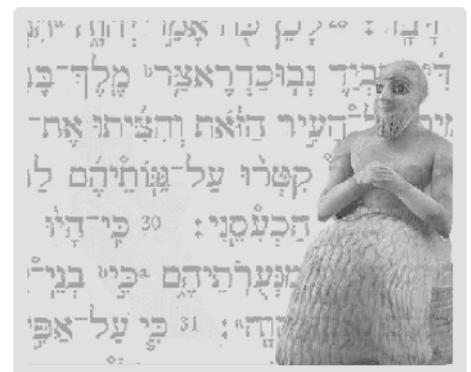


## Making It Sound - The *Performative Qatal* and Its Explanation

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# MAKING IT SOUND – THE *PERFORMATIVE QATAL* AND ITS EXPLANATION\*

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Biblical Hebrew (henceforth, BH) suffix conjugation *qatal*—besides other meanings and functions—is occasionally employed in order to perform acts (1.a) rather than to describe a situation or an activity (1.b). This means that, if determined conventional circumstances are respected, the fact of uttering a given proposition with the verb in the *qatal* triggers a new state in the speaker's reality. This is what scholars have been referring to as the '*performative qatal*,' a use of the suffix conjugation where it appears with a clear performative force. This particular sense or function<sup>2</sup> of the BH gram<sup>3</sup> constitutes the object of the present paper.

(1) a. Deut 30:18

הַגִּדַתִּי לָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבֵד תֵּאבְדוּן

I declare to you today, that you shall surely perish

b. Isa 48:3

הֲרֵאשֵׁנוֹת מֵאָז הַגִּדַתִּי

I declared the former things from long ago

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<sup>1</sup> The details of the semantic load of the *qatal* will be introduced in later sections of the paper.

<sup>2</sup> Henceforth, the notions 'performative sense', 'performative function' and 'performative use' will be employed interchangeably in order to denote the capacity of a grammatical construction to accomplish performative speech acts, i.e. to modify the speaker's reality by being uttered (cf. section 2.1).

<sup>3</sup> The term 'gram' will be used as a synonym of grammatical formation, grammatical expression, grammatical construction, etc.

### 1.1. THE PERFORMATIVE *QATAL* IN GRAMMATICAL TRADITION

The use of the *qatal* form with the performative function—i.e. in situations where it is employed in order to perform a certain act, rather than to describe an activity—has been acknowledged in almost all important grammars and linguistic studies dedicated to the Biblical Hebrew verbal system. In all such cases, however, scholars have regularly struggled with the performative value of the *qatal*. One group of grammarians having noted its ‘peculiarity’ and ‘inconsistency’—as compared with the remaining components of the semantic load of the formation –, intended *per vim* to accommodate it within a model chosen by a scholar. As a result, they explained the performative *qatal* as a manifestation of a dominant temporal, aspectual or modal character of the gram. Other scholars—although being aware of the distinctiveness of the performative *qatal* in comparison with the main senses of the suffix conjugation—did not try to relate the performative function to the remaining semantic content of the construction. In some extreme cases, having rejected any link between the chief meaning of the gram and the performative usage, researchers claimed that the performative value has no implication for the semantic load of the formation, at all. Let us present in more detail these main trends in the description of the performative *qatal* and attempts of its “accommodation” within a determined—i.e. chosen by a given scholar—semantic definition of the gram, demonstrating afterwards their inaccuracies and shortcomings.

#### 1.1.1 Performative *Qatal* and its “Traditional” Explanation

Most commonly, when providing an explanation for the performative value of the *qatal*, scholars relate it to the aspectual perfective meaning of the formation. For instance, S. R. Driver (1892) rationalizes performative examples in the Bible either as an immediate perfective past or as a perfective future (1892:15-17). In the former case, the gram indicates an activity that has occurred just before the moment of uttering a given sentence, being nevertheless still connected to the present state of affairs. In this sense, he claims, the construction corresponds to Indo-European present tenses (*ibid.*:15). In the latter case, the performative *qatal* represents actions that will be accomplished in the future. However, given that these prospective events are considered so certain and predetermined, they are portrayed as having already taken place (*ibid.*:17). Likewise, Davidson (1902:58-60) argues that the performative *qatal*, as a subtype of the perfective meaning, expresses actions that are completed in the act of giving the expression. The completion may take place either in reality or in the thought of the enunciator. In an almost identical manner, Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley (1909:311-312) propose that in the performative use, the suffix conjugation denotes actions that are in the process of accomplishment. They are regarded as assured and inevitable to such a degree that they are

represented as already completed and done in the conception of the speaker.

Similarly, Joüon (1923:298) sees in the performative *qatal* a manifestation of the perfective nature of the gram and concludes that the construction quite regularly “s’emploie pour une action instantanée qui, s’accomplissant à l’instant même de la parole, est censée appartenir au passé” (cf. also Joüon-Muraoka 2009:334). Following an analogical line of argumentation, Watts (1951:12-13 and 15-16) understands the performative *qatal* as compatible and “derivable” from the aspectual character of the construction. As any other subclass of the perfective *qatal* (in his terminology ‘perfect’), the performative variety offers three general characteristics: it indicates single, finished and certain facts, describing invariably complete states. Under this view, the suffix conjugation, employed with the performative function, equals a “simple perfect” where “a simple action” is located in present time. Consequently, performatives are defined as emphatic perfects. In consonance with previously proposed explanations, Jenni (1978:264-265) relates the performative *qatal* to the aspectual load of the gram, suggesting that the ‘Perfekt des Vollzugs’ has its origin in the value of completeness displayed by the formation. Waltke & O’Connor (1990) do not diverge from this trend, and argue that the performative *qatal* is a regular manifestation of the perfective core sense of the suffix form.

More specifically, when the gram is employed with *verba dicendi* and with certain verbs of gesture, it functions as an instantaneous perfective (Waltke & O’Connor 1990:488). Likewise, the “epistolary perfect” function (i.e. when the performative *qatal* is formed with verbs of endowing) is understood as a special case of the instantaneous perfective: the sender introduces the activity from the perspective of the recipient of the message and portrays it as perfective (ibid.:489). Finally, although yet in the same vein, Moomo (2004:186-187) claims that the performative use of the *qatal* should be elucidated as a subtype of the perfective sense, fully synchronized and complementary with the aspectual character of the gram. Moomo proposes that since the perfective *qatal* portrays events as complete wholes, it can be used in order to introduce complete events accomplished by speech acts. Inversely, in accordance with the perfective nature of the suffix conjugation, the performative *qatal* denotes whole complete actions accomplished at the utterance time (for further analogical attempts to relate the performative use of the *qatal* to its aspectual perfective load, see also Bobzin 1974:38, Wagner 1997:29, Tropper 1998:183 and Gentry 1998:18).

Other—although significantly fewer—scholars intend to connect the performative meaning of the *qatal* to the present value offered by the suffix conjugation. They allege that since the *qatal* may convey a present tense meaning—i.e. it may indicate present events and situations—it can likewise be employed in order to introduce performative acts, which concern the ongoing state of

affairs. In such occasions, the use of the *qatal* as a performative is assumed to correspond to the archaic value of the formation, namely to its non-fientive stative origin. For example, Joosten (1989:157) regards the performative *qatal* as a vestige of an ancient stage of the gram where it functioned as a present tense (cf. a similar explanation in Rundgren 1961:90 and Isaksson 1987:25, 84). In the same manner, Eskhult (1990:21, 23, 110) regards performative uses of the suffix form as analogous to the stative meaning of the *qatal*. Accordingly, in such instances, the *qatal* expresses a state and not an action as claimed by the “aspectual school”, discussed in the previous paragraph.

Even a smaller number of linguists relate the performative function of the *qatal* to certain taxis properties offered by the gram. For instance, Revell (1989) defines the performative *qatal* as a subcategory of the perfectum exactum, i.e. perfect of certainty or prophetic perfect. Within this understanding,—and similarly to certain explanations based upon the aspectual nature of the gram—although the event has not been materialized yet at the time of utterance, the enunciator is convinced that it has already been initiated “by a decision made in the past” (ibid.:5).

The other major cluster of grammarians rejects any relation between the performative use of the *qatal* and its semantic content. For instance, Talstra (1982:27) proposes that the performative value is not connected to other more prototypical senses, such as perfect or perfective. In a similar fashion, Rogland (2003:125-126 and 132) claims that the performative function is a pure convention. And since there is no inherent connection between the performative value and the semantics of tense, aspect and mood, the performative use of the *qatal* has no bearing on the question of the semantics of the suffix conjugation. In other words, Rogland defines the *qatal* in temporal terms as a past tense, leaving nevertheless the performative value aside as semantically and cognitively detached from the meaning of the formation. Within this school, one may detect a less radical view. Namely, certain linguists, albeit they fail to explicitly connect the performative value of the suffix conjugation to the overall semantic load of the gram, they do not overtly state that such a connection cannot exist. They rather abandon any intention to relate the performative function to the gram’s semantics.

For example, Van der Merwe, Naudé & Kroeze (1999:145), having observed that the *qatal* may introduce performative actions, do not link this fact to the remaining senses of the gram. Similarly, Kienast (2001:317) acknowledges the performative use of the *qatal*—in his view, an original nominal stative and labeled by him as ‘the new perfect’. He fails nevertheless to provide any explanation for this value in relation to other meanings conveyed by the gram. In an analogical mode, Putnam (2006:88) sees in the *qatal* a highly heterogeneous semantic category whose exact senses depend on root type, genre, the content of the clause in which it appears and

its relationship to the surrounding context. Among all the functions of the *qatal*, he also identifies the performative value, failing again to relate it to the semantic core of the gram: in his view, perfect (present and past) and past.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the position adopted by John Cook (2002) who uses the grammaticalization theory in order to elucidate the BH verbal system. As will be evident from the latter discussion, Cook's theoretical approach is closely related to the model presented in the current paper (cf. also Andrason 2011b:19-21 and 2011d:46-49). However, in respect to the performative *qatal*,—and this constitutes the major weakness of his proposal and a principal divergence point in comparison with our explanation—he fails to overtly relate the performative use of the formation to the definition of the gram in terms of an anterior path.<sup>4</sup> In other words, similar to the opinion defended by scholars of the previously described group, there is no direct connection (in this case, a genetic one) between the performative function of the suffix conjugation and its main semantic load, arisen in accordance with the anterior trajectory—the evolutionary scenario along which the formation developed. Quite the reverse, as claimed by Cook (2002:222-223), the performative value constitutes a subtype of the modal *qatal* (together with contingent, directive deontic and past habitual) and is contextually conditioned. Nevertheless, this time in consonance with the aspectual school and its hypothesis, Cook suggests that the use of the *qatal* with the performative function is motivated by the perfective aspect of the gram. The temporal present reading would then stem from “the modal context of carrying out the utterance in the ‘now’ of the speech time”, a factor which is external to the inherent meaning of the gram itself (ibid.:224).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The anterior path is a trajectory which determines the grammatical life of original resultative constructions, specifying the order of the incorporation a given value (perfect, perfective, past etc.) into the semantic potential of a formation which originated as resultative proper locution. In general terms this cline states that resultative grams first develop into perfects (in the beginning, inclusive and resultative present perfects, later experiential and indefinite varieties) and next into past tenses (initially, recent and discursive, subsequently general, remote and narrative). Additionally, during the transformation from a present perfect into a definite past tense, the gram may sometimes acquire an explicit aspectual perfective sense (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Dahl 2000b and Cook 2002; for a far more detailed treatment of the anterior path and its relation to the resultative trajectory with all its sub-tracks, see Andrason 2011a:35-45 and 2011d:10-16). See also further in this paper: section 2.2.1 and, in particular, figure 2.

<sup>5</sup> The performative function of the *qatal* has also been discussed by Hillers (1995:757-766) and Hedel (1996). Furthermore, the epistolary sense of the *qatal*—a use that is related to the performative sense—has been examined by Pardee (1983:34-40) and Rogland (2000:194-200).

### 1.1.2 Discussion of the Existing Explanations

As may be deduced from the above-introduced review of different analyses, there is a profound discrepancy among scholars as for how the performative *qatal* should be elucidated. Already this fact demonstrates that the problem of the performative sense of the suffix conjugation is far from being solved. Since—as mentioned previously—this paper aims at studying and explaining the performative *qatal*, it will unavoidably increase this “confusion” and “disagreement”. Thus, in order to remain methodologically accurate and reliable, before introducing our strategy and analysis, we must clarify why and how the explications elaborated thus far are unsatisfactory. In this manner, we will avoid the construction of a new explanation, merely parallel and alternative to those that already exist.

One may detect at least four main deficiencies that characterize the previously introduced views on the performative *qatal*. First, the position defended by linguists (see, for instance, Talstra 1982:27 and Rogland 2003:132) who discard any relation between the semantics of the gram and the performative function cannot be accepted. As will be explained in latter parts of the article, linguistic typology and cognitive studies show that the polysemy of a verbal construction—as a lexical polysemy—is both natural and *logical*: different values are by definition interconnected by mapping or radial extensions, and no sense can be “odd” or separated from the others (cf. Evans & Green 2006:170 and 328 and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007:140). If a gram offers a certain sense, it must be somehow related to other values or to the “overall” meaning of the formation. If scholars have been unable to establish such a relation between the performative sense and the *qatal*, this does not signify that it does not exist: it only means that their scientific efforts have been unsuccessful.

Second, the models which are limited to a mere taxonomy—noticing the performative use, on the one hand, but desisting from any attempt to conciliate it with the semantics of the gram—fall short as far as their scientific potential, and especially, explanatory power is concerned. Namely, they may remain useful from the empirical perspective, listing several varieties of senses, but they do not provide any elucidation for the observed state of affairs—they fail to explain reality.

Third, the explanation of the performative function in terms of a “semantic derivation” from the so-called main, invariant or inherent meaning of the *qatal* (either aspectual, taxis or temporal) cannot be accepted given the fact that such a main, invariant or inherent meaning is a pure abstraction—it fails to be consistent with empirical facts. As will be explained in detail in the next sec-

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tion, meaning is a network of specific atomic contextually bound senses (Evans & Green 2006:352-253, 368 and Van der Auwera & Gast 2011:186-188; cf. also Dahl 2000a:14). Instead of the main or inherent meaning, we can talk about a ‘total semantic potential’ offered by the gram and concrete values provided in specific individual cases—concrete physical realizations.<sup>6</sup> Any verbal formation is naturally polysemous and its overall (but not main or invariant) meaning is a (cognitive and diachronic) summation of such concrete contextual instances where it is employed (Evans & Green 2006:170, 328-333). Consequently, any attempt of deriving a particular or contextual sense from the main and invariant (i.e. exclusively, aspectual, taxis, temporal or modal)<sup>7</sup> meaning is erroneous from the start. For example, the effort to justify the performative use of the *qatal* by its allegedly perfective nature must be rejected because the gram cannot be equalled with such an inherent and invariant aspectual load (cf. Andrason 2011a:305-307).

