

הִנָּה AND MIRATIVITY IN BIBLICAL HEBREW*

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This exhaustive study of הִנָּה modifies the findings of an earlier pilot study of the lexeme.¹ Three major categories of use are distinguished, namely, 1) when הִנָּה within in a speech situation points out an entity, location, or event to an addressee; 2) when a narrator (and less often a speaker) uses הִנָּה to point to the cognitive effects of an observation or mental consideration upon another character (or, less often, upon the speaker him-/herself); and 3) when הִנָּה points to a proposition (or propositions) which need(s) to be related to another proposition (or propositions) or speech act(s). In each of the three categories הִנָּה has a deictic function, which could be regarded as its semantic core. However, since in about two-thirds of the occurrences in the corpus, it is unambiguously clear that הִנָּה is used to point to something for which either addressees or characters were not prepared, it is postulated the most typical and central use of הִנָּה is to mark mirativity. However, some secondary shifts away from this core mirative sense have been identified in the corpus. Each of the shifts is to be accounted for in a principled manner.

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite considerable attention by scholars of Biblical Hebrew, the meaning and uses of הִנָּה are not well understood.² Andersen illustrated that translators differ widely in their interpretation and translation of הִנָּה, but he concludes his study by saying that we should not be too hard on the translators, since “although many papers on this or that feature of *hnh* are

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¹ C. H. J. van der Merwe, “A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective on הִנָּה in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth,” *HS* 48 (2007): 101–140.

² For an exhaustive overview of scholarly treatment of הִנָּה and הִנָּה, compare C. H. J. van der Merwe, “A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective.”

available in the literature, no comprehensive grammar of *hnh* exists.”³ In a pilot study, van der Merwe called for a more comprehensive approach in which the polysemic relationships between different categories of use are explained in terms of one of the basic insights from cognitive linguistics, namely, that the development of the meaning of lexical items takes place in a principled fashion in terms of radial shifts.⁴ In other words, diverse uses are motivated off of a central prototype or one or more of its extensions, for example, space to time, concrete to abstract.⁵ After describing the etymology of הַהֲבִיחַ, van der Merwe postulated a basic, concrete reading of הַהֲבִיחַ (number 1), namely, that of presentation or pointing to a concrete entity in the immediate *spatial proximity* of a speaker.⁶

1) 1 Kgs 1:23

וַיִּגִּידוּ לַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר הַהֲבִיחַ נָתַן הַנְּבִיא

And they told the king, “Look! Nathan the prophet”

In addition to these instances where speakers point out to addressees the spatial proximity of concrete entities, Van der Merwe distinguished four further categories of use. First, instances where הַהֲבִיחַ is used by speakers to point to events in the *temporal proximity* of the speakers and their audience (see number 2), second, instances where speakers use הַהֲבִיחַ to point out information that needs to be kept in mind, that is, information that is *cognitively proximate*, since this information provides the grounds of a subsequent speech act (see number 3), and third, instances where הַהֲבִיחַ points to information (i.e., propositional content) which a speaker or writer regards to be newsworthy as far as other discourse active propositions are concerned (see number 4).⁷ Fourth, instances are distinguished where וְהַהֲבִיחַ is used (predominantly, but not exclusively) in narration to introduce a reference to

³ F. I. Andersen, “Lo and Behold! Taxonomy and Translation of Biblical Hebrew הַהֲבִיחַ,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. T. van Peursen; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), p. 44.

⁴ C. H. J. van der Merwe, “A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective.”

⁵ Compare also G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 91; and D. Geeraerts, ed., *Cognitive Linguistics: Basic Readings* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006).

⁶ C. H. J. van der Merwe, “A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective,” pp. 107–110, 123–127.

⁷ C. H. J. van der Merwe, “A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective,” pp. 131–132.

the character's (or sometimes the speaker's) experience of a state of affairs or an event from a proximate perspective (see number 5).⁸

2) Gen 50:5

הִנֵּה אֲנֹכִי מוֹת... וְעַתָּה אֶעֱלֶה-נָּא

Look, I am about to die... Therefore let me go up

3) Gen 42:2

הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֵשֶׁבֶר בְּמִצְרַיִם רֶדֶד-שָׂמָה וְשָׁבְרוּ-לָנוּ מִשָּׂם

Look, I have heard that there is grain in Egypt, go down and buy grain for us there

