, a "left-dislocation" or "extraposition". Examples 5.36a and 5.36b, by contrast, are treated as alternating syntactic variants.

The syntactic status of the medial third person marker has received considerable attention in Israeli Hebrew linguistics (See, for instance, Berman & Grosu 1976; Glinert 1989: 168–178; Katz 1998; Falk 2004; Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 318–321; Kuzar 2012: 56–57; Danon 2013). There seems to be wide agreement among the scholars of IH that the syntactic analysis of the third person marker in such sentences depends on the (non-) existence of prosodic separation between the lexical NP and the rest of the sentence. If the lexical NP is not separated from the rest of the sentence, the person marker is accorded the status of a copula (Hebrew *o'ged*, literally 'linking') that presumably links the lexical NP subject and the predicate. If, on the other hand, the lexical NP is separated from the rest of the sentence, the entire structure is viewed as an NP+Clause construction (typically termed "extraposition" or "left dislocation"), and the medial person marker is viewed as a subject resumptive to the initial lexical NP.

Among the first to evoke this opposition in Israeli Hebrew were Berman and Grosu (1976: 276–277), who contrasted sentences such as (5.37a) with sentences such as (5.37b):[45]

(5.37) a. *moʃe* *hu* *ga'on*
Moshe COP genius
'Moshe is a genius'

b. *moʃe,* *hu* *ga'on*
Moshe he genius
'Moshe, he is a genius'

With regard to the medial person marker in sentences such as (5.37a), the authors determined that "it is wrong to regard them as subjects derived through left-dislocation", since the initial NP "lacks the pitch contour associated with topicalized elements (high initial, followed by a drop and rising at the end); it fails [...] to be followed by a necessary pause" (Berman & Grosu 1976: 276). This stands in contrast to sentences such as (5.37b), which presumably manifest the prosodic features listed by the authors. For these authors, then, left-dislocation structure is characterized by a bundle of prosodic features which, taken together, separate the initial NP prosodically from the rest of the sentence. In this vein, Falk (2004: 229) stated that:

> [T]here is near-universal agreement that the construction with Pron (i.e. the medial person marker treated as a copula; L.S.) is not a variety of topicalization or left-dislocation. Such a construction is possible, but has distinctly different properties from the Pron construction. For example, there is an intonational break between the dislocated element and the subject pronoun.

Falk added that the two constructions differ with regard to their potential co-occurrence with verbs – while the left-dislocation construction can be used in conjunction with verbs (examples 5.38a and 5.39a), the Pron construction cannot (examples 5.38b and 5.39b):

(5.38) a. *pnina,* *hi* *hayta* *nora* *χamuda.*
Pnina she be.PST.3FSG awfully cute.F
'Pnina, she was awfully cute.'

b. * *pnina* *hi* *hayta* *nora* *χamuda.*
Pnina PRON.FSG be.PST.3FSG awfully cute.F
'Pnina was awfully cute.'

[45] However, they were not the first to employ the term *o'ged* 'copula' in relation to the medial person marker in Israeli Hebrew. One of the earliest mentions of that term can be found in Rosén (1957: 241).

(5.39) a. *pnina, hi ohevet ledaber.*
Pnina she love.PRES.FSG talk.INF
'Pnina, she loves to talk.'

b. * *pnina hi ohevet ledaber.*
Pnina PRON.FSG love.PRES.FSG talk.INF
'Pnina loves to talk.'

However, neither Berman and Grosu (1976) nor Falk (2004) provided actual prosodic evidence for their claims. This may be partly explained by the fact that these studies are situated within the framework of transformational-generative grammar, in which judgements of grammaticality are mainly based on the researcher's own intuitions. Nevertheless, similar claims have been repeated and perpetuated by researchers who do not necessarily adhere to the transformational-generative framework.

Glinert (1989: 169–170), for example, draws a distinction between the copular (example 5.40a) and referential (his "pronominal"; example 5.40b) uses of third person markers. In the latter, he explains, the initial lexical NP is "set off earlier in the sentence and taken up again by what is a subject pronoun":

(5.40) a. *ha='meleχ hu gene'ral*
DEF=king COP general
'The king is a general'

b. *ha='meleχ – hu gene'ral*
DEF=king he general
'The king – he is a general'

Again, the mere (non-)existence of a prosodic separation between the initial NP and the rest of the sentence leads to a different syntactic status of the third person marker. Somewhat surprisingly, this axiom has even been adopted by researchers who study spontaneous spoken Israeli Hebrew. Borochovski-Bar Aba (2009: 149–150), for example, regarded the prosodic pattern of the sentence as the determinant factor distinguishing between extrapositional and copular structures: the former is expected to be realized with a highlighted initial NP, either by means of a special prosody or by a subsequent pause, whereas the latter should, ostensibly, be realized in one prosodic unit. Cohen (2016: 173–174) similarly distinguished between copular uses of third person markers (example 5.41a) and their referential uses as part of an extrapositional structure (example 5.41b):

(5.41) a. *ha'rej* *kol* *'doktor* *hu* *χa'ver* *ʃel* *'doktor*
after.all all doctor he friend of doctor
'After all, every doctor is a friend of another doctor.'

b. *ha=meka'rer* *haze* / *hu* *kvar* *ja'ʃan*
def=refrigerator this / he already old
'This refrigerator / It is old already.'

Although Cohen did not explicitly state what makes (5.41a) a copular construction, or (5.41b) an extrapositional one, one can surmise that the determining factor is the non-existence of a prosodic boundary in the former, and its existence in the latter.

At this point, one cannot but wonder whether prosodic separation of the initial NP from the remainder of the sentence should be taken as an essential, defining property of extrapositions. To put it differently, can the initial NP be integrated prosodically into the rest of the sentence and still be justly regarded as an extraposition? According to recent studies, it can. Matić et al. (2016: 344–345) explain that while the presence of a prosodic break between the initial NP and the remainder of the sentence is frequent, it remains optional, and is not universally applicable. The authors concluded that prosodic marking cannot be dependably and invariably used to identify extrapositional constructions. This is corroborated by studies on extrapositional constructions in various languages – English (Geluykens 1992: 98), French (Avanzi 2011: 83; 2012: Chapter 4), Avatime (van Putten 2014: 131) – all of which reported the existence of similar extrapositional sentences with initial NPs integrated prosodically into the remainder of the sentence. These studies' findings suggest that the initial NP in an extrapositional sentence is liable to assume various degrees of prosodic (and syntactic) integration with the remainder of the sentence, leading some scholars to propose a more gradient conceptualization of extrapositional sentences, more attuned to differences between (more/less) integrated ones and (more/less) non-integrated ones (Khan 2016; Matić et al. 2016).

If prosodic separation between the initial NP and the remainder of the sentence is indeed inconsequential for characterizing a particular sentence as an extrapositional sentence, then the copular interpretation of sentences, such as those in (5.37a), (5.40a), and (5.41a), becomes doubtful. Such an interpretation is particularly dubious since it implies that prosodic phrasing has a bearing on the syntactic function of a linguistic element, in this case a person marker, which functions as a subject only when separated prosodically from the initial NP, and as a

copula when it is prosodically attached. This makes one wonder to what extent the copular interpretation of third person marker is relevant to analyses of Israeli Hebrew.

Goldenberg (1998a) and Izre'el (2012) concur that such an interpretation is indeed not warranted. Discussing the status of medial person markers in various Semitic languages, Goldenberg (1998a: 165–166) claimed that their copular analysis is erroneous, possibly stemming from translation or periphrasis of such sentences into sentences that contain verbal copulas in other languages. Instead, Goldenberg viewed sentences with medial person markers as extrapositional constructions, regardless of the fact that they do not necessarily exhibit the same expressive power as one might expect from an extrapositional construction. In other words, any sentence with a medial person marker consists of a clausal predicate, whose subject is the person marker referring to the extraposed subject. Izre'el (2012: 223–224) has more recently suggested to view medial person markers as subjects of a lower-level sentence that in itself serves as a predicate of a higher-level sentence. In rejecting the copular analysis of medial person markers, Goldenberg and Izre'el stressed the need to analyze the structure of Israeli Hebrew on its own terms. As such, a copula – an element that represents "one basic indispensable syntactic function, that is, the relation between subject and predicate," in Zewi's words (1996: 41) – is not usually required in Israeli Hebrew in particular, and in Semitic languages in general, in order to establish the predicative relation between the subject and the predicate. In this regard, the term 'copula' originates in Indo-European linguistics, and consequently its syntactical role is derived from its use in Indo-European languages. As a result, Zewi ponders to what extent, if at all, the term "copula" is useful in the analyses of other language families. Muraoka (1999: 199) went one step further, "doubting" that:

> [...] one can prove the existence of the copula in any Semitic language. The notion undoubtedly originated with Indo-European languages in which a nominal sentence without a copula in a present tense is virtually non-existent…..Even a heavily Europeanized language such as Modern Hebrew does not appear to us to use **הוא** (*hu* 'he'; L.S.) as a genuine copula fully comparable to its Indo-European namesake.

In following these assertions, I further substantiate the inadequacy of the copular interpretation of medial person markers for IH based on three arguments I expound upon in §5.3.3:

i. Ostensible "copular" person markers in Israeli Hebrew do not conform to the broadly accepted definition of the term "copula" (§5.3.3.1);

ii. Ostensible “copular” person markers may appear in tandem with verbal and participial predicates, in contradiction to the traditional association of the copula with the domain of non-verbal predication (§5.3.3.2);

iii. Ostensible “copular” person markers cannot be adequately distinguished from referential pronouns in extrapositional MP-sentences based on prosodic phrasing (§5.3.3.3).

I propose, instead, that such sentences should be seen as containing a double subject reference, as part of a NP+Clause construction. Before moving on, however, a short terminological clarification is in order. The somewhat cumbersome term “NP+Clause construction” refers to a sentence which typically includes two components between which there is topic-comment relation – an NP-component followed by a Clause-component containing a person marker co-referential with the NP-component. The subject referent in this construction is therefore doubly represented – first, by means of a lexical NP, and then once again via a pro-form that functions as an argument in the clause that follows (Lambrecht 1994: 182, 2001: 1050; Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015: 28; Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018: 28). Such structures have traditionally been described in general linguistics using the terms: “left-dislocation”, “extraposition” and “topicalization”.

The term “left-dislocation” has encountered due criticism from several spoken language experts, who considered it a “misnomer and a misleading metaphor” (Carter & McCarthy 1995: 149), one “entirely inappropriate for the analysis of spontaneous spoken language” (Miller & Weinert 1998: 238). The term “left-dislocation,” it is argued, carries a dynamic meaning, originating in transformational grammar, implying that the initial NP has been moved from its canonical position in the subsequent clause to a somewhat anomalous position. It draws its name from the spatial nature of a written sentence (exclusively in languages employing a left-to-right script!), but not on the temporal nature of the spoken utterance. Finally, the term “dislocation” implies a negative evaluation, one covertly portraying the phenomenon as “pathological” (Blanche-Benveniste 2006: 477), or as a “degenerate syntactic variant” (Rühlemann 2006: 398). It seems to me that the terms “extraposition” and “topicalization” are ill-fitting for similar reasons, implying movement of a constituent from a canonical position to a non-canonical one, and consequently characterizing the construction as a marked one. In a

conscious attempt to use a neutral term as possible, then, I follow Miller & Weinert (1998: 238) in terming such sentences 'NP+Clause constructions'.

The structure of the rest of this section is as follows – §5.3.2 will present the methodology chosen for the investigation; §5.3.3 contains arguments regarding the inadequacy of the copular interpretation of medial person markers based on theoretical grounds and on corpus data; and §§5.3.4–5.3.5 present relevant data and propose an alternative analysis of medial person markers.

5.3.2 Procedure

Pre-predicate lexical subjects were extracted from *CoSIH*, and each subject was coded for: (a) the presence of a subsequent pronoun, (b) the presence of a prosodic boundary following the subject, and (c) the predicate type. This resulted in a total of 407 sentences – 86 with a medial person marker, and 321 without one – which served as the dataset for this study.

Table 5.14 details the distribution of the entire dataset according to the presence of a medial person marker, and to the predicate type in the sentence:

Table 5.14 – Frequency of medial person markers across predicate types

	Noun	PP	Adj	That/Wh-clause	Adverb	Participle	Verb	Other[46]	Total
+ Medial person marker	13	11	28	5	1	10	8	10	86
– Medial person marker	3	10	44	15	7	106	134	2	321
Total	16	21	72	20	8	116	142	12	407
+ Medial person marker %	81%	52%	39%	25%	13%	9%	6%	NR	21%

We can see that medial person markers may co-occur with any predicate type, albeit in unequal frequencies: they are likely to occur in sentences with nominal predicates, and unlikely to occur in sentences with participial or verbal predicates, for instance.

Table 5.15 summarizes the distribution of the entire dataset according to the presence of a medial person marker, and to the existence of a prosodic boundary after the initial subject NP:

[46] This category includes infinitival, numeral, and pronominal predicates.

Table 5.15 – Distribution of medial person markers according to prosodic boundary

	+ Prosodic boundary	– Prosodic boundary	Total
+ Medial person marker	49 (57%)	37 (43%)	86
– Medial person marker	69 (21%)	252 (79%)	321
Total			407

We can see that there is no one-to-one congruence between the presence of a medial person marker and the existence of a prosodic boundary after the initial subject NP. In more than half (57%) of the sentences with medial person markers, the initial subject NP was prosodically separated from the rest of the sentence, compared to about one fifth (21%) of the sentences without medial person markers. Thus, pre-predicate lexical subjects in general can be prosodically separated from the remainder of the sentence, albeit more frequently in sentences with medial person markers.

The data presented in Table 5.14 and Table 5.15 will serve as the basis for the discussion in §5.3.3, in which I present and discuss three arguments against copular analysis of medial person markers in IH.

5.3.3 Arguments against copular analysis of medial person markers

5.3.3.1 Failure to conform to "copula" definitions

In order to argue that a linguistic element functions as a copula, one must first employ a valid definition of a copula, and provide evidence that that particular element conforms to the definition. However, there seems to be no agreed definition of what a copula is, and different researchers employ different definitions of the term. In this regard, Pustet (2003: 2) summarized the following three most commonly acknowledged syntactic functions ascribed to copulas:

(1) A linker between subject and predicate;
(2) A syntactic 'hitching post' to which verbal inflectional categories can be attached;
(3) A predicator added to lexemes that do not form predicates on their own.

Accordingly, in order to argue convincingly that medial person markers in IH are copular, one has to show that these pronouns conform to at least one of the syntactic functions detailed above.

It is quite evident that medial person markers do not conform to definition 2 since they carry no verbal inflectional categories. In order to examine the conformity of medial person markers to definitions 1 and 3, it is useful to note that, in IH, any part of speech can function as a predicate: nominal (substantives, adjectives, participles), pronominal (personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives, and other pronouns), adverbs and prepositional phrases, as well as larger phrases, sentences and other types of syntactic complexes. Verbs in IH are not primary predicates due to the fact that they constitute a morphological compound of two overt components: a verbal stem and a person-number-gender affix. Each verb indicates predication between these two primary components, making each verbal form essentially a bipartite sentence, consisting of both a subject and a predicate (Goldenberg 1998a; Izre'el 2012; forthcoming a; Zewi 2013). In light of this, it seems safe to assume that no additional element is necessary for a predication to be established in IH.

What also contributes to this assumption is the occurrence of pairs of sentences in *CoSIH* that are very similar in their overall structure, but that differ with regard to the presence of a medial person marker. Examples 5.42–5.44 and 5.45 demonstrate such pairs with adjectival and clausal predicates, respectively:

(5.42) a. (P931_2_sp2_289)

bemi'da ve ***ha=tʃu'va*** ***hi*** *ʃli'li-t* ||
in.case and **DEF=answer 3SGF.PRD** negative-SGF ||
'In case **the answer** is negative.'

b. (P931_2_sp1_236)

ha=tʃu'va *kvar* *ʃli'li-t* ||
DEF=answer already negative-SGF ||
'**The answer** is already negative.'

(5.43) a. (P931_1_sp2_207)

ha=neku'da hi *pʃu't-a* ||
DEF=point 3SGF.PRD simple-SGF ||
'**The point** is simple.'

b. (D933_sp2_306)

ha'im ***ha=neku'da*** *bru'r-a* /
Q **DEF=point** clear-SGF /
'Is **the point** clear?'

(5.44) a. (P931_1_sp2_212)

ve ***ha=ma'tsav hu*** *ka'jam-Ø* ||
and **DEF=situation 3SGM.PRD** existent-SGM ||
'And **the situation** is existent.'

b. (P931_2_sp1_002)

ve ***ha=da'var ha'ze*** *ka'jam-Ø* ||
and **DEF=thing this** existent-SGM ||
'And **this thing** is existent.'

(5.45) a. (C612_4_sp1_114-115)

ha=bea'ja hi *ʃe en li* | *an'glit* ||
DEF=problem 3SGF.PRD that NEG.EXT to.me | English ||
'**The problem** is that I don't know (lit. have) English.'

b. (C711_0_sp1_063)

ha=bea'ja *ʃe en ti'pat ʃri'rim b=a=guf* ||
DEF=problem that NEG.EXT drop.of muscles in=DEF=body ||
'**The problem** is that I don't have any muscles in my body.'

A cursory examination of these pairs of sentences suggests that medial person markers might be optional components in the sentences in which they appear. This is not to say that they are necessarily unmotivated – upon closer examination of the sentences' micro-context, one might find cognitive or interactional motivations for their presence in one sentence, and for their absence in another. It does not seem, however, that the pronoun is indispensable to the establishment of the predicative relation, a function that is typically associated with copulas. Therefore, medial person markers can neither be dependably seen as linking the subject and

predicate (definition 1), nor as enabling lexemes that do not form predicates on their own to function as predicates (definition 3). In spite of this evidence, the linking function is often considered to be the defining feature of the copula in IH linguistics (Coffin & Bolozky 2005: 318; Danon 2013; Dekel 2014: 196).

It might be argued at this point that although in many instances medial person markers are optional, in some instances they do seem to be necessary. It is widely assumed, for instance, that in equational sentences medial person markers are virtually obligatory. To illustrate why, one may recall Spector Shirtz's example: the Hebrew equivalent of the sentence 'Danny is Mr. Cohen' is said to be *dani hu mar kohen*, rather than *dani mar kohen* – the former considered grammatical, while the latter ungrammatical (Spector Shirtz 2014: 61). This claim, however, is typically illustrated by constructed examples, rather than empirically corroborated by observation in natural (spoken or written) discourse. Even if we assume, for the sake of argument, that medial person markers are, indeed, obligatory in equational sentences, it does not suggest that they should be regarded as copulas. Instead, their presence can be ascribed to the need to preclude the adjacency of two noun phrases, in which case the second noun phrase may potentially be understood as standing in apposition to the first one, particularly when these noun phrases are identical in their definiteness marking. Let us examine the makeup of the sentences with nominal predicates in the dataset used for the analysis in this section (N=16; see Table 5.14), bearing in mind that the small sample does not allow us to draw definitive conclusions. To begin with, most of these sentences (N=12) are predicational, not equational:

(5.46) (C612_2_sp1_115)

'diksi hi *misa'da to'v-a me'od* ||
Dixie 3SGF.PRD restaurant(F) good-SGF very ||
'**Dixie** is a very good restaurant.'

(5.47) (C842_sp1_086)

ve ***ha=sa'lon hu*** *'χeder ka'tan-Ø me'od ka'ze* |
and **DEF=living.room 3SGM.PRD** room small-SGM very like.that |
'And **the living room** is a very small room'

(5.48) (Y32_sp2_016)

ha=ʃe'ni ***hu*** *taa'riχ tov-Ø jo'ter im at lo ro'ʦa leχa'kot jo'ter mi'daj ʃam* ||
DEF=second 3SGM.PRD date good-SGM more if you NEG wanting.SGF to.wait more too there ||
'**The second** is a better date if you don't want to wait there for too long.'

The subject in these sentences is definite; the predicate is typically an indefinite noun phrase consisting of a noun head and a modifier predicating a property of the subject referent. In sentences such as these, the presence of the medial person marker does not appear to be obligatory since the difference in definiteness marking – and the underlying difference in information status – indicates the functions of subject (the definite noun phrase representing given information) and predicate (the indefinite noun phrase representing new information). In (5.46) – (5.48), for example, the subject status of the noun phrases *'diksi* 'Dixie', *ha=sa'lon* 'the living room', and *ha=ʃe'ni* 'the second' is indicated by their definiteness, whereas the predicate status of the noun phrases *misa'da to'v-a me'od* 'a very good restaurant', *'χeder ka'tan-Ø me'od ka'ze* 'a very small room', and *taa'riχ tov-Ø jo'ter* 'a better date' is indicated by their indefiniteness.

There have been only three sentences that could be regarded as equational, *i.e.*, in which both the subject and the predicate are either definite (examples 5.49–5.50) or indefinite (example 5.51):

(5.49) (C714_sp1_141-142)

a'val ***ara'fat hu*** | *ha=tero'rist ha'χi ga'dol-Ø b=a=medi'na* ||
but **Arafat 3SGM.PRD** | DEF=terrorist most big-SGM in=DEF=country ||
'But **Arafat** is the biggest terrorist in the country.'

(5.50) (OM_sp2_023-024)

'asi *ha=mena'hel ha=ja'ʃir-Ø ʃe'li* | *kvar ʃlo'ʃa χoda'ʃim* |
Asi DEF=manager DEF=direct-SGM my | already three months |
'**Asi** has been my direct manager for three months'

(5.51) (P931_3_sp2_151-152)

ki ***psiχi'ater*** | ***hu*** *ro'fe* ||
because **psychiatrist** | **3SGM.PRD** doctor ||
'Because **a psychiatrist** is a doctor.'

Already from this small sample it becomes evident that equational sentences with definite subject and predicate may be produced with or without a medial person marker (examples 5.49 and 5.50, respectively). As for equational sentences with indefinite subject and predicate, it was not possible to reach any conclusion since there had been only one occurrence of such a sentence (example 5.51). The functions of subject and predicate in these sentences are indicated by information status – the noun that represents given information is the subject (the first noun phrase in each sentence), and the noun that represents new information is the predicate (the second noun phrase in each sentence). Regardless, it would appear as if the medial person marker is not required for a predication to be established. Instead, its function is to preclude the adjacency of two noun phrases, in which case the second noun phrase may potentially be understood as standing in apposition to the first one. The fact that medial person markers do not conform to any of the definitions of the term "copula" casts doubt on their copular analysis.

5.3.3.2 Co-occurrence with verbal and participial predicates

Medial person markers do not only co-occur with nominal predicates, as is usually presumed: they also do so with participial and verbal ones (see Table 5.14). Consider examples 5.52–5.53, where medial person markers co-occur with participial predicates:

(5.52) 1 *taχ'liti || mi ha=mena'hel ʃe at ro'ʦa liχ'tov a'lav |*
decide || who DEF=manager that you.SGF wanting.SGF to.write on.him |
'Decide. Who is the manager that you want to write about'

2 (0.7) *ve ta'vini | ʃe* ***kol ha=ʃee'lon hu*** *mitba'ses-Ø |*
(0.7) and understand | that **all DEF=questionnaire 3SGM.PRD** is.based-SGM |
'(0.7) and understand that **the entire questionnaire** is based'

3 *aχ.ve.rak le=o'to mena'hel ʃe at ka'tavt et=ha=ʃem ʃe'lo ||*
only to=that manager that you.SGF you.SGF.wrote ACC=DEF=name his ||
'only on that manager whose name you wrote.'

(OM_sp2_081-085)

(5.53) 1 ***'skipas*** *po* ***hu*** *me'od ja'kar-Ø ||*
ski.pass here **3SGM.PRD** very expensive-SGM ||
'**The ski pass** here is very expensive.'

2 ***ha='skipas*** ***hu*** *o'le-Ø* | *le=mevu'gar 'mea* | *'mea ve=* |
DEF=ski.pass 3SGM.PRD costing-SGM | to=adult hundred | hundred and= |
'**The ski pass** costs, for adults, one hundred, one hundred and'

(D142_sp1_138-142)

Example 5.52 was taken from a staff meeting in which the workers expressed uncertainty about how they should fill a questionnaire about their manager, due to the fact that they had two managers. The speaker in this excerpt tries to clarify this issue by uttering *kol ha=ʃee'lon hu mitba'ses* | *aχ.ve.rak le=o'to mena'hel ʃe at ka'tavt et=ha=ʃem ʃe'lo* || 'the entire questionnaire is based only on that manager whose name you wrote.'. This sentence contains a medial person marker that co-occurs with a participial predicate, both produced in a single prosodic unit together with the initial subject NP *ha=ʃee'lon* 'the questionnaire'. Example 5.53 was taken from a family conversation regarding various ski destinations. Here, the speaker provides a general assessment of the ski pass being very expensive, and then tries to recall its exact price by uttering *ha='skipas hu o'le* | *le=mevu'gar 'mea* | *'mea ve=* | 'The ski pass costs, for adults, one hundred, one hundred and'. Like (5.52), this sentence contains a medial person marker co-occurring with a participial predicate, both of which are realized in a single prosodic unit with the initial subject NP *ha='skipas* 'the ski pass'.

Examples 5.54–5.55 demonstrate medial person markers co-occurring with verbal predicates:

(5.54) 1 *a'ni behatχa'la χa'ʃavti* | *ʃe* ***'dina hi t-****iʃa'er po* ||
I in.the.beginning I.thought | that **Dina 3SGF.PRD 3SGF.PRD**-will.stay here ||
'In the beginning I thought that **Dina** will stay here.'

(Y111_sp2_162-163)

(5.55) 1 *ʃa'ron a'mar* | *ʃe* ***ara'fat hu*** | *ha'ja-**Ø*** *ben ha=riʃo'nim ʃel=ha=te'ror* |
Sharon he.said | that **Arafat 3SGM.PRD** | was-**3SGM.PRD** between DEF=firsts of=DEF=terror |
'Sharon said that **Arafat** was one of the first (people) involved with terror'

2 *ʃe χa'taf meto'sim ve ha'rag e* | (0.6) *sporta'im israe'lim* ||
that he.hijacked airplanes and he.killed uh | (0.6) sportsmen Israelis ||
'who hijacked airplanes and killed, uh (0.6) Israeli sportsmen.'

(C714_sp3_088-092)

Prior to the exchange brought in (5.54), one of the speakers mentioned a worker who had recently quit her job, and the sentence in line 1 reflects the current speaker's surprise at this

event. This sentence contains the complement sentence *'dina hi tiʃa'er po* || 'Dina will stay here.', which contains a medial person marker that co-occurs with a prefix-conjugated verb, both of which are realized in a single prosodic unit with the initial subject NP, *'dina* 'Dina'. Prior to (5.55), the speakers characterized the USA's intention to ask Yasser Arafat to join the coalition against terrorism as being absurd, since Arafat himself is considered by the speakers to be a terrorist. Here, the speaker further emphasizes the absurdity of the USA's intention by indirectly quoting Ariel Sharon, Israel's prime minister at that time, who said that *ara'fat hu* | *ha'ja ben ha=riʃo'nim ʃel=ha=te'ror* | 'Arafat was one of the first (people) involved with terror'. This sentence contains a medial person marker co-occurring with the suffix-conjugated verb *ha'ja* 'he was'. In this case, however, the pronoun is prosodically attached to the initial subject NP *ara'fat* 'Arafat', but is separated from the verb.

Examples 5.54–5.55 are intriguing, since medial person markers are not typically described in IH grammatical descriptions as a possible component in participial or verbal predication (but see Matras & Schiff 2005: 180–184, and Izre'el 2012: 224). It seems that some would even intuitively consider such structures ungrammatical and, therefore, non-existent, unless as occasional speech errors to be corrected (Falk 2004: 229; see examples 5.38b and 5.39b). In fact, grammatical descriptions of IH typically describe medial person markers as possible components of non-verbal (nominal) predication, in which they presumably function as a copula. It seems that the very association of medial person markers with non-verbal predication contributes circularly to their copular interpretation, since copulas are traditionally associated with non-verbal predication.[47] The fact that medial person markers co-occur – however infrequently – with participial and verbal predicates, calls their copular analysis in non-verbal predication into question.

5.3.3.3 Indistinguishability from extrapositional sentences

Sentences with medial person markers in *CoSIH* vary in relation to the presence or absence of a prosodic boundary after the initial NP. Recall that such prosodic separation is commonly taken as distinguishing between extrapositional sentences, with the medial person marker functioning as a pronominal subject, and copular sentences with the pronoun functioning as a

[47] For example, Hengeveld (2011: 32) stated that "a copula enables the non-verbal predicate to act as a main predicate in those languages and under those circumstances in which this non-verbal predicate could not fulfil this function on its own".

copula. As had been pointed out before, however, recent studies demonstrated that initial NPs in extrapositional sentences can potentially exhibit various degrees of prosodic integration with the remainder of the sentence, thus making the copular analysis unnecessary.

Moreover, corpus data shows us that presumably copular sentences cannot easily be distinguished from extrapositional sentences. Such difficulty is particularly evident in instances in which the same speaker produces highly similar, or almost identical, sentences, each time with different prosodic phrasing. Example 5.56 illustrates this point with three sentences that contain medial person markers:

(5.56) 1 *hem am'ru li ʃe* ***ha=tipu'lim hem*** *har'be jo'ter jeka'r-**im*** ||
they they.said to.me that **DEF=treatments 3PL.PRD** much more expensive-**PLM** ||
'They told me that **car maintenance** is much more expensive.'

2 *ve ʃe im jeʃ bea'ja b=a=ma'noa* |
and that if EXT problem in=DEF=engine |
'And that if there is a problem in the engine'

3 ***ha=ti'pul hu*** | *har'be jo'ter ja'kar-**Ø*** |
DEF=treatment he | much more expensive-**SGM** |
'**the repair** is much more expensive.'

(omitted: 23 prosodic units; 19 seconds)

4 *ve az* | ***ha=ti'pul*** | ***hu*** *har'be jo'ter ka'ʃe-**Ø*** |
and then | **DEF=treatment** | **3SGM.PRD** much more difficult-**SGM** |
'And then, **the repair** is much more difficult'

5 *ki tsa'riχ lefa'rek har'be jo'ter χala'kim* ||
because need to.take.apart many more parts ||
'Because they need to take apart more parts.'

(Y34_sp_2_167-189)

The speaker in this example tells how she once has considered buying a Peugeot car, before having been dissuaded by people who claimed that Peugeot's maintenance costs are higher than average. She first mentioned that claim as a part of a quotative construction (line 1), and then repeated it in relation to problems in the engine (lines 2–3). Although the sentences containing medial person markers in lines 1 and 3 have an almost identical segmental structure,

they differ in their prosodic realization (Figures 1 and 2).[48] The sentence in line 1 is an embedded quotation that represents a general claim regarding the relatively heavy costs maintaining Peugeot cars, realized here as a single prosodic unit together with the reporting clause, *hem am'ru li ʃe* 'they told me that'. The reporting clause carries the prosodic prominence, not the quote itself. The sentence in line 3, by contrast, is realized in two prosodic units: the initial subject NP forms one prosodic unit with the medial person marker ending with a continuous level boundary tone, while the rest of the sentence is realized in another unit, where the segment *har'be jo'ter* 'much more' is prosodically more prominent. The difference in prosodic realization may be motivated by the different sequential position of these two segments – the sentence in line 1 conveys the general claim as a quote for the first time, whereas the sentence in line 3 clarifies or exemplifies it in relation to a specific problem. Prosodically emphasizing the segment *har'be jo'ter* 'much more' seems to mark it as the focal point of her explanation.

At this point in the exchange the recipient claimed that she did not understand why this was the specific case of Peugeot cars. In response, the speaker provided an explanation that turns out to be quite complex, containing various disfluency phenomena.[49] Lines 4–5 represent the last part of her explanation, in which she disclosed the reason for the original claim, namely that the repair of engine-related problems in Peugeot cars was more complicated and therefore more expensive. The sentence in line 4 has a similar segmental structure as the sentence in line 3 (changing the predicate *ja'kar* 'expensive.SGM' to *ka'ʃe* 'difficult.SGM'); both are realized as two prosodic units. Nevertheless, their prosodic realization differs – the subject NP in line 4 is produced in a separate prosodic unit ending with a continuous-rising boundary tone, and the remainder of the sentence, along with the medial person marker, is realized in another prosodic unit, which does not carry prosodic prominence.

[48] Apart from the shift from plural (*ha=tipu'lim* 'DEF=treatments', *hem* 'they', *jeka'rim* 'expensive.PL') to singular (*ha=ti'pul* 'DEF=treatment', *hu* 'he', *ja'kar* 'expensive.SGM').
[49] This part of the conversation was omitted due to its lack of relevance to the analysis undertaken here.

Figure 1 – ‘They told me that car maintenance is much more expensive.’

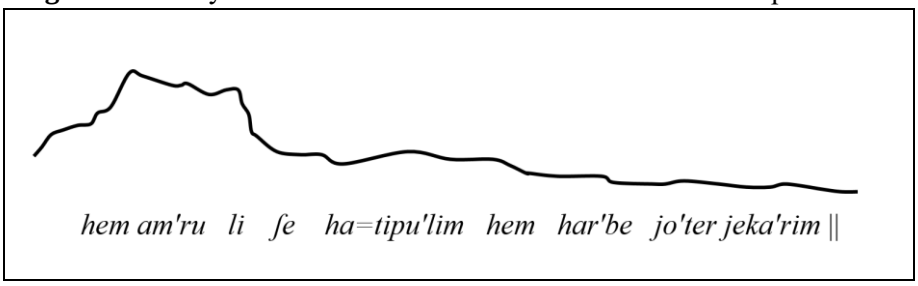


Figure 2 – ‘the repair is much more expensive.’

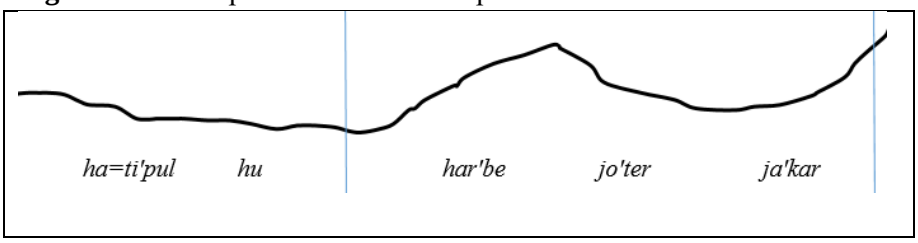
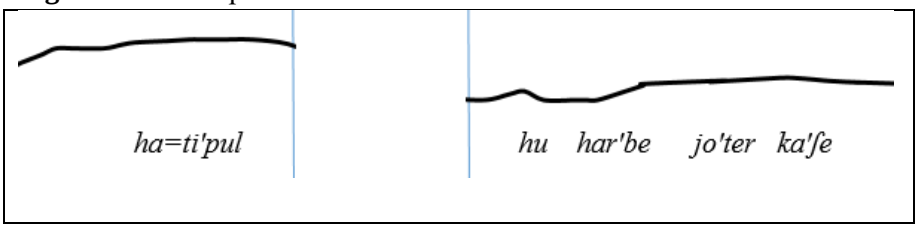


Figure 3 – ‘the repair is much more difficult’



Existing analyses of sentences with medial person markers would have assigned a copular status to the sentence in Figure 1 and an extrapositional status to the sentence in Figure 3. It is not clear how the sentence in Figure 2 would have been analyzed, since such structures are seldom discussed in the literature dealing with argument indexing in IH. However, we have previously seen, each of the three different prosodic phrasings are employed by the speaker in emphasis of different parts of her message, potentially also affected by the sequential position of the sentence in the on-going discourse. Consequently, a divergent syntactic analysis of the medial person marker in each sentence seems unjustified.

Example 5.57 is another case in which a sentence with a medial person marker is repeated twice. The repetitions in this example are self-repetitions, and are realized with different prosodic phrasings:

(5.57) 1 sp2 *ti're aχ'ʃav* ***ha='dolar hu*** | *har'be jo'ter me='arba ʃekel* ||
look now **DEF=dollar 3SGM.PRD** | much more from=four shekel ||
‘Look now **the dollar** is much higher than four shekels.’

2 sp1 (0.5) *eχ* /
(0.5) how /
'(0.5) What?'