And four, although the endeavour of relating the performative function of the *qatal* to its diachronic origin may in itself be correct, certain rectifications are necessary to take account of. As will be explained later, at the beginning of its grammatical life the Proto-Semitic \**qatal* was a resultative proper form (Huehnergard 1987:221-223, Andersen 2000:31, Lipinski 2001:336-337 and 341, and Cook 2002:209-219).<sup>8</sup> This means it did not function as a present tense or as a stative. Quite the contrary, such an archaic input form offered an exemplary bi-member taxis value where two semantic components were equally important: one corresponding to the previous dynamic event and the other codifying the posterior (simultaneous to the reference time) state, acquired due to the accomplishment of that prior action (cf. Maslov 1988:64, Nedjalkov 2001:928-930 and Andrason 2011a:41 and 2012a:3-5; on the history of the *qatal* and its Proto-Semitic background, see section 3.2 below). Furthermore, contravening the “stative” explanation, it shall be noted that Biblical Hebrew stative verbs—i.e. those that during the BH period typically provide the stative meaning in the *qatal* form—are never used with the performative force. This fact renders the “stative” or “present” theory rather questionable. In addition to these imprecisions, it must be emphasized that a purely diachronic analysis does not fulfil the requirement of providing a synchronically valid definition and classification of the *qatal* and, in particular, of its performative function. Hence, it cannot be em-

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<sup>6</sup> Quite frequently, the main dominant meaning is equalled with the most prototypical and the most common value (on the criticism of such an approach see Andrason 2010a:16-18, 2011b:28-31 and Andrason forthcoming: 10-16).

<sup>7</sup> It is important to note that in these alternatives are disjunctive.

<sup>8</sup> For a more comprehensive explanation of this label, see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 below.

braced as an adequate model for the synchronic analysis of this BH verbal form.<sup>9</sup>

## 1.2. NEW PROPOSAL

Having showed the shortcomings of the analyses proposed thus far, we may now introduce our proposal. With the present study, we aim at providing a consistent explanation for the performative value of the BH *qatal*, demonstrating that this function is fully compatible with the remaining components of the semantic load offered by the gram. In particular, employing a panchronic-dynamic perspective, we will show that the performative *qatal* ideally fits into the *qatal* category defined as a manifestation of the anterior path.

Such a bold statement certainly needs a solid basis and a precise elucidation of the terms it contains. Meeting these requirements, in the present section, we will familiarize the reader with details of our theoretical frame of reference. The correct understanding of the principles of cognitive and evolutionary linguistics—and in particular, of concepts such as ‘meaning’, ‘panchrony’ and ‘dynamics’—is essential in order to comprehend how the task of solving the problem of the performative *qatal* can become feasible (1.2.1). Afterwards, we will introduce a detailed methodological strategy, with which we will tackle the principal objective of this study: the elucidation of the performative *qatal* function (1.2.2). In that portion of the paper, we will likewise determine additional—intermediate—goals, necessary in “deciphering” the enigma of the performative use of the *qatal*.

### 1.2.1 Theoretical Background

#### Meaning and its representation

As demonstrated by cognitive linguistics and typological studies, a given lexical or grammatical meaning typically displays more than one sense associated with it—polysemy is the norm rather than the exception (Evans & Green 2006:169). Such a diversity of senses may be observed at all levels of a language, i.e. in phonological, morphological and syntactical modules. But polysemy is not a cluster of random, disparate or accidental values. One of the most fundamental principles in respect to polysemy is the fact that diverse senses conveyed by the same form are related. Relatedness of senses is a typical feature in languages (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007:140). Consequently, polysemy—or, rather, its conceptually modelled representation—must demonstrate such a connection

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<sup>9</sup> Of course, it may be used as a part in the analysis, providing certain valuable arguments.

among numerous, superficially profoundly distinct, senses (Evans & Green 2006:352).

We may affirm that polysemy emerges because a given form corresponds to a network of concepts (i.e. atomic concrete senses) instead of matching a unique single concept (Evans & Green 2006:169). This polysemous meaning is amassed in the mental lexicon as a highly complex but yet logically structured compound of senses (ibid.:328). Put differently, the meaning of a form—organized as a conceptual category of distinct but related senses—displays a modelled shape where senses are somehow linked with respect to each-other (ibid.:331; one of the possibilities is the so-called ‘radial representation’, cf. Lakoff 1987). Consequently, polysemy may be defined as a semantic network for a single lexical or grammatical item that consists of multiple but inherently connected senses (Evans & Green 2006:332).

Within such a network, linguists usually make a distinction between more central or more prototypical senses on the one hand, and less prototypical or more peripheral values, on the other. In the network (e.g. radial) representation, prototypical senses are located nearer the conceptual centre while peripheral ones are portrayed as more distant (ibid.:170 and 331).<sup>10</sup> This signifies that less prototypical values are derived from more prototypical senses by means of universal cognitive processes (e.g. metaphor and image schema transformations). Such an application of cognitive mechanisms regularly entails a methodical and orderly extension of a sense into another: senses remain connected and form a meaning-chain, spanning from prototypical to peripheral values through intermediate ones (ibid.:332-333). This chaining process is universal and guarantees the logical relation and organization of all senses conveyed by a form (ibid. 333).

Since, the meaning of a form may be represented as a semantic map (i.e. as a spatial network), the meanings of two (or more) typologically similar entities (genetically related or not) may be compared and the exact degree of their semantic correspondence established, by identifying the resemblance as for the region of the map covered by each of them. This means that similar meanings are similar networks and that conceptual similarity equals spatial adequacy—the regions of the map covered by two semantically similar items are matching or parallel (Van der Auwera & Gast 2011:186, cf. a map for personal pronouns and for modality in ibid.:187-188). However it is important to acknowledge that the distinction among central, intermediate and peripheral senses is not only conceptual but also and, in fact, principally historical. The chaining that unifies components of the semantic network—although certainly cognitively based—is a tangible and empirical

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<sup>10</sup> For instance, spatial or locative values are normally regarded as prototypical—from them other, temporal or more figurative, senses arise.

result of an evolutionary progression. It reflects a consecutive acquisition of new senses (cf. the next section below).

Furthermore, meanings are always subject to context in the manner that the textual and pragmatic environment regularly affects the nature of polysemy (Evans & Green 2006:352-253). Meaning construction is always context-bound and hence, its representation or modelling must take the context into account (ibid.:368). Consequently, all senses displayed by a gram are to be treated as equally relevant—all of them constitute the total or overall meaning of the formation, i.e. the complete spatial network that represents its meaning. Since, cognitive and grammaticalization frameworks openly reject the idea of invariant or inherent meanings (Dahl 2000a:14), a given locution is always a form in context. This harmonizes with the fact that grammaticalization, itself, is always a contextual phenomenon: grams acquire new properties in a concrete context (Dahl 2000a:14, Hopper & Traugott 2003:100 and Heine & Kuteva 2007:35-37).<sup>11</sup>

Instead of the dichotomy inherent-invariant vs. contextual, another distinction is proposed: a concrete “atomic” value of a gram is a sense provided by a construction in a particular context. The overall meaning of the formation is, subsequently, a summation of such atomic values—the mapping enclosing and relating all such more specific senses. Thus, the total meaning of a form corresponds to its entire semantic potential. Concrete, empirically recorded, invariably contextual values choose a single variant from this spectrum of possibilities and a particular reading emerges, a sense that appears in a concrete space and time.

From the above discussion, it is clear that no sense offered by a given form can be detached from the overall meaning of this lexical or grammatical entity. In particular, it cannot stand outside the network of the remaining semantic constituents. All of the senses must be connected forming a grid of reasonably related components. Each one of them—invariably context induced—has its logical and ordered location in the spatial representation of the meaning of a form. Our task consists in discovering this position and in explaining the nature of the relation that enables the chaining from certain senses to others.

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<sup>11</sup> Different contexts imply distinct semantic, syntactic and pragmatic environments. This means a) that semantic, syntactic and pragmatic factors constantly affect the sense of a gram and b) that all of them are important in an adequate understanding of a form’s polysemy. For instance in respect to the BH scholarship, linguists such as Talstra (1982) and Longacre (1989) have emphasized the importance of the syntactic milieu in determining the value of a given BH verbal formation. In our study, however, the *qatal* will be treated as a single phenomenon (of course, distinct from the *weqatal*), without differentiating its syntactic sub-types (e.g. *qatal* and *x-qatal*). In particular, we will not analyze the syntactic position of the performative *qatal*.

### Dynamics and panchrony

As already stated, the mapping procedure or the chaining of components of a given network fundamentally reflects the historical extension—a progression from one sense to another. Under this analysis, core senses (i.e. core or prototypical in respect to their spatial location in a semantic network) are understood as earliest attested values, i.e. as original cognitively motivated “proto-meanings”. On the contrary, peripheral values correspond to a later “spreading out” (Tyler & Evans 2003 and Evans & Green 2006:344-346). In other words, polysemy is able to account for a historical development: namely, a synchronic diversity of values reproduces and results from diachronic changes (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk 2007:140) while the overall meaning conveyed by an item—shaped as a network of specific values—corresponds to a concrete evolutionary growth of senses from more central (more original and archaic) towards more peripheral ones (historically posterior).

Consequently, values offered by a gram may be viewed as “frozen” synchronic vestiges of a diachronic movement, i.e. of the gram’s own history. The synchronically provided meanings or functions echo determined diachronic stages during which they have been developed, acquired and grammaticalized. Their chaining—synchronically portrayed in the form of a network—is required to match a real historical evolution from the grammatical birth to the grammatical death.

As a result, the conceptual and diachronically motivated mapping has the potential to relate all superficially disconnected and heterogeneous functions and qualities offered by a gram. Inversely,—respecting the principle of relatedness—a grammatical entity may not provide senses that are incompatible with the diachronic path by the help of which its meaning has been mapped and “networked”. Geometrically speaking, no value may stand outside the network of diachronically interconnected constituents. This, in turn, leads to the following firm assumption: we should *always* be able to order synchronic components of the meaning of an item into a network that is portrayed as a linear path or a cluster of paths so that it would represent a realistic diachronic progression (Heine, Claudi & Hünemeyer 1991:251 and Andrason 2010a:18-22 and 2011b:31-34).

It must be emphasized that values which match determined diachronic stages (i.e. phases that have their exact historical location), including the most initial senses, may remain components of the meaning offered at significantly later epochs, belonging to a synchronically established semantic map (Evans & Green 2006:345). This means that although a certain value, conveyed by a gram, is acquired only once at a precise moment of its grammatical life, it is able to persist during a large period of time. The overall

meaning—the semantic potential or the synchronic network of interconnect senses—corresponds, thus, to an accumulation of previously developed senses. Furthermore, since the meaning is the geometrical extension of a particular network (Van der Auwera & Gast 2011:186) and since the mapping or the connection among the components of that network represents a historical progression (i.e. the evolution from the archaic initial value to younger—posteriorly acquired—senses; cf. again Evans & Green 2006:344-346), the total meaning of a gram equals the portion of a given evolutionary path along which the gram has been developing (Andrason 2010a:22 and 2011a:69-73 ad 2011b:30-31).

Given that every synchronic property of a formation matches an exact phase of a diachronic phenomenon, the approach has been referred to as a panchronic (a combination of synchrony and diachrony) or dynamic (the present state of affairs is portrayed as a dynamic process) view (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991:248, 251 and 259, Nichols and Timberlake 1991 and Andrason 2010a:18-19, 2011a:69-73, 2011b:28-34, 2011d:17-21 and 2012a:15, 18-20). This is a method which, by employing evolutionary tendencies, laws or universals and making use of concrete historical progressions, enables us to design a synchronically valid description and classification of the meaning of a category in an active process-like manner (cf. Andrason 2011b:31-34, 2011d:19-20 and Andrason forthcoming:10-17).

It should be emphasized that the panchronic approach and mapping based upon universal trajectories—and always confronted with realistic historical data—should not be understood as a sub-type of the comparative methodology. Being indebted to grammaticalization theory and relying on evolutionary and typological universals or predispositions on the one hand, as well as employing concrete diachronic facts on the other, the method is certainly related to the traditional diachronic perspective. Its purpose, however, clearly surpasses the diachronic goal. It involves a description of synchronic states of languages. It is aimed at providing a dynamic—process-like—representation for a temporarily static synchronic network of senses (cf. Andrason 2011d:19).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> The dynamic approach may of course be viewed as an updated version of the historical-comparative method combined with cognitive linguistics and linguistic typology. It is evident that the framework is based upon historical-comparative studies since the chaining and explanation of polysemy are accomplished by means of diachronic (either concrete or typologically plausible) processes. However, it is important to notice that the model is designed in order to portray states of synchronic grams rather than to explain their historical origin. It provides a dynamic understanding of a form's synchronic behaviour. Namely, a synchronic gram is defined as a process, i.e. as a constantly evolving metastable phenomenon.

Furthermore, the model also provides a coherent picture of a gram from the systematic perspective. It codifies grammatical formations as

### 1.2.2 *Main Objective and Intermediate Goals*

Understanding meaning as a network of senses, and realizing the obligatory relatedness of the components of this network as well as the resultant mapping which links the network's constituents in terms of a diachronic progression codified in a model of linear paths trigger several methodological consequences in respect to the performative *qatal*.

First of all, the entire semantic potential of the BH *qatal* must be logical, harmonized and consistent. Since the overall semantic load of a gram displayed at a concrete historical time *per definicione* arises following the same trajectory (or cluster of interrelated tracks) which consolidates synchronically attested senses—i.e. components of the semantic network of the gram —, no atomic value may be conceptually and panchronically detached from the remaining senses. No component of the semantic load of a gram may be explained by means of the *deus ex machina* mechanism. “Odd” and peculiar values are as regular and comprehensible as any other absolutely “normal” sense because all of them (either common and uncommon or similar and dissimilar) are located on an identical path (or a collection of related tracks), having emerged from the same original input. Consequently, the performative sense of the *qatal* cannot be regarded as isolated from the remaining components of the semantics of the formation. Quite the reverse, it must fit into the gram in the same manner as any other value, e.g. perfect, past or pluperfect. It necessarily belongs to the semantic network organized and ordered into a liner progression—a real diachronic track, the gram travelled on. The performative function has identical rights as all other senses: it constitutes a part of the overall total meaning of the construction and thus corresponds to a precisely determined location on the path along which the *qatal* evolved.