3 sp2 (1.0) ***ha='dolar hu*** *har'be jo'ter me='arba 'ʃekel aχ'ʃav* ||
(1.0) **DEF=dollar 3SGM.PRD** much more from=four shekel now ||
'(1.0) **The dollar** is much higher than four shekels now.'

4 sp1 *ma ma* /
what what /
'What what?

5 sp2 (1.5) ***ha='dolar*** | ***hu*** *har'be jo'ter me='arba 'ʃekel* ||
(1.5) **DEF=dollar** | **3SGM.PRD** much more from=four shekel ||
'(1.5) **The dollar**, **it** is much higher than four shekels.'

6 sp1 (0.5) *nu ve* /
(0.5) well and /
'(0.5) So what?'

7 sp2 (1.2) *nu ze* | *'basa* ||
(1.2) well this | bummer ||
'(1.2) Well it's a bummer.'

(C842_sp2_209-215, sp1_240-242)

This extract is taken from a conversation between two friends; prior to this exchange the two speakers were silent for about a minute. In line 1, sp2 resumes the conversation by mentioning the currency rate of the dollar in relation to the Israeli Shekel (line 1). This sentence therefore serves to introduce a new topic, which may be the reason for the distributed prosodic phrasing of the sentence – the initial subject NP forms one prosodic unit with the medial person marker, as well as with the discourse marker, *ti're* 'look' and the time adjunct, *aχ'ʃav* 'now', while the rest of the sentence is realized in another unit, where the segment *har'be jo'ter* 'much more' is prosodically prominent (Figure 4). After a puzzled sp1 fails twice to understand the contextual relevance of what she said, sp2 repeats what she said – the first repetition in a single prosodic unit (line 3, Figure 5), and the second in two units, whereby the initial subject NP is separated from the remainder of the sentence (line 5, Figure 6). These different prosodic realizations

might be motivated by the need to produce the utterance differently in order to better facilitate understanding.[50]

Figure 4 – 'Look now the dollar is much higher than four shekels.'

Figure 5 – 'The dollar is much higher than four shekels now.'

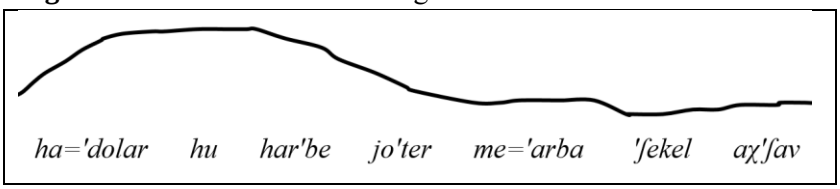
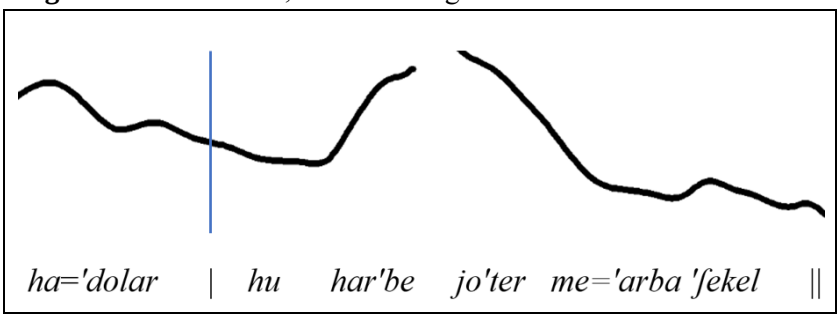


Figure 6 – 'The dollar, it is much higher than four shekels.'



According to existing analyses of sentences with medial person markers, the sentence in line 3 would have been ascribed a copular status (Figure 5), while the sentence appearing in line 5 (Figure 6) would have been given an extrapositional status. However, similarly to (5.56), each of the three different prosodic phrasings reflects possible alternatives chosen by the speaker. Distinguishing between copular and extrapositional structures of sentences with medial person markers based on the (non-)existence of prosodic separation between the NP and the pronoun is therefore ill-fated: prosodic phrasing is a general phenomenon affected by cognitive and informational factors.

[50] A more in-depth prosodic analysis will probably detect additional differences between the repetitions and the original utterance. For example, Curl (2005) argued that lexico-syntactic self-repetitions are often phonetically different from the original utterance – they are either louder, have expanded pitch ranges, are longer, and are produced with different articulatory mechanism, or are quieter, have compressed pitch ranges, are shorter, and are produced with very similar articulatory gestures.

5.3.4 Alternative analysis of medial person markers

The former subsection (§5.3.3) was dedicated to establishing that the copular analysis of a (subset of) sentences with medial person markers is flawed based on several types of evidence and lines of reasoning. First, medial person markers do not conform to any of the commonly accepted definitions of the notion "copula". Second, medial person markers may co-occur with verbal and participial predicates, in contradiction to the traditional association of the copula with the domain of non-verbal predication. Third, prosodic phrasing cannot adequately distinguish between copular uses of medial person markers in copular sentences and referential uses of medial person markers in extrapositional sentences.

In light of this evidence, it would prove more consistent to assume that third person markers have only one use, a referential one, and to attempt to account for its usage. Thus, I suggest that the copular analysis of medial person markers in Israeli Hebrew should be abandoned in favor of the "double marking" analysis. According to this analysis, medial person markers constitute a second representation of the subject referent within a single sentence. In such sentences, the subject referent is doubly marked, first by a lexical NP, and then by a co-referential third person marker. From this perspective, any pre-predicate lexical subject could be doubled by a co-indexical third person pronoun. Seen from this perspective, unbound PNG-markers in IH can be regarded as tenacious to some extent. Such an analysis is descriptively economical in that it dispenses with an additional grammatical category – the copula – for which there is no evidence in the actual linguistic data of Israeli Hebrew.

In §5.3.1, I mentioned that free person markers tend to be alternating (*i.e.*, in complementary distribution with coreferential NPs) in the majority of languages. However, languages in which free person markers are tenacious (at least in some contexts) do exist: Kibrik (2011: 201), for instance, estimated that 10% to 15% make use of free tenacious subject person markers. Such person markers have been attested in numerous spoken vernaculars of a number of European (examples 5.58–5.62) and non-European (examples 5.63–5.66) languages:

(5.58) French (Nadasdi 1995: 8)
la ***petite*** ***fille*** ***elle*** *pleurait*
the little girl she was.crying
'**The little girl** was crying.'

(5.59) Italian

a. Locarno (Salvi 2003: 207)
la me mam la *riva doman.*
the my mother she arrives tomorrow
'**My mom** arrives tomorrow.'

b. Monnese (Pescarini in press)
le matele le *lavarà-zo i piacc*
the girls 3PL.F.NOM= wash.FUT the dishes
'**The girls** will wash the dishes'

c. Trentino (Poletto & Tortora 2016: 784)
la maria la *magna*
the Mary she eats
'**Mary** is eating'

(5.60) Romanian (Cornilescu 2000: 102)
tata *vine si* ***el*** *maine.*
father comes too **he** tomorrow
'**Father** too will come tomorrow.'

(5.61) Dutch

a. Wambeek (Van Craenenbroeck & van Koppen 2002)
dei vrou *gui* ***zij*** *nuir ojsh.*
that woman goes **she**$_{\textbf{STRONG}}$ to home
'**That woman** is going home.'

b. colloquial Dutch (Stoop 2011: 53)
sjors die *vindt zichzelf oké*
Sjors he thinks himself ok
'**Sjors** thinks he is ok'

(5.62) Finnish (Holmberg & Nikanne 2008: 326)
se *on* ***Jari*** *lopettanut tupekoinnin.*
he has **Jari** quit smoking
'**Jari** has quit smoking'

(5.63) Ebira (Kibrik 2011: 192)
Ìzé ộ ré ozí
Ize she saw child
'Ize saw the child'

(5.64) Hausa (Kibrik 2011: 81)
sai ***damisa ya*** *tafo, ya ishe nama*
then **leopard 3M.FOC.PFV** come 3M.FOC.PFV find meat
'And **the leopard** came and found the meat'

(5.65) Semelai (Kibrik 2011: 193)
smaʔ ***ki****=gɒŋ* ***la=kubuŋ***
person **3SG.A**=bite **a=flying.lemur**
'**The flying lemur** bit the person'

(5.66) Longgu (Dryer 2013)
a. ***e*** *zudu*
3SG sit
'**He/she** is sitting.'

b. ***mwela-geni*** ***e*** *vusi* *angi*
child-woman 3SG almost cry
'**The girl** is almost crying.'

This list of examples is obviously non-exhaustive, and does not describe the exact conditions that govern the use of tenacious person markers in the respective languages. Nevertheless, it illustrates that it is not impossible for a free person marker to co-occur with a co-referential lexical NP in the same clause.

5.3.5 Motivations for medial person markers

Is subject doubling in Israeli Hebrew a free syntactic variation? Is it conditioned, or, at least favored by certain factors? Several tendencies seem to be at play here. Many instances of subject doubling in *CoSIH* seem to involve some form of cognitive difficulty on the part of the speaker in formulating his or her verbal message. Such cognitive difficulty is often overtly reflected in a combination of the following features: prosodic separation of the subject from the rest of the sentence, complex subject NPs, parenthetical elements, and disfluency phenomena. This is illustrated in examples 5.67–5.68:

(5.67) 1 ***ha=*** **|** ***ha=*** **| (0.4)** ***'nefaχ*** ***ʃel=ha=-- -***
DEF= | DEF= | (0.4) volume of=DEF=-- -
'The, the, (0.4), volume of the--'

2 ***ha=ma'kom*** ***ʃel=ha=ma'noa*** ***b=a=pe'ʒo*** **|**
DEF=space of=DEF=engine in=DEF=Peugeot |
'The space of the engine in Peugeot cars,'

3 ***hu*** *jo'ter ka'tan-**Ø*** *mea'ʃer ʃel=ha=* | *ʃel=ha=su'zuki* ||
3SGM.PRD more small-**SGM** than of =DEF= | of=DEF=Suzuki ||
'**It** is smaller than that of the, of the Suzuki cars.'

(Y34_sp2_174-181)

The sentence in 5.67 constitutes the initial part of the speaker's explanation regarding why Peugeot is more expensive to maintain than average, a claim she had made prior to this excerpt. She seems to encounter difficulty in formulating the entire sentence in lines 1–3, however. This is probably since the claim was not based on her personal expertise in auto mechanics, but on other people's assessments instead. This difficulty is overtly manifested in the distributed phrasing of the entire sentence, being produced in six prosodic units (the first four constituting the lexical subject NP). The sentence includes several disfluency phenomena – a repetition of *ha=* 'the' and *ʃel=ha=* 'of the', an unfilled pause (0.4), and an aborted unit *'nefaχ ʃel=ha=* 'volume of the' – which testify to the cognitive effort sp2 is facing in attempting to formulate this sentence. The pronominal doubling of the subject in this case seems to be triggered by the complexity of the subject NP, which created separation between the subject and the predicate. The medial person marker thus seems to mitigate that separation by repeating the subject, in an effort to impose more cohesion on the sentence. At the same time, the possibility that the doubling is also done for the benefit of the interlocutor, in order to help her parse the complex subject NP cannot be ruled out. Subject doubling could therefore be equally read as an indication that the fundamental process of recipient design, by which speakers accommodate the informational and interactive needs of their recepients through certain lexical, syntactic, prosodic and semantic-pragmatic choices, is taking place (Fox 2008: 255).

In (5.68), the difficulty in formulating the sentence is due to memory limitation:

(5.68) 1 sp3 *me='efo ba ha=lefa'ter ha=ze /*
from=where it.came DEF=to.fire DEF=DEM.SGM /
'Where did the talk about firing someone come from?'

2 sp4 *az boi a'ni a'gid laχ ma* ||
so come.IMP.SGF I I.will.tell to.you what ||
'So let me tell you what.'

3 *a'ni a'gid laχ* | *ze ha=moa'don ʃela'hem* ||
I I.will.tell to.you | DEM DEF=club their ||
'I will tell you, it is their club.'

4 *ki* ***ʃir*** | ***ve*** | ***bar'kan ha=zot*** | ***bar'kan ha='zoti*** | *em* |
because **Shir | and | Barkan** DEF=DEM.SGF | **Barkan** DEF=DEM.SGF | uhm |
'Because **Shir, and, that Barkan, that Barkan**, uhm'

5 sp3 [***χagit*** /
[**Hagit** /
'[**Hagit**?'

6 sp4 [*mi ʃe-* ***χa'git*** | ***hem*** *kat'v-**u*** *miχ'tav* | *im 'aja paz* |
[who that- **Hagit** | **3PL.PRD** wrote-**3PL.PRD** letter | with Aya Paz |
'[Who- **Hagit** , **they** wrote a letter with Aya Paz'

7 (0.9) *l=a=mea'menet 'ʃifra* | *ʃe im lo taa'si imu'nim jo'ter ka'lim* |
(0.9) to=DEF=coach Shifra | that if NEG you.SGF.will.do exercise more easy |
'(0.9) to the coach Shifra, that if you do not make the exercise easier'

8 *a'naχnu ni'dag ʃe jefat'ru o'taχ* ||
we we.will.take.care that they.will.fire you.SGF ||
'We will make sure you will be fired.'

(C714_sp3_109-111, sp4_099-112)

Prior to this exchange, the speakers had discussed an incident at school in which one pupil shouted that she could have a particular teacher fired. Astonished by the child's audacity to make such a threat, sp3 wondered what had prompted this remark (line 1). In response, sp4 argues that it began with an incident in which two girls in the class had made similar threats to the sports teacher. This explanation is constructed as an NP+Clause construction, with the NP-component identifying the girls (lines 4–6). However, sp4 seems to encounter difficulty in formulating the NP-component: she has difficulty recalling the first name of the second girl. This difficulty is overtly manifested in several disfluency phenomena – a repetition of the second girl's last name *bar'kan ha='zoti* 'that Barkan', a filled pause *em* 'uhm', and an aborted unit *mi ʃe-* 'who-' – as well as in sp3's attempt to guess at a possible name (line 5), promptly repeated and accepted by sp4. Only then is the Clause-component initiated. The primary motivation for the occurrence of an NP+Clause construction in this example seems to be speaker-oriented – the cognitive difficulty the speaker encounters in formulating the subject NP results in a complex subject NP, the processing of which needs to be eased by being pronominally repeated in the Clause-component.

The recipient-oriented function of subject doubling is more starkly evident in example 5.69, in which the lexical subject NP is separated from the predicate by means of intervening adjuncts:

(5.69) 1 ***kol 'ele ʃel=miʃ'meret riʃo'na |***
all these of=shift first |
'All those belonging to the first shift'

2 (0.3) *ma'χar b=a='boker | oto'mati |*
(0.3) tomorrow in=DEF=morning | automatically |
'(0.3) Tomorrow morning, automatically'

3 *bli= |ʃee'lot | bli=ʃum.da'var* | (0.5) *'ʃeva b=a='boker |*
without= | questions | without=nothing | (0.5) seven in=DEF=morning |
'No questions, nothing, (0.5) seven in the morning'

4 ***hem*** *kvar b=a='ʃaar ||*
3PL.PRD already in=DEF=gate ||
'**They** are already at the gate.'

(P423_2_sp3_086-093)

The speaker in (5.69) is a military officer who briefs his soldiers before going on guard duty. As part of the briefing, he instructs the soldiers of the first shift to be at the gate at 7 am. He formulates the instruction as a sentence that is distributed over eight prosodic units, in which the lexical subject NP (line 1) is separated from the predicate (line 4) by several time and manner adjuncts (lines 2–3). Unlike in (5.67) and (5.68), here the speaker does not reveal any overt signs of processing difficulty: instructions delivered by a military officer are typically semi-planned, and the officer had probably produced the same, or a very similar variation of, briefing on numerous occasions. That is why subject doubling in this case seems mainly to be aiding the recipients to keep track of the subject referent, a compensation for the linear distance between the subject and the predicate. Again, this does not preclude the possible role of cognitive complexity possibly encountered by the speaker.

Another context in which NP+Clause construction with medial person markers appears is in the initiation of discourse units. In employing a NP+Clause sentence, the speaker signals that s/he is making a new move or, in other words, that s/he is attempting to initiate a unit that represents a shift or a break from the prior talk in some manner (Kim 1995; Netz & Kuzar 2007: 319; Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015: 90–103). The initiation of a new segment of talk often involves the introduction of a new referent, which may explain why many studies regarded the

NP+Clause construction as a construction whose main function was to allow the gradual introduction of discourse-new referents into discourse (Lambrecht 1994: 183–185; Prince 1997; Geluykens 1992). The discourse structuring function is often enmeshed with issues of turn-taking, since it is often the case that the initiation of a new unit is performed by a next speaker who has to take the floor in order to do so. In fact, it has been observed that NP+Clause construction has floor-seeking and competitive turn-taking functions, allowing speakers to access the floor at a moment at which such access is not warranted (Duranti & Ochs 1979: 403–405; Pekarek Doehler et al. 2015: 75–90).

Example 5.70 demonstrates how the NP+Clause construction could be used to re-initiate a story after some intervening talk:

(5.70) 1 sp1 *aχ'ʃav jeʃ* ***baχu'ra a'χer-et*** | ***'miri*** | (1.3) ***hi*** *bu'χari-**t*** ||
now EXT **girl(F)** **other-SGF** | **Miri** | (1.3) **3SGF.PRD** Bukharian-**SGF** ||
'Now there is **another girl**, **Miri**, (1.3) **she** is of Bukharian origin.'

2 sp2 (1.5) *me='efo* /
(1.5) from=where /
'(1.5) From where?'

3 sp1 ***hi*** *'gar-**a*** *be=<place name>* ||
3SGF.PRD living-**SGF** in=*<place name>* ||
'**She** lives in *<place name>*.'

(50 PMs omitted; 46 seconds)

4 sp1 *aχ'ʃav beki'ʦur* | ***ha=baχu'ra ha='zoti*** |
now in.short | **DEF=girl(F) DEF=DEM.SGF** |
'Now anyway, **this girl**'

5 (0.3) ***hi*** *sij'm-**a*** *ʃe'rut.leu'mi* |
(0.3) **3SGF.PRD** finished-**3SGF.PRD** national.service |
'(0.3) **She** finished her National Service'

(P423_2_sp1_086-121, sp2_061-084)

Sp1 initially attempts to introduce a new topic pertaining a girl he had met recently. After establishing the identity of the girl via a lexical NP and a proper name, sp1 mentions her origin (line 1). Sp2's reaction in line 2 creates a focus on the girl's place of residence, which is subsequently revealed to be the same as sp1's. This triggers a digression from the main topic,

during which sp1's attempt to tell about this girl is suspended. Throughout the digression, the conversation remains within the main topic of "dating", and the "girl" is mentioned via person markers several times; nonetheless, as a whole, this segment can be regarded as a divergence from sp1's original storyline concerning the girl. This is made clear when he resumes his original topic in lines 4–5, employing an NP+Clause construction that consists of two prosodically separated components – a lexical NP referring to the "girl", and a clause that conveys information about the girl, containing an additional pronominal reference to the "girl". The discourse structuring function of the NP+Clause construction is highlighted by the prefacing discourse markers *aχ'ʃav* 'now' and *beki'ʦur* 'in short' – both of which function as segmentation markers (Shloush 1998; Gonen, Livnat, & Amir 2015). Note also that the initiation of a new segment of talk in this case required sp1 to take the floor by means of self-selection, and the use of the NP+Clause construction, together with the prefacing discourse markers, can also be viewed as instruments serving to realize that objective.

It appears more challenging to motivate subject doubling in sentences that do not seem complex in any way, and that appear in the middle of the current speaker's talk. The next two examples illustrate such instances:

(5.71) 1 *jeʃ po et=ha=ir | ʃe nik'ret* | (2.7) *ka'rakorum* |
EXT here ACC=DEF=city | that is.called | (2.7) Karakorum |
'There's a city here, that's called (2.7) Karakorum'

2 (0.8) *be=ka'rakurum* | *jeʃ et=ha=* | *em* | *et=**ha=*** | ***ti'ra ʃel=e*** | **(0.4)** ***'ʤingis*** ||
(0.8) in=Karakurum | EXT ACC=DEF= | uhm | ACC=**DEF=** | **castle of=uh** | **(0.4) Ginghis** ||
'(0.8) In Karakorum, there is **the, uh, the castle of Genghis**.'

3 (1.3) *ve **hi** e* | ***hi*** *mu'kef-**et*** *be=* | *min=ʦa'bim ka'ele* |
(1.3) and **3SGF.PRD** uh | **3SGF.PRD** is.surrounded-**SGF** in= | kind.of=turtles like.that |
'(1.3) And **it** is, uh, **it** is surrounded by some kind of turtles'

4 *jeʃ l=**a*** *arba'a ʦa'bim be=kol pi'na* |
EXT to=**3SGF.NPRD** four turtles in=all corner |
'There are (lit. **It** has) four turtles in every corner'

5 *be='ejze mer'χak ʃel=kilo'meter me=ha=-- me=ha--*
in=which distance of=kilometer from=DEF=-- from=DEF=--
'About one kilometer from the, from the'

6 *na'gid* ***ha=ti'ra*** ***hi*** *meru'baat* / ***hi*** *ri'bua* /
let's.say **DEF=castle** **3SGF.PRD** quadrangular / **3SGF.PRD** square /
'Let's say **the castle** is quadrangular? **It** is a square?'

7 (0.6) *kilo'meter* | *mi=kol* *e* | *pi'na* | *jeʃ* *ʦav* || *ʃe* *ʃo'mer* ||
(0.6) kilometer | from=all uh | corner | EXT turtle || that guarding.SGM ||
'(0.6) One kilometer from each uh, corner, there is a turtle. Guarding (the castle).

(OCh_sp1_113-135)

Example 5.71 is an excerpt taken from a conversation between a father and a son (who is the speaker in this sample) about the son's trip to Mongolia. The NP+Clause construction in this example – *na'gid ha=ti'ra hi meru'baat* / 'Let's say the castle is quadrangular?' (line 6) – is realized in a single prosodic unit, and does not contain any overt markers of complexity. This sentence would be perfectly acceptable without the medial person marker, and thus the doubling of the subject does not seem to be motivated. However, judging from the context in which this sentence is embedded, one can assume that the speaker is nevertheless engaged in a cognitively complex conversational activity, namely trying to describe a castle he had visited during his trip in Mongolia. This complexity is overtly manifested in several features – prosodically distributed sentences (e.g., the sentence in line 2 is distributed over 6 prosodic units), filled and unfilled pauses, repetition (e.g., *me=ha=* 'from the' in line 5), and reformulation (the sentence in line 3 is reformulated by the sentence in line 4). In fact, the NP+Clause construction itself initiates a reformulating side-sequence (lines 6–7) succeeding an unsuccessful attempt to describe the castle. The doubling of the lexical subject here could testify to the increased mental effort on the part of the speaker in formulating his message. At the same time, however, subject doubling might equally be explained by recipient design in the service of retopicalising the referent 'the castle', whose initial reference has become quite distant: after a first mention at line 2, the speaker started providing some background details regarding the external appearance of the castle and introduced the referent 'the turtles' in line 4. Seen that way, subject doubling can be regarded as a way to help the listener resolve a by-now distant initial referent.

Example 5.72 also illustrates an instance where NP+Clause construction with a medial person marker is used with no apparent motivation:

(5.72) 1 *aχ'ʃav hi jo'ʦet im='ejze ba'χur jeru'ʃalmi* | (0.5) *'χodeʃ* ||
now 3SGF.PRD going.out.SGF with=which guy from.Jerusalem | (0.5) month ||
'Now she is going out with some guy from Jerusalem, (0.5) a month.'

2 *ʃe hu* | *ze* ||
that 3SGM.PRD | DEM ||
'Who is, this.'

3 *hu o'ved* | *a'val hu* | *jo'ʃen be=jeʃi'va o 'maʃehu* |
3SGM.PRD working.SGM | but 3SGM.PRD | sleeping.SGM in=*yeshiva* or something |
'He works, but he sleeps in a *yeshiva* or something'

4 *a'val* ***'aba ʃe'lo hu*** *be=jeruʃa'laim* | ***hu*** | *b=a=moa'ʦa* |
but **father his 3SGM.PRD** in=Jerusalem | **3SGM.PRD** | in=DEF=council |
'But **his father** is in Jerusalem, **he** is in the council'

5 *ve ze 'maʃehu reʦi'ni* ||
and dem something serious ||
'And that is something serious.'

(P423_2_sp1_ 242-254)

The speaker in this example is talking about a new man his sister started dating. In lines 1–3, he introduces this person with a lexical NP, and describes him as someone who has a job, but sleeps in a *yeshiva*.[51] Such a description does not seem to put the man in the most positive light, which is probably why he adds additional information about the man's father, who works at the council, presumably a broadly recognizable respectable position (lines 4–5). This additional information is initiated via an NP+Clause construction, the two components of which – *'aba ʃe'lo* 'his father', and *hu be=jeruʃa'laim* 'he is in Jerusalem' – are realized in a single prosodic unit. This sentence would be perfectly acceptable without the medial person marker, and thus the doubling of the subject does not seem to be motivated. It is possible that the doubling of the subject in this case is occasioned by initiating a new discourse segment within the same topic – a segment contrasted to the previous one, as indicated by the prefacing *a'val* 'but'.

That subject doubling is a natural, and perhaps basic, strategy in Israeli Hebrew, is substantiated by its occurrence in early stages of language acquisition. According to Berman (1990: 1154–1155), three- and four-year-old children tend to over-mark third person subjects, by employing

[51] *Yeshiva* is a Jewish institution that focuses on the study of traditional religious texts, primarily the Talmud and the Torah.

third person pronouns in contexts where older speakers tend to use them much less frequently. Relevant to this discussion is the double marking of subjects in simple sentences in which children use a third person marker as a pronominal copy of a lexical subject:

(5.73) (Berman 1990: 1155)

a. *gam* ***ha='kelev*** ***ha'ze*** ***hu*** *meta'pes-**Ø***
also **DEF=dog** **this** **3SGM.PRD** climbing-**SGM**
'**This dog he** also climbs.'

b. *ve* ***ha='kelev*** ***hu*** *ra'a-**Ø*** *et=ha=sa'kik*
and **DEF=dog** **3SGM.PRD** saw-**3SGM.PRD** ACC=DEF=bag
'And **the dog he** saw the bag.'

c. *ve* ***ha='jeled*** ***hu*** *a'la-**Ø*** *al=etʂ*
and **DEF=boy** **3SGM.PRD** went.up-**3SGM.PRD** on=tree
'And **the boy he** climbed a tree.'

Such usage, Berman found, are commonly found in the preschool narratives of children aged three to five years. They are drastically reduced by the time the children reach the age of seven. Berman suggests that such a usage reflects the real time processing difficulty of younger children in planning ahead their upcoming speech. They first specify the topic by a lexical NP, only to immediately mention it again by means of a pronoun, once they have decided what they wish to say about the topic. One may hypothesize that this strategy only becomes infrequent, rather than be dropped entirely amongst adults, whose accelerated cognitive capacities mean they encounter processing difficulty less frequently than children, and must therefore resort less often to such solutions.[52] Such contexts are not the only ones that may motivate subject doubling in adult Israeli Hebrew. Identifying additional motivations is an important task that exceeds the scope of this section and calls for further study in the future.

5.3.6 Summary of section 5.3

Section 5.3 examined the so-called "copular" uses of medial person markers in Israeli Hebrew conversation, with the purpose of providing a critical assessment of their copular interpretation. Based on corpus evidence, and on theoretical grounds, it has been suggested that "copular" medial person markers are better viewed as a second realization of the subject referent, initially

[52] This hypothesis awaits further corroboration.

realized by a full NP, and accordingly that “copular” sentences should be seen as involving subject doubling. In other words, third person markers in IH have only one use – the referential one. The referential use is at play even when the person marker coexists in one sentence with a co-indexical lexical subject.

6 Delimiting the scope of inquiry

Chapter 5 presented and discussed the main referential devices in IH, outlined a provisional description of the IH reduced referential system from a typological perspective, and discussed the interaction between full and reduced referential devices. The actual scope of the present inquiry, however, is much more modest. This study focuses only on third person (non-locutor) reference to human referents, to the exclusion of first and second person (locutor) reference and non-animate referents. In this chapter, I motivate such a delineation (section 6.1), and present a quantitative distribution of the referential devices examined in this dissertation (section 6.2)

6.1 Motivating the delineation

Excluding first and second person (locutor) reference and non-animate referents from the scope of this dissertation was deemed necessary in light of the differences between animate and non-animate reference on the one hand, and the third person and first/second person reference on the other.

A well-known cross-linguistic distinction is that of animacy, regarded as an assumed cognitive scale extending from human through animal to inanimate. The distinction between animate and inanimate referents, and particularly between human and non-human ones, manifest in myriad grammatical phenomena, such as number distinction, case marking, word order, subjecthood selection and topicality (Silverstein 1976; Comrie 1989: Ch. 9; Yamamoto 1999: 45–67). It is also widely assumed that there is a strong connection between the animacy, and predominantly the humanness, of a referent, and the choice of the referential expression used for its mention. In this regard, human referents are assumed to be more accessible than animal referents, and animal referents are regarded as more accessible than inanimate referents. This increasing ladder of inherent accessibility seems to be responsible for the finding that animate/human referents tend to be referred to by pronouns more often than inanimate/non-human referents (Dahl & Fraurud 1996; Fukumura & Van Gompel 2011). Taking into account the sensitivity of referential choice to animacy, Kibrik (2011: 406) incorporates the factor of animacy into his multi-factorial model of activation as an activation factor that may increase the referent's total degree of activation. However, Kibrik points out that the influence of animacy/humanness is not categorical, but is rather dependent on the distance from the referent's last mention – with longer distances, humanness helps to keep the referent's degree of activation higher, while with

shorter distances human and inanimate referents are almost indistinguishable in this regard (Kibrik 2011: 413).

The aforementioned studies demonstrated how the animacy/humanness of a referent may increase its activation in certain conditions, and consequently may influence its subsequent reference. Fraurud (1996: 84) similarly contends that referential choice can be more adequately described if we distinguish between the co-reference chains of different types of entities and examine them separately. To substantiate her claim, however, she employs a more general ontological distinction of individuation, regarded as the degree to which an entity is conceived of in its own right, independently of other entities. This leads her to propose three main classes of entities: Individuals, Functionals and Instances (Fraurud 1996: 71–72). These ontological classes are independent from the referent's degree of activation, and are determined mainly by the referent's degree of individuation and its relations to other entities. The difference between these types of entities is especially reflected in the way they are initially referred to. Individuals are those entities that are conceived of in their own right, independently of other entities, and that are directly identifiable, generally by means of a proper name. Typical Individuals are human beings, always named and at the top of the individuation hierarchy. Functionals are conceived of only in relation to other entities, and they are identifiable only indirectly, by means of relational definite descriptions. Typical examples of Functionals are parts of wholes and abstract entities. Instances are conceived of as instantiations of types, and are typically referred to by means of indefinite NPs.

In light of the above, I choose to focus on a particular type of referent, namely human referents. The decision to dedicate the current dissertation to this particular type is motivated by several factors: first, human beings are both the prototypical animate referents and prototypical individuals. Less prototypical instances of animate referents may include animals and metaphorical/metonymical extensions of inanimate referents. Such referents, however, do not lend themselves to a neat ordering and tend to show up as exceptions or borderline cases (Dahl & Fraurud 1996: 62–63).

A further distinction made within the human category is between the third person on the one hand, and the first and second person on the other (e.g., Benveniste 1966a, 1966b; Siewierska 2004: 5–8; Kibrik 2011: 42–43). The distinctiveness of the first/second person reference is rooted in the fundamentally egocentric character of human cognition and language, which is

extended to the second person in interaction (Kibrik 2011: 42). Structurally, this difference is reflected by the fact that many languages lack person markers for the third person, and in languages that possess person markers for all three persons, it is often the case that the forms of the first and second persons are markedly different from that of the third (Siewierska 2004: 5–6). This difference is also expressed in the nature of referential choice – first and second persons are regularly referred to only by person markers, and accordingly referential choice is typically limited to the pronominal domain; in contrast, reference to third person can be achieved by diverse types of expressions, resulting in a more intricate referential choice between lexical NPs, pronouns and non-expression (Siewierska 2004: 5; Kibrik 2011: 43).

In light of the above, I decided to restrict the scope of this dissertation only to third person reference to human referents. Accordingly, I focus on the main types of referential devices used to accomplish that type of reference, thus excluding first and second person markers, as well as demonstrative markers since they are not typically used for human reference. To sum up, I will be interested in the following referential devices: lexical NPs (common nouns, proper nouns and indefinites), unbound PNG-markers, bound PNG-markers in verbal clauses, unexpressed reference, and interrogative markers.

Table 6.1 – Referential devices examined in this dissertation

Full referential devices		**Reduced referential devices**				
Lexical NP		**Unbound PNG-markers**	**Bound PNG-markers**	**Unexpressed reference**		**Interrog. marker**
Noun (exemplified below)	**Indefinites**			**Subjects adjectival/ participial**	**Other**	
'meleχ ‘a king’	*'miʃehu, e'χad* ‘someone’	*hu* ‘3SGM.PRD’	*-Ø* ‘3SGM.PRD’	(+*-Ø* ‘SGM’)		*mi* ‘who’
neku'da ʃχo'ra ‘a black spot’	*'miʃehi, a'χat* ‘someone.F’	*='o/='av* ‘3SGM.NPRD’	*-a* ‘3SGF.PRD’	(+*-a*/*-t* ‘SGF’)		
ha=avo'da ha=zot ‘this job’	*afe'χad* ‘no one’	*hi* ‘3SGF.PRD’	*-u* ‘3PL.PRD’	(+*-im* ‘PLM’)		
ʃnej neha'gim ‘two drivers’	*afa'χat* ‘no one.F’	*='a/='eha* ‘3SGF.NPRD’	*j-* ‘3SGM.PRD’	(+*-ot* ‘PLF’)		
	ku'lam, kol.e'χad ‘all of them’, ‘everyone’	*hem* ‘3PL.PRD’	*t-* ‘3SGF.PRD’			
	kol.a'χat ‘everyone.F’	*='am/a'hem* ‘3PL.NPRD’	*j---u* ‘3PL.PRD’			

Of the four alternations characteristic to the reduced referential system of IH discussed in §5.2 (Types 1-4), only three are examined in this dissertation: (1) non-locutor subject expression in

the verbal clause – alternation between the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" and bound PNG-marker (Type 1); (2) subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference (Type 3); and (3) subject expression in other clauses, as well as non-subject expression – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference (Type 4).

6.2 Quantitative distribution of referential devices

The data examined in this dissertation are based on the analysis of 225 human referents that were mentioned more than once, up to a total of 1483 referential instances. The analysis will focus on three positions in the realization of any particular referent: (1) introductory mention, *i.e.*, the first mention of a referent; (2) subsequent establishment, *i.e.*, any additional mentions that serve to establish the referent's identity; and (3) maintenance of reference: every mention of that referent after its identity has been established. The following procedures were applied in order to analyze the distribution of referential devices in the database. I identified recurring referents in each conversation and marked them for the following features: (1) Type of referential device – lexical NPs, unbound markers, bound markers, interrogative markers, vs. unexpressed reference; (2) Position – introductory mention; subsequent establishment, when relevant; maintenance of reference; (3) Syntactic function – subject, predicate in bipartite clause, predicate in unipartite clause, modifier, complement; (4) Predicate type of the clause in which the referential device appears – verbal, participial, nominal, adjectival, prepositional, clausal, and existential. Whenever an initial mention was repeated, each of the subsequent mentions was counted separately, regardless of the underlying motivation for the repetition. This was done in order to be able to assess the frequency of repeated mentions in the data.[53] After examining the distribution pattern of the referential devices in each of the three positions, explanations to the distribution were suggested.

Table 6.2 presents the quantitative distribution of each of the referential devices described in the previous sections:

[53] For example, the speaker in (8.16) produced the proper name *muki* 'Muki' three times, as a part of her attempt to begin telling a story about Muki. Although she succeeds only after her third attempt, the three mentions of the proper name were counted as three different mentions.