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solid, consistent, homogenous entities, viz. as portions of paths. In other words, dynamic view does not forget the concept of a system. It does not lead to a “fragmentarization” of a gram and is not restricted to a microscopic analysis. Quite the opposite, it emphasizes the significance of systematic relations and the importance of a holistic macroscopic understanding of grammatical units and entire linguistic systems. In contrast to the structuralist models, however, the dynamic approach denies that grammatical systems and their components (such as grams) can be depicted as simple, neat, static, resultant, and isolated. A system portrayed by means of the dynamic method—approximating real-world physical-biological-chemical-sociological organizations—is complex, metastable, open, dynamic, emergent and non-linear, as well as, partially, chaotic (for an detailed explanation of these terms and a thorough discussion of the dynamic view, see Andrason forthcoming).

As a result, once a gram has been dynamically defined as the portion of a path—and its values matched with phases on a given evolutionary scenario—this particular trajectory is required to accommodate all types of meanings attested synchronically, from the most “eccentric” to the entirely regular (i.e. most frequent). It must account for the gram’s overall polysemy. Since the *qatal* has recently been defined as a manifestation of a prototypical anterior diachrony (cf. Huehnergard 1987:221-223, Andersen 2000:31, Lipiński 2001:336-337 and 341, Cook 2002:209-219 and Andrason 2010b:610, 2011a:305-307 and 2012a:3-5) and its semantic potential geometrically codified as a portion of the anterior path (Andrason 2011a:281 and van der Merwe & Naudé forthcoming), we are compelled to accept that the same cline, shall somehow accommodate the performative value. The panchronic conceptualization of the meaning of the *qatal*—i.e. the network of senses of the *qatal* represented as an anterior path—must likewise give an explanation for the performative function. The corroboration of this proposition constitutes the main objective of our study.

Given this aim of the paper, other intermediate goals, demonstrations and “experiments” become indispensable. First, it is thus crucial to prove a close relation between originally resultative grams—i.e. formations which typically develop in accordance with the anterior path—and their diachronic successors on the one hand, and the performative value on the other. Put differently, we must clarify how the performative meaning is related to grams classified as manifestations of the anterior path, specifying the exact location of the performative value-stage on the trajectory (cf. section 2.2). It is obvious that this explanation shall begin with a thorough description and analysis of the performative category itself (cf. section 2.1).

Once the location of the performative sense-stage has been established within the panchronic network of resultatives and their successors, we will introduce a vast number of instances where the *qatal* appears with a performative force (cf. section 3.1). Bearing in mind the previously posited location of the performative value on the anterior path, we will show that the performative *qatal* may become fully harmonized with the remaining semantic potential of the gram (cf. section 3.2)—it can be precisely situated in the panchronic network of senses, being matched with a concrete evolutionary phase of the BH formation. As required by our methodology, this typologically and synchronically based explanation will be corroborated by concrete diachronic facts. The previously compiled review will likewise enable us to offer a comprehensive understanding of the nature and behavior of the performative *qatal*, e.g. its range of use, the set of roots involved or specific shades of meaning provided. This, in turn, will permit us to determine whether and how these performative properties relate to the entire

*qatal* form defined as a specific<sup>13</sup> portion of the anterior path (cf. section 3.3).

Finally, our explanation will not only provide a harmonization of the entire semantic potential of the *qatal*, conciliating the performative use with other values, but it will also show that the synchronically attested properties of the performative *qatal* fully coincide with the principles governing the emergence, distribution and development of the performative sense in originally resultative grams (see section 4 ‘Conclusion’).

## 2. PERFORMATIVES

It is evident that a proper comprehension of the category of performatives constitutes a necessary basis for an adequate understanding of the performative *qatal*. We may not explain the enigma of this function offered by the BH gram without knowing in detail what performatives are and—given that the network of senses is to be modelled panchronically—how they evolve. Unfortunately, in their analysis, grammarians quite often have dedicated only a few lines to the typological nature and behaviour of performatives, limiting themselves to a handful of sweeping overgeneralizations and, in some cases, incorrect statements (e.g. Waltke & O’Connor 1990:488, Joüon-Muraoka 2009:334, Cook 2002:222 and even Rogland 2003:125-126). In the present part of the article, aimed at rectifying this methodological inaccuracy, we will provide a thorough description of synchronic and diachronic properties offered by performatives.

### 2.1. PERFORMATIVES—SYNCHRONIC CHARACTERISTICS

The term ‘performative’ was introduced by Austin (1962) and denotes an utterance which—instead of being true or false, as exemplary descriptive phrases—is felicitous or infelicitous in conformity with certain conditions such as, in particular, the existence and fulfillment of specific rituals and conventional procedures (Austin 1962:5, 12-24, 26, 34-36 and 39, and Thomas 1995:37).

This signifies that performatives do not describe a state of affairs nor express a constative statement. Quite the contrary, they are employed to perform an act: by pronouncing a performative utterance, the speaker does not describe the condition of the world but modifies it (Austin 1962:60). Put differently, the fact of uttering a sentence under appropriate and conventionally required circumstances either creates a new situation in reality or is a necessary part of performing an action that would trigger a change in the speak-

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<sup>13</sup> As will be shown, the *qatal* is panchronically defined as an *advanced* portion of the anterior path, i.e. as a type of an “old perfect”. This means that, in section 3.3, we will explain how characteristics of the performative *qatal* harmonize with this dynamic classification of the suffix conjugation.

er's environment (Austin 1962:5). To illustrate performative utterances, one frequently provides the following examples (2):

- (2) a. I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth (when smashing the bottle against the stem; Austin 1962:5)  
 b. I give and bequeath my watch to my brother (in a testament or when expressing the last will; *ibid.*)  
 c. I bet you sixpence it will rain tomorrow (when betting; *ibid.*)  
 d. I quit (when deciding leaving the job)  
 e. I now pronounce you man and wife (pronounced by priest at the marriage ceremony)

The performative speech act itself (i.e. the phenomenon of modifying the reality by pronouncing a given sequence of words) may be expressed in an explicit or implicit manner. The explicit method of accomplishing certain performative acts consists in using performative verbs, i.e. predicates that describe the exact type of an action carried out by a speaker (Austin 1962:32, 62, 65 and 148, Searle 1969:68 and Bublitz 2009:75). According to Austin (1962:150), all performative predicates may be divided into five main classes: verdictives (expressions of giving a verdict, judgment, approval or reckoning; Austin 1962:152-154), exercitives (expressions of exercising power or influence; e.g. appointing warning, advising, Austin 1962:154-156), commissives (forms of promising or undertaking; Austin 1962:156-158), behabitives (locutions which are related to social behavior such as apologizing, cursing, condoling; Austin 1962:159-160) and expositives (predicates that specify how the utterance fits into the conversation, e.g. affirming, denying, telling, agreeing; Austin 1962:160-161). Another linguistic characteristic of overt performative utterances is the fact that they usually employ the verb in the 1<sup>st</sup> person (most commonly singular, cf. Austin 1962:62-64) and are compatible with the lexeme *hereby* (cf. also more recently, Bublitz 2009:75). See, for instance, these canonical examples (3).<sup>14</sup>

- (3) a. I hereby sentence you to death  
 b. I hereby confer upon you the rank of general  
 c. I hereby accept your apology

In line with the definition presented above, grammatical performatives shall not be limited to *verba dicendi* such as *promise*, *name* or *declare* (Partridge 1982:20 and 42; cf. the incorrect assumptions made by Rogland 2003:121). Various “non-utterance” verbs, e.g.

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<sup>14</sup> For a distinct classification of performatives and speech acts, see Searl 1971/1976.

verbs of giving, selling, bequeathing, betting or quitting, are likewise frequently employed to perform an act and trigger a modification in the speaker's reality. Since they overtly specify the type of the performative action, tend to appear in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and are compatible with the lexeme *hereby*, they must be included into the class of overt performative predicates (Austin 1962:43 and Searl 1971/1976:17-18).

However, performative acts—being a pragmatic concept—may likewise be communicated in a “covert” fashion, i.e. via formations which are not exemplary performative verbs but which, nevertheless, have the ability of modifying the state of the world in common (cf. implicit performative in Austin 1962:32). For instance, a performative action can be accomplished by employing a verb in the passive voice (4.a-c) or even by using a verbless phrase (4.d-e). In such cases, the sentence lacks a prototypical introductory performative verb in the first person singular. Nonetheless, given that the utterance does not describe a state of affairs but, creating a new situation in the world, transforms it, one is indisputably facing a performative locution. In some instances, even apparently canonical constative sentences may be employed in order to achieve performative acts (4.e) (cf. Austin 1962).

- (4)
- a. You are arrested!
  - b. The surety is denied!
  - c. Objection is sustained!
  - d. Promised!
  - e. (This is a) private property!

Recently, Dahl (2008) offered a more consistent and, at the same time, more flexible treatment of typical and atypical performatives. He suggests that prototypical and overt performative verbs—and thus the explicit performative utterances—lexically entail that the enunciator “*intends* an utterance of the type *specified* by the verb to *cause* a [*unique*] change of state in the outer world by some extra-linguistic *convention*”. This means that exemplary performative locutions include verbs which a) tautologically denote a corresponding speech act, b) describe a change of state, which is moreover unique; c) imply the control exerted by the subject, and d) indicate that the event is related to some extra-linguistic convention (a procedure exists and is satisfied). Consequently, a canonical grammatical performative fulfills five requirements—i.e. is an amalgam of five factors—codified by Dahl into a lattice structure (Figure 1). He proposes that verbal predicates which combine such elements assume a performative reading by default in *all* languages.

[+tautological verbs of speech act]  
 [+change of state]  
 [+event uniqueness]  
 [+control]  
 [+existing convention]

Figure 1: Dahl's model of a prototypical performative utterance

The matrix model developed by Dahl (2008)—certainly in accordance with Austin's view but in a more consistent and typologically oriented manner—allows him to conclude that a verb which fails to satisfy one or more of the required features may still assume a performative interpretation. Namely, when a given “classical” element is lacking, its equivalence is supplied by the context. For instance, in sentence 4.c above, the overt entities corresponding to the controlling subject (i.e. *I*) and its unique current regulatory influence (i.e. *hereby*) are missing. However, the verbal form may still be employed as a performative because the control and uniqueness are guaranteed by the context (viz. it is certainly a judge who pronounces this phrase and who, by uttering it, denies the surety for a person and thus his or her provisional release). The items *I* and *hereby* are simply not expressed explicitly.<sup>15</sup> This means that explicit performative utterances are organized hierarchically, expanding from prototypical performative predicates and sentences downward, to less exemplary ones.

## 2.2. PERFORMATIVES—DIACHRONIC CHARACTERISTICS

Although it is commonly assumed that performatives are employed in present tenses (as in the English examples in 2 and 3 above; and especially in the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular), other verbal grams may likewise express performative acts (cf. especially example 4.a and 4.b above). Since our study deals with the BH *qatal*, a category whose polysemy or network of senses has been panchronically mapped as a portion of the anterior path (an evolutionary scenario governing the grammatical life of resultatives, perfects, perfectives and past tenses), the following question arises: from the universal and typological perspective, how is the performative sense related to the anterior trajectory? Do resultatives, perfects, perfectives and past tenses express the performative value? If so, what is the propensity of categories developing along the anterior pathway to provide the performative sense—is the performative function more common among resultatives, perfects or pasts? Finally and more crucially, where is the performative sense-stage located on the anterior track.

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<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, other conditions are fulfilled: the verb is a tautological speech-act predicate (cf. *I deny you the surety*), the fact of pronouncing the sentence modifies the state of the reality and there is a procedure or a convention which assures the felicity of this act.

Put differently, when (or in the case of the geometrical modelling, where) do grams that evolve according to the direction traced by the anterior trajectory acquire the performative function?

To begin with, it must clearly be stated that various scholars have already postulated a close relation between grams evolving along the anterior path on the one hand and the performative value on the other (cf. Nedjalkov 1988:415, Streck 1995 and Andrason 2011a:36-37). Especially, original resultative proper formations have been frequently reported as being able to appear with the performative force (e.g. the German example *Richter: Antrag ist abgelehnt* ‘The judge: The motion is (lit. has been) turned down’ in Nedjalkov 1988:415 or the Finish case *Teidät on pidätetty* ‘You are arrested’ (lit. have been arrested)’ in Volodin 1988:473). Similarly, young and more advanced anteriors (i.e. prototypical perfects)—scholars note—are quite commonly bestowed with certain types of performative value, functioning for instance as epistolary perfects (cf. Denz 1982, Müller 1986, Kienast 2001 and Metzler 2002). Finally, the epistolary subtype of the performative function is regarded as quite a frequent component of the meaning conveyed by perfective past tenses. This phenomenon is illustrated by repeatedly quoted examples provided by the Aorist in Classical Greek (e.g. *μετ’ Αρταβάζου, ὃν σοι ἔπεμψα, πρόσσε* ‘Negotiate with Artabazus whom I send to you’ in Smith 1920:433) and the Latin *Perfectum* (e.g. *Cum quod scriberem ad te nihil haberem, tamen has dedi litteras* ‘Though I have nothing to write you, still I write this letter’; Greenough *et al.* 1903/1983:301).

In next sections (2.2.1 and 2.2.5), we will offer a detailed elucidation of such a close relation between resultatives, perfects and pasts (i.e. between grams that emerge following the anterior path) and the performative value. In particular, following the ideas posited by Andrason (2011a:36-37) and employing the method of dynamization of typology, we will indicate a precise location of the performative value on the anterior cline.

### 2.2.1 *Performative Meaning and its Location on the Anterior Cline*

From a typological perspective, it is possible to detect the following tendency: with the progress along the anterior path, the capacity of the gram to convey the performative meaning diminishes. Namely, resultative proper formations—irrespective of the root type—are commonly used in performative acts. ‘Young’ anteriors (prototypical present perfects) appear in performative contexts especially when derived from prototypical performative verbs (*verba dicendi*, verbs of giving or endowing, etc.). Old anteriors (grams that embrace the perfect and past domains) either are used in the performative sense exclusively when formed from verbs of uttering and giving, or fail to provide the performative value at all (the latter especially holds for those old anteriors which admit uses as narrative and remote past). Finally, exclusive past tenses systematically

seem to be highly reluctant in being used in performative utterances.

Consequently, the performative value of post-resultative<sup>16</sup> expressions is typical and productive for grams whose semantic load matches early phases on the anterior path, in particular, the one that is situated near the resultative proper stage (cf. section 2.2.2, 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, below). The performative phase, however, cannot be equaled with the resultative proper portion of the trajectory given that in various languages, certain young and old anteriors—which still convey the performative meaning—may not be used anymore with the resultative proper force. In other words, some perfects have lost the original resultative proper function but preserved, to a degree, the performative sense. This means that the resultative proper function has vanished before the performative one (for illustrations see sections 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, below).