Table 6.2- Distribution of referential devices according to positions

	Full referential devices			**Reduced referential devices**					
	Lexical NP			**Unbound PNG-markers**	**Bound PNG-markers**	**Unexpressed reference**		**Interrog. marker**	
Position	**Common noun**	**Proper noun**	**Indef. markers**			**Subjects adjectival/ participial**	**Other**		**Total**
Introductory mention	96 (44%)	69 (31%)	13 (6%)	35 (16%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	4 (2%)	3 (1%)	**222 (100%)**
Subsequent establishment	31 (47%)	23 (34%)	-	-	-	-	6 (9%)	7 (10%)	**67 (100%)**
Maintenance of reference	103 (9%)	129 (11%)	4 (0%)	806 (67%)	81 (7%)	57 (5%)	14 (1%)	-	**1194**
Total	**230**	**221**	**17**	**841**	**82**	**58**	**24**	**10**	**1483**

We can see that there was a total of 289 mentions that contributed to establishment of reference – 222 introductory mentions (discussed in Chapter 7), and 67 additional mentions (discussed in Chapter 8). Next, we can see that there were 1194 mentions involved in maintaining the referential identity of the referents examined. The distribution of referential devices in this stage is discussed in Chapter 9. Table 6.2 will be partially replicated in each of these chapters.

7 Introductory mention

This chapter is dedicated to characterizing the introductory mention of human referents in CSIH. It addresses two main questions: (1) What referential devices are used in introductory mentions? (2) What factors affect the choice of a particular referential device? Partially replicating Table 6.2, Table 7.1 presents the distribution of referential devices used in introductory mentions:

Table 7.1 – Distribution of referential devices in Introductory Mention

Full referential devices			**Reduced referential devices**					
Lexical NP			**Unbound PNG-markers**	**Bound PNG-markers**	**Unexpressed reference**		**Interrogative marker**	
Common noun	**Proper noun**	**Indefinite marker**			**Subjects adjectival/ participial**	**Other**		**Total**
96 (44%)	69 (31%)	13 (6%)	35 (16%)	1 (0%)	1 (0%)	4 (2%)	3 (1%)	**222 (100%)**

As expected, introductory mentions are most commonly achieved through lexical NPs, which may vary in their degree of specification – from proper names, through common nouns, to indefinite pronouns (80%=(96+69+13)/222; as discussed in §7.1). Not infrequently, however, reference is established through a reduced form (20%=(35+1+1+4+3)/222; as discussed in §7.2).

7.1 Full referential devices

Ample evidence gleaned from past research suggests lexical NPs are the main referential device used for introducing referents into conversation. This finding is readily explained by the fact that a lexical NP is typically the most attenuated form of enabling the recipient to achieve sufficient recognition of the referent (Geluykens 1994; Huang 2000). A different interpretation posits that the referent may have not been sufficiently activated in the mind of the recipient prior to its first mention, thus necessitating a referential device normally reserved for inactivated referents, namely a lexical NP (Chafe 1994; Ariel 2001; Kibrik 2011).

The specific form the lexical NPs take – as either a proper noun or a common noun – seems to be affected by the degree of assumed familiarity with the referent.[54] Proper nouns typically signal that the speaker assumes the referent to be identifiable, or familiar to the addressee to some degree (Downing 1996: 102–103). Such is the case in (7.1):

(7.1) 1 *b=jom.ʃi'ʃi* | ***'ruχale*** *meda'ber-**et*** *im=ha=χave'rot* *ʃe'l=**a*** |
in=Friday | **Rochale** talking-**SGF** with=DEF=friends of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'On Friday, **Rochale** is talking to **her** friends'

2 *'pitom* ***hi*** *ʦo'ek-**et*** | *jeʃ* ||
suddenly **3SGF.PRD** shouting-**SGF** | yey ||
'Suddenly **she** shouts, Yay!'

3 *ef'ʃar* *lefa'ter* *et='roni* ||
possible to.fire ACC=Roni ||
'It is possible to fire Roni.'

(C714_sp5_060-063)

The main protagonist in this narrative, Ruchale, is introduced via a nickname, and is subsequently referred to using 3SGF unbound markers – the non-predicational *=a* 'her', and the predicational *hi* 'she'. By using a proper name, and particularly a nickname, the speaker assumes that the interlocutors are familiar with this referent. The presumed familiarity does not necessarily mean that the recipients have met this referent in person, but rather that they are merely aware of her existence, and that they know her name. In fact, in this example, we cannot be entirely sure that the recipients even know who Ruchale is, since the subsequent discussion focuses on Roni, and Ruchale is not mentioned again.

This is in contrast to the next example, in which the next speaker's response reflects his familiarity with the referent. This example features a part of a conversation during a family gathering about a neighbor's child who used to play pranks on sp3, which involved lowering a bottle with offensive language written on it from the floor above.

[54] Each of these two groups includes further subdivisions. A person's proper name, for example, can be realized by a variety of forms, such as first names, last names, first and last names, initials plus last names, and titled proper names. Proper names can also designate non-persons, such as countries, organizations, and units. Common nouns, or descriptions, can be realized by a simple NP or a complex NP, each of which can be definite or indefinite. Throghout the dissertation I will occassionaly address some of these subdivisions, however I will not examine them quantitatively.

(7.2) 1 sp3 *pa'taχti et=ha=χa'lon b='ʃeket | ma'ʃaχti lo et=ha=bak'buk |*
I.opened ACC=DEF=window in=silence | I.pulled to.him ACC=DEF=bottle |
'I quietly opened the window, pulled the bottle from him'

2 *ve he'veti et=ze l='**mira** ||*
and I.brought ACC=DEM to=**Mira** ||
'and brought it to **Mira**.'

3 sp1 *ve ma **hi** am'r-**a** /*
and what **3SGF.PRD** said-**3SGF.PRD** /
'And what did **she** say?'

(C711_4_sp3_039-041, sp1_053)

In lines 1–2, sp3 tells about one particular occasion on which she took the bottle and showed it to the boy's mother, Mira. She introduces Mira using a first name, a choice that reflects her assumption that her recipients are familiar with the respective referent, as well as with the referent's name. Sp1's response to this story includes another mention of Mira using the 3SGF.PRD unbound marker *hi* 'she'. This response tacitly signals that the sp3's introductory mention has managed to establish the referent's identity successfully.

In multi-party conversations, a proper name may be used for reference to co-present persons. This is exemplified in (7.3), which follows a discussion about a vacation deal purchasable only when paying with a particular credit card.

(7.3) 1 *nu az e | **si'gali te-**ʃa'lem a'laj |*
well so uh | **Sigali 3SGF.PRD**-will.pay on.me |
'Well, so uhm, **Sigali** will pay for me'

2 *a'ni aχ'zir l=**a** aχar.kaχ ||*
I I.will.return to=**3SGF.NPRD** afterwards ||
'I will pay **her** back afterwards.'

(OCD_2_sp1_052-054)

Not owning that type of credit card, the speaker offers a solution – Sigali, a co-present speaker, will pay for him, and he will pay her back afterwards. He introduces Sigali using an affectionate first name, and subsequently refers to her using a 3SGF marker *=a* 'her'. Referring to a co-present interlocutor via a proper name shows that the mere co-presence of a person in the speech situation does not automatically make him or her eligible for pronominal reference.

Although Sigali is one of the three participants in this interaction, at the point represented in line 1, she can be defined as a 'side participant', since the speaker's utterance in line 1 served as a reply to another speaker's prior turn, making these two speakers the 'main participants' at this point (see Carroll 2007: 233).[55] As a 'side participant', the referent seems to be treated as if she is absent, and her introduction necessitates a lexical expression, such as the use of a proper name. Another possible motivation for such use is a social convention, dictating that a person's name should preferably be used to talk about someone who is present.[56] This, however, does not seem to be the prime motivation at work.

The introductory mentions of the referents in (7.1)–(7.3) were embedded within the utterance that conveyed information regarding these referents; in other words, the speakers did not engage in some kind of prefatory sequence which would secure various aspects of the referents prior to proceeding with the main sequence. This is not always the case, of course. Occasionally, the new referent is introduced into conversation as a part of an introductory segment (pre-sequence) before the speaker proceeds to provide more information about that referent (Hayashi 2005: 453). In the next example, the introductory mention of the referent is embedded in a pre-telling sequence (a topic initiation sequence). Prior to this exchange, sp2 informed sp1 that she was being recorded for the purpose of an experiment conducted by Tel-Aviv University, followed by a discussion of various technical issues regarding the recording procedure.

(7.4) 1 sp2 (2.5) *az em* | *be'χol.zot a'ni esa'per* | (1.0) *al e* |
(2.5) so uhm | anyway I I.will.tell | (1.0) about uh |
'(2.5) So uhm, anyway, I am going to tell about uh'

2 sp1 *az sap'ri* ||
so tell.IMP.SGF ||
'So tell.'

3 sp2 *maala'lej* ***ef'rat*** *me=et'mol* |
pranks.of **Efrat** from=yesterday |
'**Efrat**'s pranks of yesterday'

[55] In addition to those roles, multi-party conversation may further include 'overhearers': either 'bystanders' who are openly present but do not participate in the conversation, or 'eavesdroppers' who listen to the conversation without the speaker's awareness (Carroll 2007: 233).
[56] According to Wales (1996: 44), such a convention is also present in British English. Not conforming to this convention, that is using a pronoun towards a co-present person, may be interpreted as a sign of animosity.

4 sp1 *a* ||
oh ||
'Oh.'

5 *nu* | ***hi*** *jal'd-**a*** /
well | **3SGF.PRD** gave.birth-**3SGF.PRD** /
'Well, did **she** give birth?'

(C514_1_sp1_064-067, sp2_034-038)

The example begins at a point at which, after concluding the discussion on the experiment, sp2 introduces a new topic related to their mutual friend, Efrat, who has recently given birth. This topic initiation is first achieved by the utterance-initial discourse markers *az* 'so' and *beχolzot* 'anyway' that signal a divergence from the previous topic (Lenk 1998; Takahara 1998; Yatziv & Livnat 2006; Bolden 2009). Sp2 then mentions Efrat for the first time via a proper noun, stating that she is now going to discuss Efrat's pranks. This establishes the reportability of the topical matter, forecasts the new referent's relative importance, and asks for the recipient's permission to tell the story, which is explicitly granted in sp2's ensuing response in lines 4–5 (Svennevig 1999: 173–176).

In cases where the speaker is not sure whether the recipients are familiar with the referent, he or she may attempt to ascertain the recipients' actual state of acquaintance with the referent before providing more information.[57] This is the case in (7.5), in which sp5 attempts to initiate a new topic, namely a peculiar incident he experienced with the referent, 'Or's neighbour'.

(7.5) 1 sp5 *at* *maki'ra* *et=**ha=ʃa'χen*** ***ʃel=e=*** | ***or*** /
you.SGF recognizing.SGF ACC=**DEF=neighbour of=uh=** | **Or** /
'Do you know **Or's, uh, neighbour**?'

2 (0.9) *meki'rim* *o't=**o*** /
(0.9) knowing.PLM ACC**=3SGM.NPRD** /
'(0.9) Do you know **him**?'

3 sp2 *ken* ||
yes ||
'Yes.'

[57] As Hayashi (2005: 438–440) points out, the act of referring is normally performed as a part of some other 'larger' action, such as 'asking a question', 'telling a story', or 'disagreeing'. Thus, when a speaker explicitly attempts to clarify the appropriateness of a referential expression, he in effect performs the referring act as a 'side activity' that is preliminary and subsidiary to the execution of the 'main activity'.

(C714_sp5_020-022, sp2_061)

Before beginning the narrative, sp5 makes an explicit attempt to inquire after the familiarity status of the referent (line 1) and, having failed to elicit an immediate response, tries a second time (line 2). Only when he obtains the confirmation (line 3) does sp5 begin his narrative. It seems that such an overt request for confirming the familiarity status of a referent is motivated not only by sp5's lack of confidence regarding the addressee's level of familiarity with the referent, but also by the fact that this referent introduction represents a transition to a "contextually unanchored episode" (Linell & Korolija 1997: 192). In such a topical transition, one of the speech participants raises a topic 'out of the blue', without any grounding in prior discourse, the surrounding concrete situation, or any abstract background knowledge that is situationally relevant.[58] Also note that sp5 does not employ a proper name, but an associative formulation that establishes the referent's identity by tracing the referent's relationship to another referent who the recipients know.

In some cases, a proper name is not used for introductory mention even when the speaker knows the name, as exemplified in (7.6). Prior to this exchange, the speaker evaluates the course in which he is participating as being extremely boring, and his interlocutor reacts empathetically by mentioning the course's length.

(7.6) 1 *az'vi* *ha=* | *kurs* ||
leave.IMP.SGF DEF=| course ||
'It is not the course.'

2 ***ha=ma'driχ*** ||
DEF=instructor ||
'**The instructor**.'

3 *ala'istor* ||
god.forbid ||
'God forbid.'

4 *mar'dim-**Ø*** ||
causing.sleepiness-**SGM** ||
'Makes you sleepy.'

[58] To that end, the speaker may preface the transition with discontinuity markers, such as *by the way*, *that reminds me of*, *before I forget*, or the addressee may use questions, such as *why do you bring that up?*, that explicitly acknowledge the situational irrelevance of the transition (Linell & Korolija 1997: 192–193).

(OCD_3_sp1_082-086)

Dismissing the length of the course as being the primary reason for his boredom (line 1), the speaker says that it is the course instructor who is responsible for making the course boring (lines 2–4). The ‘instructor’ is realized using a definite lexical NP, which points to the referent’s profession, even though, after several utterances, the speaker mentions the instructor’s name at his interlocutor’s request. The referent’s proper name is unsuitable as an introductory expression, since in communicating the reason for the course being boring, the speaker grounds a contrast between the course itself and the person teaching it, regardless of his precise identity. Note that, in contrast to the previous examples in this section, the referent ‘the instructor’ is introduced by means of a unipartite clause, in which the introductory expression *ha=mad'riχ* ‘the instructor’ functions as the predicate. This syntactic configuration seems to testify to a heightened emotional involvement, also expressed by the prosody and by the exclamative *ala'istor* ‘God forbid’.

When the referent’s name is unknown either to the speaker or to the addressee, the referent may be introduced using an indefinite pronoun, as exemplified in (7.7). In this example, sp3 describes an instance of a severely injured sports fan in order to ground her previously made claim that the fans of a specific football team from Haifa behave extremely violently.

(7.7) 1 sp3 *a'dain jeʃ em* | (1.2) ***e'χad bli=haka'ra b=χaj'fa*** ||
still EXT uhm | (1.2) **one without=consciousness in=Haifa** ||
‘There is, uhm, **one person in Haifa who is still unconscious**.’

2 sp2 *ojva'voj* ||
oh.my.god ||
‘Oh my god.’

3 (*mi ze* ||)
(who DEM ||)
(‘Who is this.’)

4 ***hu*** *kvar ga'mur-**Ø*** *ma* ||
3SGM.PRD already finished-**SGM** what ||
‘He is already hopeless (lit. finished).’

(C711_4_sp3_004-005, sp2_030-032)

This ‘severely injured sports fan’ is introduced via an indefinite lexical NP, consisting of a head *eχad* ‘one.M’ with two modifiers – *bli=haka'ra* ‘unconscious’ and *b=χaj'fa* ‘in Haifa’. This lexical NP is embedded within a presentational clause whose role is to introduce previously unidentifiable referents into the discourse. The form of the referential expression – a complex indefinite NP – implies that the referent’s name is irrelevant at that point. What is relevant is the information conveyed by the modifiers, which supports sp3’s claim regarding the violent behavior of fans of a specific football team from Haifa. Sp2’s subsequent pronominal mention (line 4) tacitly indicates that the identity of the referent has been successfully established.

7.2 Reduced referential devices

As we have seen in Table 6.1, 44 of 222 referents examined in the dissertation were not introduced via a lexical NP, but via reduced referential devices. This finding might be surprising, since person markers are arguably insufficiently informative to ensure the referent’s recognition in an introductory mention. Nevertheless, it has been demonstrated that person markers are capable of achieving sufficient recognition in introductory mentions, provided that the speakers suppose a shared knowledge that allows them to assume that particular referents are relatively more easily inferable (Gerrig et al. 2011: 163–167). One of the sources from which these beliefs can arise is the “personal common ground” – beliefs based on the interlocutors’ mutually shared personal experiences. These can be occasioned either by prior mutual experiences, as in (7.8), or by the co-presence of the intended referent in the physical surrounding of the interaction, as in (7.9):

(7.8) 1 sp2 *ha'ja kvar 'kama pe'rot | a'val a'ni ba'tuaχ ʃe* ***hem*** *he'pil-**u*** *o'tam* ||
was already several fruit | but I sure that **3PL.PRD** dropped-**3PL.PRD** them ||
‘There was already some fruit (on the tree), but I am sure **they** picked them (off the tree).’

2 sp1 <laughter>

3 sp2 *al titsχa'ki* ||
NEG laugh ||
‘Don’t laugh.’

4 sp1 *'ejze inte'res jeʃ l=**a'hem** leha'pil le'xa et=ha=pe'rot /*
which interest EXT to=**3PL.NPRD** to.drop to.you.SGM ACC=DEF=fruits /
‘Why would **they** want to pick your fruits (off the tree)?’

(C711_4_sp2_048-050, sp1_039-040)

In (7.8), sp2 says that his pomegranate tree had already produced several fruits; however, *hem* ‘they’ picked these fruits off the tree (line 1). For the external analyst, the referent of *hem* ‘they’ becomes apparent only when (shortly after this excerpt) sp2 indicates the name of the culprits, the neighbor’s son and another person, who are presumably locally notorious for their mischievous behavior. Judging by sp1’s ensuing laughter and from the fact that she subsequently refers to them using the 3PL.NPRD marker =*hem* ‘them’, however, it seems that the referent’s identity had been easily surmised. From the conversation that follows the example, it becomes apparent that the neighbor’s son has caused trouble on several occasions, implying that this topic constitutes part of this family’s personal common ground. Thus, it would appear that sp2’s use of the introductory *hem* ‘they’ does not necessarily imply that the referent is presumed to be already activated at that point, but that the person marker is assumed to be adequate for the purpose of achieving sufficient recognition relying on the interlocutors’ shared past experiences.

A personal common ground may also be affected by the co-presence of the intended referent in the physical surroundings of the interaction, as exemplified in (7.9). In this example, the speakers are preparing a meal while listening to music on a CD.

(7.9) 1 sp1 *ze* ***hi*** *'ʃar-**a*** *b=a=hofa'a* ||
DEM **3SGF.PRD** sang-**3SGF.PRD** in=DEF=show ||
‘That (song) **she** sang at the concert.’

2 sp4 (1.2) *hitpa'leti* *ʃe* ***hi*** *'ʃar-**a*** *et=ze* ||
(1.2) I.was.surprised that **3SGF.PRD** sang-**3SGF.PRD** ACC=DEM ||
‘(1.2) I was surprised that **she** sang it.’

(C714_sp1_083, sp4_071)

Sp1 initially mentions the singer on the CD using a 3SGF.PRD marker, *hi* ‘she’. Sp4’s response demonstrates that she has established the referent’s identity since it includes a pronominal reference to the singer. As in (7.8), the introductory pronominal reference in (7.9) seems to be occasioned not by the assumed activated status of the referent, but rather by the person marker’s ability to ensure sufficient recognition of the referent by relying on the co-presence of the referent in the situational context.

Beliefs about common ground may arise from yet another source: the ‘communal common ground’ that represents the knowledge that speakers routinely assume their recipients possess by virtue of shared membership in specific sociocultural communities (Gerrig et al. 2011: 166). This may include referents that are sufficiently prominent in the shared cultural environment for it to be possible for speakers to use pronouns to refer to them without the intended antecedent having been specifically established in the prior discourse.[59] Communal common ground may also include shared sociocultural schemas that specify the roles and entities relevant within those contexts. Such a use can be seen in (7.10), in which, sp3 is trying to recall the name of an Indian dish that sp1 had tried during her trip to India by describing the way in which it was prepared.

(7.10) 1 sp3 *ma ʃe* ***hu*** *sam-Ø laχ al=ha=eʃ* |
what that **3SGM.PRD** put-**3SGM.PRD** to.you.SGF on=DEF=fire |
‘That thing **he** put on the pan’

2 *ve ki'pel-Ø im=ba'ʦek* |
and folded-**3SGM.PRD** with=dough |
‘and folded with dough’

3 *ve sam-Ø lax le'mala 'ejze* |
and put-**3SGM.PRD** to.you.SGF up some |
‘and put on the top of it some kind of’

4 sp1 *ma'sala 'dosa* ||
masala dosa ||
‘Masala dosa.’

(C711_4_sp3_061-063, sp1_081)

Sp3 does this by initially mentioning the person who prepared the dish using the 3SGM.PRD marker *hu* ‘he’, and then maintains this reference solely by using the bound PNG-markers that are incorporated in the verbs that describe the person’s actions – *ki'pel-Ø* ‘folded-3SGM.PRD’ and *sam-Ø* ‘put-3SGM.PRD’. Sp1’s subsequent response reveals that she has not experienced any difficulty with the fact that the person who prepared the dish was not introduced into

[59] Gerrig et al. (2011: 166) exemplify one such use in the following exchange: “A: I don’t know yet what will be with Iraq. You never know, you never know the game. B: Well You never know but it certainly there is a well, but the response of the of the world should be very strong against **him**.” In this excerpt, **him** refers to Saddam Hussein (who has not previously been mentioned in the conversation). The authors suggest that a pronominal reference to Saddam Hussein is made possible due to the fact that speaker A has raised the topic of Iraq. In my database, however, there were no such instances.

discourse via a lexical NP. The reason for this seems to be that the knowledge of the schema of preparing food, in conjunction with the lexical content of the local context, makes it clear that *hu* 'he' refers to the street vendor who prepared the dish. Yet another possible reason for introducing a referent via a person marker is the relative insignificance of that referent, to the point that addressees may not even attempt to determine a fully specified referent (Yule 1982: 320). What seems to be of primary importance in example 7.10 is the information predicated of the referent – the actions he performed in order to prepare the dish – rather than the referent's identity.[60]

In several instances an even more reduced option was used for introductory mention. In example 7.11, the subject referent of a verbal clause is expressed only with a bound PNG-marker, whereas the participial clause in example 7.12 is unipartite, having no subject representation:

(7.11) *his'pik-**Ø*** *liχ'tov* *'sefer* ||
managed-**3SGM.PRD** to.write book ||
'Managed to write a book.'

(P423_1_unid_007; soldiers during army briefing).

(7.12) *jo'red-**Ø*** *a'lejnu ha* /
going.down-**SGM** on.us huh /
'Making fun of us, huh?'

(P423_1_unid_037; soldiers during army briefing).

Both of the utterances above served as a humorous remarks uttered by the same speaker during an army briefing – (7.11) relates to the duration of the briefing, and (7.12) relates to the commander saying that the soldiers were not experienced soldiers. Each of the utterances predicates something of the commander conducting the briefing, however in (7.11), the commander is mentioned in the subject position via 3SGM.PRD person marker *-Ø*, whereas in (7.12), the commander is not mentioned directly, but only indicated by the SGM nonperson marker *-Ø*. Establishing the referent's identity relies on the interlocutors' personal common ground, since the intended referent is co-present in the physical surrounding of the interaction.

[60] Note, however, that the referent's insignificance could have been emphasized even more had sp1 used impersonal and non-referential 3PL verbs (*'sam-u* 'put-3PL.PRD, *kip'l-u* 'folded-3PL.PRD).

However, referring to a person solely by means of an incorporated device seems to involve more than mere matters of identification. It appears that, by employing the most condensed referential option, speakers add an additional layer of meaning to their utterances.[61] The additional layer of meaning in the examples above seems to involve a negative stance toward various aspects of the perceived situation for which the referent is held accountable.

Thus far, examples where initial reference has been achieved through a reduced referential device, the next speaker did not seem to encounter any problems in identifying the intended referent. This shows that speakers usually assess the recipient's state of knowledge and bring it into account in their utterances. There are situations in which a reduced initial reference turns out to be incongruent with the next speaker's state of knowledge, however. Such a situation is shown in (7.13):

(7.13) 1 sp2 *lo na'im li* ***miske'n-a*** ||
NEG pleasant to.me **miserable-SGF** ||
'I am not comfortable with it, **miserable**.'

2 *ve ze* | *ma hem jaa'su* ||
and DEM | what they they.will.do ||
'And this, what will they do.'

3 *ma hem ja'asu* ||
what they they.will.do ||
'What will they do.'

4 sp1 'What isn't pleasant.'

5 '(0.5) Wait a moment.'

6 'I will also bring my coffee.'

8 'This is not fair that only you drink (coffee).'

9 (0.7) 'Wait a second'

10 '(8.3) What isn't pleasant.'

11 sp2 (1.0) ***hi*** *hal'χ-**a*** *ha'bajta* ||
(1.0) **3SGF.PRD** went-**3SGF.PRD** homeward ||
'(1.0) **She** went home.'

[61] Such uses are discussed in more detail in §§9.1–9.2.

12 sp1 *ken* ||
yes ||
'Yes.'

13 *ani jo'daat* ||
I knowing.SGF ||
'I know.'

14 *gi'liti et=ze et'mol kʃe* ***hi*** *am'r-**a*** *ʃa'lom* ||
I.discovered ACC=DEM yesterday when **3SGF.PRD** said-**3SGF.PRD** goodbye ||
'I found out about it yesterday when **she** said goodbye.'

(Y111_sp2_154-158, sp1_097-105)

Prior to this exchange, the speakers had been talking about the date of sp1's upcoming trip to Thailand, when sp2 changes the topic abruptly by introducing some situation about which she feels uncomfortable (lines 1–3). The abruptness of the topic change is reflected not only in its topical incongruity with what was being said before, but also in the use of the adjective *miske'n-a* 'miserable-SGF', which is used predicatively in relation to a referent who has yet to be mentioned explicitly, and is only foreshadowed by the SGF marker incorporated in the adjective *miske'n-a* 'miserable-SGF'. Sp1 responds with lack of understanding, but before sp2 has the opportunity to provide an explanation, sp1 suspends the conversation in order to fetch herself some coffee (lines 4–9). After sp1 returns, she again displays her lack of understanding by repeating her utterance from line 4, to which sp2 responds by describing the unfortunate situation as involving some woman who "went home" (line 11). It is worth noting that, even though sp1 explicitly conveys her lack of understanding, sp2 still refers to the woman in question using a reduced referential device (the 3SGF.PRD marker *hi* 'she'), a device presumably inappropriate in this context. Nevertheless, sp1 manages to establish the referent's identity, possibly due to the contextual information provided by sp2 in line 11. The successful establishment of the referent's identity is reflected by the procedural utterances in lines 12–13, as well as by the fact that sp2 subsequently refers to that woman by means of the 3SGF.PRD marker *hi* 'she', and provides additional information about the incident (line 14). In retrospect, sp1's choice to use a reduced device for an introductory mention was an instance of what Kibrik (2011: 59) called an "egocentric strategy of reference", wherein speakers tacitly assume that

the recipient has the same organization of working memory as the speaker, overestimating the recipient's ability to align their mental processes with those of the speaker.[62]

7.3 Summary of Chapter 7

Chapter 7 was concerned with characterizing the introductory mention of human referents in CSIH. Lexical NPs were found to be the main referential device used for introducing referents into a conversation. This finding is explained by the fact that a lexical NP is typically the most attenuated form that allows the recipient to attain sufficient recognition of a referent mentioned for the first time. The specific form of the lexical NP is typically determined by the degree of assumed familiarity with the referent – proper names generally reflect the speaker's assumption that the recipient is familiar with the person's name, whereas common nouns are used for introducing people whose names are not known to the recipient. Occasionally, however, people may be introduced via a common noun, even if their proper name is known to the speaker. This may occur when the speaker consciously chooses to divert attention away from the referent's identity, focusing instead on some other aspect more relevant to the speaker's current purpose. It was also shown that the introductory mention of a person is not infrequently achieved by means of a person or nonperson marker. This may occur when the referent is already assumed to be part of the personal or communal common ground of the interlocutors, allowing the recipient to identify the referent even without mentioning it using a lexical NP. A person's availability in the common ground does not necessarily make him or her available for pronominal mention, however. Social conventions may also play a part in dictating what ways are appropriate to refer to co-present people.

[62] Kibrik notes that although this strategy is typically used by young children, it can also be encountered in adults.

8 Subsequent establishment

The referent's identity is not always established through a one-step process controlled by the speaker. It may also involve several contributions, either by the same speaker, or in collaboration with the recipient. In these cases, the referent is established as a multi-step mutual process, emphasizing the dynamic and collaborative nature of reference establishment (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Tao 1992).

Accordingly, this chapter addresses cases in which the introductory mention of a referent is insufficient in fully establishing the referent's identity. It addresses the following questions: (1) What referential devices are used in subsequent establishment? (2) What do the speakers accomplish by introducing a referent in several steps?

Partially replicating Table 6.2, Table 8.1 presents the distribution of referential devices used in the subsequent establishment position:

Table 8.1 – Distribution of referential devices in Subsequent Establishment

Full referential devices		**Reduced referential devices**		
Lexical NP		**Interrogative marker**	**Unexpressed reference**	
Common noun	**Proper noun**			**Total**
31 (47%)	23 (34%)	7 (10%)	6 (9%)	**67 (100%)**

On top of the 222 mentions described and analyzed in Chapter 7, there were 67 additional mentions that contributed to establishment of reference. This subsequent establishment was achieved using three strategies. The first strategy involved an additional mention of the referent by means of a lexical NP (80%=(31+23)/67). This is perhaps unsurprising, since one would expect speakers to use lexical devices in order to establish the referent's identity more clearly. The second strategy involved unexpressed reference (9%=6/67), in which speakers modify the previously mentioned referent without mentioning him or her again. The third strategy involved the use of the interrogative marker *mi* 'who' (11%=7/67). Since the main interest in this chapter lies in the motivations underlying multi-step introductions, the discussion in this chapter is organized along a functional basis, employing the notion of "repair".

"Repair" relates to a variety of practices in which interlocutors might interrupt the on-going course of speech in order to address possible problems in speech production, speech perception, or speech processing. The operation of repair – its initiation and its actual accomplishment –

may be performed either by the same speaker (realized in self-initiated self-repair or other-initiated other-repair), or by multiple speakers (realized in self-initiated other-repair or other-initiated self-repair) (Schegloff et al. 1977; Uhman 2001: 378–382; Kitzinger 2013: 229–232). Most of the repair instances discussed in this section are of the self-initiated self-repair type, found to be the most frequent (Geluykens 1994: 20; Huang 2000: 323). This could be due to the fact that repairing necessarily disrupts the progressivity of the turn in progress, and that speakers tend to try to minimize disruptions to the progressivity of their talk (Hayashi 2005: 438–439; Heritage 2007: 260–261).

The multi-step introductions discussed in this chapter involve three types of repair that differ according to their target. Section 8.1 discusses corrections, in which the second referential expression targets the correctness of the first expression. Section 8.2 discusses calibrations, in which the second expression targets the degree of precision of the first. Section 8.3 discusses reinitiations, in which part of the original utterance that contains the referential expression is reformulated.

8.1 Correction

In this type or repair, the second referential expression corrects the first expression because it is erroneous – either because it is an incorrect expression for the intended referent, or because the referent associated with this expression is wrong. The former type is illustrated in the next example, which was a part of a conversation between two students – a native speaker of Hebrew and a native speaker of Arabic:

(8.1)	1	sp3	*az* ***'nadi ha=ze*** | *gar-**Ø*** *po* /
			so **Nadi** **DEF=DEM.SGM** | living-**SGM** here /
			'So **this Nadi** lives here?'
	2		*b=meo'not* /
			in=dorms /
			'In dorms?'
	3	sp1	***'nader*** ||
			Nader ||
			'**Nader**.'

4 sp3 (0.3) *eχ* /
(0.3) how /
'(0.3) How?'

5 sp1 ***'nader*** ||
Nader ||
'**Nader**.'

(C1624_sp3_011-014, sp1_056-057)

In lines 1–2, sp3 mentions a person with whom the interlocutors seem to be familiar by mentioning him using his proper name modified by a demonstrative marker, and poses a question about him. The demonstrative phrase, together with the discourse marker *az* 'so', seem to signal the reintroduction of a previously discussed referent. Sp3 appears to have mispronounced the name because sp1 corrects him by providing a different pronunciation of that name, *'nader* 'Nader', and repeats it after sp3 seems to have misheard her (lines 3–5). The repair in this example belongs to the other-initiated-other-repair type, and seems to be triggered by asymmetry between sp3 and sp1 regarding their familiarity with Nader, whereby sp1 assumes higher degree of familiarity.

The repair in the next example, which was taken from a family conversation about terrorism, belongs to the more common self-initiated-self-repair type. Prior to the exchange in (8.2), another speaker claimed that Arafat was the person responsible for the first terrorist acts against Israel involving the hijacking of airplanes. The example begins with the current speaker objecting to that claim, and mentioning Hawatmeh as the person responsible for these terrorist acts (lines 1–3).[63]

(8.2) 1 *ze lo ara'fat* ||
DEM NEG Arafat ||
'This is not Arafat.'

2 *ma.pi'tom* ||
no.way ||
'No way.'

[63] The last name Arafat relates to Yasser Arafat, the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) from 1969 to 2004 and the President of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) from 1994 to 2004. The last name Hawatmeh, presumably alludes to Nayef Hawatmeh, a prominent figure in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP).

3 ***χa'watma*** ||
Hawatmeh ||
'**Hawatmeh**.'

4 *ze* ***ha=ir'gun*** ***ʃel=ʤorʤ*** ***χa'watma*** ***'χabaʃ*** ||
DEM **DEF=organization of=George Hawatmeh Habash** ||
'This is **George Hawatmeh Habash's organization**.'

5 ***ʃel=ʤorʤ*** ***'χabaʃ*** ||
of=George Habash ||
'**George Habash's**.'

(C714_sp2_089-093)

It seems, however, that the speaker is not completely confident about the precise identity of the referent, since he immediately replaces the first referential expression with another, 'George Hawatmeh Habash's organization', which seems to incorporate the name of another prominent figure in the PFLP, George Habash, combined with the previously suggested 'Hawatmeh' (line 4). Probably realizing his mistake, he performs a final repair, this time by repeating the last constituent, and deleting the problematic item (line 5). In this case, the repair is probably triggered by the limitations of the speaker's memory.

Whereas in the two previous examples, the speakers seem to have the correct referent in mind but have difficulty verbalizing it, in (8.3) the repair is triggered by a misidentification of the referent itself.

(8.3) 1 *ma'zal ʃe* *ze* *haj't-**a*** ***'roni*** *(ni'ra* *li)* ||
luck that DEM was-**3SGF.PRD Roni** (it seems to me) ||
'Luckily it was **Roni** (it seems to me).'

2 *lo* ||
NEG ||
'No.'

3 (0.7) *(zot)* *haj't-**a*** ***e'la*** ||
(0.7) (DEM.SGF) was-**3SGF.PRD Ela** ||
'(0.7) That was **Ela**.'

(C714_sp5_054-056)

Prior to this exchange, the speaker, a ten-year-old boy, replied positively to his mother's question regarding whether the teacher at school had a particular topic with the pupils. In line 1, he identifies the teacher as 'Roni', but then initiates a repair (line 2), followed by a repaired reference, 'Ela'.

8.2 Calibration

In this type of repair, the second referential expression does not target the correctness of the first one, but its degree of precision or specificity. The second formulation therefore, could arguably be construed as calibrating, or adjusting, the first's precision, usually narrowing its scope (Lerner et al. 2012: 193–196).[64] In my data, most of the calibration instances were indeed of the scope-narrowing type. This resonates with the proposal made by Lerner et al. (2012: 208) to view scope-narrowing repairs as a "preferred" variety, in contrast to scope-broadening repairs as a "dispreferred" variety. The instances of calibrations are organized in two subsections: §8.2.1 discusses 'marker-to-noun' calibrations, and §8.2.2 discusses 'noun-to-noun' calibrations.

8.2.1 Marker-to-noun calibration

In this type of repair, the speaker initially mentions a referent with a person marker and then replaces it with a more specific lexical NP. The contiguity between the lexical NP and the marker may vary – the lexical NP could be produced immediately following the marker, or it could be delayed.

Example (8.4) illustrates the highest degree of contiguity in which the lexical NP is produced immediately after the marker. This example was taken from a conversation in which sp1 tells sp2 about his trip to Mongolia. In this extract, sp1 describes one type of vehicle in which he used to ride:

(8.4) 1 sp1 *ʤip im=manu'ela 'aba* ||
jeep with=handle father ||
'A jeep with a manual operating device dad.'

[64] I use the term "calibration" and not "recalibration" originally used by Lerner et al. (2012) since the prefix *re-* indicates a repetitive action, whereas reference calibration may consist of a single referential instance.

2 sp2 *birʦi'nut* ||
seriously ||
'Seriously.'

3 sp1 *'ʤipim ru'sijim* ||
jeeps russian.PLM ||
'Russian jeeps.'

4 *ha'rej* ***hem*** ***ha=*** | ***ha=ru'sim*** *ha'j-**u*** *ʃam ad ti'ʃim ve 'ʃtajim* ||
after.all **3PL.PRD DEF=**| **DEF=Russians** were-**3PL.PRD** there until ninety and two ||
'After all, **they the the Russian**s were there (in Mongolia) until ninety-two.'

(OCh_sp1_346-349, sp2_103)

In lines 1–3, sp1 describes the type of vehicle in which he used to ride in Mongolia as an old Russian jeep. He then hypothesizes that these same jeeps were left in the country after the withdrawal of Soviet troops (line 4). He initially refers to the Russians via a 3PL.PRD marker *hem*, which is immediately corrected to the more elaborate lexical NP *ha=ru'sim* 'the Russians'. This correction appears to facilitate the task of identifying the intended referent, since, although the referent 'Russians' is inferable from the preceding discourse in principle, it would still place a high demand for inference on the recipient. It is also interesting to note the position of the correcting NP in relation to the corrected marker. In this example, the correction process is carried out before the entire utterance reaches completion.[65]

The correction in the next example is relatively more delayed, since it is carried out following the completion of the entire clause, but still within the boundaries of the same utterance.

(8.5) 1 sp1 ***hi*** *lo'kaχ-**at*** *'χofeʃ* ***o'rit*** /
3SGF.PRD taking-**SGF** vacation **Orit** /
'Is **she** taking a vacation **Orit**?'

2 sp2 (0.8) *a lo* ||
(0.8) oh NEG ||
'Oh no.'

3 *a hem e* | *no'sim* *l=jerax.'dvaʃ* *aχ'rej ha=χa'gim* ||
uh they uh | going.PLM to=honeymoon after DEF=holidays ||
'Uh they uh, are going on their honeymoon after the holidays.'

[65] This type of repair is termed 'same-sentence self-repair' by Uhmann (2001). Uhmann argued that such repairs do not change the shape of the sentence, but are governed by 'repair syntax' that is oriented towards preserving the syntactic structure of the sentence in the on-going turn instead (ibid.: 382).

(OCD_1_sp1_019, sp2_024-026)

In line 1, sp1 asks if Orit, possibly the bride in the wedding the interlocutors had just attended, is going to take a vacation, presumably for her honeymoon. Sp1 initially mentions 'Orit' using a 3SGF.PRD marker *hi*, a practice that is typically possible for referents that are easily inferable due to the interlocutors' shared knowledge or 'common ground'.[66] However, it seems that such use was not obvious in this specific context, since the speakers have not mentioned Orit nor have they talked about wedding-related topics earlier in their conversation. Realizing that his mention could be underspecified, sp1 replaces it with a more elaborate form – a proper name – before the utterance reaches completion.

Constructions with similar structure have often been described as "Right dislocation" (RD). Geluykens (1994: Ch. 4–6) argued that they are often realizations of self-repair, whereby an original utterance with an underspecified expression is repaired by adding a more specific expression, often a lexical NP.[67] The reason for the repair often lies in the unclear recoverability status of the initial referential expression, the intended referent of which is, in most cases, merely inferable but not recoverable, from the preceding exchange (Geluykens 1994: Ch. 5). Similarly, Biber et al. (1999: 956–958) mentioned that the second referential expression (their "noun phrase tags") often carries out a clarifying function in cases where a speaker has treated a particular referent as given information by referring to it using a marker, but then realizes that the referent may be unknown or the reference too unclear.

In the following example, the lexical NP is delayed even longer, having been produced after a terminal prosodic boundary:

(8.6) 1 *tov | a'val lo meʃa'ne ||*
good | but NEG matters ||
'Okay, but it doesn't matter.'

2 *gam 'kaχa* ***hi*** ***t-****am'ʃiχ* *po et=ha=χo'ze ||*
also thus **3SGF.PRD** **3SGF.PRD-**will.continue here ACC=DEF=contract ||
'In any case **she** will renew her tenancy.'

[66] See the discussion in §7.2.
[67] This claim is supported by the fact that, in Geluykens' data, the unit that contains the initial, less informational element and the repairing NP are often separated by a pause or by a final tone boundary. This led him to the conclusion that the speaker originally regarded his utterance as "complete" without the repairing NP.

3 ***li'tal*** ||
Lital ||
'**Lital**.'

4 *lo* /
NEG /
'Won't she?'
(Y33_sp2_003-007).

The speaker in this example does not understand why her interlocutor wants to signal to her landlords that Yael wants to return to the apartment since, according to the speaker's belief, Lital, the interlocutor's roommate, will renew her tenancy in any event. She initially refers to 'Lital' via a 3SGF.PRD marker *hi*, and then adds the referent's proper name in the subsequent utterance. The correction in this case seems to be targeting the potential inappropriateness of the person marker in this context – employing a marker for initial reference requires a certain amount of shared knowledge, allowing the speaker to presume that the referent 'Lital' is relatively easily inferable even without initial lexical mention.

Thus far, we have seen examples in which the speaker was the one to initiate and accomplish the repair. Yet there are cases where a person other than the speaker identifies the source of the problem and initiates a repair procedure. Repair is typically initiated by using the following primary formats: 'open class forms' (such as: 'sorry?' 'pardon?' or 'huh?'), category-specific interrogatives, repetitions of the trouble-source turn, and candidate understandings (Kitzinger 2013: 249–255; Kendrick 2015: 167–178).[68] The following example demonstrates an other-initiation of repair by means of the category-specific interrogative *mi* 'who'. Prior to this exchange the speakers began listening to a song on a CD.

(8.7) 1 sp1 ***hu*** *ka'tav-**Ø*** | *ve hil'χin-**Ø*** /
3SGM.PRD wrote-**3SGM.PRD** | and composed-**3SGM.PRD** /
'Did **he** write and compose (the song)?'

2 sp4 (0.9) ***mi*** ||
(0.9) **who** ||
'(0.9) **Who**?'

[68] These practices lie along a continuum from 'weaker' practices, showing least grasp of the trouble-source turn to 'stronger' ones, claiming a virtually adequate understanding subject to confirmation (Kitzinger 2012: 249).

3 sp1 ***'sanderson*** /
Sanderson /
'**Sanderson**?'

4 sp4 *lo* ||
NEG ||
'No.'

(C714_sp1_049-051, sp4_041-042)

In line 1, sp1 asks a question regarding the singer, initially referring to him using a 3SGM.PRD marker *hu*, apparently assuming that the recipient would not have difficulty interpreting this marker because both participants' attention seems to be focused on the song. Still, sp4 fails to understand the reference, and initiates a repair instead, using an interrogative marker *mi* 'who', uttered with a rising intonation (line 2). This marker specifically identifies a human nominal reference in the prior turn as the source of the problem. In response, sp1 replaces her reduced referential form with an elaborated one produced as an utterance that, it is interesting to note, ends with a prosody carrying an 'appeal' tone, characteristic of questions, and not with a falling intonation, as might be expected of an answer to a question (line 3). It seems that sp1 essentially repeats the prosody of her problematic utterance (line 1) and, by doing so, signals the connection between the repair and the repairable even more strongly.

8.2.2 Noun-to-noun calibration

In this type of repair, the speaker initially mentions a referent using a lexical NP and later replaces it with another, typically more specific, lexical NP. Geluykens (1994: §9.4) identified several possible motivations for such a repair: achieving the precise identification of the referent, clarifying potential ambiguity, and conveying emotive content. Paying closer attention to the specific objectives the speakers are attempting to realize in their speech, Lerner et al. (2012: 198–207) pointed to additional motivations for reference calibration, such as bringing a particular aspect of the story into focus, upgrading the credibility of an information source, and intensifying the action being accomplished in the turn.

In my data, there were several patterns involving calibration repair. One such pattern involves the gradual introduction of a referent into conversation, first by providing general information

about that referent, and then by means of a proper name. This pattern is demonstrated in (8.8) and (8.9):

(8.8) *ki'balti 'telefon ʃel=**baχu'ra a'χat** | **'miri*** ||
I.got telephone of=**girl** **one.F** | **Miri** ||
'I got a phone number of **a girl**, **Miri**.'

(P423_2_sp1_081-082)

The speaker in (8.8) starts to tell his interlocutor about Miri, a girl with whom he has recently spoken for the first time. He first provides information about the circumstances of their introduction, referring to her using a lexical NP *baχu'ra a'χat* 'a girl'. Only then does he refer to her by her proper name *'miri* 'Miri', which is realized in a separate prosodic unit. In this example, both of the mentions were produced within the limits of a single utterance. By contrast, the gradual introduction in (8.9) is distributed over several turns:

(8.9) 1 sp2 *ha'rej jeʃ la | a'marti laχ* ||
after.all EXT to.her | I.told to.you.SGF ||
'You know, she has, I told you.'

2 *jeʃ la **je'did** | kan b=na'tanja* ||
EXT to.her **friend(SGM)** | here in=Natanya ||
'She has **a friend**, here in Natanya.'

3 sp1 *lo* ||
NEG ||
'No.'

4 *lo za'χarti* ||
NEG I.remembered ||
'I didn't remember.'

5 sp2 *ani lo zo'χeret ma ha=ʃem.miʃpa'χa ʃe'l=**o** | **'jonatan*** ||
I NEG remembering-SGF what DEF=last.name *of*=**3SGM.NPRD** | **Yonatan** ||
'I don't remember what **his** last name is, **Yonatan**.'

(Y32_sp2_103-108, sp1_082-083)

Prior to this exchange, sp2 told sp1 about a mutual friend who unexpectedly managed to earn money for a trip to Thailand by babysitting. In this example, sp2 is saying that her friend had managed to find out about a family that was looking for a babysitter through a friend of hers.

In line 2, she introduces this friend in an existential-possessive clause, initially using the lexical NP *je'did* ‘friend, acquaintance’. In contrast to the previous example, where the speaker did not assume that the recipient would be able to identify the referent, here sp2 assumes the contrary, as implied by the discourse marker *ha'rej* ‘after all’ (Ariel 1998a: 224), as well as by her explicit statement that sp2 had told her about this previously. After sp1 says that she does not recall (lines 3–4), sp2 provides the friend’s proper name, and prefaces it with a meta-linguistic comment regarding her inability to recall the friend’s last name (line 5). This shows that the process of reference establishment may be expanded not only by using several lexical NPs that establish the referent’s identity incrementally, but also by the use of meta-linguistic utterances that externalize the difficulties the speaker might be experiencing during reference formulation.

In some cases, a person is initially introduced using their proper name, the proper name is subsequently revealed to be insufficient for the recipient’s purposes. Such a situation is demonstrated in (8.10), taken from a family conversation:

(8.10) 1 sp5 *ma'zal ʃe ze haj't-**a** **'roni** (ni'ra li)* ||
luck that DEM was-**3SGF.PRD** **Roni** (seems.3SGM to.me) ||
‘Luckily it was **Roni** (it seems to me).’

2 *lo* ||
NEG ||
‘No.’

3 (0.7) *(zot) haj't-**a** **ela*** ||
(0.7) (DEM.SGF) was-**3SGF.PRD** **Ela** ||
‘(0.7) That was **Ela**.’

4 (2.2) *im ze ha'ja **'roni** | ha'jiti so'ne* ||
(2.2) if DEM was **Roni** | I.was hate ||
‘(2.2) If it had been **Roni**, I would have hated it.’

5 sp1 (2.7) ***'roni 'rozenberg*** /
(2.7) **Roni rozenberg** /
‘(2.7) **Roni Rozenberg**?’

6 ***hi*** *mela'med-**et** b=bet.ha'sefer* /
3SGF.PRD teaching-**SGF** in=the.school /
‘Does **she** teach at the school?’

(C714_sp5_054-058, sp1_147-148)

Prior to the exchange in (8.10), sp5's mother had asked him whether the teacher at school had discussed a particular topic with the pupils. In line 1, sp5 mentions Roni, one of his teachers, by using her proper name, but then corrects the reference to 'Ela', adding that he does not like Roni. In response to the mention of Roni using her proper name, sp1 utters the teacher's full name in an utterance ending with an appeal tone, and then asks whether she teaches at the school. Uttering the teacher's full name can be regarded as an initiation of repair by proffering a potential understanding of the problematic reference, which the initial speaker may choose to either accept or correct. In this case, the other-repair seems to be occasioned not by sp1's failure to hear or understand the particular referential form, but rather by a contradiction between some aspects of the prior turn and the speaker's own expectations (Schegloff et al. 1977: 379–380; Selting 1996: 253; Kendrick 2015: 174). The contradiction in this case originates from sp1's expectation that this teacher no longer teaches at the school.

The next example illustrates a calibration that is occasioned by the recipient's difficulty in understanding the referential expression. The example begins with sp2 explaining how her father hurt his back after he had participated in his brother-in-law's *shivah*[69]:

(8.11)

1	sp2	***ha=ˈbaal ʃel=aχoˈt=o*** *nifˈtar-**Ø*** |
		DEF=husband of=sister=3SGM.NPRD died-**3SGM.PRD** |
		'**His sister's husband** passed away'
2		*ve hu haˈlaχ* [ˈ*ʃama* |
		and he went.3SGM.PRD [there |
		'and he went [there,'
3	sp1	[***ha=ˈbaal ʃel=aχoˈt=o*** ||
		[**DEF=husband of=sister=3SGM.NPRD** ||
		['**His sister's husband**.'
4	sp2	[***ʃel=aχoˈt=o*** ||
		[**of=sister=3SGM.NPRD** ||
		['**His sister's**.'
5	sp1	[***ha=gis*** ||
		[**DEF=brother.in.law** ||
		['**The brother-in-law**.'

[69] A seven-day period of mourning after a close relative of a Jewish person has passed away.

6		*ken* / yes / 'Yes?'
7	sp2	*bidi'juk* ‖ exactly ‖ 'Exactly.'
		(Y33_sp2_146-149, sp1_136-138)

In line 1, sp2 says that her father's brother-in-law had passed away, and that her father had gone to his house. The last part of her utterance is overlapped by sp1, who repeats the kinship term *ha='baal ʃel=aχo'to* 'his sister's husband' that was previously used by sp2 to refer to her father's brother-in-law (line 3). This repetition indicates a potential problem in understanding this referential expression on the part of sp1, possibly due to the complexity of the lexical NP. This lexical NP represents a possessive kinship term that conveys the kinship relationship via triangulation, linking the person being spoken about to another specified person (Blythe 2010: 450). In this case, the referent 'his sister's husband' is conveyed by linking sp2's father to his sister, and further to his sister's husband. Such NPs can be seen as difficult to process because they introduce a new referent to the discourse by employing a prepositional phrase in which the two first constituents – *'baal* 'husband' and *a'χot* 'sister – are new to the discourse. Sp1 subsequently proffers her candidate understanding of the referent by employing the synonymous lexical NP *ha=gis* 'the brother-in-law', and asks for confirmation that is subsequently granted (lines 5–7). Thus, in cases in which there is more than one way to refer to a referent, recipients may display their understanding of the referent by referring to it using another possible referential expression.

The gradual introduction of a referent can be achieved by several referential expressions indicative of different types of relations between the speaker and the referent, as exemplified in (8.12). Prior to this exchange, the speaker explained that her husband usually ate bourekas (a common Israeli pastry of Turkish-Balkan origin) on Saturday mornings, prompting her interlocutor to ask her about her ethnic origins. Having realized that the interlocutor and her husband are of Turkish descent, the speaker tells her that her landlords originate from Bulgaria, and that they, too, eat bourekas every Saturday morning.

(8.12) 1 ***ha=ʃχe'n-im=ʃe'li*** | ***ha=baa'l-ej=bajt=ʃe'li*** | ***hem*** *bulga'rim* |
DEF=neighbor-PL=of.me | **DEF=owner-PL.CST=home=of.me** | **3PL.PRD** Bulgarian |
'**My neighbors**, **my landlords**, **they** are Bulgarian'

2 *az* ***hem*** *gam* | *kol jom.ʃa'bat b=a='boker* | *ze* | *bu'rekasim* ||
so **3PL.PRD** also | all day.Saturday in=DEF=morning | DEM | bourekas ||
'So **they** also, every Saturday morning they (eat) bourekas.'

(Y111_sp1_069-075)

The speaker first introduces her landlords as *ha=ʃχe'nim=ʃe'li* 'my neighbors' and then as *ha=baa'lej=bajt=ʃe'li* 'my landlords'. Although we cannot be entirely certain, it seems plausible that the speaker's landlords are also her neighbors, and both of these expressions appropriately refer to the same referent. The more relevant relation in this case is neighborship, and that seems to be the reason for initiating the introduction of the referent with *ha=ʃχe'nim=ʃe'li* 'my neighbors'. The relation of proprietorship is possibly mentioned in taking pride in the good relation sp1 has with her landlords, reaching the point where she knows what they eat every Saturday.

In each of these examples, the repair calibrated the manner in which the human referent was identified without changing the identity of the referent. In the following two examples, by contrast, the calibration changes the scope of the reference while also "amend[ing] the referent" (Lerner et al. 2012: 196). Prior to the exchange in (8.13), the speakers had been discussing the relationship of the interlocutor with a woman that lasted three years and ended without marriage.

(8.13) 1 *na'gid aχo'ti* |
let's.say my.sister |
'My sister, for instance'

2 *kʃe hi jo'tset im=**ana'ʃ-im*** ||
when she going.out.SGF with=**people-PL** ||
'When she goes out with **people**.'

3 *im=**baχu'r-im*** ||
with=**guy-PL** ||
'With **guys**. '

4 (0.5) *hi jo- hi jo'ʁet l=mata'ra mesu'jemet* ||
(0.5) she go- she going.out.SGF to=purpose specific ||
'(0.5) She goes out (with them) for a specific purpose.'

(P423_2_sp1_041-044)

The speaker in this example, who does not seem to understand how a relationship could last that long without marriage, provides an example of his sister who does not 'waste' too much time on 'guys' she dates: she discontinues the relationship if she sees that there is no possibility of matrimonial success (line 1). After he introduces his sister in line 1, he formulates a "when" clause that describes the event of his sister going out with *ana'ʃim* 'people', thus projecting some type of continuation (line 2). Before the projection is fulfilled, however, he replaces the general *ana'ʃim* 'people' with the more precise *baχu'rim* 'guys' (line 3), and only then fulfils the projection (line 4). In addition to specifying the general reference of *ana'ʃim* 'people', this calibration seems to clarify the meaning of the entire utterance by emphasizing the romantic meaning of the verb 'going out', as opposed to its possible use to describe non-romantic excursions. In other words, since *baχu'rim* is an expression usually used in relation to young men, it is probably more appropriate for the context of dating (Izre'el 2018b).

A similar replacement is performed in the following example taken from a conversation between two students – a Jewish man and an Arab woman. The speaker in this example, an Israeli Arab woman, resumes a previously discussed topic about Israeli Arabs who decide to enlist to the Israeli army. She characterizes such Arabs as belonging to a particular socioeconomic status – poor and uneducated.

(8.14) 1 *na'gid* ***ana'ʃ-im ʃe mitgaj's-im*** | ***ara'v-im ʃe mitgaj's-im*** |
let's.say **people-PL that are.drafted-PLM** | **Arabs-PL that are.drafted-PLM** |
'Let's say people who enlist (to the IDF), Arabs who enlist'

2 *be'dereχ.klal me'od ani'j-**im*** |
usually very poor-**PLM** |
'are usually very poor'

3 (1.2) *o ʃe ejn l=**a'hem** bag- e* | *ke'ilu* | *bag'rut ʃa'lem* | *ve psiχo'metri* |
(1.2) or that NEG.EXT to=**3PL.NPRD** mat- uh | like | matriculation full | and psychometric |
'(1.2) Or **they** don't have a full matriculation certificate, and psychometric test'

4 (0.7) *ve az* ***hem*** *maadi'f-**im*** *laa'vor l='ʦahal* |
(0.7) and then **3PL.PRD** preferring-**PLM** to.move to=IDF |
'(0.7) And then **they** prefer to recruit to the IDF'

5 *ve ejn l=**a'hem** gam haska'la po'litit* ||
and NEG.EXT to=**3PL.NPRD** also education political ||
'Nor are **they** politically aware.'

(C1624_sp1_403-412)

The speaker begins her characterization by mentioning such Arabs using the lexical NP *ana'ʃim ʃe mitgaj'sim* 'people who enlist', but then immediately calibrates it to *ara'vim ʃe mitgaj'sim* 'Arabs who enlist'. In this case, the calibration repair seems to be meant to clarify a potentially ambiguous reference to *ana'ʃim* 'people' which, in this case, could be understood broadly as any Israeli youth enlisting in the army or, in a narrower manner, as particularly Israeli Arabs who do so.

The general item *ana'ʃim* 'people' also features in the following example, in which the calibration is implemented not by replacing the original formulation, but by adding something to it. This example was taken from a conversation between a commander (the speaker in this example) and a soldier (the prior speaker) who had been experiencing personal problems that made him want to leave the military. Prior to this exchange, the soldier had expressed his frustration about not being released from military service, questioning any explanations the military might provide since, being a system, the military is likely to have certain set quotas of soldiers that can be discharged

(8.15) 1 *maa'reχet* |
system |
'A system'

2 (0.3) *kʃe a'naχnu medab'rim al=maa'reχet* |
(0.3) when we talking.PLM about=system |
'(0.3) When we talk about a system'

3 *a'naχnu medab'rim al=**ana'ʃ-im*** ||
we talking.PLM about=**people-PL** ||
'We talk about **people**.'

4 (0.4) *al=**ana'ʃ-im** **ʃe** **ov'd-im** **betoχ=ha=maa'reχet*** ||
(0.4) about=**people-PL that working-PLM inside=DEF=system(SGF)** ||
'(0.4) About **people who work in the system**.'

(P931_2_sp2_120-123).

In response, the commander attempts to counter the negative characterization of the army as a strict, impersonal system by saying that the system consists of *ana'ʃim* 'people' (line 3). After a short pause, he expands the description to *ana'ʃim ʃe ov'dim betoχ=ha=maa'reχet* 'people who work in the system', which repeats the noun *anaʃim* 'people' used in the previous utterance, but expands on it. The calibration in this case seems to be employed rhetorically in order to humanize the military system by construing it as a group of people, implying that the military system is not as rigid as the soldier might imagine.

8.3 Reinitiation

Not uncommonly in conversations, speakers may initiate an utterance/turn that is promptly interrupted by another speaker, possibly resulting in an overlap between the two. In such cases, speakers may reattempt to re-launch their turn by reproducing what he or she had originally said in several positions (Schegloff 1996: 455; Local, Auer & Drew 2010: 135–138). Although recycling the turn's beginning is not a distinctive practice for person reference, the recycled utterance often includes some referential expression. This is evident in (8.16), taken from a conversation during a car drive, and appears in continuation of a discussion initiated by sp2 regarding her relationship with a co-worker, Gili, who, according to sp2, began disrespecting her after sp2 had been promoted to a status similar to hers at work.

(8.16) 1 sp2 *a'marti l='**muki*** || [*'muki* |
I.said to=**Muki** || [Muki |
'I told **Muki**. [Muki'

2 sp3 [*ka'para* || *po* *ja'mina* /
[honey || here rightward /
['Honey. To take a right turn here?'

3 sp1 *lo* *lo* || [*'hala* ||
NEG NEG || [further ||
'No no. [onward.'

4 sp2 [*a'marti l=**muki*** || *'muki* | (0.3) *'smola hitka'vanti* ||
[I.said to=**Muki** || Muki | (0.3) leftward I.meant ||
[‘I told **Muki**. Muki, (0.3) I meant (turn) to the left.’

5 *a'marti l='**muki*** || *'muki* | *na'χon* || (0.4) *ti'ʃim ve 'ʃmone me=ha=mik'rim a'val* |
I.said to=**Muki** || Muki | right || (0.4) ninety and eight from=DEF=incidents but |
‘I told **Muki**. Muki, right. (0.4) But ninety-eight (percent) of the incidents’

6 *a'ni o'meret le'χa* | *ve a'ta jo'dea et=ze tov me'od betoχtoχe'χa* ||
I saying to.you | and you.SGM knowing ACC=DEM good very inside.of.you.SGM ||
‘I am telling you, and you know that very well deep inside.’

7 sp1 *ken* ||
yes ||
‘Yes.’

8 sp2 (0.4) *'gili aʃe'ma* ||
(0.4) Gili guilty ||
‘(0.4) Gili is guilty.’

(OCD_3_sp2_028-039, sp3_025-026, sp1_017-019)

During this discussion, the topic is occasionally shifted by sp1 and sp3 to matters triggered by the setting of the conversation, such as driving directions.[70] At the beginning of the example, sp2 initiates a turn that projects a discussion about a recent conversation she had with her boss, ‘Muki’ (line 1). However, her turn is ignored by the other speakers due to an overlapping question about driving directions posed by sp3, promptly answered by sp1 (lines 2–3). In line 4, sp2 attempts to relaunch her turn by repeating her previous utterance; however, this time it is sp2 who overrides her attempt further in order to reply to a prior side sequence. Only in line 5 does sp2 successfully launch her story by reproducing her prior attempt. In her three attempts to begin telling a story about Muki, sp2 refers to Muki using a proper name, although presumably referring to him using a person marker in her second and third attempts would have sufficed. Taking the interactional dynamics in this example into account, however, help contextualize and explain this unnecessary reproduction, since it reflects sp2’s awareness of

[70] This is a general characteristic of conversations held while driving a car, as drivers are required to pay attention to what is happening on the road as well as to the on-going conversation. Although discussion about the activity of driving itself may interfere with other speech in progress, it typically takes priority over other speech because it concerns the time-critical demands posed by driving, namely transporting people quickly and safely from one location to another (Goodwin & Goodwin 2012: 259–260).

the fact that her two first attempts went unnoticed or ignored by her interlocutors. In Schegloff's terms (1996: 455), sp2's second and third attempts are 'recyclings' of her first turn.

Reinitiation of the utterance can also be used to restructure the on-going utterance by reordering/restructuring the elements that were produced previously, as exemplified in (8.17). Prior to this exchange, the speaker had been complaining about how expensive it was to maintain a private car, how high the cost of her gas expenses is, and how expensive the annual vehicle inspections are. In this excerpt, she elaborates her argument by recounting her frequent visits to the gas station. However, it seems that she is experiencing some difficulty in deciding how to present this claim.

(8.17) 1 *'bona | a'ni kol jo'majim --*
come.on | I all two.days --
'You know, every two days I am--'

2 *kvar* ***ha=metad'lek*** *o'mer-**Ø*** |
already **DEF=gas.station.attendant(SGM)** saying-**SGM** |
'Already **the gas station attendant** tells'

3 ***ha=metad'lek*** *| kvar o'mer-**Ø** li |*
DEF=gas.station.attendant(SGM) | already saying-**SGM** to.me |
'**The gas station attendant**, has already been telling me'

4 *ta'gidi li | ma | jeʃ laχ 'odef /*
tell to.me | what | EXT to.you.SGF change /
'Tell me, what, you have some change left?'

5 *o'mer-**Ø** li | at kol jo'majim nim'tset po ||*
telling-**SGM** to.me | you.SGF all two.days are.situated here ||
'[He] Tells me, you're here every two days.'

(OCD_1_sp3_029-038)

In line 1, she begins an utterance, presumably with the intention of saying that she visits the gas station every two days, but then abandons it, choosing to convey her argument as a direct quote supposedly made to her by the gas station attendant.[71] She prefaces the quote with a quotative clause in which she introduces the 'gas station attendant' using a lexical NP (line 2), but then restructures it, mentioning the 'gas station attendant' and using a lexical NP for the

[71] Opting for this way of presentation arguably enables sp3 to re-enact her reported claim dramatically by inviting the recipients to participate as witnesses in the situation as it is being told (Rühlemann 2013: 155).

second time (line 3). A comparison of the syntactic and prosodic structure of both structures suggests that the restructuring, and the subsequent second mention by means of a lexical NP constitute an alternative for the speaker to convey her claim in a more dramatic and emphatic fashion. The clause in the first formulation is structured as a single prosodic unit in which the predicate *o'mer* ‘tells’ is prominent. In the second formulation, the clause is structured as two prosodic units, isolating the *ha=metad'lek* ‘the gas station attendant’ from the rest of the clause; consequently, the lexical NP is accorded greater prominence. It seems that, by employing such restructuring, the speaker attempts to emphasize a specific referent in order to express exasperation at her absurdly frequent visits to the gas station, supposedly even prompting the gas station attendant to notice and joke about it.

8.4 Summary of Chapter 8

Chapter 8 focused on instances where the establishment of the referent’s identity is accomplished through using several mentions, in an attempt to establish why reference would be established in that way. It proved useful to analyze such instances within the framework of ‘repair’, which includes various interruptive practices to the on-going course of speech production in order to address possible problems in speech production, speech perception, or speech processing. The chapter empirically demonstrated three types of repair. Perhaps the most typical kind of repair is the correction, where the first referential device is judged an inadequate to perform the actual reference, either because it is the incorrect expression for the intended referent, or a mis-association between the referent and the expression in question. However, the first referential device must not necessarily be incorrect for it to be repaired. This is the case in calibration, where the first referential device is judged as being too imprecise to perform the actual referential act. Consequently, a second referential device is added, adjusting the precision of the first one, usually narrowing its scope. The instances examined in this chapter suggest that calibration may be occasioned by the need to either retrospectively clarify various aspects of the utterance’s meaning, or to gradually introduce a new referent into the conversation. Finally, a repaired reference could be the by-product of reinitiation, *i.e.*, the reformulation of the original utterance containing the referential expression in order to address some problems manifest in it.

9 Maintenance of reference

After a referent's identity is established through a process described in Chapters 6 and 7, it may be further maintained through subsequent mentions. The focus of this chapter is how reference is maintained through the posing of two specific questions: (1) What referential devices are used in that position, and (2) What are the factors that affect the choice of a particular referential device?

Partially replicating Table 6.2, Table 9.1 presents the distribution of referential devices used in the maintenance of reference position:

Table 9.1 – Distribution of referential devices in the Maintenance of Reference

Reduced referential devices				**Full referential devices**			
Unbound PNG-markers	**Bound PNG-markers**	**Unexpressed reference**		**Lexical NP**			
		Subjects adjectival/ participial	**Other**	**Common noun**	**Proper noun**	**Indefinite marker**	**Total**
806 (67%)	81 (7%)	57 (5%)	14 (1%)	103 (9%)	129 (11%)	4 (0%)	**1194 (100%)**

As we can see, in CSIH reference is maintained primarily through using unbound markers, bound markers, and unexpressed reference. These three methods account for 80% of the total of the reference-maintaining mentions.[72] This statistic alone is not surprising, since it has been convincingly argued in past research that reference maintenance should be expected to be achieved via reduced referential devices (Chafe 1994; Ariel 2001; Kibrik 2011). Here, however, we have three types of reduced devices, giving rise to a contemplation on how to best characterize the alternation between these devices. Recall from §5.5 that these three reduced devices actually represent three types of mutually-exclusive alternations in three domains: (1) non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause – alternation between the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" and bound PNG-marker (Type 1); (2) subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference (Type 3); and (3) subject expression in other clauses, as well as to the non-subject expression in all clause types – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference (Type 4).

[72] (806+81+57+14)/1194.

Therefore, the distribution of reduced referential devices in Table 9.1 was re-arranged in Table 9.2, so as to make visible the abovementioned alternations:

Table 9.2 – Reduced referential devices according to alternation type

Alternation types	**Unbound PNG-markers**	**Bound PNG-markers**	**Unexpressed reference**	
			Subjects adjectival/ participial	**Other**
Non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause (Type 1)	216	81	-	-
Subject expression in the adjectival/ participial clause (Type 3)	207	-	57	-
Subject expression in other clauses; Non-subject expression (Type 4)	383	-	-	14
Total	**806**	**81**	**57**	**14**

These alternations are discussed separately in §§9.1–9.3. Also interesting is the finding that non-attenuated forms – common nouns, proper nouns, and indefinite pronouns – are also used to maintain reference (discussed in §9.4).

9.1 Non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause (Type 1)

In this section, I focus on non-locutor subject position in the verbal clause, examining the alternation between: (1) the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker", and (2) bound PNG-marker. The quantitative distribution of that alternation is presented in Table 9.3:

Table 9.3 – Non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause

Reduced variant / **Verb type**	**Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker**	**Bound PNG-marker**	**Total**
SC-verbs	183 (75%)	62 (25%)	245 (100%)
PC-verbs	33 (63%)	19 (37%)	52 (100%)
Total	**216 (73%)**	**81 (27%)**	**297 (100%)**

The main finding reflected in Table 9.3 is that in about a 1/4 to 1/3 of all subject occurrences third person bound markers serve as the sole carriers of subject reference, depending on the verb type. This demonstrates that although the referential option "bound marker+unbound

marker" is dominant in the third person, the option of referring through a bound marker alone is not at all negligible, and is entirely capable of achieving reference. The discussion in §5.1.2.3 suggested several factors which may have contributed to the expansion of the use of unbound person markers in CSIH, particularly in the third person. The results in Table 9.3 show that this expansion has not been completed, and that third person subject markers retain, to some extent, their referential capacity. The question that arises at this point is whether we can dependably characterize those contexts in which the "bound marker" option is retained. I will try to answer this question in the two following sub-sections, separately discussing SC-verbs (§9.1.1) and PC-verbs (§9.1.2).

9.1.1 SC-verbs

Table 9.3 illustrated that out of 245 SC-verbal clauses, in 62 clauses (25%) the subject was realized as a bound marker, whereas in 183 clauses (75%) the subject was realized as a combination of a bound marker and an unbound marker. In this section, I will try to determine whether one of these options has greater affinity to particular contexts or sentence meanings and speculate why. As an initial approximation, I classified the sentences according to the pre-core element – the element that appears before the clause core, which includes the predicate and, when it exists, the subject as well. Here I distinguish between clauses which do not begin with a pre-core element (henceforth N-initial), and clauses which do, such as coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, adjuncts, and question words (henceforth: C/S/A/Q-initial). The results of the analysis are presented in Table 9.4:

Table 9.4 – Subject expression in the verbal clause according to pre-core element

Reduced variant / **Pre-core element**	**Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker**	**Bound PNG-marker**	**Total**
None	62 (62%)	38 (38%)	100 (100%)
Coordinating conjunction	39 (76%)	12 (24%)	51 (100%)
Subordinating conjunction	46 (88%)	6 (12%)	52 (100%)
Adjunct	27 (87%)	4 (13%)	31 (100%)
Question word	9 (82%)	2 (18%)	11 (100%)
Total	**183 (75%)**	**62 (25%)**	**245 (100%)**

The quantitative results in Table 9.4 furnish an observation that clauses which do not begin with a pre-core element allow the subject to be realized as a bound marker more freely than clauses which do. The latter display a much larger tendency that the subject is realized as the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". We will now examine more closely these categories.

9.1.1.1 Pre-core element – none

In Table 9.4, we saw that out of 100 N-initial clauses, the subject in 62 clauses (62%) was realized as the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker", whereas in 38 clauses (38%) the bound PNG-marker was sole carrier of subject reference. Example 9.1 illustrates a common pattern in which the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" is used – the current speaker predicates something about a person, referring to her using a lexical NP or an unbound person marker, and subsequent speakers respond by providing additional information about that person, referring to her by means of unbound PNG-marker:

(9.1) 1 sp3 ***'roni*** *haj't-**a*** *ha=mo'ra* *ʃ-* *meχa'neχet* *ʃel ha'das* ||
Roni was-**3SGF.PRD** DEF=teacher o- homeroom.teacher of Hadas ||
'**Roni** was Hadas' homeroom teacher.'

2 sp1 (0.5) ***hi*** *a'dajn mela'med-**et*** *b=bet.ha'sefer* /
(0.5) **3SGF.PRD** still teaching-**SGF** in=school /
'(0.5) Does **she** still teach at school?'