On the other hand, the dynamic resultative perfect meaning is preserved even though the performative value has already disappeared. Namely, in some cases, an old resultative provides the meaning of a dynamic resultative perfect but fails to offer the performative function (cf. section 2.2.4, below). Hence, in accordance with an evolutionary principle whereby different senses correspond to different—but consecutive—stages of a path, and more advanced values do not seem to be lost before initial ones are abandoned (semantic load of a gram is not an amalgam of “islands” but *per definitione* forms a “linear continuum”), we may conclude the following. The performative segment is located after the resultative proper stage and before the resultative perfect phase; most probably in the vicinity of or just after the inclusive perfect phase—a developmental step likewise situated between the resultative proper and resultative perfect stages. This may be portrayed in the following spatial network-mapping shape:

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<sup>16</sup> Post-resultatives are formations that may be mapped by means of the anterior path. These are all constructions that have originated in resultative inputs: resultative proper grams, perfects, perfective past or simple past tenses.

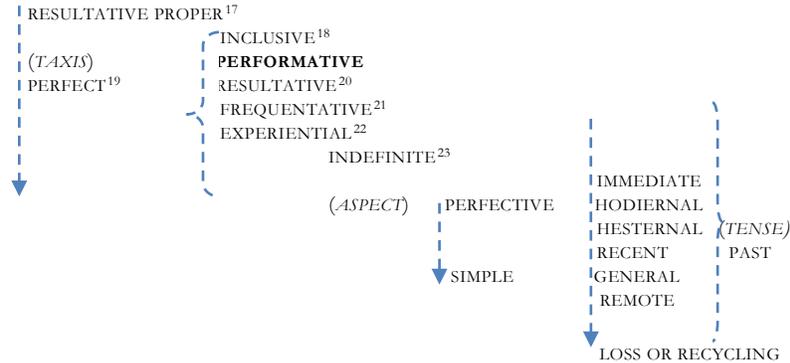


Figure 2: The performative value on the anterior path<sup>24</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Resultative proper grams are formations whose meaning consists of two equally relevant components: one indicates the currently attested state of an object or person and the other makes reference to an action, formerly accomplished, from which this on-going state has resulted. In such expressions, neither the prior dynamic event nor the posterior static result is emphasized – both are indissoluble and interconnected.

<sup>18</sup> The inclusive (labeled also universal) anterior indicates that an action or state holds without interruption from a determined point in the past to the present moment, e.g. *I have known Max since 1960* (Jónsson 1992:129–145).

<sup>19</sup> The perfect usually emphasizes the dynamic event or activity while the relevance of the component related to the resulting state – although certainly available – is reduced.

<sup>20</sup> The resultative anterior introduces dynamic events portraying them as highly relevant for the present state of affairs, e.g. *I cannot come to your party – I have caught the flu* (McCawley 1971).

<sup>21</sup> See, for instance, the Portuguese perfect *Ultimamente o João tem lido muitos romances* ‘Recently John has read many novels’ (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000:409).

<sup>22</sup> The experiential anterior indicates that the subject has an experience of having performed (or not) a given action. This means that the activity is portrayed as an experience which occurred at least once, and which might have been repeatable, e.g. *I have never read that book* or *I have read ‘Principia Mathematica’ five times* (Jónsson 1992:129–145).

<sup>23</sup> The indefinite perfect (labeled also indefinite past) is placed in between the present and past time spheres: it indicates clearly past events, without however specifying its temporal location. As for the former property, the gram approximates a past tense. However, given the latter characteristic, the formation behaves as a typical present perfect.

<sup>24</sup> A note about the perfective: As a definite past, the gram may undergo two, to an extent, independent types of evolution. One consists in increasing the temporal distance from the speaker’s here-and-now: immediate > hodiernal (the same day or one day’s past) hesternal (yesterday’s past) > recent > general (a person life’s past) and remote (historical and ancient) past. The other includes a transformation of the anterior into a perfective past and next into a simple past. This change is facultative and

The localization of the performative meaning-stage, presented above, harmonizes with Dahl's (2008:14-16 and 25) view on the tense-mood-aspect properties of verbs in prototypical performative utterances. According to Dahl (2008), in exemplary performative sentences, the reference time tends to be coextensive with the speech time (temporal constraint) and the event time coexists with the reference time (taxis constraint).<sup>25</sup> Since exclusive past tenses violate both the temporal and taxis constraint, they regularly fail to be employed as canonical performatives. On the other hand, prototypical perfects infringe only the temporal rule. This means that their use in the performative function is less common but still possible. Finally, in resultative proper expressions, the speech time, reference time and event time coincide—the gram, thus, satisfies the two requirements. Consequently, such formations may extensively appear in performative utterances.<sup>26</sup>

In the remaining section of this part of the paper, we will illustrate the above-introduced evolutionary principle of post-resultative constructions in respect to the performative value, recurring to typological facts and making use of the method labeled as 'dynamization of typology'.

The dynamization of typology corresponds to the diachronic interpretation of synchronic data and typological universals (Croft 2003:235 and Greenberg 1978:75), permitting a linguist to deduce evolutionary processes from evidence available at a concrete historic époque (Croft 2003:272). The method has its origin in the universality of functional paths which presupposes that the evolution of formations that, from the synchronic perspective, seem to be functionally similar, should also be equally similar. This means that it is possible to compare static grammatical objects and rank them in a series which represents a gradual linguistic change (Croft

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occurs in determined types of verbal systems. It shall be noted that there is no precise stage-to-stage equivalence between the stages which link the indefinite past and various subcategories of the definite past on the one hand, and the development of the perfective past into its aspectually neutral variant.

The vertical arrows in this figure symbolize the diachronic progression of resultative inputs.

<sup>25</sup> Within the Reichenbachian framework employed by Dahl (2008), the concept of taxis is labeled as 'anterior aspect' and is understood as an anteriority relation between event time and reference time. This means that event time precedes reference time. The label "aspect constraint" (employed by Dahl) fails to be entirely adequate since the concept of anteriority, as well as that of simultaneity and posteriority, is related to the idea of taxis and not aspect (Maslov 1988).

<sup>26</sup> Dahl assumes that these constraints are universal and together with five elemental factors introduced in section 2.2, ensure that a sentence may be highly located at the performativity lattice providing the performative meaning in an explicit manner.

2003:233 and 272). Consequently, synchronic evidence may be employed to extrapolate or substantiate diachronic processes. Since different languages may reflect different phases of a typologically identical process, functional and structural properties of typologically similar formations in several, related or unrelated, tongues may be interpreted as reflecting consecutive stages on the same evolutionary functional trajectory. In some languages, a determined gram corresponds to original phases of a universal development. However in others, typologically analogous formations either equal intermediate stages of that progress or, even, match its highly advanced portion(s).<sup>27</sup>

We are convinced that the subsequent linguistic excursus is necessary to understand and empirically substantiate the—still commonly ignored—connection between performatives and resultatives (or their historical successors) and thus to comprehend the compatibility of the performative *qatal* with other meanings displayed by the gram.

### 2.2.2 *Initial Stages—Resultative Proper Grams*

The original resultative expressions—grams that correspond to the initial stage of the anterior path—quite regularly provide a performative sense. Their use in performative utterances appears to be productive and unrestricted given that all verbs are virtually acceptable in performative acts. The only constraint is the fulfillment of felicity conditions and the existence of an appropriate procedure.

For instance, in English, various performative utterances have a shape of the resultative proper passive (labeled also as ‘statal passive’, cf. Maslov 1988 and Nedjalkov 2001:930), formed by the auxiliary verb *be* and the passive resultative participle, such as the expression *It is done* (cf. already Austin 1962:57). This periphrasis is an exemplary resultative gram at an early stage of its development. As a prototypical resultative proper, it introduces a situation viewed as compounded by two elements: the prior action and its posterior result (i.e. a state that is simultaneous to the main reference time). In particular, it cannot be employed in senses that correspond to advanced stages on the anterior path, e.g. as an experiential perfect or a definite past tense. It is important to note that this English construction conveys performative nuances with relative frequency. The locution is productive and admits a wide range of predicates, both prototypical performatives (e.g. *verb dicendi*) as well as other verbs—it is thus not limited to a closed set of verbs (4):

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<sup>27</sup> This possibility clearly stems from the previously explained fact that meanings that are synchronically provided by a single construction reflect well-ordered successive diachronic segments of typologically universal processes (cf. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991:251).

- (5)
- a. **Objection is overruled**<sup>28</sup>
  - b. This meeting **is** now **adjourned**
  - c. **It is decided!**
  - d. He **is condemned** to death!
  - e. You **are** hereby **authorized** to pay... (Austin 1962:57)
  - h. You **are ordered** to... (Austin 1962:59)
  - f. Passengers **are warned** to cross the track by the bridge only (Austin 1962:57)
  - g. A notice **is** hereby **given** that trespassers will be prosecuted (Austin 1962:57)
  - h. Sir, you **are arrested!**

In a similar vein, the Polish resultative expression built on the perfective passive resultative participle and the auxiliary *być* 'be' (as in the phrase *jest napisany* '[it] is written') is extensively used in performative environments. As its English homologue, the locution is an exemplary resultative proper gram: a semantically bipolar construct that connotes two pieces of information (viz. the previously performed activity and a static condition that results from it). Being a non-advanced resultative diachrony, the periphrasis cannot appear in explicit past contexts, for instance, with past adverbs nor can it be employed with the experiential perfect force. Yet similar to the English participial expression, the construction in Polish is productive in the performative function, admitting a broad range of predicates, both *verba dicendi* and other less prototypical verbs:

- (6)
- a. **Ochrzczony** **jestes** imieniem Aleksander!<sup>29</sup>  
baptized you.are (with.)name Alexander  
You are baptized by the name of Alexander!
  - b. **Jest zdecydowane**, idziemy do kina  
is decided we-go to cinema  
It is decided, we are going to the cinema
  - c. **Jest** Pan **zatrzymany / zaaresztowany!**  
is sir detained / arrested  
You are arrested
  - d. **Zebranie** jest **otwarte!**  
meeting is open  
The meeting is inaugurated!

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<sup>28</sup> In this typological section of the paper, the relevant constructions that convey performative meaning or can be employed in prototypical performative situations with a performative force will be highlighted with a bold type font.

<sup>29</sup> All examples will be glossed following the so-called word-by-word alignment although respective perfect, perfective past and (simple) past formations will be indicated by employing the abbreviation PERF, PF.PAST and PAST, respectively.

A comparable pattern may be found in Spanish. Spanish possesses a prototypical resultative periphrasis that consists of the static verb *quedar* ‘remain, keep on being’ and a passive (resultative) participle, e.g. *Su obra queda olvidada* ‘His work is/remains forgotten’. In addition to the resultative proper meaning (which always accompanies the expression), this periphrasis is highly productive in performative situations—it may be employed with both utterance-verbs as well as other types of predicates in order to perform speech acts:

- (7) a. ¡Así **queda** **decidido!** (when taking a decision)  
 like.this remains decided  
 It is decided!
- b. ¡El juicio **queda visto** para sentencial!  
 the trial remains ready for verdict  
 The trial is ready for the verdict
- c. ¡Usted **queda** arrestado!  
 sir **remains** arrested  
 You are arrested!

### 2.2.3 INTERMEDIATE STAGE—YOUNG PERFECTS

Also constructions defined as prototypical anteriors or young perfects<sup>30</sup>—i.e. grams that match intermediate stages on the anterior path, usually spanning from the resultative to the experiential perfect segments<sup>31</sup>—may be employed with a performative force. However, the use of such formations with a performative sense is more limited than it was in those cases of resultative proper expressions. Namely, the application of the gram in performative utterances is reserved for more prototypically performative verbs, such as predicates of giving and endowing as well as *verba dicendi*. The remaining verbal roots, on the contrary, regularly provide descriptive (constative) perfect meanings instead of performing acts and modifying the enunciator’s reality.

Let us consider the following example of the Spanish construction built on the possessive verb *tener* ‘have, possess’ and a passive (resultative) participle, e.g. *lo tengo hecho* ‘I have it done / I have done it’. The gram is a prototypical young anterior used in several perfect functions. It also maintains its original resultative proper force. Unsurprisingly, the formation can frequently be employed in order to perform acts. Nevertheless, one may detect certain restrictions on the performative use which is most common

<sup>30</sup> On so-called ‘old anteriors’, see section 2.2.4, below.

<sup>31</sup> Sometimes, the indefinite or immediate past value may also be included in the semantics of young perfects (e.g. cf. Spanish perfect *he hecho* ‘I have done’ which can be used as a one-day past).

and least awkward in cases where exemplary performative verbs are used (8.a and 8.b). However, less typical predicates are sometimes admissible (8.c).

- (8) a. Te      **tengo dicho** que      no!  
       to.you I.have said      that      no  
       I say you no! (lit. I have [it] said)
- b. Te      lo      **tengo prometido!**  
       to.you it      I.have promised  
       I promise it to you (lit. I have it promised)
- c. Te      **tengo detenido!**  
       you      I.have arrested  
       I arrest you (lit. I have you arrested)

Another example may be found in Akkadian. This language includes in its verbal system a gram—labeled frequently ‘perfect’ (Huehnergard 2005:157)—which, given its morphological structure<sup>32</sup>, we will refer to as *iptaras* (cf. Andrason 2011a:153). The formation is a prototypical young anterior of current relevance employed in a wide range of perfect senses (resultative, inclusive, frequentative, experiential and indefinite, cf. Maloney 1982:33, Leong 1994, Streck 1995 y 1999, Bubenik 1998:44-55 and Huehnergard 2005:157-160). Very infrequently, the category appears in explicit past environments and especially in past narrative fragments. On the other hand, the resultative proper value is normally conveyed by another Akkadian construction, i.e. the *parsaku*. This means that the *iptaras* itself is less extensively employed to express such an original resultative value; it thus lost the meaning that matches the initial stage of the anterior path. Among all the values provided by the gram, scholars determine one—known as “announcement Perfect”—which corresponds to the performative value (Cancik-Kirschbaum 1996, Huehnergard 2005 and Loesov 2004 and 2005). In this usage, the construction expresses the realization of the very act conveyed by the verb—it is employed in order to perform an act. It should be observed that the productivity of the performative *iptaras* is significantly more restricted in comparison to resultative proper expressions, studied in the previous section. Namely, the use of the gram in performative utterances is reserved for verbs of giving and endowing as well as predicates of utterance (*verba dicendi*). All remaining verbs, when employed in the *iptaras*, provide prototypical perfect meanings rather than introduce performative acts.

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<sup>32</sup> I.e. the infix morpheme *t* and the lack of reduplication of the second radical.