3 sp4 (2.3) *lo* *a'dajn* ||
(2.3) NEG still ||
'(2.3) Not still.'

4 ***hi*** *χaz'r-**a*** ||
3SGF.PRD came.back-**3SGF.PRD** ||
'**She** came back.'

5 ***hi*** *lo* *lim'd-**a*** *o'tanu* |
3SGF.PRD NEG came.back-**3SGF.PRD** us |
'**She** didn't teach us'

6 sp3 ***hi*** *haj't-**a*** *be=ʃnat.ʃaba'ton* ||
3SGF.PRD was-**3SGF.PRD** in=sabbatical ||
'**She** took a sabbatical.'

7 ***hi*** *χaz'r-**a*** /
3SGF.PRD came.back-**3SGF.PRD** /
'Did **she** come back?'

(C714_sp3_094-096, sp1_149, sp4_091, sp3_095-096)

In this example, the speakers are talking about Roni, a teacher at sp4's school. The teacher Roni is the subject referent in five SC-verbal clauses (lines 1, 4, 5, 6, 7). Except for the clause in line 1, where Roni is mentioned with a proper name, in the other clauses she is mentioned with the combination of an unbound person marker *hi* and a bound person marker *-a*.[73] This pattern of reference appears to be the default in such contexts, although subject reference would, in principle, also be clear had only a bound marker been used, for instance *χaz'ra* || (line 4*), *lo lim'da o'tanu* || (line 5*), *haj'ta be=ʃnat.ʃaba'ton* || (line 6*), and *χaz'ra* / (line 7*). Possible reasons for this pattern have been discussed in §5.1.2.3.

Still, N-initial clauses in which the subject referent is expressed only with a bound PNG-marker are not infrequent. One motivation for using such clauses is to enhance narrative actions, to contribute to a story's dramatic quality by increased vividness (Auer & Maschler 2013: 161–162). Such usage is shown in example 9.2, taken from sp1's personal narrative in which he describes an experience he had had during his trip to Mongolia:

(9.2) 1 sp1 *ʃa'loʃ b=a='boker ze niχ'ba | a'ni ve el'dad me'tim mi=kor |*
three in=DEF=morning DEM it.turned.off | I and Eldad dying.PLM from=cold |
'At 3 AM, it stops working, Eldad and I are freezing'

2 *mitore'rim | mena'sim | ʃa'a mena'sim lehad'lik et=ze ||*
waking.up.PLM | trying.PLM | hour trying.PLM to.turn.on ACC=DEM ||
'waking up, trying, trying for an hour to turn it on.'

3 *ʃum.da'var* ||
nothing ||
'Nothing.'

4 ***ha'hu*** *ni'mas-Ø l=**o*** ***ha=mad'riχ*** |
DEM.DIST.SGM became.tired to=**3SGM.NPRD DEF=guide** |
'**The guide** got fed up with it'

[73] Roni is also the subject referent in the participial clause in line 2. Subject expression in participial clauses will be discussed separately in §9.2.

5 *ra'a-**Ø*** *ʃe* *a'naχnu mitkaʃke'ʃim* *im=ze* *jo'ter mi'daj* *kam-**Ø*** |
saw-**3SGM.PRD** that we scribbling.PLM with=DEM too much got.up-**3SGM.PRD** |
'(**he**) saw that we were wasting too much time on that, got up'

6 *ʧik* |
IDEOPHONE |
'Bam (=turned it on briefly)'

7 sp2 *beva'daj* ||
of.course ||
'Of course.'

8 sp1 (0.6) *mad'him* ||
(0.6) amazing ||
'(0.6) Amazing.'

(OCh_sp1_305-314)

In lines 1–3, sp1 tells how the stove in the tent he and his friend were staying in stopped working one night and how they were unable to fix it, despite spending a significant amount of time and effort trying to make it work. In lines 4–5, sp1 describes how their local guide, once he realized the problem, managed to fix the stove very quickly, highlighting the contrast between the guide's capabilities and their own. The guide is first mentioned in line 4 in a sentence that contains a marker-to-noun calibration.[74] His subsequent actions are described in line 5 using two verbal clauses structured around the verbs *ra'a* 'saw', and *kam* 'got up'. The guide is mentioned in each clause only by the 3SGM.PRD bound marker. Using the shortest forms possible in order to describe sequential actions seems to function as a narrative device to portray the actions in a vivid manner, as well as to underscore the speed of the guide's solution to the problem iconically. We can see that sp1 employs this strategy also in the first person, when telling about his and his friend's attempts to fix the stove (line 2).

Minimal verbal clauses are found not only in narrative contexts, but also as a means by which to convey a single action. In some instances, such clauses appear to contribute to the display of the speaker's emotive stance in relation to some state or event perceived by him. Examples 9.3–9.5 demonstrates such use. Example 9.3 was uttered about a televised football game that the speakers were busy watching.

[74] For a description of similar structures, see §8.2.1.

(9.3) 1 sp2 *ja'alla* ||
INTERJ ||
'Wow.'

2 sp4 (0.9) *mi ze* ***ha=ʃo'er*** ***ha=ʒe*** /
(0.9) who DEM **DEF=goalkeeper DEF=DEM.SGM** /
'(0.9) Who is **this goalkeeper**?'

3 sp2 *lo jo'dea* ||
NEG know.SGM ||
'I don't know.'

4 *hi'ʦil-Ø* *paa'maim* ||
saved-**3SGM.PRD** twice ||
'(**He**) made a save twice.'

5 *ra'it* /
you.SGF.saw /
'Did you see?'

(C714_sp4_002, sp2_007-010)

Following sp2's enthusiastic reaction, presumably triggered by the goalkeeper's successful defensive move, sp4 inquires after the identity of the goalkeeper, verbally introducing him into the conversation (line 2). Sp2 responds with a negative answer, and adds a description of the goalkeeper's action that presumably triggered sp2's excited reaction – *hi'ʦil-Ø paa'maim* '(He) made a save twice'. This clause contains a subject reference to the goalkeeper by means of a 3SGM.PRD marker *-Ø*. The choice to convey an event using such a clause is apparently connected to the speaker's heightened emotional excitement, resulting in an emphatic speech style signaled, according to Selting (1994: 383–384), by various prosodic, syntactic, and lexico-semantic cues. The interjection in line 1 and the question in line 5 function as lexico-semantic cues, whereas the use of a minimal verbal clause in line 4 apparently functions as a syntactically minimal (Selting's "elliptical") construction that provides nothing more than the information absolutely necessary to make the point (Selting 1994: 398).

Example 9.4 represents the closing part of the conversation. Prior to this excerpt, sp1 told his interlocutors about a course he participated in, which he did not enjoy because of the boring lecturer.

(9.4) 1 sp2 ***mi*** *ze* /
who DEM /
'**Who** is it?'

2 sp1 (0.7) **ˈbeni** | (1.3) **ˈbeni karˈmeli** ||
(0.7) **Beni** | (1.3) **Beni Karmeli** ||
'(0.7) **Beni**, (1.3) **Beni Karmeli**.'

3 *zvaat.o'lam* ||
horror.world ||
'Atrocious.'

4 (0.7) *'jalla* ||
(0.7) DM ||
'(0.7) So.'

5 *baj* ||
Bye ||
'Bye.'

6 [*to'da* ||
[thank.you ||
['Thanks.'

7 sp3 [*zi'jen-**Ø*** *'lanu et=ha='seχel* ||
[fucked-**3SGM.PRD** to.us ACC=DEF=brain ||
['(**He**) talked our head off.'

8 *'jalla baj* ||
DM bye ||
'Bye.'

(OCD_3_sp1_090-095, sp2_073, sp3_064-065)

In lines 1–3, sp2 asks after the lecturer's identity, and sp1 provides his name, and characterizes him negatively. He then leads towards the closure of the conversation (lines 4–6), but before closing in line 8, sp3, too, evaluates Beni Karmeli as someone who talks too much by using a colloquial expression that intensifies the evaluation (line 7). Sp3 refers to Beni Karmeli with the 3SGM.PRD marker -*Ø*. As in (9.3), my impression is that referring only using a bound person marker serves to amplify the negative attitude expressed by sp3 toward another person the three previously discussed.

Conveying stance can also be achieved by self-repetition, which reasserts and reemphasizes the speaker's stance (see Kernan 1977: 95; Hsieh 2011: 163). This is illustrated in (9.5), taken from a family conversation about a neighbors' son who was playing pranks on the current speaker's family:

(9.5) 1 ***hi*** *lo am'r-**a*** *klum* /
3SGF.PRD NEG said-**3SGF.PRD** nothing /
'**She** didn't say anything?'

2 *ke'ilu a'ni mitna'ʦelet* | *a'ni aso'χeaχ i'to* | *a'ni aa'niʃ o'to* |
like I apologize.SGF | I I.will.talk with.him | I I.will.punish him |
'Like, I'm apologizing, I will talk to him, I will punish him'

3 *lo am'r-**a*** *klum* /
NEG said-**3SGF.PRD** nothing /
'(**She**) didn't say anything?'

(C711_4_sp1_059-063)

Prior to this excerpt, the speakers have been talking about a neighbors' son who was playing pranks on the current speaker's family, saying that his mother could not be bothered to talk to her son about it. In line 1, the speaker conveys her exasperation at the mother's behavior by uttering a negative yes/no question that evaluates the mother's conduct negatively (see Keisanen 2006: 154–155). She then provides an example of what the mother could have said in a three-part list structure followed by a partial repetition of her initial negative yes/no question, repeating only the negative phrase *lo am'ra klum* 'she didn't say anything', and leaving out the external subject *hi* 'she'. While in line 1, the referent 'the boy's mother' is mentioned via the combination of the unbound person marker *hi* and a bound person marker *-a*, it is mentioned solely by means of the bound person marker *-a* in line 3.

Another context in which the subject in N-initial clauses is expressed only with a bound PNG-marker is in the context of elaboration.[75] Such clauses may be used to elaborate – restate, comment, exemplify, or specify in greater detail – on a previously articulated clause in which

[75] The notion of elaboration is viewed here as a logico-semantic relation (Halliday & Mathiessen 2014: 44).

the same referent had been represented by a lexical NP or an unbound marker.[76] Example 9.6 illustrates such a use:

(9.6) 1 sp2 *ma ha=inja'nim* /
what DEF=interests /
'What's up?'

2 *'efo* ***ro'nit*** /
where **Ronit** /
'Where is **Ronit**?'

3 *lo ba-**a*** /
NEG came-**3SGF.PRD** /
'(**She**) didn't come?'

4 *e ma lo he'vet ot=**a*** /
uh what NEG you.brought ACC=**3SGF.NPRD** /
'Uh what, didn't you bring **her**?'

5 sp1 (1.0) ***hi*** *lo bik'ʃ-**a*** ||
(1.0) **3SGF.PRD** NEG asked-**3SGF.PRD** ||
'**She** didn't ask (me to bring her).'

(Y111_sp2_001-004, sp1_001)

This example includes the very beginning of this particular conversation. After greeting sp1 in line 1, sp2 seems to notice the absence of Ronit, to which she reacts with three consecutive questions in lines 2–4. Each of the questions reflects sp2's expectation that Ronit would be present from a slightly different angle – the first question relates to Ronit's location, implying that she was expected to be present (line 2), the second question relates to the action of coming, implying that it was expected of her (line 3), and the third question relates to the more specific action of sp1 bringing Ronit, implying that sp1 was also responsible for her absence (line 4). Relevant to our discussion here is the clause in line 3, in which the referent, Ronit, is represented only by the 3SGF.PRD bound marker incorporated in the verb *'ba-a* 'came'. The use of the bound marker indicates that the clause in line 3 provides a different representation of the idea conveyed by the clause in line 2.

[76] For comparable functions of "zero" anaphora in English conversation, see Oh (2005, 2006).

In example 9.7, the elaborating clause provides background information of an event described in a prior clause. This example is taken from a conversation among three friends returning from a wedding party. After one of the speakers described how he mistook a glass of alcoholic drink for an orange juice, the speaker in this example provides another perspective on this story via a short narrative about how she almost drank a similar drink.

(9.7) 1 *ma ka'ra le'χa* ||
what it.happened to.you.SGM ||
'What is wrong with you?'

2 ***'rubi*** *sam-**Ø*** *ʃam e* | *ze* ||
Rubi put-**3SGM.PRD** there uh | DEM ||
'**Rubi** put there, uh, this.'

3 (0.3) *e* | *'vodka* ||
(0.3) uh | vodka ||
'(0.3) Uh, vodka.'

4 (0.6) *ni'sa-**Ø*** *ja'anu laa'vod a'laj* ||
(0.6) tried-**3SGM.PRD** that.is to.work on.me ||
'(0.6) I mean, (**he**) tried to trick (lit. work) me.'

(OCD_1_sp2_039-044)

In lines 2–3, she presents the gist of the story, namely that Rubi put vodka in the glass, followed by a clause that characterizes the action as Rubi's intentional attempt to trick her into drinking it (line 4). While in line 2 the referent Rubi is represented by a proper name, in line 4 he is subsequently referred to only through the bound person marker, incorporated in the verb *ni'sa-Ø* 'tried'. In this case, such a subsequent reference seems to indicate that the clause in question elaborates on a prior clause that included an external subject, in this case one providing background information for the event conveyed by the first clause: Rubi put vodka in the glass intentionally, in an attempt to trick her into drinking it. The explanatory relation between the clause in line 4 and the clause in lines 2–3 is also supported by the discourse marker *jaanu* 'that is, I mean' marking the clause in which it occurs as providing some explanation to the speaker's previous remarks.

The following example (9.8) displays an elaborating clause exemplifying an event described in a prior clause. This example was taken from a segment in which the speakers talk about sp2's father hurting his back after having participated in his brother-in-law's *shi'vah*[77]:

(9.8) 1 sp1 *a'val ma* ***hu*** *a'sa-**Ø*** *kol ha=* | *ja'mim ha='ele* ||
but what **3SGM.PRD** did-**3SGM.PRD** all DEF=| days DEF=DEM.PL ||
'But what did **he** do all those days?'

2 *ʃa'χav-**Ø*** *b=a=bajt* *ve* *'zehu* /
laid.down-**3SGM.PRD** in=DEF=house and that's.it /
'(**He**) lay down in his house and that's it?'

3 sp2 *lo* *jo'daat* ||
NEG knowing.SGF ||
'(I) don't know.'

(Y33_sp1_174-176, sp2_221)

In line 1, sp1 wonders what sp2's father did while recovering from his back pain: the father is doubly represented – via the combination "3SGM.PRD unbound marker + 3SGM.PRD bound marker". Before sp2 has the opportunity to answer the question, however, sp1 produces a speculative answer which is the most reasonable activity when one has back pain: to simply lie down. Here, however, sp2's father is represented solely by means of a 3SGM.PRD bound marker.

9.1.1.2 Pre-core element – coordinating conjunction

In Table 9.4, we saw that in 39 out of 51 C-initial clauses (76%), the subject has been realized through a combination of an unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker, whereas in 12 clauses (24%) the sole carrier of subject reference was the bound PNG-marker. The main conjunctions are *ve* 'and' (N=32), *a'val* 'but' (N=8), and *az* 'so' (N=7).

Findings reveal that all of the clauses initiated by *a'val* 'but' and *az* 'so' have a subject realized through the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". Examples 9.9–9.10 demonstrate this pattern:

[77] A seven-day period of mourning after a close relative of a Jewish person has passed away.

(9.9) 1 *le=**aχ*** ***ʃe'li*** *lema'ʃal* *jeʃ* *matsle'ma* ||
to=**brother my** for.example EXT camera ||
'**My brother** for example has a camera.'

2 *a'val* ***hu*** *a'mar-**Ø*** *li* | *tiʃke'χi mi=ze* ||
but **3SGM.PRD** said-**3SGM.PRD** to.me | forget from=DEM ||
'But **he** told me, forget about it.'

3 *a'ni lo me'vi laχ o'ta* ||
I NEG bringing.SGM to.you her ||
'I'm not giving it to you.'

(Y33_sp1_122-125)

(9.10) 1 ***ja'ron*** *no'lad-**Ø*** *be=ʃmo'nim ve='arba* |
Yaron was.born-**3SGM.PRD** in=eighty and=four |
'**Yaron** was born in nineteen eighty four'

2 *az* ***hu*** *ha'ja-**Ø*** *ben.ʃa'na ve 'maʃehu* ||
so **3SGM.PRD** was-**3SGM.PRD** one.year.old and someting ||
'So **he** was a little over a year old.'

(D142_sp2_033-034)

In (9.9), the speaker mentions her brother with a lexical NP (line 1). In the next clause, after the contrastive conjunction *aval* 'but', she re-mentions her brother via the combination of a 3SGM.PRD unbound marker *hu* and a 3SGM.PRD bound marker *-Ø*. Similarly, the speaker in (9.10) mentions his son with a proper name in line 1, and then once again via the combination of a 3SGM.PRD unbound marker *hu* and a 3SGM.PRD bound marker *-Ø*.

Unlike the conjunctions *a'val* 'but' and *az* 'so', in clauses initiated by *ve* 'and' the subject may be realized either as a bound PNG-marker (N=10) or as a combination of an unbound PNG-marker and a bound PNG-marker (N=20). This depends on the function of *ve* 'and': when the clause initiated by *ve* constitutes the last item in a list of sequential events, its subject tends to be realized as a bound marker. Otherwise, its subject is realized as the combination "bound marker + unbound marker" (similarly to *a'val* 'but' and *az* 'so'). Example 9.11 aptly demonstrates these two functions of *ve* 'and'. Prior to this excerpt, the speaker described her friend as someone who is struggling financially due to a lack of financial support from her parents with her situation deteriorating due to a recent divorce.

(9.11) 1 (0.6) ***hi*** *lak'χ-**a*** *et=ha=* | *jela'dim* | *lak'χ-**a*** *mizva'da* |
(0.6) **3SGF.PRD** took-**3SGF.PRD** ACC=DEF=| children | took-**3SGF.PRD** suitcase |
'(0.6) **She** took the children, took a suitcase'

2 *ve av'r-**a*** *le='riʃon* ||
and moved-**3SGF.PRD** to=Rishon ||
'and moved to Rishon LeZion.'

3 (1.0) *ve* ***hi*** *av'r-**a*** *le='riʃon* |
(1.0) and **3SGF.PRD** moved-**3SGF.PRD** to=Rishon |
'(1.0) And **she** moved to Rishon LeZion'

4 *ki a'χot ʃe'l=**a*** *'gara ʃam* ||
because sister of=**3SGF.NPRD** living.SGF there ||
'because **her** sister lives there.'

(Y34_sp1_223-232)

In lines 1–2 she elaborates on the divorce, depicting the process as a series of three successive actions – taking the children, packing a suitcase, and moving to another city – implying that she performed only the most necessary actions. Each of the actions is represented by a verbal clause whose subject referent is the speaker's friend, with the last clause initiated by *ve* 'and'. In the first clause, reference to the speaker's friend is made through a combination of a 3SGF.PRD unbound marker *hi* and a 3SGF.PRD bound marker *-a*; in the second and the third clauses, however, the speaker's friend is mentioned solely by the 3SGF.PRD bound marker *-a*. The clause in line 3 is also initiated by *ve* 'and', and is in fact almost identical to the clause in line 2, however here the subject is realized as a combination of a 3SGF.PRD unbound marker *hi*, and a 3SGF.PRD bound marker *-a*. This is because *ve* 'and' in this case does not participate in a list structure, but instead introduces a new discourse unit, similarly to the conjunctions *aval* 'but' and *az* 'so'. In this case, the discourse unit describes the reason for moving to Rishon LeZion after her divorce, an event that was depicted in lines 1–2.

9.1.1.3 Pre-core element – subordinating conjunction

In Table 9.4, we saw that in 46 out of 52 S-initial clauses (88%), the subject was realized as the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker", whereas in the 6 remaining clauses (12%) the sole carrier of subject reference was the bound PNG-marker. S-initial clauses are routinely considered subordinate clauses that are grammatically dependent on another

clause or on a particular element in another clause. These can take form either as a complement clause functioning as a nominal argument of the verbal predicate in the main clause, an adverbial clause functioning as a modifier of verb phrases or entire clauses, or as a relative clause functioning as a modifier of an NP in the main clause (Thompson et al. 2007: 237–238). The subordinate clause often contains a recurring mention of a referent, first mentioned in the main clause, leading one to question how the that recurring referent is coded. With regard to CSIH, Melnik (2007) argued that subordinate verbal clauses allow, and, in some case even require, the subject to be represented only by a third person bound marker (Melnik's "third person pro-drop"). In this section, I will present and discuss the variation in the marking of the recurring subject argument inside the various types of subordinate clauses.

Starting with complement clauses, it has been found that in all of the complement clauses (N=20), the recurring subject referent was represented by the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". This is illustrated in (9.12), in which the speakers are discussing whether a particular teacher in sp4's school permits pupils to use the bathroom during her classes.

(9.12) 1 sp3 ***hi*** *lo maski'm-**a** la'hem la'ʦet liʃ'tot*
3SGF.PRD NEG allowing-**SGF** to.them to.go.out to.drink
'**She** doesn't allow them go out to drink'

2 *ve laa'sot 'pipi bemaha'laχ ha=ʃi'ur* ||
and to.do pee during DEF=class ||
'or to go to the bathroom during class.'

3 sp4 *ani χo'ʃevet ʃe gam 'lanu **hi** lo his'kim-**a*** ||
I thinking.SGF that also to.us **3SGF.PRD** NEG allowed-**3SGF.PRD** ||
'I think **she** didn't allow us either.'

4 sp3 *ani jo'daat ʃe **hi** lo his'kim-**a** la'χem* ||
I knowing.SGF that **3SGF.PRD** NEG allowed-**3SGF.PRD** to.you ||
'I know that **she** didn't allow you.'

(C714_sp3_104-106, sp4_094)

In line 1, this teacher is mentioned with an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound SGF marker -*a* as part of an independent clause. In lines 3 and 4, by contrast, this teacher is mentioned again

as the subject of two complement clauses, in each of which, the subject is realized as the combination of unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker *-a*.

A similar pattern is observable in adverbial clauses (N=15), as demonstrated in (9.13) and (9.14) below:

(9.13) 1 sp2 ***hi*** *hal'χ-**a*** *ha'bajta* ||
3SGF.PRD went-**3SGF.PRD** homeward ||
'**She** went home.'

2 sp1 (1.1) *ken* ||
(1.1) yes ||
'(1.1) Yes.'

3 *a'ni jo'daat* ||
I knowing.SGF ||
'I know.'

4 *gi'liti et=ze et'mol kʃe **hi** am'r-**a** ʃa'lom* ||
I.fount.out ACC=DEM yesterday when **3SGF.PRD** went-**3SGF.PRD** goodbye ||
'I found it out when **she** said goodbye.'

(Y111_sp2_158, sp1_103-105)

(9.14) 1 *et=ha='oto ha=ri'ʃon ha=ri'ʃon | ka'niti 'dereχ **ha=so'χen.bi'tuaχ*** ||
ACC=DEF=car DEF=first DEF=first | I.bought through **DEF=insurance.agent** ||
'The very first car I bought through an **insurance agent**.'

2 (1.1) *ki **hu** ja'da-**Ø*** *al='oto le=mχi'ra | ʃel=mevu'taχ ʃelo* ||
(1.1) because **3SGM.PRD** knew-**3SMF.PRD** on=car to=sale | of=insured his ||
'(1.1) Because **he** knew that a car of one of his insured clients is for sale.'

(Y34_sp1_340-343)

In (9.13), the speakers are talking about a co-worker who left unexpectedly her workplace during working hours. In line 1, the co-worker is mentioned with the combination of an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker *-a* as part of an independent clause. In line 4, the co-worker is mentioned in the same manner, only this time as the subject of a temporal adverbial clause. The same pattern is evident in (9.14), when the speaker explains how she bought her first car from an insurance agent. The insurance agent is mentioned in line 1 with a lexical NP as a part of an independent clause. He is mentioned again in line 2 with the

combination of an unbound 3SGM marker *hu* and a bound 3SGM marker *-Ø* as the subject of a causal adverbial clause.

The last type of subordinated clauses I will discuss are relative clauses. Relative clauses are clauses that delimit the reference of a lexical NP – the head of the relative clause – by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described in the clause. That referent then recurs in the relative clause in a particular syntactic position, typically that of a subject or object, in which it can be coded by different strategies, typically by a reduction of some sort (Andrews 2007: 206–207). In the languages examined in WALS, the most frequent strategy for coding recurring subject referents was found to be the gap strategy (used in 75% (=125/166) of the languages analyzed; Comrie & Kuteva 2013). This strategy involves cases in which there is no overt reference to the head noun within the relative clause, including in cases where the only overt reference form in the relative clause is a bound subject marker that is obligatorily attached to the verb – both in the relative clause and in the corresponding simple declarative clause. This same pattern was also found in the relative clauses in my own dataset (N=14), but only when the subject was coreferential with the head noun. Whenever the subject of the relative clause was not coreferential with the head noun, it was coded using the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". Examples 9.15 and 9.16 illustrate these respective patterns:

(9.15) 1 *ha'ja* ***rav*** *ʃe di'ber-**Ø*** *i'ti* |
it.was **rabbi** that talked-**3SGM.PRD** with.me |
'There was a **rabbi** who spoke with me'

(P423_2_sp2_072)

(9.16) 1 ***hi*** | ***hi*** *ja'ʦ-**a*** |
3SGF.PRD | **3SGF.PRD** went.out-**3SGF.PRD** |
'**She**, **she** went out'

2 *ha'ja l=**a*** *'ejze ʃa'loʃ 'arba ʃe* ***hi*** *ja'ʦ-**a*** *it='am χa'ʦi ʃa'na* |
was to=**3SGF.NPRD** which three four that **3SGF.PRD** went.out-**3SGF.PRD** with=them half year |
'**She** had around three four (guys) who **she** has been dating for a half year'

3 *a'val hem lo baχu'rim bʃe'lim le=χatu'na* ||
but they NEG guys ripe to=wedding ||
'but these guys are not ready for a marriage.'

(P423_2_sp1_ 257-260)

The speaker in (9.15) introduces a rabbi he spoke to by using a relative construction – the head *rav* ‘rabbi’ is followed by *ʃe* ‘that’ that introduces the relative clause *di'ber-Ø i'ti* ‘spoke with me’. The rabbi is also the subject referent inside the relative clause, coded with the 3SGM bound marker *-Ø*. This example is consistent with the claim made in the literature according to which IH requires that the subject of the relative clause be coded strictly by a bound marker (Andrews 2007: 222, her “omission of the subject”; Givón 2017: 220, his “obligatory subject pronominal agreement”). Corpus data indicate that such an assertion might be an oversimplification. Matras & Schiff (2005: 183), for example, describe a tendency in CSIH for pronominal resumption in the subject position in relative clauses. Similarly, Maschler (2011: 301) demonstrated how a considerable number (24%) of subjects in the relative clauses in her dataset were represented by an unbound marker, apart from those represented by the bound marker in the predicate.[78]

The speaker in (9.16) describes the type of young men his sister went out with by using a relative construction – the head *ʃa'loʃ 'arba* ‘three four (guys)’ is followed by a *ʃe* ‘that’ introducing the relative clause, *ja'ʦa i'tam χa'ʦi ʃa'na* ‘she has been dating for a half year’. In contrast to (9.15), here the head noun recurs as an object inside the relative clause, and is coded with the unbound 3PL marker *=am*, while the subject of the relative clause is coreferential with the object in the main clause, *l=a* ‘to her’, and is coded by a combination of an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker *-a*.

9.1.1.4 Pre-core element – adjunct

In Table 9.4, we saw how in 27 out of 31 A-initial clauses (87%), the subject was realized as the combination “unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker”, whereas in only 4 clauses (13%) the sole carrier of subject reference was the bound PNG-marker. Examples 9.17–9.19 illustrate the dominant pattern with several types of adjuncts:

(9.17) 1 ***hi*** | *be='eser* | *haj'ta l=**a*** *jeri'dat.'maim* |
3SGF.PRD | in=ten | was to=**3SGF.NPRD** going.down.of.water |
‘**She**, at ten o’clock, **her** water broke’

2 (1.0) *be='eser **hi*** *na's-**a*** *le=bet.χo'lim* |
(1.0) in=ten **3SGF.PRD** went-**3SGF.PRD** to=hospital |
‘(1.0) At ten o’clock **she** went to the hospital’

[78] These results, however, should be treated with caution, since the category of the predicate in that study conflated SC- and PC-verbs with participles, two categories with different referential capacities.

3 *be='arba hu ha'ja-Ø ba'χuʦ* ||
in=four 3SGF.PRD was-3SGF.PRD outside ||
'At four o'clock he (=the baby) was out.'

(C514_1_sp2_040-044)

(9.18) 1 sp2 ***hi*** *lo mazmin-**a** otaχ burekasim* /
3SGF.PRD NEG inviting-**SGF** you.SGF bourekas /
'**She** doesn't invite you for bourekas?'

2 sp1 *lifamim **hi** hizmin-**a*** ||
sometimes **3SGF.PRD** invited-**3SGF** ||
'Sometimes **she** invited.'

(Y111_sp2_144, sp1_076)

(9.19) 1 *li lefa'χot **ja'riv** a'mar-**Ø*** |
to.me at.least **Yariv** said-**3SGM.PRD** |
'At least **Yariv** told me'

2 *kʃe **hu** ba-**Ø*** |*leha'ʦia li* | *χave'rut be.merχa'ot.kfu'lot* |
when **3SGM.PRD** came-**3SGM.PRD** | to.offer to.me | friendship so.to.speak |
'When **he** came to offer me his friendship, so to speak'

3 *kʃe **hu** ba-**Ø*** *leha'ʦia li*
when **3SGM.PRD** came-**3SGM.PRD** to.offer to.me
'When **he** came to me to propose'

4 *boj nat'χil la'ʦet be'jaχad* |
let's we.will.start to.go.out together |
'that we start going out'

5 ***hu*** *pa'taχ-**Ø*** *ve a'mar-**Ø*** |
3SGM.PRD opened-**3SGM.PRD** and said-**3SGM.PRD** |
'**He** began by saying'

6 *a'ni ro'ʦe laa'zov et=ha=bajt ve liχ'jot i'taχ* ||
I wanting.SGM to.leave ACC=DEF=home and to.live with.you ||
'I want to leave my home and live with you.'

(Y311_sp1_059-065)

The speaker in (9.17) starts a narrative about how their friend Efrat gave birth. Each of the three clauses in lines 1–3 describes a consecutive event in the narrative that happened at a specific time, marked by an initial time adjunct. Initial time adjuncts are used here as part of a

textual strategy: they orient the addressee to the temporal circumstances of the unfolding events, and also emphasize sp2's main point – the unusually short time of the whole process. Relevant to our discussion is the clause appearing in line 2, in which Efrat is mentioned in the subject position by the combination of an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker -*a*, after having been mentioned twice in the preceding clause in line 1. In line 2 of the next example, we see a similar situation. Here, sp1 asks sp2 whether her neighbor, who prepares burekas for breakfast every Saturday morning, invites her to eat burekas. Sp1 provides a positive response, mentioning her neighbor in the subject position by the combination of an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker -*a*. Example (9.19) also demonstrates an instance of an initial adjunct, only this time the adjunct consists of two separate adverbial clauses appearing in lines 2 and 3–4. Here the speaker tells how she once had an affair with a married man, Yariv, who had told her from the beginning that he was willing to end his marriage to be with her. She introduces Yariv in line 1 with a proper name, and then mentions him in the subject position of each of the subsequent adverbial clauses with the combination of an unbound 3SGM marker *hu* and a bound 3SGM marker -*Ø* (lines 2 and 3). She then mentions him again in the main clause in line 5, also by the combination of an unbound 3SGM marker *hu* and a bound 3SGM marker -*Ø*.

These examples illustrate the dominant pattern in which reduced subject reference in A-initial clauses is achieved by the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". The following example, (9.20), demonstrates an exception to this rule. The speaker in this example complains about a conflict with a co-worker, Gili, which, according to the speaker, broke out after she had reached Gili's level at work, resulting in Gili's adoption of a disrespectful attitude toward sp2.

(9.20) 1 *ha'rej 'lama hit'χil kol ha=χi'kuχ ʃe'li ve ʃel* ***'gili*** /
after.all why started all DEF=friction my and of **Gili** /
'After all, why did all the tension between me and **Gili** start?'

2 *kʃe* ***hi*** *raa't-**a*** *ʃe a'ni matχi'la lehatʂ'liaχ*
when **3SGF.PRD** saw-**3SGF.PRD** that I starting.SGF to.suceed
'When **she** saw that I was starting to succeed'

3 *ve a'ni kvar matχi'la leha'gia l=a=ra'ma ʃe'l***=*a*** |
and I already starting.SGF to.reach to=DEF=level of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'and already starting to reach **her** level'

4 (0.6) *pa'ʃut heχ'lit-**a*** *lid'roχ* @--
(0.6) simple decided-**3SGF.PRD** to.step @--
'(**She**) simply decided to step--'

(OCD_3_sp2_001-004)

She prefaces her claim with a pre-announcement designed as a content question, which includes an introductory mention of Gili with a proper name (line 1). She then expresses her claim by using a structure similar to the one used in (9.19): a complex sentence initiated by a temporal adverbial clause. After mentioning Gili in the subject position of the adverbial clause with the combination of an unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker *-a* (line 2), sp2 mentions her again in the subject position of the main clause, only this time solely by the 3SGF.PRD bound marker *-a* (line 4). This choice does not appear to be motivated by adherence to structural rules, since we saw in previous examples that in comparable structures the combination "bound marker+unbound marker" tends to be used. Using the "bound marker" option contributes to the negative stance expressed by the speaker toward Gili, by depicting Gili's decision as rash, impulsive, and possibly unjustified, through using the shortest referential option possible.

9.1.1.5 Pre-core element – question word

In Table 9.4, we saw that in 9 out of 11 Q-initial clauses (82%), the subject was realized as the combination "bound marker+unbound marker", whereas the sole carrier of subject reference was the bound PNG-marker in only 2 clauses (18%). Examples 9.21–9.22 illustrate each pattern respectively:

(9.21) 1 sp2 *'maze ka'asti al='**av*** ||
so I.was.angry on=**3SGM.NPRD** ||
'I was so angry at **him**.'

2 *a'marti l=**o*** | *'lama a'ta o'ved* ||
I.said to=**3SGM.NPRD** | why you.SGM working.SGM ||
'I told **him**, why are you working?'

3 sp1 *ma **hu** a'sa-**Ø** ʃam* ||
what **3SGM.PRD** did-**3SGM.PRD** there ||
'What was **he** doing there?'

(Y33_sp2_170-172, sp1_147)

(9.22) 1 sp1 *az hitka'ʃarti li'ʃol o't=**o** ma daa't=**o** ||*
so I.called to.ask ACC=**3SGM.NPRD** what opinion=**3SGM.NPRD ||**
'So I called to ask **him** what **his** opinion was.'

2 sp2 *ma a'mar-**Ø** /*
what said-**3SGM.PRD** /
'What did (**he**) say?'

3 sp1 ***hu** a'mar-**Ø** ʃe ze dej sa'baba ||*
3SGM.PRD said-**3SGM.PRD** that DEM quite ok ||
'**He** said that it was pretty much ok.'

(C711_0_sp1_253-254, sp2_248)

Prior to the exchange in (9.21), sp2 describes how her father hurt his back after engaging in strained physical activity, despite having a history of back aches. Here, she describes how angry she was at him, mentioning him twice with non-predicational 3SGM markers (lines 1 and 2). Sp1 inquires what specific actions sp2's father did, mentioning him in the subject position by the combination of an unbound 3SGM marker *hu* and a bound 3SGM marker *-Ø* (line 3). This is the most common pattern of asking a question about a previously mentioned referent. In (9.22), by contrast, we see an infrequent referential pattern. Here, sp2 asks a question about a previously mentioned referent, mentioning him in the subject position solely with the bound 3SGM marker *-Ø* (line 3). Any motivations for this idiosyncratic use are not entirely clear.

9.1.2 PC-verbs

In Table 9.3, we saw that in 19 out of 52 PC-verbal clauses (37%), the subject was realized as a bound PNG-marker, whereas in the other 33 clauses (63%) it was realized as the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". In this section, I will try to establish whether one of these options is more common to particular contexts or sentence meanings.