- (9) a. Nabi-Sîn ana maḥrika **aṭṭardam** (Huehnergard  
2005:157)  
Nabi-Sîn to your.face sent-PERF.1sg  
I have now sent Nabi-Sîn to you’ or ‘I send you Nabi-Sîn
- b. a-nu-um-ma KU<sub>3</sub>.BABBAR **u<sub>2</sub>-te-ra-kum** (Loesov  
2004:133)  
hereby silver return-PERF.1sg  
Hereby, I have returned you the silver / Hereby, I return  
you the silver

On the other hand, one may not ignore a group of languages where young anteriors are normally incompatible with performative utterances. For instance, the Icelandic perfect *hef gert* ‘I have done’—a compound of the verb *hafa* ‘have’ and a resultative participle—is employed in all typical perfect senses (Jónsson 1992). Nevertheless, it fails to be used with a performative force. Similarly, the Spanish present perfect *he hecho* ‘I have done’ (an analytical construction derived from the auxiliary *haber* ‘have’ and a passive or resultative participle) is not found in explicit performative utterances. It shall be observed that in both cases, the anterior does not preserve the original resultative proper value—the grams are thus more advanced than the previously mentioned form in Spanish (i.e. *tengo hecho*) as well as the Akkadian expression. In addition, the Spanish locution is not employed with the inclusive perfect sense. This loss of original senses may consequently be viewed as a motivation or justification for the “non-performativeness” of the two perfects.<sup>33</sup>

#### 2.2.4 Advanced Stage—Old Perfects

Advanced, originally resultative, constructions (so-called ‘old perfects’)—grams that function as prototypical perfects and as definite past tenses as well (in other words, past tenses which have not been reduced yet to solely past functions)—may also provide the performative value. Nevertheless, in a similar manner to what we have observed in the previous section, the performative use of such expressions appears to be restricted to a fixed set of verbs of speaking or those that convey the ideas of giving, sending or assigning. Furthermore, in the case of still more advanced old perfects, which—even though acceptable in certain perfect environments—principally function as prototypical pasts, admitting remote and narrative contexts, the gram displays a further weakening of the performative force, in some instances failing to be used in explicit performative utterances. It shall be noted that virtually old perfects are most commonly bereaved of the initial resultative proper sense.

For instance, in Mandinka, the so-called *YE* gram (Andrason 2012b) can express both prototypical present perfect situations as

<sup>33</sup> These facts suggest that the location of the performative state shall be after the resultative proper and inclusive perfect phases.

well as definite past events. Additionally, it is sometimes employed in order to provide the performative force. In those instances, the action is seen as performed by being stated. It should be noted that the YE perfect-past normally appears in the performative sense only with utterance and communicative verbs (i.e. with predicates which lean themselves for performative acts), which means that the productivity of the expression is profoundly limited. Remaining dynamic verbs normally have constative perfect or past readings.

- (10) a. **Da** n kali!  
I-PERF myself swear  
I swear!
- b. **Da** i daani  
I-PERF you pray  
I pray you / I beseech you

Another example may be found in the Arabic language. The Classical Arabic *qatala* construction—an old anterior—is entirely compatible with the semantic domain of perfect as well as with that covered by a discursive and narrative past. On the other hand, the formation is not used with the original resultative proper force; when derived from dynamic fientive roots, the meaning almost invariably corresponds either to a perfect or to a past (Wright 1964:1-5, Haywood & Nahmad 1965:96, Corriente 1988:148-151, Owens 1988:316 and 2006:73, Danecki 1994:153, Kozłowska 1996:57, Bubenik 1998:49, Kienast 2001:332 and Versteegh 2001:84). As in Mandinka, the gram may function as a performative expression, indicating that an action is being performed at the very moment of speaking. This reading, however, is subject to multiple restrictions and seems to only be possible with verbs of utterance (11.a and 11.b) or endowing (11.c; Wright 1964:1, Danecki 1994 and Kienast 2001:332).

- (11) a. انشدتك الله (Wright 1964:1)  
**'anšadtu-ka** llāha  
conjure-PERF.1.sg+you by.god  
I conjure thee by God
- b. بعتهك هذا (Wright 1964:1)  
**bi'tu-ka** hādâ  
sell-PERF.1.sg.+you this  
I sell you this
- c. حلفت (Kienast 2001:332)  
**ḥalaftu**  
swear-PERF.1.sg  
I swear (cf. translation in Kienast 2001:331 *Hiermit schwöre ich*)

A different instructive case may be found in Classical Latin. Namely, the Latin *Perfectum* is an exemplary old perfect—it may

function either as a present perfect or as a perfective and simple narrative past (Francis & Tatum 1919). However, various, typically performative verbs (in particular, utterance verbs: e.g. *dixi* or *juravi*, verbs of endowing: e.g. *dedi* or *missi*, and verbs of appointing, e.g. *unxi*, etc.) are commonly employed with a performative force (Greenough *et al.* 1903/1983:301 and Francis & Tatum 1919:52):

- (12) a. **Unxi** te regem  
annoint-PERF.1.sg you king  
I anoint you king (2 Kgs 9:3)
- b. Ecce **dedi** vobis omnem herbam  
so give-PERF.1.sg you every plant  
So I give you every plant (Gen 1:29)
- c. Ecce ego **iuravi** in nomine meo magno  
behold I swear-PERF.1.sg in name my great  
Behold, I swear by my great name (Jer 44:26)

Also the Akkadian gram *iḫrus*—an advanced resultative diachrony which function as an anterior and, most commonly, a definite past category (cf. Huehnergard 2005 and Andrason 2010c:338-340)—can be employed with a performative force. In those instances, it expresses an action achieved by the very act of uttering the words in question (Loesov 2005:115-117). The performative *iḫrus* appears frequently only in epistolary gender, in particular in certain fixed expressions of sending, assigning or writing—especially with the verb *šaparum* ‘write and send’—and with a limited set of certain exemplary utterance predicates. Consequently, in accordance with all the cases of the performative use offered by old anteriors (presented thus far), the acceptability of the gram in the performative sense is restricted to a closed class of prototypically performative verbs.

- (13) a. **atma** (Loesov 2005:117)  
swear-PERF.1.sg  
I swear!
- b. **ú-na-ḫi-i-id**-ka (Loesov 2005:117)  
order-PERF.1.sg+you  
I order you
- c. ana šulmika **ašpur**-am (Sallaberger 1999:87–92)  
to health.your wish-PERF.1.sg.VENT<sup>34</sup>  
I wish you well-being

Finally, in Polish, the old perfect, so-called ‘past tense’, is never used in prototypical performative situations (14.a and 14.b). It should be noted that the Polish gram—despite its name—is not an exclusive past. Quite the contrary, it may still provide certain resid-

<sup>34</sup> VENT stands for ‘ventive’, a special verbal morpheme (e.g. *am*).

ual perfect uses. Namely, although it cannot be used in the sense of a resultative proper or an inclusive perfect, it is frequently employed as a resultative and experiential anterior. On the other hand, it must be emphasized that this formation constitutes the principal means to convey definite past meaning in Polish, both in discourse and narration. Consequently, taking into account a profound advancement of the Polish old perfect on the anterior cline—with a simultaneous reduction of the path's original domains —, it is not surprising that it has lost the ability of appearing in performative utterances.

- (14) a.       \*\* Niniejszym **otworzyłem**                   zebranie  
               hereby       open-PF.PAST1sg       meeting  
               (Intended meaning) Hereby, I open the meeting
- b.       \*\* Niniejszym **ogłosiłem**  
               hereby       declare-PF.PAST.1.sg  
               was mężem       i       żoną  
               you husband and       wife  
               (Intended meaning) Hereby, I declare you husband  
               and wife

### 2.2.5 Terminal Stage—Definite Pasts

As a final point in our discussion of post-resultative formations and their relation to the performative value, we may take constructions that have reached highly advanced or terminal stages of the development. They function as archetypical definite past tenses, having, at the same time, lost any resultative and perfect values. Such formations, regularly fail to be employed with a performative force.

For instance, in Icelandic, the simple past—*itself*, being a gram that is never employed in the resultative proper or perfect sense—cannot act as a performative. Thus, for example, the use of the sentence (17) is impossible during the ceremony of baptizing (in this case, one expects to employ the present tense or a less advanced resultative expression):

- (17) \*\*Hér með **skirði**                   ég þig       Alexander  
       Here with baptize-PAST.1.sg I you       Alexander  
       (Intended meaning) Hereby, I baptize you by the name Alexander

As an additional exemplary case, one may quote the French *passé simple*, an old perfect which nowadays has been reduced to an exclusive narrative past function (Grevis 1975 and Mauger 1968)—the ultimate phase of the anterior cline. This means that the gram never appears in discourse or in personal narratives, nor is it able to convey meanings that correspond to initial or intermediate stages of the mentioned path: it does not function as a resultative proper or an anterior. In harmony with this panchronic

advancement and reduction of the more archaic senses, the formation absolutely fails to be employed with a performative force: it is never used as an explicit vehicle of the performative value nor does it appear in performative utterances, in general (18). In fact, this incompatibility with the performative force is tautological: the construction—being restricted to literary narrative genders<sup>35</sup>—is never pronounced or used in direct quotations (spoken or written). Thus, by definition, it cannot be used to perform an activity. In such instances, one employs the present tense or less advanced resultative expressions.

- (18) \*\*Je vous **déclarai** mari et femme  
 I you declare-PAST.1.sg husband and wife  
 (Intended meaning) I declare you husband and wife<sup>36</sup>

### 3. PERFORMATIVE QATAL

Having explained synchronic and diachronic properties of performatives and, subsequently, having established the relation between the performative function and grams that develop along the anterior path, specifying the exact location of the performative sense-stage on this evolutionary scenario, we may proceed to the analysis of the nature of the BH performative *qatal*. First, various—as diverse as possible—examples of the *qatal* in the performative utterances will be presented (section 3.1). Afterwards, the panchronic explanation of the performative sense provided by the BH gram will be offered, conciliating this usage with the remaining components of the semantic network of the construction (section 3.2). Finally, bearing in main the characteristics of the performative *qatal* introduced in part 3.1, we will demonstrate that these properties fully harmonize with the *qatal* defined as an advanced portion of the anterior path, i.e. as an intermediate-old perfect (cf. section 3.3).

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<sup>35</sup> In discourse, it appears (although still very sporadically) only in some fixed expressions and idioms, such as *il fut un temps, s'il en fut* or *ce fut pour moi un bonheur*.

<sup>36</sup> The present list of linguistic samples is of course far from being exhaustive. For instance, as old perfects are concerned we did not include the Greek *aorist* or the Hausa *completive*—post-resultative grams that may be employed with a performative force. Our examples are designed to illustrate the proposed evolutionary principle and the relation of the performative meaning-stage to the anterior path and to formations which develop along this evolutionary trajectory. Further research on a broader sample of idioms is inevitable in order to sharpen this tendency and improve its understanding.

### 3.1. EVIDENCE

The performative use of the *qatal*, although certainly much less common than other perfect or past meanings offered by the BH suffix conjugation, is not—contrary to the widespread opinion—exceptionally rare or odd. This statement derives from the following facts: first, the performative *qatal* can be detected in various books of the Hebrew Bible. Second, it is represented by, at least, nineteen different verbs or roots. Third, it provides examples of all five of the main categories of prototypical performative verbs, i.e. expositives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives and verdictives. And finally fourth, in limited cases, other non-exemplary performative predicates are used in order to perform performative speech acts in Biblical Hebrew. To demonstrate this relative non-eccentricity of the gram let us introduce the most relevant instances where it is employed. Following the taxonomy proposed by Austin (1962), these cases will be divided into five classes of archetypal performatives.

#### 3.1.1 Expositive Type

Expositives are predicates that by telling, affirming, stating, agreeing or denying, asking and answering, specify how the performative utterance fits into the conversation. They expound views, conduct arguments, clarify usages and stipulate how the utterance is related to the course of argumentation. In Biblical Hebrew, one may find four prototypically expositive verbs which in the *qatal* form display a clear performative value: הִגִּיד ‘declare’ (19.a and 19.b), אָמַר ‘say’ (20.a, 20.b and 20.c), הִעֵיִד ‘call (to witness)’ (21.a and 21.b) and סִפֵּר ‘narrate, recount’ (22):

For instance, in the following examples, the *qatal* form derived from the predicate הִגִּיד ‘declare’ does not suggest any prior—perfect or past—action, but refers to the activity that is being performed at the very moment of speaking. In other words, the verb הִגִּידְתִּי ‘I declare’ introduces the expositive act of announcing, being a necessary component to its felicitous performance:

- (19) a. Deut 26:3  
הִגִּידְתִּי הַיּוֹם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ כִּי־בָאתִי אֶל־הָאָרֶץ  
I declare today to the Lord your God that I have come into  
the land
- b. Deut 30:18  
הִגִּידְתִּי לָכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבָד תֵּאבְדוּ  
I declare to you today, that you shall surely perish

The verb אָמַר ‘say’ in the performative function may receive two readings, one properly expositive (20.a and 20.b), introducing a message that is being uttered and the other exercitive (cf. the sec-

tion 3.1.2 below), whereby the enunciator exerts his power over people taking a decision and determining a given situation (20.c)

- (20) a. Job 9:22  
 אחת היא על-כֵּן אֶמְרֵתִי תָם וְרָשָׁע הוּא מְכֻלָּה  
 It is all one; therefore I say: He destroys both the blameless  
 and the wicked
- b. Job 32:10  
 לְכֵן אֶמְרֵתִי שְׁמַעְתָּה לִּי אֲחֹוֶה דַּעֲי אֶף־אֲנִי:  
 Therefore I say: Listen to me; let me also declare my opinion
- c. 2 Sam 19:30  
 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ לָמָּה תִדְבָּר עוֹד דְּבַרְיָךְ אֶמְרֵתִי אֵתָּה  
 וְצִיבָא תַחְלִקוּ אֶת־הַשָּׂדֶה  
 And the king said to him: Why do you speak any more of your  
 affairs? I say (i.e. I decide): you and Ziba shall divide the land

Another typical expositive predicate is הָעֵי(י)ד ‘call (for to witness)’ that in the suffix conjugation may introduce invocations. Nevertheless, although a typical member of the expositive class, it may also alternatively be understood as accompanied by a behabitive force of a prayer. In both cases, its use is a compulsory component in order to accomplish the act of invoking heaven and earth (on the exercitive function of this verb see the next section).

- (21) a. Deut 4:26  
 הָעֵידוּתִי בְּכֶם הַיּוֹם אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ  
 I call heaven and earth to witness against you today
- b. Deut 30:19  
 הָעֵידוּתִי בְּכֶם הַיּוֹם אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ  
 I call heaven and earth to witness against you today

Similarly, the verb סָפַר ‘narrate, recount’ may be employed in the *qatal* form in order to perform expositive acts:

- (22) Ps 75:2  
 הוֹדִינוּ לָךְ אֱלֹהִים הוֹדִינוּ וְקִרֹּב שְׁמֹךְ סָפְרוּ  
 נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ  
 We give thanks to you, o God, we give thanks, for your  
 name is near; they narrate your marvelous deeds

### 3.1.2 *Exercitive Type*

The exercitive category of performatives is used to assert influence or exercise rights and power. Exercitives give a decision that some-

thing should be so (Austin 1962:154). Such predicates usually express the ideas of warning, advising, urging, prohibiting, ordering and commanding on the one hand (subclass *a*) and the concepts of appointing, nominating, naming, annulling and repealing, on the other (subclass *b*). It shall be noted that verbs of giving and endowing belong to this category of performatives (subclass *c*; Austin 1962:155).

The first group—class *a*—is represented in Biblical Hebrew by three predicates: **ד(י)ע** ‘warn’ (23.a), **יעץ** ‘advise, counsel’ (23.b) and **השביע** ‘adjure, urge’ (23.c). It shall be noted that the verb **ד(י)ע** ‘warn’, beside being employed in order to caution or advise, may also introduce the exercitive act as demonstrated previously in examples (21.a and 21.b) above.

(23) a. Deut 8:19

וְהָיָה אִם־שָׁכַחַתְּ תִשְׁכַּח אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ וְהִלַּכְתָּ אַחֲרַי אֱלֹהִים  
אַחֲרַיִם וְעַבַּדְתָּם וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתָ לָהֶם הַעֲדֵתִי בְכֶם הַיּוֹם כִּי אָבֵד  
תֵּאבְדוּן

If you forget the Lord your God and follow other gods to serve and worship them, I warn you today that you shall surely perish

b. 2 Sam 17:11

כִּי יַעֲצֵתִי הָאִסּוֹף יֵאָסֹף עָלֶיךָ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

But I advise that all Israel shall be gathered to you<sup>37</sup>

c. Song 2:7; 3:5; 5:8 and 8:4

הַשְּׁבַעְתִּי אֶתְכֶם בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַם

I adjure you, O daughters of Jerusalem

The second class of exercitives, which roughly speaking contains verbs of nominating, is represented by two archetypical predicates: **צוה** ‘appoint, order’ and **משח** ‘anoint’. Their use in the *qatal* form—as required—is a necessary component of the felicitous performance of the act of nomination:

(24) a. 1 Kgs 1:35

וְאַתּוֹ צִוִּיתִי לְהִיּוֹת נָגִיד עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְעַל־יְהוּדָה

And I appoint him to be ruler over Israel and over Judah

b. 2 Kgs 9:3

וְאָמַרְתָּ בְּהֶאֱמַר יְהוָה מְשַׁחְתִּיךָ לְמֶלֶךְ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

Thus says the Lord, I anoint you king over Israel

Finally, the third subcategory of exercitive verbs (*viz.* the class *c* of verbs of endowing) is documented by two predicates: **נתן** ‘give’ (26.a-e) and **שלח** ‘send’ (26.a-b). Both verbs are quite common in

<sup>37</sup> One may also quote another possible case of the exercitive in Jer 42:19.

the performative *qatal* usage in the biblical material. It must be emphasized that these non-utterance-verbs are to be regarded as typical performative predicates within Austin's (1962; as well as Searl's 1971/1976) scheme. The enunciator, exercising his or her power, expresses the decision that something is to be so. This means that the so-called epistolary perfect is a regular manifestation of the exercitive act—the speaker endows others with something and/or takes a decision that a state of affairs shall be such and such.

- (25) a. Gen 23:11  
 לא־אֲדַנִּי שְׂמַעְנִי הַשָּׂדֶה נְתַתִּי לָךְ וְהַמְעָרָה אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ  
 No, my lord, hear me; I give you the field and the cave that is in it
- b. Gen 23:11  
 לָךְ נְתַתִּיָּהּ לְעֵינַי בְּנִי־עַמִּי נְתַתִּיָּהּ לָךְ קִבְרִי מִתְּדָד:  
 In the presence of my people I give it to you; bury your dead
- c. Gen 15:18  
 לְזֶרְעֲךָ נְתַתִּי אֶת־הָאָרֶץ הַזֹּאת  
 To your descendants I give this land
- d. Gen 1:29  
 הִנֵּה נְתַתִּי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב זֶרַע זֶרַע אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי כָל־הָאָרֶץ  
 וְאֶת־כָּל־הָעֵץ אֲשֶׁר־בּוֹ פְרִי־עֵץ זֶרַע זֶרַע לָכֶם יְהִיָּה לְאֹכְלָהּ  
 And God said: Behold, I give you every plant yielding seed that is on the face of all the earth, and every tree with seed in its fruit. You shall have them for food
- e. 1 Kgs 3:13  
 וְגַם אֲשֶׁר לֹא־שָׁאַלְתָּ נְתַתִּי לָךְ  
 I give you also what you have not asked
- (26) a. 1 Kgs 15:19  
 הִנֵּה שְׁלַחְתִּי לָךְ שְׁחָד כֶּסֶף וְזָהָב  
 I send you a present of silver and gold
- b. 2 Chr 2:12  
 וְעַתָּה שְׁלַחְתִּי אִישׁ־חָכָם  
 And now, I send a skilled artisan

### 3.1.3 Commissive Type

By using commissives, the enunciator assumes an obligation or declares an intention: he or she undertakes something by promising, swearing, vowing, proposing, agreeing and consenting. Put

differently, commissives commit the speaker to a certain course of action (Austin 1962:156).

In the biblical text, one may find a single prototypical commissive verb employed in the *qatal* with a performative force, namely נִשְׁבַּע ‘swear’. In all of the following examples, the form נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי introduces the exact message of a current oath, being a necessary component of the act of a vow:

(27) a. Jer 22:5

וְאִם לֹא תִשְׁמָעוּ אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי  
נִאֲמַר־יְהוָה בִּי־לְחָרְבָהּ יִהְיֶה הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה

But if you will not obey these words, I swear by myself, declares the Lord, that this house shall become a desolation

b. 2 Sam 19:8

בִּיהוָה נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי כִּי

For I swear by God that...

c. Gen 22:16

וַיֹּאמֶר בִּי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי נִאֲמַר־יְהוָה כִּי יַעַן אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה  
וְלֹא חָשַׁקְתָּ אֶת־בְּנֶךְ אֶת־יְחִידְךָ

And he said: By myself I swear—declares the Lord—because you have done this and have not withheld your son, your only son

d. Jer 44:26

הִנְנִי נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי בְּשֵׁמִי הַגָּדוֹל

Behold, I swear by my great name

It is highly important to note that an act of vowing or swearing may likewise be introduced by non-prototypical commissive verbs, such as הָרִים ‘lift up’ (28.a) and נָשָׂא ‘lift, raise’ (28.b), as illustrated by the following fragment:

(28) a. Gen 14:22

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם אֶל־מֶלֶךְ סֹדֶם הִרִימְתִּי יָדִי אֶל־יְהוָה אֵל עֵלְיוֹן כְּנָה  
שָׁמַיִם וָאָרֶץ

But Abram said to the king of Sodom: I swear (lit. lift my hand [in ratifying an oath]) to the Lord, God Most High, Possessor of heaven and earth

b. Ezek 36:7

אֲנִי נִשְׂאֲתִי אֶת־יָדִי אִם־לֹא הִגּוּזִים אֲשֶׁר לְכֶם מִסְבִּיב הִמָּה כָּל־מְתָם  
יִשָּׂאוּ

I swear (raise my hand [in ratifying an oath]) that the nations that are all around you shall themselves suffer reproach

### 3.1.4 *Behabitive Type*

Behabitives are predicates related to a certain attitude adopted by the speaker and to various types of social behavior, such as welcoming, thanking, congratulating, apologizing, condoling, cursing, blessing, challenging, daring, favoring, deploring and blaming. This category of performatives is primordially represented by three verbs in the Hebrew Bible: בָּרַךְ ‘bless’ (29.a-c), הוֹדָה ‘praise, give thanks’ (30) and חָרַף ‘defy’ (31). In all of the provided examples—in contrast to cases where it is used as an archetypical constative —, the *qatal* form does not describe anterior (perfect), past, presents or even future events and situations. Quite the reverse, it is employed in order to perform determined creative acts, such as blessing, thanking and challenging. Put differently, by uttering these sentences, the speaker does not state how reality was, is or will be, but imposes an immediate modification in the adjacent world.

- (29) a. Ps 129:8  
 בָּרַכְנוּ אֶתְכֶם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה  
 We bless you in the name of God
- b. Ps 118:26  
 בָּרוּךְ הַבָּא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה בְּרַכְנוּכֶם מִבֵּית יְהוָה:  
 Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord! We  
 bless you from the house of the Lord
- c. Gen 17:20  
 וְלִישְׁמַעֵאל שָׁמַעְתִּיד הִנֵּה בְרַכְתִּי אֹתוֹ וְהִפְרִיתִי אֹתוֹ  
 As for Ishmael, I have heard you; behold, I bless him and  
 will make him fruitful
- (30) Ps 75:2  
 הוֹדִינוּ לָךְ אֱלֹהִים הוֹדִינוּ וְקָרוֹב שְׁמֶךָ  
 We praise you God, we praise you / We give thanks to  
 you, O God, we give thanks, for your name is near
- (31) 1 Sam 17:10  
 וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֲנִי חֹרַפְתִּי אֶת־מַעְרְכוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה  
 And the Philistine said: I defy the ranks of Israel this day

Also, the following sentence provides a case of a behabitive act although the predicate, employed in order to introduce the intended type of social behavior,—i.e. הִשְׁתַּחֲוּהוּ ‘bow down deeply, do obeisance’—is not a prototypical behabitive verb:

- (32) 2 Sam 16:4

הַשְׁתַּחֲוִייתִי אֶמְצָא־חַן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ

I pay homage; let me ever find favor in your sight, my lord  
the king

### 3.1.5 *Verdictive Type*

The last subcategory of prototypical performatives consists of verdictive verbs. By means of these predicates, the enunciator exercises a judgment, gives a verdict, approves, estimates, reckons, appraises or rules.

In the Hebrew Bible, this group is represented by the verb סָלַח ‘pardon, practice forbearance, forgive’. As it is evident from the following example (cf. 33 below), the *qatal* form סָלַחְתִּי does not express a perfect or past value, but, on the contrary, is an indispensable component in order to perform the ongoing act of grace:

(33) Num 14:20

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה סָלַחְתִּי כְּדְבָרְךָ

Then the Lord said: I pardon in accordance with your  
word

Besides this exemplary performative utterance-predicate, another typical verb—but certainly not an utterance-root—may introduce the enactment of a verdict, viz. פָּתַח ‘loosen, release’:

(34) Jer 40:4

וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה פָּתַחְתִּיךָ הַיּוֹם מִן־הָאֲזָקִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־יָדֶיךָ

Now, behold, I release you today from the chains on your  
hands

## 3.2. PERFORMATIVE *QATAL* AS A STAGE WITHIN THE ANTERIOR-PATH *QATAL*

### 3.2.1 *Accommodating the Performative Qatal in the Network of Senses*

As already mentioned, the *qatal* has been recently defined as a manifestation of the anterior path. First, Andersen (2000:31) and Cook (2002:209-219) have shown that the formation has evolved following the anterior trajectory, having originated in a resultative construction (cf. also Lipiński 2001:336-337 and Kienast 2001; on the history of the *qatal* see below in this section) and acquired stages of a perfect and perfective past. More recently, Andrason (2010b:610 and 2011a:281, 305-307) has demonstrated that the semantic potential of the category—with all its superficial heterogeneity and inconsistency—may be grasped in its integrity and viewed as a ho-

mogeneous and harmonious whole, if we define it as a portion of the anterior track. In this manner, present perfect (inclusive, resultative, frequentative and experiential), indefinite and definite past, as well as perfective and simple past functions may be made compatible and congruent—all of them may be matched with consecutive stages on the anterior path.<sup>38</sup>

Consequently, the *qatal* is synchronically defined as an advanced portion of the anterior trajectory—a fragment of the path that covers the stages from the dynamic inclusive perfect to the simple past (although only in discourse and personal narration; this means that the narrative past tense value is still unavailable at the biblical period). *Grosso modo*, we could state, that the dynamically pictured state of the formation (or more correctly speaking, of a group of senses that can be mapped employing the network of the anterior cline) approximates the grammatical category of an old or “relatively”-old perfect where both perfect and past (exclusively in discourse and personal narration) are prominent.<sup>39</sup> This panchronic networking of the values of the *qatal* has been spatially mapped in the following manner, matching the historical progression of the anterior path:

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<sup>38</sup> Andrason (2011a:305-307) has shown that further senses conveyed by the *qatal* may be mapped and explained as manifestations of two remaining paths that, jointly with the anterior track, constitute the resultative trajectory—i.e. a comprehensive evolutionary scenario governing the grammatical life of all resultative constructions. In particular, the resultative-stative, stative and present temporal value has been unified and explained employing a network of the simultaneous path (cf. Andrason 2011a:282-283, 305-307 and 2011b:42) while rare case where the *qatal* offers an evidential sense has been rationalized as an expression of the evidential path (cf. Andrason 2010b:623-624 and 2011a:282; on the evidential path see Aikhenvald 2004 and Andrason 2010b:604-609). Finally, certain modal functions of the gram have been classified as a manifestation of the modal contamination path of the original resultative input (cf. Andrason 2011a:300-304; cf. also Andrason 2011c:7-8).

<sup>39</sup> This “relative” oldness or grammatical maturity of the *qatal* is justified by two facts: it is still commonly used as a perfect and it is not employed as a past tense in narratives.