As a first approximation, I classified the sentences according to the type of meaning expressed by the clause: (1) deontic meaning, in which the speaker asserts that some state of affairs is necessary, desired, or obligatory; and (2) epistemic meaning, in which the speaker asserts that some state of affairs is possible, likely, or uncertain (see Givón 2001: 302–304; 2005: 149–150). The results of the analysis are demonstrated in Table 9.5:

Table 9.5 – Subject expression in the verbal clause according to meaning

Reduced variant / Meaning	Unbound PNG-marker + Bound PNG-marker	Bound PNG-marker	Total
Deontic meaning	2 (12%)	14 (88%)	16 (100%)
Epistemic meaning	26 (96%)	1 (4%)	27 (100%)
Other	5 (56%)	4 (44%)	9 (100%)
Total	**33 (63%)**	**19 (37%)**	**52 (100%)**

The quantitative results in Table 9.5 suggest a trend – most deontic PC-verbal clauses had bound PNG-marker subjects, whereas most epistemic clauses had "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" subjects. Let us now examine these categories more closely.

In one deontic construction, PC-verbs function as predicates in complement clauses embedded in a matrix clause. In such contexts, the subject referent of the main clause manipulates the behavior of the object referent, trying to impel them to perform the action coded in the complement clause, and the subject referent of the complement clause is co-referent with the object referent of the main clause (Givón 2017: 237):

(9.23) 1 *at tsri'χa liʃ'tof et=ha='χeder ʃel='χaim* |
you.SGF need to.wash ACC=DEF=room of=Chaim |
'You need to clean Chaim's room'

2 *ve at tsri'χa leha'gid le='**aba ʃe'lo*** |
and you.SGF need to.say to=**dad his** |
'and you need to tell **his father**'

3 *ʃe **j**-a'vi et=ha=ʃaj* | *'ʃama* ||
that **3SGM.PRD**-will.bring ACC=DEF=gift | there ||
'to bring the gift over there.'

(C712_2_sp3_001-004)

(9.24) 1 *a'ni jeχo'la leda'ber ma'χar im **'miki***
I can.SGF to.talk tomorrow with **Miki**
'Can I talk with **Miki** tomorrow'

2 *ʃe **j**-a'vi li et=ha=zχu'χit* /
that **3SGM.PRD**-will.bring to.me ACC=DEF=glass /
'so that **he** brings me the glass?'

(C711_2_sp1_028)

The speaker in (9.23) is asking her recipient to tell Chaim's father to bring a present to Chaim's room, mentioning Chaim's father twice – first as the object of the matrix clause in line 2 with a lexical NP, and then as the subject of the complement clause in line 3 through the bound person marker *j-* '3SGM.PRD'. Similarly, the speaker in (9.24) asks her father for permission to ask Miki to bring her glass, mentioning Miki twice – first in line 1 as the object of the matrix clause with a proper name, and then as the subject of the complement clause in line 2 with the bound person marker *j-* '3SGM.PRD'.

In another deontic construction, PC-verbs function as predicates in a "*ʃe* 'that' + PC-verb" construction (Bar-Adon 1966; Bolozky 2013; Schwarzwald & Shlomo 2015; Inbar 2016: 304). This construction consists of an independent clause prefaced by *ʃe* 'that', conveying a variety of modal meanings (desires, wishes, prohibitions, volitions, curses, commands):

(9.25) 1 sp1 *ri'mon meu'le* ||
pomegranate perfect ||
'A perfect pomegranate.'

2 sp3 ***dor*** | *kol jom ba-**Ø*** |
Dor | all day coming-**SGM** |
'**Dor** comes every day.'

3 sp1 *ni'ten l=**dor** ʦa'laʃ* || *kol.ha.ka'vod* ||
we.will.give to=**Dor** commendation || way.to.go ||
'We'll give **Dor** a special commendation. Way to go.'

4 sp4 *meu'le* | *ʃe **j-**a'vi li l=a='χeder* ||
perfect | that **3SGM.PRD**-will.bring to.me to=def=room ||
'Perfect, let **him** bring me (a pomegranate) to my room.'

(C711_4_sp1_030-032, sp3_016-017, sp4_011-012)

(9.26) 1 sp1 *az **hi** χaʃ'v-**a** lik'not mi'meni et=ha='oto* ||
so **3SGF.PRD** thought-**3SGF.PRD** to.buy from.me ACC=DEF=car ||
'So **she** thought about buying the car from me.'

(12 PMs omitted)

2 sp2 *ʃe **t-**ik'ne* ||
that **3SGF.PRD**-will.buy ||
'Let **her** buy.'

(Y34_sp1_259-269, sp2_071-073)

In example 9.25, sp1 and sp3 are talking about Dor, who picks pomegranates and brings them home every day. Sp1 and sp3 praise the quality of the pomegranates (lines 1–3), and sp4 jokingly says that he should bring those pomegranates to her room (line 4). She expresses her wish using the "*ʃe* 'that' + PC-verb" sentence, whose subject is the bound person marker *j-* '3SGM.PRD' that refers to Dor. In example 9.26, sp1 is talking about a friend who wanted to buy her car, referring to her through a combination of an unbound 3SGF.PRD marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF.PRD marker *-a* (line 1). In response, sp3 suggests that her friend should indeed buy the car, using the "*ʃe* 'that' + PC-verb" sentence, whose subject is the bound person marker *t-* '3SGM.PRD' referring to her friend (line 2).

This referential strategy, however, is not exclusive: the subjects of deontic clauses are occasionally realized with a combination of an unbound marker and a bound marker. This usage is illustrated in (9.27):

(9.27) 1 *im* ***hi*** ***t-****irʦe* *laavor* *iti* | *sababa* ||
if **3SGF.PRD** **3SGF.PRD**-will.want to.move.on with.me | fine ||
'If **she** wants to continue (the trip) with me, fine ||

2 *aval ʃe* ***hi*** ***t-****iʃaer* *ʃam od* *ʃavua ʃvuaim* ||
but that **3SGF.PRD** **3SGF.PRD**-will.stay there more week two.weeks ||
'But **she** should stay there (=north India) for one or two weeks.'

(Y32_sp2_200-202)

The speaker in this example is talking about a friend with whom she is planning to go on a trip to India, saying that they do not have to stay together for the entire duration of the trip. In her opinion, her friend should stay longer in northern India since it is going to be her first time there, and the two could meet later in another region. She expresses her suggestion using the "*ʃe* 'that' + PC-verb" sentence, whose subject is the combination of an unbound 3SGF.PRD marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF.PRD marker *-a* (line 2).

We now move on to epistemic clauses, where "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" subjects are the dominant variant. These clauses assert that some future state of affairs is either

possible, likely, or, conversely, uncertain. Example 9.28 illustrates an instance of a simple clause, whereas example 9.29 illustrates instances of dependent clauses:

(9.28) 1 sp3 ***'ranʧuk*** *ejnen- -- lo po 'orli /*
Ranchuk EXT.NEG NEG here Orly /
'**Ranchuk** not-, is not here Orly?'

2 sp2 *lo ||*
NEG ||
'No.'

3 ***hu*** *lo* ***j****-a'vo* ||
3SGM.PRD NEG **3SGM.PRD-**will.come ||
'**He** won't come.'

(9.29) 1 sp1 *a'val u'laj ta'gidi le='**ima** **ʃe'laχ** ʃe | 'zehu /*
but maybe you.will.tell to=**mother your.SGF** that | that's.it /
'But maybe you will tell **your mother** that that's it?

2 sp2 *ni're ma* ***hi*** ***t****-a'gid* ||
we.will.see what **3SGF.PRD 3SGF.PRD-**will.tell ||
'We'll see what **she**'ll say.'

3 *lo jo'daat* ||
NEG knowing.SGF ||
'(I) don't know.'

4 *lo | lo ni'ra li | lo ro'ʦa lehitva'keaχ i't=**a** aχ'ʃav* ||
NEG | NEG seems to.me | NEG wanting.SGF to.argue with=**3SGF.NPRD** now ||
'No, I don't think so, (I) don't want to argue with **her** now.'

5 sp1 *im **hi** lo **t**-a'gid laχ klum | az tuχ'li li'ʃon iti* ||
if **3SGF.PRD** NEG **3SGF.PRD-**will.say to.you nothing | so you.will.be.able to.sleep with.me ||
'If **she** doesn't say anything, you will be able to sleep with me.'

6 *a'val im **hi** **t**-a'gid laχ 'maʃehu | az tiʃ'ni b='χeder a'χer* ||
but if **3SGF.PRD 3SGF.PRD-**will.say to.you something | so you.will.sleep in=room other ||
'But if **she** tells you something, you will sleep in another room.'

(C842_sp1_005-011, sp2_007-012)

In (9.28), sp3 asks sp2 whether her son, Ranchuk, is home, to which sp2 replies negatively (lines 1–2), and provides an elaboration (lines 3). The elaboration in line 3 is a simple clause asserting a future negative state of affairs. The subject referent in this clause, Ranchuk, is

mentioned by the combination of a 3SGM.PRD unbound marker *hu*, and a 3SGM.PRD bound marker *j-*. In example 9.29, we see three dependent PC-verbal clauses – the clause in line 2 functions as a complement clause, and the clauses in lines 5 and 6 function as adverbial clauses. The speakers in this example are a young couple, who are talking about asking sp2's mother for a permission to sleep in the same room. After sp2's mother is introduced in line 1 via a lexical NP, she is subsequently mentioned several times. Relevant to our discussion here are the mentions made in lines 2, 5, and 6. The complement clause in line 2 conveys a future state of affairs ('sp2's mother will respond to their request'). The subject referent in this clause, sp2's mother, is mentioned by the combination of a 3SGM.PRD unbound marker *hi*, and a 3SGF.PRD bound marker *t-*. Similarly, the adverbial clauses in lines 5 and 6 convey two hypothetical events ('sp2's mother will say nothing' and 'sp2's mother will say something', respectively). The subject referent in both of these clauses—sp2's mother—is mentioned again by the combination of a 3SGM.PRD unbound marker *hi*, and a 3SGF.PRD bound marker *t-*.

The last example in this section nicely demonstrates the difference between deontic clauses and epistemic clauses with regard to the preferred reduced subject reference. It contains five PC-verbal clauses, some deontic and some epistemic. The speakers in (9.30) are a young couple discussing the feasibility of renting an apartment with their friends as roommates. Since the apartment appears to be too small for both of them, prior to the example, sp2 raised the possibility of renting the apartment alone, to which sp1 objected since he did not want her to live alone with three male roommates.

(9.30) 1 sp2 *ni'ra le'χa ʃe* ***hem*** ***j-aa's-u*** *'maʃehu* ||
seeming.SGM to.you.SGM that **3PL.PRD** **3PL.PRD**-will.do-**3PL.PRD** something ||
'Do you think **they** will make a move (on me)?'

2 *'ejze ʃtu'jot* ||
which nonsense ||
'What nonsense.'

3 sp1 *lo ro'ʦe* ||
NEG wanting.SGM ||
'(I) don't want.'

4 *a'ni lo ro'ʦe ʃe* ***j-ena's-u*** *gam* ||
I NEG wanting.SGM that **3PL.PRD**-will.try-**3PL.PRD** also ||
'I don't want **them** to even try.'

5 sp2 (0.9) *ma* /
(0.9) what /
‘(0.9) What?’

6 sp1 *lo* *ro'tse* *ʃe* ***j-ena's-u*** *a'filu* ||
NEG wanting.SGM that **3PL.PRD**-will.try-**3PL.PRD** even ||
‘(I) don’t want **them** to even try.’

7 sp2 ***hem*** *lo* ***j-ena's-u*** ||
3PL.PRD NEG **3PL.PRD**-will.try-**3PL.PRD** ||
‘**They** won’t try.’

8 sp1 ***hem*** ***j-ena's-u*** ||
3PL.PRD **3PL.PRD**-will.try-**3PL.PRD** ||
‘**They** will try.’

(C842_sp2_168-171, sp1_183-188)

Here, the speakers explicitly address the implicit reason for sp1’s objection, namely that there is a chance that one of the roommates will try to make a romantic gesture or a sexual advance at some point. These roommates are encoded differently depending on whether the clause is epistemic or deontic. In the epistemic clauses, which assert that they will try or will not try to make a proposal (lines 1, 7, and 8), the roommates are referred to with the combination of a 3PL.PRD unbound marker *hem*, and a 3PL.PRD bound marker *j---u*. In the deontic clauses, however, where the unwanted nature of those sexual advances for sp1 is discussed (lines 4 and 6), the roommates are referred to solely using a 3PL.PRD bound marker *j---u*.

9.1.3 Interim summary

To conclude §9.1, then, we saw that there is a difference between SC-verbal clauses and PC-verbal clauses with respect to non-locutor subject expression. In SC-verbal clauses, the dominant tactic for reduced subject reference is the combination “unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker”. However, that tactic is chosen more often in clauses that begin with a pre-core element than it is in clauses without one. Whenever reduced subject reference had been realized only as a bound PNG-marker, it became possible to identify an additional layer of communicated meaning. I have been able to identify three such meanings: (1) increasing the vividness of a narrated event, adding to the story more dramatic depth; (2) conveying an emotive stance in relation to some state of affairs or event considered by the speaker; (3)

indicating that the clause with a bound marker subject is elaborating on a prior clause in which the same referent was represented by a lexical NP or an unbound marker. By contrast, the dominant reduced device for subject expression in PC-verbal clauses depends on the meaning of the clause. The subject referent of clauses conveying deontic modality – asserting that some state of affairs is necessary, desired, or undesired – tends to be coded by a bound marker; whereas the subject referent of clauses conveying epistemic modality – asserting that some state of affairs is either possible, likely, or uncertain – tends to be coded by the combination "unbound marker+bound marker".

9.2 Subject expression in adjectival/participial clauses (Type 3)

In this section, I focus on subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause, examining the alternation between: (1) unbound PNG-marker, and (2) unexpressed reference. In both variants, the identification of the intended referent is supported by NG-markers, incorporated in adjectival/participial predicates. The quantitative distribution of that alternation is presented in Table 9.6:

Table 9.6 – Subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause

Reduced variant / Predicate type	Unbound PNG-marker (+NG-marker) (=bipartite clause)	Unexpressed reference (+NG-marker) (=unipartite clause)	Total
Participles	188 (78%)	52 (22%)	240 (100%)
Adjectives	19 (79%)	5 (21%)	24 (100%)
Total	**207 (78%)**	**57 (22%)**	**264 (100%)**

Table 9.6 shows that the dominant reduced variant for subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause is the unbound PNG-marker, accounting for 78% of the occurrences. This is not surprising: participles/adjectives are only marked for number and gender, but not for person, and one would expect therefore that subjects would be expressed by person markers. Still, it is evident that unipartite adjectival/participial clauses are not infrequent. These clauses are anchored either to an overt referential expression in the preceding discourse or to elements external to the discourse, either internal or external to the origo in question. The question that arises at this point is whether we can dependably identify common elements in those contexts where unipartite clauses are preferred. I will try to answer this

question in the two following sections, separating between participles (§9.2.1) and adjectives (§9.2.2).

9.2.1 Participles

In Table 9.6, we saw that out of 240 participial clauses, 52 clauses (22%) were unipartite, without any representation of the subject, whereas 188 clauses (78%) were bipartite, with the subject realized as unbound PNG-marker. In this section, I will now try to determine whether one of these options is more characteristic to particular contexts. As an initial approximation, I classified the sentences according to their respective pre-core elements – the element that appears before the clause core which includes the predicate, and the subject, if present. Here I distinguish between clauses that do not begin with a pre-core element (henceforth N-initial), and clauses that do, such as coordinating conjunctions, subordinating conjunctions, adjuncts, and question words (henceforth: C/S/A/Q-initial). The results of the analysis are displayed in Table 9.7:

Table 9.7 – Subject expression in the participial clause according to pre-core element

Reduced variant / Pre-core element	Unbound PNG-marker (+NG-marker) (=bipartite clause)	Unexpressed reference (+NG-marker) (=unipartite clause)	Total
None	92 (74%)	32 (26%)	124 (100%)
Coordinating conjunction	34 (79%)	9 (21%)	43 (100%)
Subordinating conjunction	42 (91%)	4 (9%)	46 (100%)
Adjunct	12 (71%)	5 (29%)	17 (100%)
Question word	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
Total	**188 (78%)**	**52 (22%)**	**240 (100%)**

The quantitative results in Table 9.7 show that subjects in S-initial clauses are the most likely to be realized as an unbound PNG-marker, whereas N-initial and A-initial clauses may be realized more freely as unipartite clauses with no subject representation. We will now examine more closely these categories.

9.2.1.1 Pre-core element – none

In Table 9.7, we saw that 92 out of 124 N-initial clauses (74%) were bipartite, *i.e.*, clauses with the subject realized as unbound PNG-marker, and 32 clauses (26%) were unipartite, without representation of the subject.

Example 9.31 illustrates a typical pattern in which a first speaker predicates something about a person, referring to them using a lexical NP or an unbound person marker, while another speaker responds by providing additional information about that person, referring to him by means of unbound PNG-marker:

(9.31) 1 sp2 ***'ima ʃe'laχ*** *o'mer-**et*** *le='aba ʃe'laχ a'ni lo mena'ka le'χa da'gim* /
mother your.SGF saying-**SGF** to=father your I NEG cleaning.SGF to.you fish /
'Does **your mother** tell your father I'm not cleaning fish for you?'

2 sp1 (3.1) ***hi*** *o'hev-**et*** *o'tam* ||
(3.1) **3SGF.PRD** loving-**SGF** them ||
'(3.1) **She** loves them.'

3 ***hi*** *o'χel-**et*** *et=ze* ||
3SGF.PRD eating-**SGF** ACC=DEM ||
'**She** eats it.'

(C711_3_sp2_012, sp1_011-012)

In (9.31), sp2 responds jokingly to his wife's refusal to clean fish by mentioning her mother, who presumably never refuses to clean fish for her husband (line 1). In lines 2–3, sp1 (sp2's daughter) says that her grandmother likes eating fish, implying that her mother does not like fish, and therefore the comparison between the two is misplaced. Sp1 refers to her grandmother twice in the subject position of two participial clauses with an unbound 3SGF marker *hi*.

Still, N-initial clauses in which the subject referent is unexpressed are evidently not infrequent. One motivation for using such clauses is to advance narrative actions, contributing to the story's dramatic quality and increasing vividness (Auer & Maschler 2013: 161–162). Such usage is demonstrated in (9.32) in which the speaker talks about a two-day ride he had in Mongolia:

(9.32) 1 *jeʃ* ***ʃn-ej*** ***neha'g-im*** ||
EXT **two(M)-PL.CST driver-PL** ||
'There are **two drivers**.'

2 *joʃ'v-**im*** *al=ha='hege* | ***hem*** *lo mitχal'f-**im*** ||
sitting-**PLM** on=DEF=steering.wheel | **3PL.PRD** NEG changing.places-**PLM** ||
'(Both of **them**) drive, **they** do not change places.'

3 *ad ʃe* ***e'χad*** *nir'dam-**Ø*** | *mitχal'f-**im*** |
until that **one** falling.asleep-**SGM** | changing.places-**PLM** |
'Until **one of them** falls asleep, (**they**) change places'

(3 PMs omitted)

4 *ba 'pantʃer* | *metak'n-**im** et=ha='pantʃer* | *mamʃi'χ-**im*** |
coming.SGM flat.tire | fixing-**PLM** ACC=DEF=flat.tire | continuing-**PLM** |
'There is a flat tire, (**they**) fix the flat tire, (**they**) continue'

5 (0.5) *ze 'maʃehu mad'him* ||
(0.5) DEM something amazing ||
'(0.5) It is something amazing.'

(OCh_sp1_161-172)

Prior to (9.32), the speaker had said that the bus did not have any planned stops, that it only stopped when necessary – for example, when there were potential passengers on the road, or whenever there were malfunctions. Here, the speaker elaborates on his message by producing a narrative that consists of consecutive actions performed by the two drivers of the bus. After the two drivers are introduced via a lexical NP (line 1), their actions are mentioned four times using four unipartite clauses – *joʃ'v-im al=ha='hege* '(both of them) drive' (line 2), *mitχal'f-im* '(they) change places' (line 3), *metak'n-im et=ha='pantʃer* '(they) fix the flat tire' (line 4), and *mamʃi'χ-im* '(they) continue' (line 4). Although each of these clauses predicates something of the two drivers of the bus, the drivers themselves are not mentioned in these clauses, being indexed only by the NG-markers incorporated in the participles. It appears that employing a sequence of unipartite clauses to denote sequential actions emphasizes the connectedness of these successive actions. It should be mentioned that the referential choice in the clause *hem lo mitχal'fim* 'they do not change places' (line 2) is puzzling, since I would expect that subject reference here would be the same as in the other clauses that depict the drivers' actions. It is possible that this explicit subject expression is influenced by the presence of the negator *lo* 'not', presumably necessitating a subject person marker. Corroboration of this hypothesis, however, lies outside the scope of this dissertation.

Unipartite participial clauses may also be used to convey the speaker's emotive stance in relation to some state or event perceived by the speaker:

(9.33) 1 *a'ni lo ro'ʦe mis'χak jo'ter mi'daj tov* ||
I NEG wanting.SGM game more too good ||
'I don't want a game that is too good.'

2 *jeʃ* ***mil'jon indi'anim*** ||
EXT **million indians** ||
'There are **a million Indians**.'

3 *om'd-**im** kol ha=zman* |
standing-**PLM** all DEF=time |
'Standing all the time'

(C711_4_sp2_012-014)

The speaker says that he does not like crowded sports games because there are many people standing, and presumably make it difficult for him to see the game. In line 2, the speaker mentions the large crowd using the lexical NP *mil'jon indi'anim* 'million Indians', thereby implying the speaker's disrespectful attitude towards such a behavior. He then adds additional information about that crowd by using a unipartite participial clause that is anchored to the lexical NP 'million Indians' in line 2.

Unipartite participial clauses may also be used to elaborate – restate, comment, exemplify, or specify in greater detail – on a prior clause in which the anchor is found:

(9.34) 1 *ve **ze** aχ'ʃav **ʃe** **at** **jo'ʦet** **i't=o*** ||
and **DEM** now **that you.SGF going.out.SGF with=3SGM.NPRD** ||
'And **the one you are going out with now** ||

2 *ma **hu** o'se-**Ø*** /
what **3SGM.PRD** doing-**SGM** /
'What does **he** do?'

3 (0.6) *o'ved-**Ø** ke'ilu* /
(0.6) working-**SGM** like /
'(0.6) (**He**) works?'

(C1624_sp3_136-138)

The speaker in this example asks the recipient about the occupation of her current boyfriend. He introduces the boyfriend via a lexical NP structured as a relative clause in line 1, and formulates a question about him in line 2 referring to him with unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. This

is the default way to ask a question about a previously mentioned referent. In line 3, the speaker produces an additional question regarding that referent using a unipartite participial clause. The use of a unipartite clause appears to indicate that the clause elaborates on – in this case, providing a candidate answer to the question – the prior clause in which the same referent was coded by an explicit referential form.

Finally, unipartite participial clauses may also be used when repeating the predicate of a prior clause in which the anchor is found. This is demonstrated well in (9.35), in which, the participle *o'se-Ø* 'doing-SGM' is used by both speakers in relation to sp2's father whom they have previously discussed.

(9.35) 1 sp1 *'lama* ***hu*** *lo o'se-**Ø*** *'joga* | *o 'maʃehu ka'ze* --
why **3SGM.PRD** NEG doing-**SGM** yoga | or something like.this --
'Why doesn't **he** do yoga, or something like that--'

2 sp2 *o'se-**Ø*** || *o'se-**Ø*** ||
doing-**SGM** || doing-**SGM** ||
'(**He**) does. (**He**) does.'

3 sp1 *o'se-**Ø*** /
doing-**SGM** /
'(**He)** does?'

4 sp2 *o'se-**Ø*** || (0.9) *o'se-**Ø*** *ha=kol* ||
doing-**SGM** || (0.9) doing-**SGM** DEF=all||
'(**He**) does. (0.9) (**He**) does everything.'

(Y33_sp1_193-195, sp2_247-250)

In line 1, sp1 formulates a question mentioning sp2's father in the subject position with an unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. Sp2 responds to that question by repeating twice the predicate *o'se-Ø* || 'doing-SGM' (line 2). Sp1 then repeats that predicate only with a rising intonation, arguably in order to verify that sp2's father indeed does yoga (line 3). Sp2 responds to that question by repeating the predicate twice, modifying it in the second time with a direct object *ha=kol* 'all'. All of the five clauses in lines 2–4 were unipartite, without no subject represantation. Sp2's father was nevertheless indexed by means of SGM marker incorporated in the participle *o'se-Ø* 'doing-SGM'.

9.2.1.2 Pre-core element – coordinating conjunction

In Table 9.7, we saw that out of 43 C-initial clauses, 34 clauses (79%) were bipartite, with the subject realized as an unbound PNG-marker, whereas 9 clauses (21%) were unipartite, with no representation of the subject. The main conjunctions are *aval* 'but' (N=5), *az* 'so' (N=11), and *ve* 'and' (N=20).

All of the clauses initiated by *aval* 'but' and *az* 'so' had subjects realized as unbound PNG-markers. Example 9.36 demonstrates this pattern with *aval* 'but' (line 2). The speaker in (9.36) is talking about her employee, Miri, contrasting between her innate ability to work in sales with her reluctance to do so.

(9.36) 1 *az a'marti* | ***'miri*** *be'seder* | ***'miri*** *jo'daa-**t*** *lim'kor ve ze* |
so I.said | **Miri** ok | **Miri** knowing-**SGF** to.sell and DEM |
'So I said, **Miri** is ok, **Miri** knows how to sell and all that'

2 *a'val **hi*** *lo ro'ʦ-**a*** ||
but **3SGF.PRD** NEG doing-**SGF** ||
'but **she** doesn't want to.'

(Y111_sp2_181-184)

Miri's ability is expressed by two clauses in line 1 in which Miri is mentioned by a proper name in the subject position. The clause in line 2 is prefaced by *a'val* 'but', and conveys Miri's reluctance to work. In this clause, the subject referent is the same person, but is now coded by the unbound 3SGF marker *hi*.

Unlike conjunctions *a'val* 'but' and *az* 'so', clauses initiated by *ve* 'and' may be either unipartite, with no subject representation (N=5), or bipartite, with the subject expressed by an unbound PNG-marker (N=15). As was the case with verbal clauses, subject representation depends on the function of *ve* 'and' – when the clause initiated by *ve* constitutes the last item in a list of sequential events, it tends to be unipartite; otherwise, its subject is realized as an unbound PNG-marker (similarly to *aval* 'but' and *az* 'so'). Examples 9.37–9.38 demonstrate both functions, respectively:

(9.37) 1 ***kol.e'χad*** *ma'taj ʃe ba-**Ø*** | *lo'keaχ-**Ø*** *'oχel* ||
everyone when that coming-**SGM** | taking-**SGM** food ||
'Whenever **anyone** comes, (**he**) takes food.'

2 (0.4) *niχ'nas-**Ø*** *l=a=meza've* | *sam-**Ø*** *ʦa'laχat* |
(0.4) coming.in-**SGM** to=DEF=pantry | putting-**SGM** plate |
'(0.4) enters the pantry, puts a plate'

3 *me'χin-**Ø*** *l=**o*** *'oχel* | *ve* *o'χel-**Ø*** ||
preparing-**SGM** to=**3SGM.NPRD** food | and eating-**SGM** ||
'Prepares food for **himself**, and eats.

(Y111_sp2_091-096)

(9.38) 1 *a'mit am'ra li* | *ʃe* ***hu*** *nit'ka-**Ø*** *be=ar'ʦot.ha='brit* ||
Amit she.told to.me | that **3SGM.PRD** got.stuck-**3SGM.PRD** in=US ||
'Amit told me that **he** got stuck in the US.'

2 ***hu*** *ha'ja-**Ø*** *a'mur-Ø* *lin'soa* *le='amsterdam* ||
3SGM.PRD was-**3SGM.PRD** supposed-SGM to.travel to=Amsterdam ||
'**He** was supposed to go to Amsterdam.'

3 *lif'nej 'kama ja'mim* ||
before few days ||
'A few days ago.'

4 *ve* ***hu*** *lo* *ja'χol-**Ø*** *la'ʦet* ||
and **3SGM.PRD** NEG can-**SGM** to.go.out ||
'And **he** can't get out.'

(C712_2_sp1_010-014)

The speaker in (9.37) explains that her family members do not regularly take their meals together, since each of them has a different schedule, and as a result, eats alone (line 1). In lines 2–3, the speaker produces a list structure of sequential actions to illustrate what each family member does when he comes home. This list consists of four unipartite clauses anchored to *kol.e'χad* 'someone' in line 1. The *ve* 'and'-initiated clause in this list is unipartite, with no representation of the subject. In (9.38), by contrast, the *ve* 'and'-initiated clause is bipartite: its subject is realized as an unbound PNG-marker and does not represent the last item in a list of sequential events, especially since it is separated from the prior clause by a terminal prosodic break.

9.2.1.3 Pre-core element – subordinating conjunction

In Table 9.7, we saw that 42 out of 46 S-initial clauses (91%) were bipartite, with the subject realized as an unbound PNG-marker, and only 4 clauses (9%) were unipartite, with no representation of the subject.

All complement clauses (N=17) and adverbial clauses (N=15) were found to be bipartite, with the subject realized as an unbound PNG-marker. Examples 9.39–9.40 illustrate the dominant pattern in these two subordinate clause types:

(9.39) 1 *'kitʂer* | ***hi*** *am'r-**a*** *li* *ʃe* ***hi*** | *kol ha=jom* *ro-'**a*** *teleno'velot* ||
in.short | **3SGF.PRD** said-**3SGF** to.me that **3SGF.PRD** | all DEF=day seeing-**SGM** soap.operas ||
'In short, **she** told me **she** watches soap operas all day long.'

(C842_sp1_275-278)

(9.40) 1 *na'gid* ***aχo'ti*** |
let's.say **my.sister** |
'**My sister**, for instance'

2 *kʃe* ***hi*** *jo'tʂe-**t*** *im* *ana'ʃim* | *im* *baχu'rim* ||
when **3SGF.PRD** going.out-**SGF** with people | with guys ||
'when **she** goes out with people, with guys'

3 ***hi*** *jo-* ***hi*** *jo'tse-**t*** *le=mata'ra* *mesu'jemet* ||
3SGF.PRD ERR **3SGF.PRD** going.out-**SGF** to=purpose specific ||
'**she** goes out for a specific purpose.'

(P423_2_sp1_ 041-044)

The speaker in (9.39) is describing what his friend does at her workplace by using a quotative construction in which she is mentioned twice: first as the subject of the main clause, and then as the subject of the complement clause. In both instances she is mentioned with the unbound 3SGF marker *hi*. The speaker in (9.40) describes his sister as someone who does not 'waste' too much time on 'guys' she dates: she discontinues the relationship if she sees that there is no possibility of matrimonial success. After introducing his sister with a lexical NP in line 1, he produces a subordinate clause in which his sister is mentioned twice: first as the subject of the adverbial "when" clause (line 2), and then as the subject of the main clause (line 3). In both instances, she is mentioned with the unbound 3SGF marker *hi*.

Relative clauses (N=6) exhibited a degree of variation in subject expression. Some relative clauses used unexpressed reference when the participle was anchored to the head noun, while when the subject of the relative clause was not coreferential with the head noun, usually an unbound PNG-marker is used. Examples 9.41 and 9.42 illustrate these respective patterns:

(9.41) 1 *mi o'se diju'nim /*
who doing.SGM briefings /
'Who does briefings?'

2 ***mefak'd-im ʦei'r-im*** ||
commander-PL young-PLM ||
'**Young commanders**.'

3 ***ʃe lo meki'r-im et=ha=avo'da*** ||
that NEG knowing-PLM ACC=DEF=work ||
'**Who are not familiar with the work**.'

4 *kmo ha=mefa'ked ʃel'χa @@* ||
like DEF=commander your.SGM @@ ||
'Like your commander.'

(P423_1_sp1_078-080)

(9.42) 1 *az 'kama χoda'ʃim **hi** nehen't-**a** | mi=di'ra | madli'ka | b= |*
so few months **3SGF.PRD** enjoyed-**3SGF** | from=apartment | cool | in= |
'So for several months, **she** has enjoyed from a cool apartment for'

2 *be=o'to sχum ʃe ha'jom **hi** meʃa'lem-**et*** ||
in=same sum that today **3SGF.PRD** paying-**SGF** ||
'for the same price that **she** is paying today.'

(Y34_sp1_101-105)

In (9.41), sp1 characterizes sp2's commander as inexperienced by using a relative construction – the head *mefak'dim ʦei'rim* 'young commanders' is followed by *ʃe* 'that' that introduces the relative clause *lo meki'rim et=ha=avo'da* 'are not familiar with the work'. This relative clause is unipartite in that it does not contain subject representation, and the referent "young commanders" is only indicated by the SGM marker *-Ø*. The speaker in (9.42) is talking about her friend who has been paying relatively low rent for several months. The low rent is mentioned by using a relative construction – the head *o'to sχum* 'the same price' is followed by *ʃe* 'that' that introduces the relative clause *ha'jom hi meʃa'lemet* 'she is paying today'. Here,

the subject of the relative clause is not coreferential with the head noun, and is coded by unbound 3SGF marker *hi*.

9.2.1.4 Pre-core element – adjunct

In Table 9.7, we saw that 12 out of 17 A-initial clauses (71%) were bipartite, with the subject realized as an unbound PNG-marker, whereas 5 clauses (29%) were unipartite, with no representation of the subject. Examples 9.43–9.44 illustrate both patterns respectively:

(9.43) 1 *b=jom.ʃi'ʃi* | ***'roχale*** *meda'ber-**et*** *im=ha=χave'rot ʃe'l=**a*** |
in=Friday | **Rochale** talking-**SGF** with=DEF=friends of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'On Friday, **Rochale** is talking to **her** friends'

2 *'pitom* ***hi*** *ʦo'ek-**et*** | *jeʃ* ||
suddenly **3SGF.PRD** shouting-**SGF** | yey ||
'suddenly **she** shouts, Yay!'

(C714_sp5_060-062)

(9.44) 1 ***hu*** *jo'ʃev-**Ø*** *'lanu be'min e* | *jeʃi'va ka'zot* |
3SGM.PRD sitting-**SGM** to.us in.kind.of uh | sitting like.this |
'**He** sits in this kind of position'

2 (0.5) *ve midej.'paam ze to'kef* ||
(0.5) and occasionally DEM striking ||
'(0.5) And occasionally it attacks.'

3 *ve a'ni no'saat* | *pi'tom no'ten-**Ø*** *ʦra'χa* |
and I riding.SGF | suddenly giving-**SGM** scream |
'And I'm riding, suddenly (**he**) screams'

4 *leχi.ta'vini me='efo ze hi'gia* ||
go.figure from=where DEM it.came.from ||
'Go figure where it came from.'

(Y33_sp2_277-282)

The speaker in (9.43) is telling a story about a girl from his class, Rochale. He introduces her in the subject position of a participial clause, conveying some background information (line 1). The clause in line 2 is initiated with a manner adjunct *pi'tom* 'suddenly', signaling a shift to the main action of the story, Rochale shouting 'Yay!' (line 2). In this clause, Rochale is mentioned in the subject position with the unbound 3SGF marker *hi*. A comparable instance is (9.44),

where the speaker is talking about a man she is familiar with and who appears to be suffering from Tourette syndrome. Here she illustrates this by describing how the spasms visited him during train rides. In line 1, she mentions him in the subject position of a participial clause, conveying the background for the narrative. Like the clause in line 2 of (9.43), the clause in line 3 is initiated with a manner adjunct *pi'tom* 'suddenly', heralding the main action of the story, in this case a sudden shriek of that man. In contrast to (9.43), however, the clause is formulated as a unipartite clause, with the man being indexed only by the NG-marker incorporated in the verb *no'ten-Ø* 'giving'. My impression is that this referential choice contributes rhetorically to the depiction of the suddenness of the action, which is also emphasized by the ensuing clause in line 4.