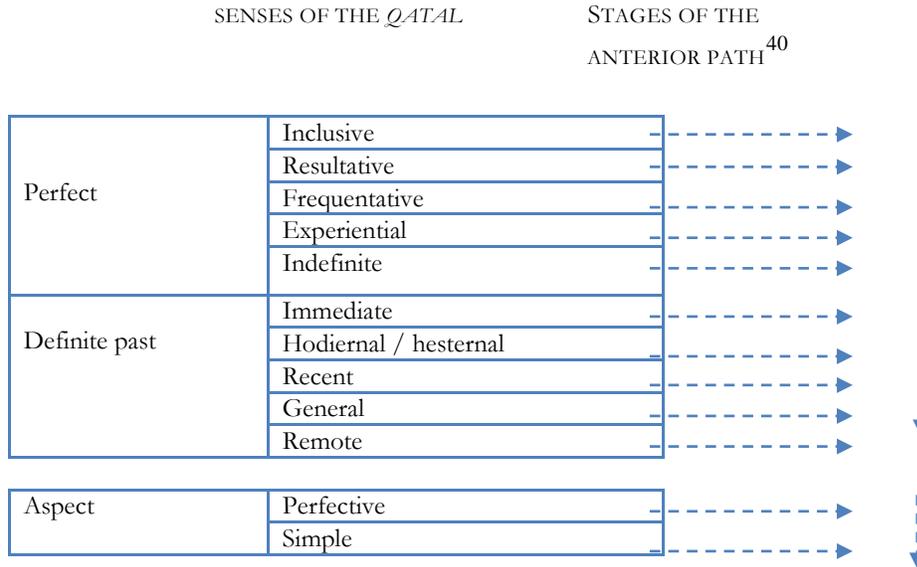


Figure 3: Senses of the BH *qatal* mapped as stages of the anterior path (Andrason 2011a:281)

Since the semantic load of the *qatal* is portrayed as matching the anterior path, being classified as a prototypical anterior diachrony at an advanced, though still not terminal, stage of development, the performative value of the gram *immediately* receives its place and explanation. Not only is it fully rational and justified—it corresponds to one of the segments of the anterior trajectory —, but also almost expected, given the fact that old perfects, which preserve their perfect uses, likewise tend to maintain the performative function, a sense that corresponds to one of the initial stages on the cline. Indeed, the fact that the *qatal* is still employed in the functions of an inclusive perfect—a stage that theoretically precedes the phases of the performative, necessitates that it would, at least to a certain extent, be compatible with the performative use.

<sup>40</sup> In this article, the BH *qatal* is treated as if its semantic potential has been “measured” at a single time  $t_0$ . This means that we consider Biblical Hebrew to be a historically static language—a synchronically consistent phenomenon. This is of course an approximation given the fact that the biblical text had been composed during various centuries, and thus different books may represent distinct diachronic stages of the language (see, Andrason 2011d:24, 49; furthermore, it can also include certain dialectical variations).

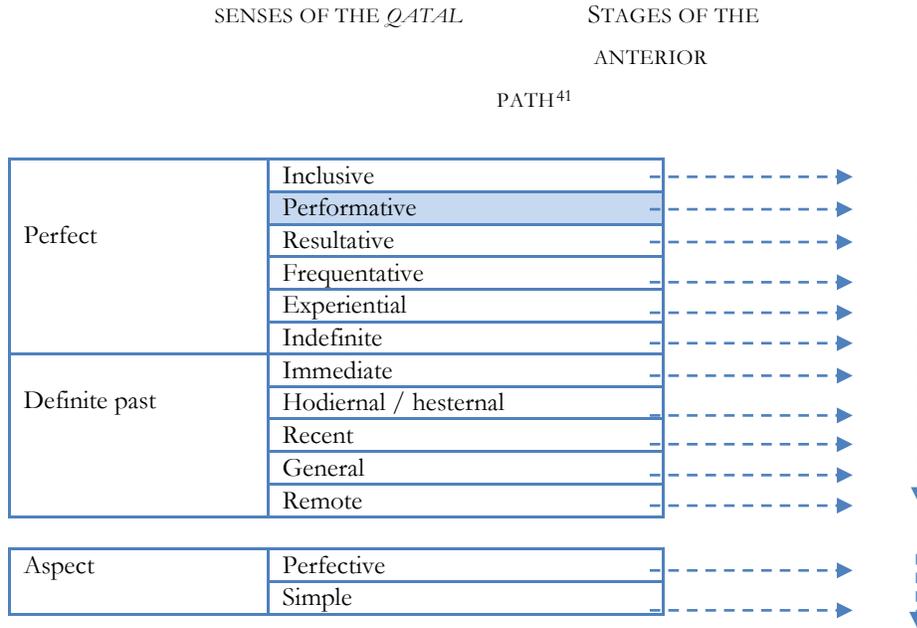


Figure 4: Performative sense of the BH *qatal* mapped as a stage of the anterior path

**3.2.2 Diachronic Evidence**

Our explanation has thus far been derived from typological universals and certain synchronically based properties, viz. values offered by the gram at the biblical époque. However, as required by the panchronic methodology (cf. Andrason 2010a:20-21, 2011b:33 and 2011d:20), a proposal of a dynamic elucidation of a sense, or of an entire category, must always be supported by diachronic data. Let us present such concrete historical facts that would corroborate our thesis whereby the performative sense, matching one of the initial stages on the anterior cline, reflects original—and hence available at the Proto-Semitic (PS) period—properties of the BH *qatal*.

The BH *qatal* is built on the Proto-Semitic verbal adjective *\*qatVl* (i.e. *\*qatal*, *\*qatil* and *\*qatul*) that from the beginning conveyed a resultative proper or stative value (Huehnergard 1987:221-223, Andersen 2000:31, Lambdin & Huehnergard 1998, Lipiński 2001:336-337 and 341, and Cook 2002:209-219). The BH *qatal* form itself reflects an original predicative use of this verbal adjective, i.e. a situation where it was used in order to describe a state of the nominal subject to which it was directly linked without any

<sup>41</sup> This is an adapted version of the model of the anterior path that has previously been posited in Figure 2 and 3.

auxiliary verb. However, it could also be found with personal pronouns—and this was the foundation of the BH *qatal* flexional markers. To this predicative analytical input expression shaped during the Proto-Semitic époque, we will refer to as a *\*qatal-*.

The resultative value of this input periphrasis (i.e. of the PS *\*qatal-*)—as still preserved in Akkadian—clearly stems from the resultative-stative sense of the verbal adjective itself (Huehnergard 1987:223). It shall be observed that resultative verbal adjectives and periphrases built with them—such as the PS *\*qatVl-* and *\*qatal-*—not only constitute a common departure point of the anterior path and thus a basis for resultatives, perfects and later on, for perfective and simple past tenses (cf. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Dahl 2000b and Andrason 2011a:286-287), but also are regularly employed in performative utterances (cf. already Austin 1962). We have previously seen similar formations—i.e. resultative adjectives or participles introduced by auxiliary verbs of predication—used as performatives in English and Polish (cf. 5.a-i, 6.a-d). Below, we offer further illustrative cases from the two idioms and from Spanish:

- (36) a. You **are ordered** to... (Austin 1962:59)  
 b. Zebranie **jest otwarte!**  
     meeting is open  
 The meeting is inaugurated!  
 c. ¡Usted **está detenido!**  
     sir is arrested  
     Sir, you are arrested!

Also bare resultative participles (i.e. verbal adjectives employed with no auxiliary verb)—entities that are typological matrixes for the PS *\*qatVl* and its use in the *\*qatal-* construction –, commonly appear in performative utterances as demonstrated by the following English (37.a-b), Polish (37.c-d) and Spanish (37.e-f) examples:

- (37) a. **Promised!** (when pronounced at the moment of making a promise)  
 b. **Overruled!** (when pronounced at the moment of disregarding a motion)  
 c. **Obiecane!** (when pronounced at the moment of making a promise)  
     Promised!  
 d. **Uzgodnione!** (when pronounced at the moment of making an agreement)  
     Agreed!  
 e. **Prometido!** (when pronounced at the moment of making a promise)  
     Promised!

- f. **Olvidado!** (when pronounced at the moment  
of forgiving)  
Forgotten!

Consequently, since the BH *qatal* is a successor of the PS resultative predicative periphrasis built on the verbal adjective (or using an alternative label, on the resultative participle), the ability to convey the performative force was “innate” from the origin. This sense was simply preserved at the biblical period as one of the components of the semantic network of the gram.

One may also identify another original property of the PS *\*qatVI* and *\*qatal-* that justifies the use of its BH successor with a performative force. According to typological studies, resultative verbal adjectives and resultatives built on such entities commonly display a non-agentive character and a de-transitive effect on the underlying verbs (Nedjalkov 2001:928). First, they regularly describe the state acquired by an entity which has suffered or experienced a given action. Second, depending on the argument structure offered by the underlying verb (i.e. by the verb from which the participle has been derived), this receptor-element may function as either an intransitive “patientive” or intransitive non-agentive subject (Haspelmath 1994:159). Put differently, when resultative adjectives or resultative proper grams are derived from underlying transitive verbs, the argument structure is rearranged and they usually offer a passive value. When they derive from intransitive predicates, no valency (or argument structure)<sup>42</sup> changes are involved and the form shows an active character in accordance with the underlying verb. In both cases, however, the ensuing locution is prototypically intransitive.

Such a de-transitive force is what links resultatives to present passives. This relationship may also be perceived in the fact that in certain languages, resultatives and passives of transitive verbs display the same form or that a passive is employed to express the resultative meaning (so-called ‘statal passive’; Maslov 1988 and Nedjalkov 2001:937). Present passives, in turn, statal or actional, may quite commonly provide performative values with no restriction as concerning the verbal root. In other words, the present passive is a productive performative category. All verbs are virtually acceptable and the only constraints correspond to the felicity conditions and existence of the procedure. Of course, the PS *\*qatal-* is not a systematic passive; but, on the other hand, as a prototypical passive, it does show a de-transitive force (cf. Huenergard 2005:26-27 and 221-222). This archaic property may still be observed in the Akkadian *parsāku* (labelled also ‘permansive’ or ‘stative’), a

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<sup>42</sup> More technically, the concept of valency makes reference to the number of arguments controlled by a verbal predicate.

panchronically earlier cognate of the BH *qatal* (Bergsträsser-Daniels 1983:13, Lipinski 2001, Kienast 2001 and Andrason 2011a:199-205 and 287-288). Namely, the gram was almost invariably an intransitive category—a passive when derived from transitive stems and active when derived from intransitive verbs.

Consequently, we may state the following: the fact that the *qatal* is a successor of the PS *\*qatal-* formation built on a formally analogical verbal adjective (i.e. on the *\*qatVl* employed in the predicative function) implies that as any exemplary resultative derived from verbal adjectives, it could originally “lean itself” for an unrestricted performative use. Namely, the locution of the type of (*it is*) *gone* or (*it is*) *done* may with an equal propensity be employed to state that something is concluded (it describes an acquired state of an entity) and to perform acts (for instance, by saying it, the enunciator certifies that something becomes finished—my words equal the accomplishment of the activity). Furthermore, in cases of underlying transitive verbs, the gram shows a de-transitive force approximating the statal present passive—a category that may extensively be used for performative purposes. As a result, the diachronic evidence confirms our typologically and synchronically based proposal: the performative value of the BH *qatal* may be rationalized as a logical component of the meaning displayed by the *qatal*, viz. when the gram’s semantic potential is spatially networked in accordance with the anterior path representation the performative sense corresponds to one of the cline’s original segments.

### 3.3. PROPERTIES OF THE PERFORMATIVE QATAL AND ITS PANCHRONIC INTERPRETATION

#### 3.3.1 Properties of the Performative Qatal as an Indicator of a Grammatical Advancement

In the previous section, we have demonstrated that the performative function of the BH *qatal* may be harmonized with the total meaning of the gram, making use of the panchronically charted network of senses. Since various values of the *qatal* can be spatially portrayed as stages of the anterior path, and since this path presupposes a segment reserved for the performative sense, the performative use of the BH suffix conjugation might also be logically accommodated within the same type of geometrical mapping, i.e. within the anterior trajectory. Thus, the fact that the *qatal* is able to be employed with a performative force has received its explanation and solid justification.

It shall be noted that the above-explained natural and, as supported by diachronic data, original property of the *qatal* to be used with a performative sense is weakened in Biblical Hebrew. It is certainly not employed in the performative function with normality, typical for resultative proper grams. Quite the reverse, the use of the BH suffix conjugation with a performative force is subjected to several restrictions.

However, in section 3.1 we have demonstrated that although the use of the performative *qatal* is limited, being one of the least frequent senses the gram can convey, it is not extremely rare and odd. We have detected the following facts that prove only a partial accomplishment of the process that leads to a total restriction of the performative function (as in old perfects) and to its subsequent elimination (as in past tenses; cf. section 2.2). First, the performative *qatal* may be found in various biblical books. Second, it admits at least nineteen distinct verbs or roots. Third, it provides examples of verbs that belong to the five major groups of prototypical performatives. Put differently, one may encounter instances where expositive, exercitive, commissive, behabitive and verdictive predicates are used in the *qatal* forms with a corresponding performative force. This indicates, in turn, that the *qatal* is thus compatible with the entire variety of the performative speech act. Fourth, likewise non-prototypical performative verbs—i.e. predicates that do not belong to the previously mentioned classes—may be employed in the *qatal* form in order to perform activities and modify reality. Certainly, such cases are highly uncommon. Nevertheless, the sole fact that they do exist is worth noticing, for it shows that the performative ability of the gram has not been limited to exemplary performative verbs only. Consequently, we are empowered to affirm that the performative value of the *qatal* is neither unrestricted as it could be at the initial resultative proper stage, nor is it profoundly limited and anomalous; albeit seldom met with non-performative predicates, it is still quite regular with performative verbs displaying examples of all five performative classes.

Having stated this, a question arises of whether and how this partial weakening of the performative function of the BH *qatal* can be conciliated with the panchronic definition of the gram in terms of an advanced post-resultative formation?

The answer may again be provided by making use of the dynamic analysis. Namely, the synchronically attested deterioration of the availability to and propensity for being used in performative utterances stems from a profound grammaticalization of the construction and its advancement on the anterior path. Let us explain this statement in a detailed manner, first discussing the structural and subsequently semantic progression of the gram.

### *3.3.1 Panchronic Advancement of the Qatal and its Implication for the Performative Value*

#### **Formal advancement**

As mentioned above, the original predicative resultative built upon the verbal adjective *\*qatVl*—as still documented by the Akkadian *parsāku*—was an intransitive and, in the case of underlying transitive verbs, de-transitive formation. Namely, when the locution was derived from transitive verbs, the value was almost constantly passive. In such cases, the direct object of an underlying verb became

the subject (patient) of the predicate while the transitive subject of the underlying verbal form was removed. Thus, the formation diverged from other conjugations such as the *iprus*, *iparras* or *iptaras* rejecting transitive uses and converging active transitive constructions into intransitive passive ones (on this universal behavior of resultatives in respect to valency, see again Nedjalkov 2001:929; cf. also section 3.2.2 above).