9.2.1.5 Pre-core element – question word

In Table 9.7, we saw that 8 out of 10 Q-initial clauses (80%) were bipartite, meaning the subject was realized as an unbound PNG-marker, and that the remaining two (20%) were unipartite, where there was no representation of the subject. Example 9.45 illustrates the dominant pattern:

(9.45) 1 *ve* ***ze*** *aχ'ʃav* ***ʃe*** ***at*** ***jo'ʁset*** ***i't=o*** ||
and **DEM** now **that you.SGF going.out.SGF with=3SGM.NPRD** ||
'And **the one you are going out with now** ||

2 *ma* ***hu*** *o'se-**Ø*** /
what **3SGM.PRD** doing-**SGM** /
'What does **he** do?'

(C1624_sp3_136-137)

The speaker in (9.45) asks the recipient about the occupation of her current boyfriend. He introduces the boyfriend via a lexical NP structured as a relative clause in line 1, and formulates a question about him in line 2 referring to him with the unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. This is the default way to ask a question about a previously mentioned referent.

9.2.2 Adjectives

In Table 9.6, we saw that out of 24 adjectival clauses, 19 clauses (79%) were bipartite, with the subject realized as an unbound PNG-marker, whereas 5 clauses (21%) were unipartite, with no representation of the subject. In this section, I will exemplify these two patterns.

The dominant pattern is illustrated in Example 9.46, taken from a family conversation about a specific football team from Haifa that routinely engages in extreme violence:

(9.46) 1 sp3 *a'dain jeʃ em* | (1.2) ***e'χad bli=haka'ra b=χaj'fa*** ||
still EXT uhm | (1.2) **one without=consciousness in=Haifa** ||
‘There is uhm, **one person in Haifa who is still unconscious**.’

2 sp2 *ojva'voj* ||
oh.my.god ||
‘Oh my god.’

3 (*mi ze* ||)
(who DEM ||)
(‘Who is this.’)

4 ***hu*** *kvar ga'mur-**Ø*** *ma* ||
3SGM.PRD already finished-**SGM** what ||
‘He is already hopeless (lit. finished).’

(C711_4_sp3_004-005, sp2_030-032)

Sp3 describes an instance of a severely injured sports fan as evidence in her claim that the fans of a specific football team from Haifa routinely engage in extreme violence. This ‘severely injured sports fan’ is introduced via an indefinite lexical NP in line 1, and is subsequently mentioned by sp2 in the subject position of an adjectival clause in line 4. This mention is achieved via the unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. Occasionally, an adjectival clause may be unipartite, having no subject representation. This is demonstrated in (9.47), in which the speaker sums up her father’s experience coping with back pain.

(9.47) 1 *ma* ***hu*** *a'var-**Ø*** ||
what **3SGM.PRD** went.through-**3SGM.PRD** ||
‘The things **he** went through.’

2 *mis'ken-**Ø*** ||
miserable-**SGM** ||
‘Poor **(guy)**.’

(Y33_sp2_234-235)

She first mentions her father in the subject position of the verbal clause in line 1 using the unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. In line 2, she explicitly characterizes the experience as difficult, by evaluating her father as *mis'ken* ‘poor’. This is a unipartite clause that is anchored to the

unbound 3SGM marker *hu* in the previous clause. It appears that conveying this information through a unipartite clause is linked to sp2's emotive stance of strong empathy with her father.

9.2.3 Interim summary

To conclude §9.2, we saw that the dominant strategy for subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause was the unbound PNG-marker. Not infrequently, however, adjectival/participial clauses were unipartite, meaning they lacked any representation of the subject. As we have seen through numerous examples, the latter strategy is used as a conveyor of additional layers of meaning: (1) contributing to a story's dramatic quality, and increasing vividness in description; (2) conveying an emotive stance in relation to some state or event described by the speaker; (3) communicating that the unipartite clause in question is an elaboration of a prior clause, in which the anchor appears.

9.3 Subject expression in other clauses; non-subject expression (Type 4)

In this section, I focus on reduced subject expression in other clauses, and on non-subject expression, examining the alternation between: (1) unbound PNG-marker, and (2) unexpressed reference. The quantitative distribution of that alternation is presented in Table 9.8, extracted from Table 9.2:

Table 9.8 – Subject expression in other clauses, and non-subject expression

	Unbound PNG-markers	**Unexpressed reference**	**Total**
Subject expression in other clauses	66 (86%)	11(14%)	77 (100%)
Non-subject position	317(99%)	3(1%)	320 (100%)
Total	**383 (96%)**	**14 (4%)**	**397 (100%)**

The main finding reflected in Table 9.8 is that unbound PNG-markers are by far the most common reduced referential option in this domain. Yet, even in this domain, a more reduced option – unexpressed reference – is possible. This is discussed in the two following sections: one on the subject expression in other clauses (§9.3.1) and another on non-subject expression (§9.3.2).

9.3.1 Subject expression in other clauses

Other clauses include clauses with nominal predicates and clauses with prepositional/adverbial predicates. As was seen in Table 9.8, reduced subjects with such predicates tend to be realized by unbound PNG-markers. Example 9.48 illustrates this pattern:

(9.48) 1 sp2 ***hu*** *kvar lo ben.a'dam* ||
3SGM.PRD already NEG person ||
'**He** is not a person anymore.'

2 sp3 ***hu*** *bli=haka'ra a'dajn* ||
3SGM.PRD without=consciousness still ||
'**He** is still unconscious.'

(C711_4_sp2_033, sp3_011)

Prior to this exchange, the speakers were discussing an instance where a sports fan had been severely injured. This short exchange is part of their evaluation of his situation, ostensibly very bad, using clauses with (negated) nominal and prepositional predicates (lines 1 and 2, respectively). In each of these clauses, the injured fan is mentioned in the subject position via an unbound 3SGM marker *hu*. In principle, however, it would have been possible for the speakers to use unexpressed reference in such instances, which would result in *kvar lo ben.a'dam* || (line 1*), and in *bli=haka'ra a'dajn* (line 2*).

There are comparable instances where, after a referent is explicitly mentioned by a first speaker, one of the interlocutors relates to that referent without mentioning it. This as illustrated in examples (9.49) and (9.50) below:

(9.49) 1 sp2 *si'parti laχ al=**'baal ʃel=χave'ra ʃe'li me=ha=ki'buts*** /
I.told to.you on=**husband of=friend my from=DEF=Kibbutz** /
'Did I tell you about **the husband of my friend from the kibbutz**?'

(4 PMs omitted)

2 *aχo'ti raa'ta o't=**o** mea'χora* | ***hu*** *ho'leχ-**Ø** no'ra* ||
my.sister saw.3SGF ACC=**3SGM.NPRD** from.behind | **3SGM.PRD** walking-**SGM** awful ||
'My sister saw **him** from behind, **he** walks awfully.'

3 (1.1) *ba'χur tsa'ir-**Ø*** ||
(1.1) guy(SGM) young-**SGM** ||
'(1.1) A young guy.'

4 [*od lo* ***ben**.arba'im* ||
[still NEG forty.years.old.**SGM** ||
['Still not forty years old.'

5 sp1 [*si'man.ʃee'la* ||
[question.mark ||
['A question mark.'

(Y33_sp2_240-244, sp1_187-192)

Sp2 introduces a new referent "the husband of my friend from the kibbutz" via a lexical NP (line 1), and mentions him again through non-predicational and predicational 3SGM markers in line 2. The speakers then add information about that referent using unipartite clauses without any representation of that referent – *ba'χur ʦa'ir-Ø* || 'A young guy.' (line 3), *od lo ben.arba'im* || 'Still not forty years old.' (line 4), and *si'man.ʃee'la* || 'A question mark.' (line 5). Although the intended referent is not mentioned in these clauses, the predicates in lines 4 and 5 include an SGM element conducive to the identification of the referent. Note that both speakers could have mentioned the referent in each of these clauses using *hu* 'he', in what could have been a grammatical clause – *hu ba'χur ʦa'ir-Ø* || 'He is a young guy.' (line 3*), *hu od lo ben.arba'im* || 'He is still not forty years old.' (line 4*), and *hu si'man.ʃee'la* || 'He is a question mark.' (line 5*). Apparently, conveying this information using unipartite clauses is related to the speakers' emotive stance in relation to the referent in question.

A unipartite clause may also consist of a question related to a previously mentioned referent, in which case an unexpressed reference is also observed:

(9.50) 1 sp1 *aχ'ʃav jeʃ* ***baχu'r-a a'χer-et*** | ***'miri*** | (1.3) ***hi*** *bu'χari-**t*** ||
now EXT **girl-F** **other-SGF** | **Miri** | (1.3) **3SGF.PRD** Bukharian-**SGF** ||
'Now there is **another girl**, **Miri**, (1.3) **she** is of Bukharian origin.'

2 sp2 (1.5) *me='efo* /
(1.5) from=where /
'(1.5) From where?'

3 sp1 ***hi*** *'gar-**a*** *be=<place name>* ||
3SGF.PRD living-**SGF** in=*<place name>* ||
'**She** lives in *<place name>*.'

(P423_2_sp1_ 086-090, sp2_061)

Here, sp1 introduces a new referent – a girl he had met recently – via two lexical NPs, and mentions her ethnic origins through a 3SGF.PRD marker (line 1). In response, sp2 enquires about the girl's place of residence, using the clause *me='efo* / 'From where?', a unipartite clause with no subject representation (line 2). Note that sp1 could have mentioned Miri using *hi* 'she' in what could have been a grammatical sentence: *me='efo hi* / 'Where is she from?' (line 2*).

9.3.2 Non-subject expression

Data presented in Table 9.8 suggests that non-subject reference is usually achieved via unbound (non-predicational) person markers. Occasionally, however, unexpressed reference may be also used. This opposition is illustrated below in (9.51), in which the speakers are talking about a woman one of the speakers once dated.

(9.51) 1 sp2 *pa'ʃut lo ra'ʦiti lehaχ'nis et=ha=bala'gan ʃel=ha=ho'rim ʃe'li* |
just NEG I.wanted to.put.in ACC=DEF=mess of=DEF=parents my |
'I just didn't want to involve the mess with my parents'

2 *b=a=tku'fa ʃe* ***hi*** *lam'd-**a*** ||
in=DEF=period that **3SGF.PRD** studied-**3SGF.PRD** ||
'during the period when **she** was studying.'

3 *ki a'marti ze jaf'ria l=**a*** ||
because I.said DEM it.will.bother to=**3SGF.NPRD** ||
'Because I said it will bother **her**.'

4 sp1 (0.4) *ve b=a=ʦa'va ze jaf'ria l=**a*** ||
(0.4) and in=DEF=army DEM it.will.bother to=**3SGF.NPRD** ||
'(0.4) And in the army it will bother **her**.'

5 *az aχ'ʃav b=a=avo'da ze lo jaf'ria* /
so now in=DEF=workplace DEM NEG it.will.bother /
'So now at work it won't bother (**her**)?

(P423_2_sp2_043-045, sp1_055-056)

In lines 1–3, sp2 mentions her twice – initially in a subject position of a verbal clause with the combination of unbound 3SGF marker *hi* and a bound 3SGF marker *-a* (line 2), and once again in an attributive position following the preposition *l* 'to', using the unbound (non-predicational)

3SGF marker =*a* (line 3). In response, sp1 highlights the inconsistency of sp2's argument by partially recycling the clause in line 3 twice – mentioning the woman through the unbound (non-predicational) 3SGF marker =*a* in the first clause (line 4), and implying to her in the second clause (line 5). Unexpressed reference in this case appears to be possible due to the repetition of the verbal predicate that governs the preposition *l* 'to'. Instances of unexpressed reference in the non-subject domain typically appear after the same referent has been overtly realized following a preposition. The ensuing unexpressed reference in these instances also includes the non-realization of the preposition.

9.3.3 Interim summary

To conclude §9.3, then, we may say that reduced subject expression in other clauses and reduced non-subject expression is highly uniform – unbound person markers are by far the most preferred reduced referential option in this domain. Yet even here a more reduced option – unexpressed reference – is possible.

9.4 Lexical NP

In §§9.1–9.3, I discussed three types of alternation in the domain of reduced reference. In this section, we will see that reference in CSIH can also be maintained by lexical NPs, accounting for 232 mentions out of 1194 reference-maintaining mentions. In these cases, a lexical NP was used for a referent whose identity had already been established at some point in prior discourse. I will discuss various motivations for employing reference-maintaining lexical NPs.

9.4.1 Reactivation and Identification

An obvious motivation for employing a reference-maintaining lexical NP is to reactivate a referent after it has been deactivated and to secure a referent's recognition, which might become problematic if a reduced expression would be used instead. One such context involves a side sequence suspending the main sequence where a lexical mention of a referent was made, and shifting the focus of attention to other issues, and thus presumably deactivating the referent. This is illustrated in example 9.52, in which the speaker tells about an experience he and his friend had during their trip to Mongolia:

(9.52) 1 sp1 *az* ***el'dad*** | *b='zojge* | (0.7) *o be=ir a'χeret* | *lo zo'χer kvar* |
so **Eldad** | in=Zoige | (0.7) or in=city other | NEG remembering.SGM already |
'So **Eldad** is in Zoige, or in another city, don't remember already'

2 '(0.7) How much (recording) time do we already have?'

3 sp2 'Continue.'

4 sp1 'We have already done half an hour.'

5 'Easily.'

6 sp2 'Yes, but you haven't been talking all that time.'

7 sp1 'I've been talking all that time.'

8 *ve em* | (1.0) ***el'dad*** *heχ'lit-**Ø*** *ʃe* ***hu*** | *lo meva'ter-**Ø*** ||
and uhm | (1.0) **Eldad** decided-**3SGM.PRD** that **3SGM.PRD** | NEG giving.up-**SGM** ||
'And uhm, (1.0) **Eldad** decided that **he** wasn't giving up.'

(OCh_sp1_803-816, sp2_244-245)

In line 1, sp1 initiates storytelling by introducing the referent Eldad via a lexical NP, and by providing a tentative location for the story. However, the progression of the story is suspended when sp1 addresses a discourse-external issue – the process of the recording of the conversation – and breaks off the syntactic unit in the middle (line 2). This leads to a side sequence that addresses whether the speakers have recorded sufficient material (lines 2–7). In line 8, sp1 resumes telling the story by starting his turn with the conjunction *ve* 'and', and mentions Eldad again using a lexical NP, only this time in a subject position in a completed sentence. Intuitively, it appears that the suspension of the story about Eldad, in favor of an off-topic side sequence, effectively deactivated Eldad, which, in turn, motivated the choice of a lexical NP. However, I do not wish to claim that a second mention of a referent after a side sequence necessarily results in the use of a lexical NP. Note that, in principle, sp1 could have used a person marker instead of a lexical NP without compromising the recognition of the intended referent because the side sequence did not include any competing referents to Eldad; thus, a person marker would not have been semantically ambiguous.

Another possible context in which the reference-maintaining lexical NP would be useful is a sentence where there are several potentially competing referents, in which case the lexical NP

secures the recognition of the referent. This is illustrated in example (9.53), taken from a conversation about a man and a woman the interlocutors are acquainted with who left their respective spouses to be together:

(9.53) 1 *ha=si'ba ʃe im=**ja'riv** ze nim'ʃaχ kol'kaχ har'be zman* |
DEF=reason that with=**Yariv** DEM it.continued so many time |
'The reason that with **Yariv** it has continued for so long'

2 *ve a'ni ba'sof niʃ'barti* |
and I in.the.end I.was.broken |
'And in the end I had enough'

3 *ze big'lal ʃe **hu** pa'χad-**Ø** lehaf'sid* ||
dem because that **3SGM.PRD** was.afraid-**3SGM.PRD** to.lose ||
'It is because **he** was afraid to lose.'

4 (0.4) *aχ'ʃav* ||
(0.4) now ||
'(0.4) Now.'

5 *ba'rur ʃe ze mik're a'χer* | *ve **ja'riv** b=gil e* | *a'χer* |
clear that DEM case other | and **Yariv** in=age uh | other |
'Obviously this is a different situation, and **Yariv** is older (lit. in a different age)'

6 *ve **hu** a'mar-**Ø***
and **3SGM.PRD** said-**3SGM.PRD**
'And **he** said'

7 *b=gil χami'ʃim a'ni lo mu'χan lehat'χil kmo b=gil es'rim* ||
in=age fifty I NEG ready to.start like in=age twenty ||
'At the age of fifty I am not ready to start over as if I was twenty years old.'

(Y311_sp1_114-122)

Prior to this exchange, the speaker claimed that, from a financial perspective, it was risky for a person to have an affair before starting divorce proceedings because, if the affair were to be discovered by the cheated-on spouse, the person having the affair might end up with a smaller share of the jointly held assets when divorce is finalized. Here, she tries to substantiate her claim by sharing her personal experience related to this point, namely an affair that she once had with a married man, Yariv, who was not prepared for the possibility that his financial situation would be affected negatively by the divorce. In line 1, she introduces the referent Yariv using a lexical NP, and mentions him again with a 3SGM.PRD marker in line 3. She then

restricts the validity of the comparison of the two affairs due to the age differences between the respective men, and proceeds to mention Yariv via a lexical NP once again (line 5). The choice of a lexical NP appears to be motivated by the need to disambiguate between the two men in this case. Note that, although the first man is not mentioned explicitly in line 5, he is implied by the phrase *be=gil a'χer* 'older (lit. in a different age)'.

It is interesting to note that occasionally, the current speaker may still use a reduced person marker, even when there are competing referents, resulting in a potentially ambiguous reference. This in turn may lead to a misunderstanding. This is demonstrated in example 9.54:

(9.54) 1 sp1 *a'val ze 'keta mad'him* ||
but DEM segment amazing ||
'But this is an amazing thing.'

2 (0.8) *ʃe* ***hem*** *'arba ʃa'nim ov'd-**im*** *al=**ti'nok*** |
(0.8) that **3PL.PRD** four years working-**PLM** on=**baby** |
'(0.8) That **they** have been working on [having] **a baby** for four years'

3 (0.5) *ve kʃe* ***hu*** *ma'gia-**Ø***
(0.5) and when **3SGM.PRD** arriving-**SGM**
'(0.5) And when **he** arrives'

4 ***hu*** *ho'leχ-**Ø*** *le='miʃehi a'χeret* ||
3SGM.PRD going-**SGM** to=someone.SGF other.SGF ||
'**he** is going to another woman.'

(10 PMs omitted; 8 sec)

5 sp2 *lo le='miʃehi a'χeret* ||
NEG to=someone.SGF other.SGF ||
'Not to another woman.'

6 *le='miʃehu a'χer* ***hu*** ***j**-e'leχ* ||
to=someone other.SGM **3SGM.PRD** **3SGM.PRD-**will.go ||
'**He** will go to another man '

7 sp1 ***hu*** *ho'leχ-**Ø*** *le='miʃehi a'χeret* |
3SGM.PRD going-**SGM** to=someone.SGF other.SGF |
'**He** is going to another woman'

8 sp2 *'lama* | ***ha=ben*** *lo* ***j**-e'leχ e* |
why | **DEF=son** NEG **3SGM.PRD-**will.go uh |
'Why, **the son** will not go uh'

9 ***ha=ben ʃe'lo*** *lo* ***j****-e'leχ* *i't=**o*** ||
DEF=son his NEG **3SGM.PRD**-will.go with=**3SGM.NPRD** ||
'**His son** will not go with **him**.'

10 sp1 *lo* ***ha=ben*** ||
NEG **DEF=son** ||
'Not **the son**.'

11 (0.6) ***ha='gever*** | *ho'leχ-**Ø*** *ba'sof* *le='miʃehi* *a'χeret* ||
(0.6) **DEF=man** | going-**SGM** in.the.end to=someone.SGF other.SGF ||
'(0.6) **The man** is going to another woman.'

12 sp2 *ah* || *χa'ʃavti* *ʃe* *at* *meda'beret* *al=**ha=ti'nok*** ||
oh || I.thought that you.SGF talking.SGF on=**DEF=baby** ||
'Oh. I thought you were talking about **the baby**.'

(Y311_sp1_174-186, sp2_065-077)

At the beginning of the exchange, sp1 expresses her amazement at the situation in which a man commits infidelity shortly after his wife has had a baby after a long period of trying to become pregnant (lines 1–4). The sentences in lines 3–4 contain two pronominal mentions using *hu* '3SGM.PRD' – the first marker referring to the "baby", and the second one referring to the "man". The second *hu* is potentially ambiguous in this context, since it could also be interpreted as referring to the 'baby', and sp2's ensuing correction makes it clear that this indeed seems to be case for her (lines 5–6). This correction reveals that sp2 interpreted the second *hu* as referring to the baby and, based on the assumption that newborn babies stay with their mothers in cases of separation, she concluded that the baby would not go to another woman, but to another man: presumably, the mother's new partner. After sp1 insists that the man (referred to with *hu*) is going to another woman, sp2 makes her assumption explicit, referring to the baby via the lexical NPs *ha=ben* 'the son' and *ha=ben ʃe'lo* 'his son' (lines 8–9). Only then does sp1 realize the misunderstanding, and corrects the mistaken assumption accordingly, followed by sp2's explicit formulation of her mistaken assumption (lines 10–12).

9.4.2 Stance-taking

Reference-maintaining lexical NPs were also found in contexts of stance-taking, particularly when the current speaker's stance diverged from the prior speaker's stance. In fact, work on person reference within Conversation Analysis has established that, in contexts of

disagreement, recipients do not necessarily follow the principle of efficient recognition in reference formulation, but tend to refer to a referent subsequently by repeating a locally initial reference form used by the previous speaker instead (Fox 1987: 62–63; Schegloff 1996: 455–456; Blythe 2009: 184–186). In such cases, the referent of the repeated referential form, or the event in which the referent is involved, typically constitutes the ‘stance object’ (Du Bois 2007), in relation to which the speaker and the addressee direct divergent stances.

The next example was taken from a conversation between a commander (sp2) and a soldier (sp1) who had been experiencing personal problems that made him want to leave the military. Here, the speakers are talking about an incident in which the soldier was involved:

(9.55) 1 sp2 ***ha=ho'rim ʃel'χa*** *jo'd-**im*** *me=ha=* | *ma ha'ja be=jom.χami'ʃi* /
DEF=parents your.SGM knowing-**PLM** from=DEF= | what it.was in=Thursday /
‘Do **your parents** know about what happened on Thursday?’

2 sp1 (1.2) *a'zov* | *lo ro'ʦe leda'ber al=**ha=ho'rim ʃe'li*** ||
(1.2) leave | NEG wanting.SGM to.talk on=**DEF=parents my** ||
‘(1.2) Just leave it, I don’t want to talk about **my parents**.’

3 *be'seder* /
ok /
‘Ok?’

4 sp2 *tov* ||
fine ||
‘Fine.’

5 (0.7) *naa'vor no'se* ||
(0.7) we.will.change topic ||
‘(0.7)We will change the topic.’

(P931_3_sp2_093-096, sp1_058-060)

In line 1, sp2 poses a question regarding sp1’s parents, referring to them via a lexical NP. Sp1 projects his disaligning stance using the discourse marker *azov* ‘just leave it’, and expresses his desire not to talk about this topic, referring to his parents via the same (deictically adjusted) lexical NP used previously by sp1, despite the possibility of achieving the same reference via a reduced referential device, namely a 3PL.NPRD marker *=ehem* (*lo ro'ʦe leda'ber al=e'hem*). It appears that reusing the prior speaker’s referential expression while disagreeing with him

increases the degree of agency assumed by sp1 in conveying his disagreement, and consequently increases the confidence in his assertion.

The previous example showed that the current speaker's stance-disaligning utterance may reuse a referential form that was used by the prior speaker. The next examples will demonstrate how the reuse of referential forms in the context of divergent stances is in fact part of a broader discourse strategy that involves the recycling of segments that go beyond a single referential expression.

Example 9.56 is taken from a segment in which sp2 complains about a conflict with a co-worker which, according to sp2, began after she had reached that co-worker's level at work, resulting in a disrespectful attitude toward sp2:

(9.56) 1 sp2 *ha'rej 'lama hit'χil kol ha=χi'kuχ ʃe'li ve ʃel='**gili*** /
after.all why it.started all DEF=friction my and of=**Gili** /
'Why did all the friction between me and **Gili** start?'

2 *kʃe **hi** raa't-**a** ʃe a'ni matχi'la lehats'liaχ*
when **3SGF.PRD** saw-**3SGF.PRD** that I starting.SGF to.suceed
'When **she** saw that I was starting to succeed'

3 *ve a'ni kvar matχi'la leha'gia l=a=ra'ma ʃe'l=**a*** |
and I already starting.SGF to.reach to=DEF=level of=**3SGF.NPRD** |
'And already starting to reach **her** level'

4 (0.6) *pa'ʃut heχ'lit-**a*** [*lid'roχ* @--
(0.6) simple decided-**3SGF.PRD** [to.step @--
'(0.6) **She** simply decided [to step---'

5 sp3 [*si'gali* |
[Sigali |
['Sigali,'

6 *boj a'ni a'gid laχ et=ha=e'met im.kol.ha.ka'vod ʃe a'ni ohev'et o'taχ* |
let's I I.wil.tell to.you ACC=DEF=truth with.all.due.respect that I loving you |
'Let me tell you the truth, with all due respect, and I love you'

7 *ha=siχ'suχ be'neχ le'ben '**gili** hit'χil mi=ze* |
DEF=dispute between.you to.between **Gili** it.started from=DEM |
'The dispute between you and **Gili** started from the fact'

8 *ʃe ʃtej'χen jeʃ la'χem pe ga'dol | to'da | [baruχ.ha'ʃem ||*
that both.of.you EXT to.you.PL mouth big | thank.you | [thank.God ||
'That both of you have a big mouth, thank you, [thank God.'

9 sp2 [*lo na'χon ||*
[NEG right ||
['That is not true.'

(OCD_3_sp2_001-004, sp3_001-006)

In line 1, sp2 produces a question that functions as a pre-announcement of her main claim, which includes an introductory mention of Gili via a proper name. She then expresses her claim, and refers to Gili with reduced referential devices – a 3SGF.PRD unbound marker *hi*, a 3SGF.PRD bound marker *-a*, and a 3SGF.NPRD unbound marker *=a* (lines 2–4). In lines 5–6, sp3 appears to hedge her upcoming dispreferred response, and in lines 7–8, sp3 does not in fact endorse sp2's position, but argues that sp2's dispute with Gili was caused by both of them having a "big mouth". Sp3's opposing claim contains a reference to Gili using the same referential expression used by the previous speaker, although efficient recognition could plausibly be achieved via a reduced referential device, namely a 3SGF.NPRD marker *=a* (*be'neχ lebe'n=a* 'between you and her'). Here, too, the use of a proper name seems to be contributing to the overall critical stance conveyed by sp3. It appears that sp3's utterance is designed as a response to sp2's question in line 1.[79] This response is structured by repeating some elements from that question – the NP *ha=siχ'suχ be'neχ le'ben 'gili* 'the dispute between you and Gili' reuses and modifies the NP *kol ha=χi'kuχ ʃe'li ve ʃel='gili* 'all the friction between me and Gili', and the SC-verb *hit'χil* 'it started' in line 7 repeats the same verb in line 1. Such a formulation may indicate an increased degree of agency with regard to sp3's opposing claim, implying that sp3 is confident about her claim. It could also be argued that, although sp3 mentions Gili, she does not wish to talk about Gili per se, but rather about the situation in which Gili is part as a whole, namely *ha=siχ'suχ be'neχ le'ben 'gili* 'the dispute between you and Gili' (line 7).

The next example was taken from a segment in which the speakers are talking about an apartment they have seen recently, occupied by three tenants at the time – Beygel, Avi, and Gadi. Here, sp1 and sp2 are talking about one specific room, and are trying to recall whose room it was:

[79] However, this interrogative was presumably not intended to elicit any response.

(9.57) 1 sp1 *ze ha='χeder ʃel 'miʃehu ʃam* ||
DEM DEF=room of someone there ||
'This is someone's room over there'.

2 sp2 (0.5) *lo* ||
(0.5) NEG ||
(0.5) 'No.'

3 sp1 (0.7) *ken* ||
(0.7) yes ||
(0.7) 'Yes.'

4 *ʃel e* | ***'gadi*** ||
of uh | **Gadi** ||
'**Gadi**'s, uh (room)'

5 sp2 (0.7) *lo* | *a'ni ra'iti et=ha='χeder ʃel* ***'gadi*** ||
(0.7) NEG | I I.saw ACC=DEF=room of **Gadi** ||
(0.7) 'No, I saw **Gadi**'s room.'

6 sp1 (0.5) *ze ha='χeder ʃel* ***'gadi*** ||
(0.5) DEM DEF=room of **Gadi** ||
(0.5) 'This is **Gadi**'s room.'

7 *'efo ʃe ra'inu tele'vizja* ||
where that we.saw television ||
'Where we watched TV.'

(C842_sp1_080-085, C842_sp2_101-103)

In lines 1–4, sp1 claims that the room they are talking about belongs to Gadi. Sp2 explicitly disagrees with this claim, and provides visual evidence in support of her statement (line 5). The reference to Gadi in line 5 is achieved by employing his proper name, despite the fact that he had just been mentioned, and that efficient recognition could plausibly be achieved via a reduced referential device, namely a 3SGM.NPRD marker *=o* (*ha='χeder ʃe'l=o* 'his room'). In response, sp1 insists that the room belongs to Gadi, providing circumstantial information to support his claim (lines 6–7). Similarly to sp1, sp2 refers to Gadi through his proper name, even though a person marker would have sufficed. As in previous examples, reusing the prior speaker's words – in this case the phrase *ha='χeder ʃel 'gadi* 'Gadi's room' – contributes to the construction of a disaligning stance in sp1's and sp2's respective utterances by signaling an increased degree of agency with regard to their respective claims. The recurring mentions using

a proper name may also be warranted by the fact that the overall topical segment from which the example was taken revolves around three male tenants, of whom Gadi is one. Although there did not seem to be any potential referential conflict at this particular point, it seems plausible that such an environment would motivate the choice of a proper name in order to contrast it with the other referents. In this case, the recurring mention of Gadi's name seems to emphasize that the room belongs to him, and not to the other tenants. Another possible motivation could be the fact that, although the speakers mention Gadi, they do not talk about him, but rather about his room.

Another pattern of recycling a prior speaker's words in the context of divergent alignment involves embedding a prior speaker's words as a clausal complement in a complement-taking predicate (Thompson 2002: 152; Maschler & Nir 2014: 529–531). This use is illustrated in example 9.58. The speakers in this example are two soldiers, and prior to the exchange brought here, sp1 expressed his puzzlement at the fact that sp2's commander only participates in briefings with high ranking officers, but does not run the briefings to his soldiers himself.

(9.58) 1 sp1 *mi o'se diju'nim* /
who doing.SGM briefings /
'Who does briefings?'

2 *mefak'dim tsei'rim* ||
commanders young ||
'Young commanders.'

3 *ʃe lo meki'rim et=ha=avo'da* ||
that NEG knowing.PLM ACC=DEF=work ||
'Who are not familiar with the work.'

4 *kmo* ***ha=mefa'ked ʃel'χa*** @@ ||
like **DEF=commander your.SGM** @@ ||
'Like **your commander**.'

(2 PMs omitted)

5 sp2 *lo al ta'gid ʃe* ***ha=mefa'ked ʃe'li*** *lo mekir et=ha=avoda* |
NEG NEG you.will.say that **DEF=commander my** NEG knowing ACC=DEF=work |
'No don't say that **my commander** is not familiar with the work'

6 *o ʃe a'ni e'ten le'χa et=ha=kat* @..@ ||
or that I I.will.give to.you.SGM ACC=DEF=gun.stock @..@ ||
'Or I will smash your @@ with a gunstock. '

(P423_1_sp1_078-083, sp2_067-068)

In lines 1–4, sp1 appears to be teasing sp2 by claiming that only inexperienced commanders – such as sp2's commander – participate in briefings, referring to sp2's commander via the lexical NP *ha=mefa'ked ʃel'χa* 'your commander'. Sp2 objects to the characterization of his commander as inexperienced by producing an utterance with three components – a general objection (*lo* 'no' in line 5), a negative imperative that treats sp1's act of speech as problematic or inappropriate with the intention of halting it (rest of line 5), and an apparent threat (line 6). The negative imperative is structured around a complement-taking predicate *ta'gid* 'say', and what is traditionally analyzed as a complement object clause. The complement clause appears to be a recycled combination of sp1's words from lines 3–4 with minor modifications – the deictic adjustment of *ʃel'χa* 'your.SGM' to *ʃe'li* 'my', and the morphosyntactic adjustment of *meki'rim* 'knowing.PLM' to *me'kir* 'knowing.SGM'. The same utterance could have been formulated much more efficiently as *al ta'gid ʃe hu lo me'kir et=ha=avo'da* 'Don't say that he is not familiar with the work' or even *al tagid et ze* 'Don't say that'. Exploiting sp1's own words – including the reuse of the referential expression – gives the impression that sp2's overall disaligning stance in lines 5–6 is expressed more effectively.

Example 9.59 – taken from a conversation in a car among three friends – illustrates the same strategy used in the "conceding move" (Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson 2000: 385) of a concessive structure:

(9.59) 1 sp2 *a'marti le=mu'ki* ||
I.told to=Muki ||
'I told Muki.'

(omitted: 6 PMs)

2 ***'gili*** *aʃe'm-**a*** ||
Gili guilty-**SGF** ||
'**Gili** is guilty.'

3 (0.4) *ve hu lo di'ber* ||
(0.4) and 3SGM.PRD NEG spoke.3SGM.PRD ||
'and he did not speak.'

4 *hu lo ʦi'jeʦ* ||
3SGM.PRD NEG chirped.3SGM.PRD ||
'He did not chirp.'

5 sp1 *na'χon* ||
right ||
'Right.'

6 *hu jo'dea ʃe* ***'gili*** *aʃe'm-**a*** ||
3SGM.PRD knowing.SGM that **Gili** guilty-**SGF** ||
'He knows that **Gili** is guilty.'

7 *hu lo je'χol leha'giv laχ hu gam be'tor mena'hel* ||
3SGM.PRD NEG can to.react to.you.SGF 3SGM.PRD also as director ||
'He cannot react (to what you say), also as a director.'

8 *hu lo ja'χol laa'not al=ze* ||
3SGM.PRD NEG can to.answer on=DEM ||
'He cannot answer (=react) this.'

(OCD_3_sp2_033-042, sp1_019-023)

In (9.59), sp2 complains about her director not supporting her regarding a dispute with a co-worker, Gili, by reenacting the conversation she had with her director. In line 2, sp2 produces her claim as a direct quote, mentioning Gili through a proper name and, in lines 3–4, she describes her director's lack of reaction. Sp1 does not endorse her position, and hedges his disalignment by using a concessive "yes, but" structure, initiated by the agreement marker *naχon* 'right' (Maschler & Miller Shapiro 2016: 51). Sp1 first concedes sp2's claim *'gili aʃe'ma* 'Gili is guilty' using a sentence that is structured as a complement-taking predicate *jo'dea* 'know', followed by a *ʃe* 'that'-prefaced clause that appears to be a verbatim repetition of sp2's words from line 2.[80] Note that the same sentence could have been formulated as *hu jo'dea ʃe hi aʃe'ma* 'He knows that she is guilty', or even *hu jo'dea et=ze* 'He knows that'. Subsequently, in lines 7–8, sp1 provides an alternative explanation for the director's behavior, implying that sp2's complaint is not justified. Thus, in this example, it appears that reusing the exact

[80] Traditionally, this *ʃe* 'that'-prefaced clause is analyzed as a subordinate clause functioning as the complement of the main clause *hu jo'dea* 'He knows'. By contrast, I do not consider the entire sentence as involving subordination, but rather as a monoclausal construction that accomplishes the conversational action of (momentarily) accepting the recipient's claim (Thompson 2002; Maschler & Nir 2014).

formulation of a sp1 claim – including the reuse of the referential expression – seems to highlight sp2's overall disaligning stance in lines 5–8.

The examples we have seen thus far demonstrate that speakers may recycle various parts of prior speakers' talk in order to highlight their divergent alignment with the prior speakers' stances. However, the same practice could also be used to highlight convergent alignment (Tannen 1989: 68; Oropeza-Escobar 2011: 215). Example 9.60 is a case in point:

(9.60)	1	sp2	'(0.3) Already on the airplane I will meet someone (new).'
	2		'And especially as a girl she doesn't have a problem meeting someone (new).'
	3		'Especially Israelis.'
	4	sp1	*bimju'χad* ***me'rav*** ‖ especially **Merav** ‖ 'Especially **Merav**.'
	5	sp2	(0.6) *bimju'χad* ***me'rav*** ‖ (0.6) especially **Merav** ‖ '(0.6) Especially **Merav**.'
	6	sp1	*ken* ‖ yes ‖ 'Yes.'
			(Y32_sp2_237-240, sp1_112-113)

In lines 1–3 sp2 explains why, although she is going to fly to Thailand on her own, she will not be alone for long, with one of the arguments being that women can make new acquaintances easily. In response, sp1 mentions Merav – sp2's friend whom she is going to meet in Thailand – as a woman who is particularly good at making new acquaintances (line 4). Sp2 expresses a convergent opinion by reproducing sp1's prior utterance, including the lexical NP *me'rav* 'Merav'. Note that the same convergent opinion could have been formulated as *bimju'χad hi* 'Especially her', or simply by an agreement marker, such as *ken* 'yes' or *na'χon* 'right'. The convergence of sp2's stance is highlighted by the fact that sp2 not only agrees with sp1, but also expresses her agreement by repeating the very same words that sp1 used.

9.4.3 Discourse structuring

Past research has demonstrated that, in both written and spoken language, lexical NPs not only perform referent tracking, but also have a discourse structuring function of signaling the beginning of a new discourse unit/conversational sequence (Fox 1987: 69–72, 111–118, 143–144; Pekarek Doehler 1999: §3.3.2; Blythe 2009: 182; Cornish 2011: 761–765). Such lexical NPs are employed despite the fact that, in principle, a reduced referential device would suffice for guaranteeing an efficient recognition of the referent, marking a transition between different units; for example, from a statement about a referent to an evaluation of that referent, or from a main sequence revolving around a referent to an explanatory parenthesis that mentions the same referent.

Consider the following example, taken from a family conversation recorded a few days after the 9/11 attacks:

(9.61) 1 ***ʃa'ron*** *ha'ja-**Ø*** *'gever po* ||
Sharon was-**3SGM.PRD** man here ||
'**Sharon** was the man here.'

2 ***ʃa'ron*** *a'mar-**Ø*** | *ʃe ara'fat hu* | *ha'ja ben ha=riʃo'nim ʃel=ha=te'ror* |
Sharon said-**3SGM.PRD** | that Arafat he | he.was between DEF=firsts of =DEF=terror |
'**Sharon** said that Arafat was one of the first (people) involved with terror'

3 *ʃe χa'taf meto'sim ve ha'rag e* | (0.6) *sporta'im israe'lim* ||
that he.hijacked airplanes and he.killed uh | (0.6) sportsmen Israelis ||
'who hijacked airplanes and killed, uh (0.6) Israeli athletes.'

(C714_sp3_087-092)

Prior to this exchange the speakers were discussing the absurdity of USA's decision to invite Yasser Arafat to join the international coalition drawn up to overthrow the Taliban regime in Afghanistan. Following her previously expressed discontent with and puzzlement about this inclusion, the speaker in this example mentions the Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon as an example of someone who expressed a decisive stance against Arafat. In line 1, the speaker introduces the referent, Sharon, and evaluates him positively; in lines 2–3, she justifies this evaluation by describing Sharon's explicit words against Arafat. Both mentions of Ariel Sharon use his last name, although the second mention could have been achieved via a reduced

referential device, namely a 3SGM.PRD marker *hu* (as *hu a'mar* 'He said'). It seems that, in this case, the subsequent proper name is motivated by marking the beginning of a new unit that is separate from the previous unit. More specifically, it marks a reorientation in the discourse, shifting from a general evaluation of the referent in line 1 to a specific indirect quote of that referent at lines 2–3 aimed at providing a justification for the evaluation.

The next example illustrates a transition in the opposite direction, namely from a depiction of a specific event in which a person was involved to a general characterization of that person. This example is taken from a segment in which the speakers had been talking about sp2's father hurting his back after he had participated in his brother-in-law's *shi'vah*.[81]

(9.62) 1 sp2 ***hu*** *o'mer-**Ø*** *li* | *ma* *a'ni aa'se* ||
3SGM.PRD saying-**SGM** to.me | what I I.will.do ||
'**He** is telling me what can I do?'

2 *ma* ||
what ||
'What.'

3 *ku'lam* *jaav'du* | *a'ni e'ʃev* /
everyone they.will.work | I I.will.sit /
'Everybody will be working, and I will be sitting?'

4 *a'marti l=**o*** | *az* | *te'leχ* ||
I.told to=**3SGM.NPRD** | so | you.will.go ||
'I told **him**, so go.'

5 (0.7) *te'leχ* ||
(0.7) you.will.go ||
'(0.7) Go.'

6 sp1 (0.9) *tiʃ'mor* *al=atsme'χa* ||
(0.9) you.will.guard on=yourself.SGM ||
'(0.9) Keep yourself safe.'

7 sp2 *bid'juk* ||
exactly ||
'Exactly.'

[81] A seven-day period of mourning after a close relative of a Jewish person has passed away.

8 *lo na'im l=**o*** ||
NEG pleasant to=**3SGM.NPRD** ||
'**He** feels uncomfortable about it.'

9 (0.7) ***'aba ʃe'li*** *gam lo e'χad ka'ze ʃe je'ʃev* ||
(0.7) **dad my** also NEG one like.this that he.will.sit ||
'(0.7) **My dad** is not the type who will be sitting (while other people are working).'

10 sp1 *ta'gidi l=**o*** *ʃe lo na'im met miz'man* ||
say.IMP.SGF to=**3SGM.NPRD** that NEG pleasant died a.long.time.ago ||
'Tell **him** that he should not feel bad about it.'

11 sp2 *lo na'im l=**o*** ||
NEG pleasant to=**3SGM.NPRD** ||
'**He** feels uncomfortable about it.'

12 *ma | a'ni e'ʃev ve dod 'moʃe jaa'vod biʃvi'li* ||
what | I I.will.sit and uncle Moshe he.will.work for.me ||
'What, I will be sitting and uncle Moshe will be working for me?'

(Y33_sp2_184-194, sp1_148-149)

In lines 1–5, sp2 uses constructed dialogue between her father and herself to show that what led to the incident was her father's insistence on performing physical work out of politeness to other family members. In line 8, sp2 characterizes her father's behavior as the result of feeling uncomfortable about doing nothing while other family members work. She then characterizes her father as a person who generally does not like to remain idle while other people work (line 9). In lines 11–12, sp1 supports sp2's argument, responding to the utterance in line 8, whereafter sp2 repeats her utterance from line 8, and provides a different formulation of her father's words from the one in line 3. Note that, although sp2 refers to her father via a 3SGM.NPRD marker *=o* in line 8, she mentions him via a lexical NP in line 9, and not via a 3SGM.PRD marker *hu* (as *hu gam lo e'χad ka'ze ʃe je'ʃev* 'He is not the type who will be sitting'). The use of a lexical NP here appears to mark the transition from a segment in which sp2 describes her father's state of mind during that particular event to an utterance in which she characterizes his personality in general.

9.4.4 Interim summary

In concluding §9.4, we saw through numerous examples that reference-maintaining lexical NPs may reflect the principle of efficiency in recognition and attention management when used to

reactivate a referent after it has been deactivated due to a shift in attention, or to assure a referent's recognition, which might waver were a reduced expression used instead. However, efficiency is not the only principle at play. In instances where reference-maintaining lexical NPs are used, despite the possibility to use a person marker instead, I suggested that the choice to use a lexical NP was done in order to signal layers of meaning in addition to the purely referential one. One such meaning involves conveying a stance usually divergent from the prior speaker's stance – the current speaker's stance-disaligning utterance may reuse a referential form, or a larger segment, from the prior speaker's talk to which the stance-disaligning utterance is responsive. Another meaning concerns a discourse structuring function of signaling the beginning of a new discourse unit/conversational sequence, thus marking a transition between different units that contain mentions of the same referent.

9.5 Summary of Chapter 9

Chapter 9 was concerned with investigating how maintenance reference is maintained in Israeli Hebrew conversation by identifying which referential devices are used for reference maintenance, and by motivating the choice of each type of referential device. The two main findings of this chapter are as follows.

First, reference maintenance may be achieved not only by reduced referential devices, as has been amply established in past research, but also by full referential devices, such as lexical NPs. In addition to their expected function of reactivating a referent, or securing a referent's recognition – in which cases a more attenuated form would not in principle be acceptable – reference-maintaining lexical NPs were also used to signal layers of meaning in addition to the purely referential one, especially when a more attenuated form would suffice. One such meaning involves conveying a divergent stance in relation to the prior speaker's stance – the current speaker's disaligning utterance may reuse a referential form, or a larger segment, from the prior speaker's talk to which the disaligning utterance is responsive. Another type of meaning involves a discourse structuring one – by repeating a lexical NP used in the prior utterance, the speaker signals the beginning of a new discourse unit involving the same referent.

Second, even when reference-maintenance is reduced, it is not uniform across the board, since there are four types of reduced referential devices – unexpressed reference, bound PNG-marker, unbound PNG-marker, the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-

marker". These devices represent three types of mutually-exclusive alternations according to three domains: (1) non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause – alternation between the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker" and bound PNG-marker; (2) subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference (both supplemented with NG-markers incorporated in the adjective/participle); and (3) subject expression in other clauses, as well as non-subject expression – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and unexpressed reference.

Starting with non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, it was shown that there is a difference in the behaviour of SC-verbs and PC-verbs. As for SC-verbal clauses, the dominant strategy for reduced subject reference was the combination "bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker". However, that strategy was found more dominant in clauses that begin with a pre-core element than in clauses with no pre-core element. The latter featured bound marker subjects more freely, typically signaling more than purely referential meaning – increasing the vividness of a narrated event, conveying emotive stance in relation to some state or event, or indicating that the clause with a bound marker subject elaborates on a prior clause in which the same referent was represented by a less attenuated form. As for PC-verbal clauses, the dominant strategy for reduced subject reference depended on whether the clause conveyed deontic modality, in which case the subject tended to be coded solely by a bound PNG-marker, or epistemic modality, in which case, the subject tended to be coded by the combination "bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker".

Moving on to the subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause, it was shown that the dominant strategy for reduced reference is the unbound PNG-marker. Not infrequently, however, adjectival/participial clauses were unipartite, without any subject representation. It was suggested that such unipartite clauses signaled more than purely referential meaning – increasing the vividness of a narrated event, conveying emotive stance in relation to some state or event, indicating that the clause with a bound marker subject elaborates on a prior clause in which the same referent was represented by a less attenuated form.

Finally, reduced subjects in other clauses, and reduced non-subjects were shown to be highly uniform – unbound person markers are by far the most preferred reduced referential option in this domain. Yet, even in this domain, a more reduced option – unexpressed reference – is possible.

10 Conclusion

The aim of this final chapter is to provide an outline of the central findings and the contribution of the present work. I will first summarize the main findings and their implications for the study of reference (§10.1). Then, I will outline several possible avenues for future research (§10.2).

10.1 Main findings and implications

10.1.1 Reduced referential system of CSIH

Chapter 5 addressed the first aim of this dissertation – characterizing the reduced referential system of IH from a typological perspective. In it, I provided an overview and a critical discussion of the main referential devices used in IH, focusing on their respective morphosyntax and expounded upon related phenomena in §5.1. This discussion furnished a characterization of the reduced referential system of IH from a typological perspective in §5.2, based on the framework proposed by Kibrik (2011: 160–161, 2013: 228–230). The main finding of this empirical demonstration was that the reduced referential system of IH is inconsistent, or sensitive, with respect to three main categories – syntactic position (subject vs. non-subject), person (locutors vs. non locutors), and predicate type (verbal vs. adjectival/participial vs. other). The reduced referential system of IH is therefore typologically comparable to several types of languages. Locutor subject expression in the verbal clause resembles the present verbal inflection in Latin, Italian, and Spanish, because the primary reduced referential device in IH is a bound person marker. The non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, by contrast, could arguably be comparable to the non-past verbal inflection in Russian, since in both languages the primary reduced referential device is a combination of an unbound and a bound person marker. Subject expression in adjectival/participial clauses is reminiscent of the past verbal inflection in Russian, since the primary device in this domain is an unbound person marker together with the NG-marker incorporated in the adjective/participle. Finally, subject expression in non-verbal and non-adjectival/participial clauses, as well as non-subject expression, is similar to that of English, where unbound person markers are the primary reduced devices in these domains.

This finding has several implications on the study of the referential system of IH. One primary implication relates to the need for more fine-grained analyses of referential phenomena in IH than any advanced to date. More specifically, any study investigating the choice between one

referential device and another must limit itself to one a particular domain characterizable by a particular alternation between a primary and a secondary reduced referential device. Thus, for example, studies interested in the variation in pronominal subject expression in the verbal clause should not simply assume that unbound person markers have one role and bound person markers have another (pace Polak-Yitzhaki 2007) but rather grapple with findings that suggest that each of these types of markers has a different status with respect to the person in the sentence. Unbound person markers are the primary reduced option for non-locutor subject reference (with the exception of 1SG subject reference with PC-verbs, see p. 48), but secondary for locutor subject reference; bound person markers are the primary reduced option for locutor subject reference, but secondary for non-locutor subject reference. Moreover, future reference studies should distinguish between different syntactic positions, mainly between subject and non-subject positions, based on the difference in their referential capacities – subject reference being sensitive with respect to person and predicate type, whereas non-subject reference is uniform (see Table 5.12). Finally, future studies should avoid collapsing verbal clauses with adjectival/participial clauses, due to the difference in their respective morphological makeup, the former containing person-number-gender markers, whereas the latter containing number-gender markers (pace Polak-Yitzhaki 2007).

Another theoretical-terminological implication of this discussion pertains to the terms "zero" and "agreement" and their role in third person referential choice in CSIH. Often the term "zero" is evoked in relation to third person subject reference in the verbal clause. The discussion in Chapter 5 made it clear that viewing third person verbs as "zero marked" is a misconception possibly caused by several factors: (1) a theoretical misinterpretation of verbal bound markers as agreement markers dependent on the external subject, and devoid of referential capacity; (2) an apparent requirement of external subjects with third person verbal forms was erroneously interpreted as evidence for the lack of person marking on the third person verbal forms; and (3) the lack of an overt person marker in the regular citation form of the verb in grammatical and lexicological treatments of Hebrew – the 3SGM SC-verb – might have been erroneously extended to the entire third person category. In §5.1.2.2, I suggested that the "agreement" interpretation of verbal bound markers in IH is unwarranted neither for locutor nor for non-locutor persons, relying on critique of the notion of "agreement" (Barlow 1999; Mithun 2003; Langacker 2008; Haspelmath 2013; Croft 2001, 2013; Kibrik 2019). In §5.1.2.3, I suggested that the apparent requirement of external subjects with third person verbal forms may be

explained by the fact that non-locutor bound person markers are relatively less transparent than their locutor counterparts, and consequently a more clear referential device – an addition of a corresponding unbound person marker – might have been felt needed. Finally, following Kibrik's (2011: 236) convention that we should "not posit zero whenever an overt referential device is present that can possibly carry referential function", the "zero" interpretation of morphologically marked third person markers was rejected, and the absence of an overt person form in 3SGM SC-verbs was interpreted as a morphological zero (Kibrik 2011: 233).

Another contribution this study made has been its discussion of the degree to which PNG-markers are present in a sentence containing a coreferential NP (§5.3) through the prism of "tenacity" (Kibrik 2011: 95–96, 190–204). It has been demonstrated that, in contrast to bound PNG-markers that are clearly tenacious since they are incorporated in the verbal form, the status of unbound PNG-markers is less clear. This is because traditionally, a distinction is made in IH linguistics between verbal and participial clauses together on the one hand, and nominal clauses on the other. In verbal and participial clauses, unbound PNG-markers are commonly assumed to be in complementary distribution with coreferential NPs, whereas in nominal clauses, unbound PNG-markers may be tenacious in that they may coexist with coreferential NPs. In most of existing literature, the syntactic status of tenacious third person markers is said to depend on the (non-) existence of prosodic separation between the lexical NP and the rest of the sentence. If the lexical NP is not separated from the rest of the sentence, the person marker is accorded the status of a copula that, presumably, links the lexical NP subject and the predicate. If, on the other hand, the lexical NP is separated from the rest of the sentence, the entire structure is viewed as an NP+Clause construction (typically called "extraposition" or "left dislocation"), and the medial person marker is viewed as a subject resumptive to the initial lexical NP.

In contrast to this approach, I used several types of evidence to demonstrate that the copular interpretation of tenacious third person markers is flawed. First, tenacious person markers are ill-fitting in any of the commonly accepted definitions of the notion "copula". Second, tenacious person markers may occur alongside with verbal and participial predicates, in contradiction to the traditional association of the copula with non-verbal predication. Third, prosodic phrasing cannot adequately distinguish between copular and referential uses of tenacious person markers. Consequently, I suggested that the copular analysis of tenacious

person markers should be abandoned in favor of the "double marking" analysis, according to which tenacious person markers constitute a second representation of the subject referent within a single sentence. In such sentences, the subject referent is doubly marked, first by means of a lexical NP, and then by means of a co-referential third person marker. Unbound PNG-markers in IH could be regarded from this perspective as tenacious, at least to some extent. Dispensing with an additional grammatical category – the copula, for which there is no evidence in the actual linguistic data of Israeli Hebrew – makes such analyses descriptively economical, as well.

10.1.2 Establishment of reference

Chapters 7–8 proceeded to address the second objective of the dissertation – describing how reference is established, focusing on the introductory mention, i.e. the very first mention of a referent (Chapter 7), and subsequent establishment, i.e. any additional mentions that serve to establish the referent's identity (Chapter 8).

Quantitative data presented in chapter 7 demonstrated that the introductory mention of human referents in CSIH is performed mainly by lexical NPs. This finding is readily explained by the fact that a lexical NP is typically the most attenuated form that allows the recipient to achieve sufficient recognition of a referent mentioned for the first time. The specific form of the lexical NP is typically determined by the degree of assumed familiarity with the referent: proper names generally reflect the speaker's assumption that the recipient is familiar with the person's name, whereas common nouns are used for introducing people whose names the recipient is unaware of. It was also shown that the introductory mention of a person may also be achieved by means of a person marker. This may occur when the referent is already assumed to be part of the personal or communal common ground of the interlocutors, allowing the recipient to identify the referent even without mentioning it using a lexical NP.

Chapter 8 showed, through empirical evidence, that establishment of reference is not necessarily a one-step process, and that it could potentially consist of several contributions made by any of the interlocutors. It proved useful to analyze such instances within the domain of "repair", a domain that includes various practices that interrupt the on-going course of speech production in order to address possible problems in speech production, speech perception, or speech processing. The chapter demonstrated three types of repair: (1)

correction, when the first referential device is judged to be objectively inadequate to perform the actual referential act; (2) calibration, when the first referential device is judged too general, or insufficiently precise, to perform the actual referential act, leading to the second referential device adjusting the precision of the first one; and (3) reinitiation, in which the original utterance containing the referential expression is reformulated in order to address some problems in it.

These findings bear a significant implication to the study of reference. Most theories of referential choice seem to adopt a "literary" model of reference (Clark & Bangerter 2004), whereby the act of referring is a one-step process conducted and controlled by the speaker. Accordingly, the process of referent introduction is viewed as a relatively simple task, consisting of a single contribution (typically a lexical NP) by the speaker, after which the referential chain is maintained via a variety of reduced referential expressions. Considerations of "expanded" establishment of reference—in which the initial establishment of the referent involves several contributions, often collaboratively performed by the interlocutors—are rare in activation-oriented theories of referential choice (e.g., Chafe 1994; Ariel 2001; Kibrik 2011). Notwithstanding such scarcity, studies that focus on referential processes in spoken English have convincingly shown that reference establishment should be viewed as a dynamic and collaborative action on behalf of the discourse participants, often unfolding into a multi-step process aimed at establishing the referent through achieving consensus amongst the interlocutors (Clark & Wilkes-Gibbs 1986; Tao 1992; Svennevig 2010). The methodology employed in Chapter 8 suggests that establishment of reference in CSIH, and potentially in other languages as well, is not necessarily as straightforward as prominent theories of reference seem to suggest. Instead, findings presented in that chapter testify to interlocutors' attunement to possible problems with initial formulations, and to the fact that selecting one referential form over another is often contingent upon the specific action performed by the entire utterance in its situated context. It would have been advantageous were future studies on reference to adopt the "expanded" conceptualization of reference establishment as a primary methodological choice in studying how reference is established.

10.1.3 Maintenance of reference

Chapter 9 addressed the third objective of the dissertation – describing how reference is maintained, focusing on every mention of a referent after its identity has been established. The two main findings of this chapter are as follows.

First, reference may be maintained not only by reduced referential devices, as has been amply established in past research. It may also be maintained by full referential devices, such as lexical NPs. In addition to their straightforward function of reactivating a referent, or securing a referent's recognition, reference-maintaining lexical NPs were found to also signal layers of meaning in addition to the purely referential one, when to all purposes, a more attenuated form would suffice. One such meaning involves conveying a divergent stance in relation to the prior speaker's stance – the current speaker's disaligning utterance may reuse a referential form, or a larger segment, from the prior speaker's talk to which the disaligning utterance is responsive. Another type of meaning involves a discourse structuring one – in repeating a lexical NP used in the prior utterance, the speaker signals the beginning of a new discourse unit involving the same referent.

Second, even when a reference is maintained by reduced referential devices, it is not uniform across the board. There are four types of reduced referential devices – unexpressed reference, bound PNG-marker, unbound PNG-marker, the combination "unbound PNG-marker + bound PNG-marker". These devices represent three types of mutually-exclusive alternations according to three domains: (1) non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause – alternation between the combination "bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker" and bound PNG-marker by itself; (2) subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and non-expression of reference (both supplemented with NG-markers incorporated in the adjective/participle); and (3) subject expression in other clauses, as well as non-subject expression – alternation between unbound PNG-marker and non-expression of reference.

Regarding non-locutor subject expression in the verbal clause, a main finding brought here suggests that there is a difference in the behavior of SC-verbs and PC-verbs. The dominant strategy for reduced subject reference in SC-verbal clauses was the combination "bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker". That strategy, however, is more common in clauses

beginning with a pre-core element than it is in clauses without it. In clauses without pre-core elements bound marker subjects appear more freely, typically signaling more than purely referential meaning – increasing the vividness of a narrated event, enhancing the emotive stance in relation to some state or event under discussion, or indicating that the clause with a bound marker subject is an elaboration on a prior clause in which the same referent was represented by a less attenuated form. In PC-verbal clauses the dominant strategy for reduced subject reference depended on whether the clause conveyed a deontic modality, in which case the subject would likely be coded solely by a bound PNG-marker, or an epistemic modality, where the subject was often coded by the combination "bound PNG-marker + unbound PNG-marker".

Moving on to the subject expression in the adjectival/participial clause, I presented quantitative evidence suggesting that the most commonly used method for reduced reference is the unbound PNG-marker. Not infrequently, however, adjectival/participial clauses are unipartite, meaning they are without any subject representation. Unipartite clauses signal more than purely referential meaning, however. They increase the vividness of a narrated event, convey an emotive stance in relation to some state or event, and indicate that the clause with a bound marker subject elaborates on a prior clause in which the same referent was represented by a less attenuated form. Finally, the high degree of uniformity in reduced subjects in other clauses, and reduced non-subjects was also demonstrated, suggesting that unbound person markers are the preferred reduced referential option in this domain by high margins. Yet even in this domain a more reduced option – the unexpressed reference – is possible.

10.2 Future research

This dissertation set out to investigate the referential system of CSIH, focusing on establishment and maintenance of the third person human reference, and consequently provided new insights into the area of reference in IH. This study is but a first step towards an effort to achieve a more complex understanding of the referential system in IH. Much work awaits. The following areas I sketch out here represent promising directions for future research based on the work carried out in this thesis.

A natural addition to this study would be the investigation of locutor (first and second person) reference in CSIH. Locutor reference is inherently different from non-locutor reference: non-locutors may be referred to by either full referential devices or by reduced referential devices, whereas locutors are regularly referred to only by reduced referential devices, such as various types of person markers and unexpressed reference (e.g., Benveniste 1966a, 1966b; Siewierska 2004: 5–8; Kibrik 2011: 42–43). Since the role of intersubjectivity is arguably larger in locutor reference than in non-locutor reference, it could be expected that intersubjective factors, notably various types of alignment between the interlocutors, would have bear more heavily on locutor referential choice (cf. Hacohen & Schegloff 2006; Cohen 2016: 80–82, 100–103, 110–113). Examining what factors govern the choice between various reduced referential options would therefore be an intriguing and worthwhile future enterprise.

Another requisite task would be to investigate how inanimate reference – reference to objects, events, and discourse segments – is achieved in CSIH. This type of reference, typically associated with demonstrative markers, is a veritable trove through which the functions of demonstrative markers in CSIH can be deciphered and brought to light. Particularly interesting is the demonstrative *ze*, which is the most frequent demonstrative marker in the informal registers of spoken language. Although traditionally defined as a masculine singular form, in its non-attributive uses, *ze* functions as an unmarked form used widely in connection with inanimate referents, regardless of their gender or number (Dekel 2014: 128; Cohen 2016: 179, 184). Moreover, *ze* has gradually assumed non-referential functions in which it does not stand for any particular entity and is not co-referential with an antecedent in the linguistic context, as its official grammatical definition suggests (Halevy 2006, 2013; Borochovsky 2010: 183–207). It would thus be particularly advantageous to our understanding of reference in CSIH were we to throughly examine the functional distribution of the demonstrative *ze*.

Another issue that would shed more light on the referential system of CSIH concerns the diachronic aspects of the split system of reduced subject reference in the verbal clause. This system is characterized by a person split: bound person markers serve as the primary devices for reduced locutor reference, while the combination "bound person marker + unbound person marker" is the primary device for non-locutor references. In other words, locutor subject referents are normally singly marked, whereas non-locutor subject referents are doubly marked. An exception for this tendency is 1SG subject reference with PC-verbs, which behaves similarly to non-locutor reference, in that it is regularly doubly marked by the combination "bound

person marker + unbound person marker". In this thesis, I suggested that this split system cannot be motivated synchronically, especially since referential systems do not have to be stable over time, and a particular language may shift its dominant reduced referential devices over a period of time (Kibrik 2011: Ch. 7; 2013). I proposed here that the person split might have originated in the diachrony of CSIH, as a result of both language-internal and language-external factors. The latter is especially probable in the context of IH, a language that emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century, and whose first speakers were primarily Yiddish and Russian speaking immigrants to whom Hebrew was a second language (Izre'el 2003; Spolski 2014: 255; Doron 2016: 7). A working hypothesis was proposed according to which contact-induced influence of Yiddish and Russian contributed to the expansion of the double marking strategy for reduced subject reference in the verbal clause. The double marking strategy was retained only in the non-locutor domain of the suffix and prefix conjugations, due to the relative opaqueness of non-locutor person markers compared to their locutor counterparts, and consequently a more transparent referential device may have been felt as needed. The corroboration of these hypotheses awaits a future diachronic-oriented research.

The research topics presented above are but a small part of possible future investigations in the domain of reference in CSIH. Realizing these potential lines of research and inquiry will amount to a substantial evolvement in our understanding of referential processes not only in IH, but in other languages as well.

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Hebrew Abstract

המחקר הנוכחי עוסק בתהליך הבחירה הרפרנציאלית בעברית הישראלית המדוברת – תהליך בחירת ביטוי רפרנציאלי הולם לשם ייצוג רפרנט במהלך שיחה. המחקר מתמקד באזכור של רפרנטים אנושיים בגוף שלישי, ולו שלוש מטרות מרכזיות: (א) תיאור מצאי הביטויים הרפרנציאליים המופחתים (reduced) בעברית הישראלית ואפיון היערכותם מבחינה טיפולוגית; (ב) תיאור הדרכים שבהן זהות רפרנציאלית מבוססת בשיח; ו-(ג) תיאור הדרכים שבהן זהות רפרנציאלית נשמרת בשיח.

הבחירה להתמקד בעברית ישראלית – שפה שמית השייכת לפילום האפרו-אסיאתי – מזמנת דיון בסוגיות רפרנציאליות שלא נידונות בדרך כלל במחקרים בנושא זה, המתמקדים לרוב בשפות הודו-אירופיות שונות, ובראשן האנגלית. נוסף על כך, הבחירה לעסוק בשפה מדוברת מאפשרת להתמקד בהשפעתם של גורמים אינטראקטיביים ורגשיים על הבחירה הרפרנציאלית, גורמים שנחקרו פחות ברוב הגישות הקיימות שבהן דרגת הנגישות הקוגניטיבית של הרפרנט נתפשה כגורם העיקרי המשפיע על צורת הביטוי הרפרנציאלי. זאת ועוד, סוגיות הנוגעות לבחירה רפרנציאלית בעברית הישראלית המדוברת טרם נחקרו מספיק – אמנם בשנים אחרונות נכתבו מחקרים שבחנו סוגיות רפרנציאליות מסוימות, אך דומה כי עדיין חסר תיאור מלא ועקבי של המערכת הרפרנציאלית, והמחקר הנוכחי מהווה ניסיון לתת מענה, ולו חלקי, לחוסר זה.

המחקר הנוכחי נכתב מתוך הנחה כי יש לנתח את הלשון המדוברת על פי מאפייניה שלה, תוך התנתקות מכל דעה קדומה הנובעת מניתוח המבנה של הלשון הכתובה על מכלול הופעותיה (Izre'el 2012, 2018a, 2018b). אחד האמצעים לכך הוא הסתמכות על נתונים מתוך מאגרי לשון וניתוחם מתוך נקודת המוצא של השומע, בהיעדר גישה ישירה למערכת הלשונית של הדובר. בהתאם לכך, המחקר מתבסס על ניתוח של כ-5 שעות של הקלטות מתוך 33 שיחות שנבחרו מתוך מעמ"ד, מאגר העברית המדוברת בישראל. הנחה נוספת של המחקר היא כי שפה קשורה קשר הדוק לשיח, ולכן מבטאת רק את הדרוש בהקשר המיידי. רפרנטים, לפי הנחה זו, אינם מהווים חלק אינטגרלי מהמערכת הלשונית – הם עשויים להיות מיוצגים בלשון, אולם אינם חייבים בייצוג לשוני, ודאי לא בכל הקשר.

היעד הראשון של העבודה היה לתאר את מצאי הביטויים הרפרנציאליים המופחתים בעברית הישראלית ולאפיין את היערכותם מבחינה טיפולוגית. בהקשר זה מצאתי כי קיימים ארבעה סוגים של ביטויים רפרנציאליים מופחתים: השתמעות רפרנציאלית, ציין גוף חבור, ציין גוף פרוד וצירוף של ציין גוף חבור ופרוד. ביטויים אלה אינם מהווים קבוצת בחירה חופשית, אלא יוצרים קבוצות בחירה התלויות בעמדה התחבירית של הרפרנט (סובייקט לעומת לא-סובייקט), בגוף (ראשון/שני לעומת שלישי) ובסוג הפרדיקט (פועלי לעומת תוארי/בינוני ולעומת אחר). בהקשר זה דנתי בתקפותם של המושגים "אפס", "התאם" ו"אוגד" בבלשנות הכללית, ובמיוחד בנחיצותם בתחביר העברית הישראלית. הצבעתי על שלוש קדם-הנחות שכיחות בבלשנות העברית המסורתית: (1) הגוף השלישי בנטיית הפועל מיוצג באמצעות "אפס"; (2) צייני הגוף החבורים של פעלים בגוף שלישי אינם יסודות רפרנציאליים אלא יסודות של התאם; ו-(3) ציין גוף שלישי מצעי, המופיע בין סובייקט לקסיקלי לבין פרדיקט, מתפקד בהקשרים מסוימים כאוגד. טענתי כי הנחות אלה אינן סבירות, וביססתי את ההנחות החלופיות הבאות: (1) הגוף השלישי בנטיית הפועל מסומן תמיד באמצעות ציין גוף חבור; (2) צייני הגוף החבורים של פעלים בגוף שלישי הם יסודות רפרנציאליים ולא

יסודות של התאם; ו-(3) ציין גוף שלישי מצעי, המופיע בין סובייקט לקסיקלי לבין פרדיקט, מתפקד ככינוי רפרנציאלי המהווה ייצוג שני של הרפרנט בעמדת הנושא ואין לראותו כאוגד.

היעד השני של העבודה היה לתאר את הדרכים שבהן זהות רפרנציאלית מבוססת בשיח, החל באזכור הראשוני של הרפרנט וכלה באזכורים נוספים – אם קיימים כאלה – המשמשים לביסוס זהותו. מצאתי כי האזכור הראשוני של רפרנטים אנושיים נעשה בעיקר על ידי צירופים שמניים לקסיקליים, אך עשוי גם להיעשות על ידי ציינ גוף, בייחוד כשהדובר מניח שהרפרנט כבר מהווה חלק מן הידע המשותף שלו ושל הנמען, ועל כן אין צורך באזכור באופן לקסיקלי מפורש. עוד הראיתי כי האזכור הראשוני אינו תמיד מספיק לשם ביסוס הזהות הרפרנציאלית: לעיתים נדרשים אזכורים נוספים שתפקידם לתקן או לכוונן את האזכור הראשוני. ממצאים אלה מראים כי ביסוס הזהות הרפרנציאלית בעברית הישראלית, וייתכן שגם בשפות נוספות, איננו בהכרח תהליך חד-שלבי כפי שתיאוריות מובילות בתחום האזכור מניחות, בדרך כלל.

היעד השלישי של העבודה היה לתאר את הדרכים שבהן זהות רפרנציאלית נשמרת בשיח. מצאתי כי הזהות הרפרנציאלית יכולה להישמר לא רק על ידי ביטויים רפרנציאליים מופחתים, אלא גם באמצעות ביטויים רפרנציאליים מלאים כגון צירופים שמניים לקסיקליים. אמנם צירופים שמניים לקסיקליים משמשים לרוב לשם "הפעלה מחדש" של רפרנטים שדרגת נגישותם פחתה או לשם מניעת אי-הבנה בהקשרים של רפרנטים מתחרים, דוברים יכולים לבחור בצירוף שמני לקסיקלי גם כאשר ציין גוף היה מספיק לשם פיענוח הרפרנט. הצעתי כי במקרים כאלה הבחירה בצירוף שמני לקסיקלי מאותתת על שכבות משמעות נוספות לזו הרפרנציאלית: הבעת עמדה מתבדלת ביחס לעמדתו של הדובר הקודם או איתות על תחילתה של יחידת שיח חדשה המתייחסת לאותו רפרנט.

עוד הראיתי כי בתחום האזכור בגוף שלישי, ארבעת סוגי הביטויים הרפרנציאליים המופחתים – השתמעות רפרנציאלית, ציין גוף חבור, ציין גוף פרוד וצירוף של ציין גוף חבור ופרוד – נערכים בשלוש קבוצות בחירה: (א) ייצוג סובייקט במשפט עם פרדיקט פועלי – צירוף של ציין גוף חבור ופרוד לעומת ציין גוף חבור; (ב) ייצוג סובייקט במשפט עם פרדיקט תוארי/בינוני – ציין גוף פרוד (+ציין מין-מספר אצל הפרדיקט) לעומת השתמעות רפרנציאלית (+ציין מין-מספר אצל הפרדיקט); (ג) ייצוג סובייקט במשפט עם פרדיקטים אחרים וייצוג של לא-סובייקט – ציין גוף פרוד לעומת השתמעות רפרנציאלית. האפשרות הראשונה בכל אחת מקבוצות הבחירה היא האפשרות העיקרית, השכיחה יותר, והנושאת אך ורק משמעות רפרנציאלית. האפשרות השנייה, לעומת זאת, היא האפשרות המשנית, הנדירה יותר, ולרוב היא טומנת בחובה משמעות נוספת – רטורית, ריגושית, קישורית – מעבר למשמעות הרפרנציאלית.

אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע״ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין

בית הספר למדעי היהדות וארכאולוגיה ע״ש חיים רוזנברג

אזכור רפרנטים אנושיים בגוף שלישי בעברית המדוברת הספונטנית

חיבור לשם קבלת התואר ״דוקטור לפילוסופיה״

מאת: לאון שור

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הוגש לסנאט של אוניברסיטת תל-אביב

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