In Biblical Hebrew, the *qatal* form, due to its profound grammaticalization and fientivization, ceased being a “divergent”—as the arrangement of verbal arguments is involved—verbal conjugation. In the Hebrew Bible, subjects and objects of the *qatal* coincide with subjects and objects expressed by other grams, such as the *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol* or *qotel*. This means that the originally passive type of the archaic predicative resultative locution has been leveled to an active one, in accordance with the dominant verbal pattern. At this moment, the structure of arguments or the valency of a verb is identical to that which is displayed by all the remaining central verbal constructions. Put differently, the *qatal* lost its invariably intransitive and especially (when derived from transitive verbs) passive character. When this happened, the formation was likewise bereaved of the ability to be employed in an unrestricted manner with a performative force: it was no longer a predicative verbal resultative proper—an archetypal intransitive and, if possible, passive form. Thus, the readings such as (*it is*) *overruled*, *done*, *arrested* etc. ceased being possible. Now the gram meant *he has overruled*, *he has done* and *he has arrested*. The *qatal* acquired a dynamic (present) perfect function—it became an anterior gram.

The beginnings of this change may already be observed in Akkadian where certain verbs derived the so-called transitive *parsaku* form. In such cases, a given underlying transitive verb offered two alternative formations, one intransitive passive (more original and still more typical) and another transitive in accordance with the argument structure encountered in the basic verb and in the remaining conjugations (Huehnergard 2005). It shall be noted that the phenomenon of leveling of the argument arrangement in original resultative grams is not typologically rare. Quite the reverse, it is one of the most common changes that occur during the transformation of the resultative proper into a perfect (Nedjalkov 2001:928-929, 932, 937-938).<sup>43</sup>

### Semantic advancement

Also the regular, semantic advancement of the *qatal* harmonizes with a partial reduction of its performative sense. As previously stated, at the time of the biblical text, the *qatal* has reached the

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<sup>43</sup> It may, for instance, be encountered in certain Italian dialects or in Macedonian (Dahl 2000).

stage of a prototypical advanced anterior gram. It may be employed as a present perfect (including all of its subtypes such as inclusive, resultative, frequentative and experiential anterior) although the inclusive perfect meaning is significantly less prominent. It is also used as an indefinite and definite (in discourse and personal narration) past, as well as perfective and simple past. Thus, the meaning of the gram spanned almost the entire trajectory up to the simple past tense. Two spatial *lacunae* must however be noted: first, the *qatal* has not reached the stage of the narrative past tense (it is not used as a narrative past tense—a preterite) and second, the initial resultative proper value has been lost. Consequently, the stages on the anterior cline that correspond to these senses are not included in the semantic network of the gram.

Typological studies teach us that in advanced anteriors—such as the BH *qatal*—, the ability to express a performative sense is greatly weakened, being usually restricted to *verba dicendi* and other prototypical performative predicates (cf. section 2.2 and especially 2.2.4 above). This is precisely what occurs in Biblical Hebrew.

As a result, the weakening of the performative value of the *qatal* agrees with the typological nature of old perfects and in particular, the fact that the BH gram has lost its ability to convey resultative proper meaning. Consequently, as the majority of advanced perfects, the BH *qatal* ceased being a productive performative construction. The performative use is almost invariably limited to exemplary performative verbs. On the other hand, since the inclusive perfect value is still—although not very commonly—perceivable in the Hebrew Bible, it is not surprising that the performative sense remains quite regular within the class of such prototypically performative verbs, being even occasionally encountered with non-performative predicates.

### ***3.3.2 Posterior Increase in the Advancement and its Implication for the Performative Qatal***

Posterior diachronic development of the suffix conjugation in Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew and particularly the fate of the performative function itself confirm our rationalization of the performative *qatal* and its properties.

In Rabbinic Hebrew (RH), the *qatal* form greatly advanced on the anterior path. It became a narrative past form, although still preserving various perfect uses. As a profoundly advanced anterior—a *very* old perfect—the ability to convey a performative sense has been importantly weakened. The performative *qatal* may only be found in a few doubtful cases and always with prototypical performative predicates (cf. Mishor 1983:36 and Pérez 1992:186). As correctly observed by Rogland (2002:128), the performative *qatal* has almost disappeared in the Mishnaic period.

(38) m. B. Qam. 1.2

כל שחבתי בשמירתו הכשרתי את נזקו

De todo lo que me he obligado a custodiar, me responsabilizo de su daño (Pérez 1992:183)

This loss is even more evident in Modern Hebrew (MH),<sup>44</sup> where the gram does not convey the performative value at all, even with prototypically performative roots. In Modern Hebrew, the *qatal* form is employed either as a dynamic perfect or as a past. According to Glinert (2005:35) and Amir Coffin & Bolozky (2005:38), it can function as a present perfect (*I have got up*), a perfective past (*I got up*), an imperfective (i.e. progressive and continuous) past (*I was getting up*) and a pluperfect (*I had got up*). It is a narrative past tense *per excellence*. Moreover, as far as the perfect taxis domain is concerned, it shall be noted that the value of an inclusive anterior is expressed in Modern Hebrew by the present tense *qotel* rather than by the *qatal*. Inversely, this signifies that the MH *qatal*'s semantic map does not include any more the space reserved for the inclusive perfect. Consequently, it is not surprising that the *qatal* has lost any performative capacity: being a profoundly advanced old perfect with the inclusive perfect domain removed from its semantics, it would indeed be typologically implausible if the gram could be employed to overtly perform speech acts.

## 4. CONCLUSION

### 4.1. PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE STUDY

In the previous sections, we have demonstrated that the enigma of the performative *qatal* may be successfully solved. Namely, in accordance with our research objectives, we have shown that this function is fully compatible with the remaining components of the semantic load offered by the suffix conjugation.

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<sup>44</sup> Although Modern Hebrew is historically and sociologically disconnected from Biblical and Rabbinic varieties, in the present paper, it is treated as a linguistic object that systematically reflects more advanced stages of processes which have been identified in these two older languages. In fact, even though some consider Modern Hebrew a creolized language with Slavic and Germanic substrates (Blanc 1968 and Wexler 1991), its validity for the panchronic view remains solid and untouched. In general terms, pidgins, creoles and koinés commonly display a more advanced and more drastic functional development than their superstrate inputs (Croft 2003 y Holm 1988) and thus, may be employed to demonstrate the soundness of the explanation proposed for their original linguistic source (Andrason 2008:121-140, 2010a:47-49). The genetic relation of the Modern Hebrew with the Semitic family has been defended by Rosen (1977:24) and Sáenz-Badillos (1996:277).

First, having admitted that the meaning of a verbal gram equals a network of senses the construction can display; that such senses are obligatory related; and finally that mapping which links the network's constituents reflects a diachronic progression codified in a model of linear paths, we assumed that a certain path-network shall likewise account for the *qatal* and its performative value. Since the *qatal* had been defined as a manifestation of a prototypical anterior trajectory—and thus its semantic potential spatially portrayed as a portion of the anterior path —, we have hypothesized that the anterior cline must *per definitione* accommodate the performative sense.

We have begun the corroboration of this postulate by demonstrating that the performative meaning is related to grams classified as manifestations of the anterior path. Most importantly, we have specified the exact location of the performative value-stage on the trajectory: it is situated following the resultative proper stage and preceding the resultative perfect phase, right after the inclusive perfect phase. We have also observed that with the progress along the anterior path, the capacity of an originally resultative gram to convey the performative meaning diminishes: it is unrestricted and productive in resultative proper grams, non-productive and limited to prototypical performative verbs in young and, especially, old perfects, and finally missing in past tenses.

Once the location of the performative sense-stage has been determined within the panchronic network of values displayed by resultatives and their descendants (i.e. on the anterior path), we have introduced the most relevant examples of the performative *qatal* in the Hebrew Bible. This inventory of cases has shown that the performative use of the *qatal*, although certainly less common than other senses (e.g. perfect and past values), is not extremely odd or rare. It can be detected in various books of the Bible being represented by at least nineteen different verbs or roots. Moreover, our evidence has demonstrated that the five main categories of prototypical performative verbs (i.e. expositives, exercitive, commissive, behabitive and verdictive) may still be found in the biblical material. Additionally, in very few cases, other non-exemplary performative predicates appear in the *qatal* form with a performative force.

Next, employing the previously established linear representation for the polysemy of resultatives and their successors, and thus keeping in mind the exact location of the performative value on the anterior path, we have demonstrated that the performative *qatal* may be fully harmonized with the remaining semantic potential of the gram. Since several values of the *qatal* can be spatially portrayed as stages of the anterior path, and since this path presupposes a segment reserved for the performative sense, likewise the performative use of the BH suffix conjugation may logically be accommodated within the same type of spatial mapping, i.e. within the anterior trajectory. Consequently, the performative value re-

ceives its “place” in the meaning of the gram or in the network of senses displayed by the formation and connected by the panchronic mapping.

This rationalization of the performative value of the *qatal* has furthermore been substantiated by certain diachronic facts and their typological interpretations. First, we have observed that the BH suffix conjugation is a descendant of the PS *\*qatal-* formation, which itself was built on a formally analogical verbal adjective *\*qatVl* employed in the predicative function. Such locutions naturally favor an unrestricted performative use. Second, in cases of underlying transitive verbs, the PS gram originally showed a de-transitive force approximating the statal present passive. Again, this category is extensively used for performative purposes in the world’s languages.

Furthermore, we have shown that the properties of the performative *qatal* entirely harmonize with the *qatal* defined as an advanced portion of the anterior path. Being an old perfect, the gram displays a regular weakening of the performative sense. This phenomenon has its roots in a profound grammaticalization of the construction and advancement on the anterior trajectory. As for the former growth, the formation modified its argument structure losing an invariably intransitive and (when derived from transitive verbs) passive character. This change eliminated an unrestrictive ability of the *qatal*—now an active and (when possible) transitive construction—to appear in a performative function. The gram ceased being a predicative verbal resultative proper—a category similar to the statal-passive, highly productive for performatives—and became a dynamic perfect. As for the latter development, the semantic advancement of the *qatal* triggered further limitations in its performative use. At the biblical time, the formation reached the stage of a prototypical old anterior, being even admissible as a definite discursive past. Thus, its meaning spanned almost the entire trajectory with the exception of the initial resultative proper value and the terminal narrative past stages. In accordance with the typological universal tendency, whereby advanced perfects cease being productive performative constructions, the performative use of the *qatal* is almost invariably limited to exemplary performative verbs. However, we have emphasized that the performative *qatal* remains relatively regular with such prototypically performative predicates (all the five performative classes are represented), being even found with non-performative verbs. We affirmed that this non-total rareness of the performative *qatal* stems from the fact that the inclusive perfect sense (typologically linked to the performative value) is still—although not very frequently—available in Biblical Hebrew. Finally, posterior diachronic development of the *qatal* in Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew confirmed the above-formulated statements. As the *qatal* progressed on the anterior path, the performative use became extremely sporadic in the Rabbinic variety, entirely disappearing in Modern Hebrew.

*Summa summarum*, we have demonstrated that the performative *qatal* is a logical well-balanced and, even, expected component of the meaning of the *qatal*. It may be fully rationalized and harmonized with the remaining senses of the gram, if we use the anterior path model as an instrument for charting of senses displayed by the suffix conjugation.

#### 4.2. “BYPRODUCTS” OF THE RESEARCH

Our study has not only provided a harmonization of the entire semantic potential of the *qatal*, conciliating the performative use with other values, but also offers valuable typological discoveries—or confirmation and further refinement of certain typological principles already observed—, presenting rules that govern the emergence, distribution and development of the performative sense in originally resultative grams and their successors.

First, our research confirmed the relation between resultatives and perfects, on the one hand, and the performative sense on the other. However, we have greatly improved the explanatory model for this well-known typological fact, showing that the performative force is gradually weakened with advancement on the anterior path and that it corresponds to one of the original stages of the anterior path. As for the former statement, we have detected the following tendency: resultatives proper grams are common and productive in performative utterances; young perfects cease being productive (viz. the performative function is limited to prototypical performative verbs); old perfects, entirely unproductive, display further reduction in the performative use (sometimes to the degree that the performative value vanishes); and finally, exclusive past tenses systematically fail to be used in performative utterances. This evolutionary trend has also been corroborated by the nature of the performative *qatal*—as expected for advanced old perfects the performative use is generally restricted to prototypical performative verbs. As for the former proposition, we have located the performative segment on the anterior path immediately after the resultative proper and inclusive perfect stages and right before the resultative perfect phase.

Second, we have introduced new data suggesting that the loss or weakening of the performative value may likewise be connected to the availability of the inclusive perfect value. In accordance with this tendency, although the resultative proper sense is lost, a gram may still express a performative value (even quite commonly when derived from prototypical performative verbs) under the condition that the inclusive perfect sense remains preserved. Again, this typological propensity is supported by the characteristics offered by the *qatal*: at the biblical period, the gram conserved the inclusive perfect value and thus maintained a limited (but not extremely rare) performative sense. Later, when the inclusive meaning was deteriorated and lost—as in Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew—, the performative perfect *qatal* similarly dwindled and finally vanished.

And third, we have introduced further evidence confirming the connection between the ability to convey the performative value and the intransitive or de-transitive (in case of underlying transitive verbs) nature of original resultative proper grams. In accordance with this principle, we have observed that the re-modification of the argument structure of the *qatal* has led to the situation where the gram was inadmissible in the function of a statal passive. When this happened, equaling a dynamic perfect, the formation lost the capacity to be employed in an unrestricted manner with a performative force, as is typically observed with statal passives.

### 4.3. LOOKING TOWARDS FUTURE

Although the objectives of our research have been achieved, this article did not respond to all questions related to the performative *qatal*. Most importantly, a comprehensive empirical study must be undertaken whereby—using the canonical understanding of performatives as established by Austin (1962) and confirmed by Dahl (2008)—all possible cases of the performative *qatal* would be detected. This means that a complete review of all instances where the *qatal* appears with the performative force in the Hebrew Bible—thus, examples that greatly surpass the “classical” set of *verba dicendi*—must be compiled. This empirical study is crucial not only because of its obvious benefit—i.e. it will bestow grammarians and translators with a comprehensive inventory of the performative *qatal* forms —, but also due to its relevance for solving other, still uncertain, issues. First, it will show the precise weight (i.e. frequency) of the performative *qatal* as compared to other senses conveyed by the suffix conjugation as well as in relation to the overall semantic potential of the gram. Second, it will determine the exact incidence of different performative subtypes (expositive, exercitive, commissive, behabitive and verdictive), specifying those uses that are typical (frequent) and those that are rare (infrequent). Third, it will profile the distribution of the performative sense of the suffix conjugation in different books of the Bible, demonstrating its—similar or dissimilar—behavior in Early Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Hebrew and Late Biblical Hebrew. Additionally, a comprehensive research endeavor shall be undertaken in respect to the relations between cognates of the BH *qatal* in other Semitic languages and the performative function. All of these research imperatives will necessarily constitute priorities in the forthcoming academic activities of the author.

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