4) 1 Sam 26:21

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל חָטָאתִי שׁוּב בְּנִי-דָוִד כִּי לֹא-אַרְעֶ לְךָ עוֹד תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר יִקְרָה נַפְשִׁי
בְּעֵינֶיךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הִנֵּה הִסַּפְלִיתִי וְאַשְׁגָּה תְרַבָּה מְאֹד

Then Saul said, "I have sinned. Come back my son, David. I will not harm you again, because my life was precious today for you (lit. precious in your eyes today). Indeed, I acted foolishly and have erred so very much"

5) Judg 3:24

וְהוּא יָצָא וַעֲבָדָיו בָּאוּ וַיִּרְאוּ וְהִנֵּה דִלְתוֹת הַעֲלִיָּה נִעְלוֹת

After he had gone, his servants came and saw, to their surprise, the doors of the upper room were locked!

In Van der Merwe's pilot study in 2007, only occurrences of הִנֵּה in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, and Ruth were considered. For the purposes of Van der Merwe and Naudé,⁹ all instances of הִנֵּה in the Tanach were studied, and an attempt was made to account for all instances of הִנֵּה in terms of the above-mentioned five categories.¹⁰ The results of the latter investigation

⁸ C. H. J. van der Merwe, "A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective," pp. 133–137, 139. T. Zewi points out the differences between the typical uses of הִנֵּה and וְהִנֵּה in "The particles הִנֵּה and וְהִנֵּה in Biblical Hebrew," *HS* 37 (1996): 21–38.

⁹ C. H. J. van der Merwe and J. A. Naudé, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (revised and expanded edition; in preparation).

¹⁰ The results were presented in C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Discourse Particles in a Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar: The Case of הִנֵּה and וְהִנֵּה," (paper presented at the annual conference of the Society for Biblical Literature, Washington, D.C., November 2006).

formed the basis of the first draft of this paper. Prompted by Naudé's critique of that draft (personal communication), we reconsidered the data once again and came to the conclusion that the above-mentioned five categories need some further refinement.¹¹

The purpose of this paper is twofold. First, it refines the categories distinguished in Van der Merwe's previous papers.¹² In particular, it defends, in a more sophisticated way than before, the hypothesis that there is a polysemic relationship between the various categories of הִנֵּה and that they can be described in terms radial shifts from a core deictic meaning. Second, it investigates the extent and character of the mirative sense of הִנֵּה.¹³ For these purposes, it is assumed that a clear conceptualization of the concept of mirativity is needed, as well as insight into how mirativity is marked across languages.

The paper is therefore structured as follows: We commence with a discussion of the theoretical status of mirativity and how it is marked across languages (section 2). Next (section 3), the most relevant features of each of הִנֵּה's categories of use, the statistical profile of each category, and hypotheses about how they are polysemically related are described. In conclusion (section 4), our findings are summarized.

2. MIRATIVITY

The notion of mirativity is a relatively recent development in linguistics and the term has been used in a variety of ways.¹⁴ For the purposes of this study, we accept DeLancey's general definition of the term—mirativity

¹¹ Among other things, Naudé, correctly pointed out that in instances where הִנֵּה governs clauses with participial predicates, the primary function of הִנֵּה is not always to point out temporal proximity. He also suggested that the three categories where הִנֵּה is used to point out spatial, temporal, and cognitive proximity could be subsumed under one category with sub-divisions.

¹² C. H. J. van der Merwe, "A Cognitive Linguistic Perspective" and C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Discourse Particles."

¹³ McCarthy acknowledges the "variety of meaning which הִנֵּה with various complementary forms may imply," but points out: "At the same time the particle does tend to retain something of its own character. It is used primarily when there is something dramatic or emotionally telling about the cause or the time or the condition or whatever it is expressing" (D. J. McCarthy, "The Uses of *Hinneh* in Biblical Hebrew," *Bib* 61 [1980]: 342). The first scholar to use the concept "mirativity" to describe the function of הִנֵּה is Garr (W. R. Garr, "הִנֵּה." *RB* 105 [2004]: 321–344). Reference to this function of הִנֵּה, however, is already to be found in Brown, Driver, and Briggs, who aptly describe one of the four main functions of הִנֵּה as follows: "It often occurs in narrative after verbs of seeing and discovering "making the narrative graphic and vivid, and enabling the reader to enter into the surprise or satisfaction of the speaker or actor concerned" (F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909/1951], pp. 243–244).

¹⁴ For an overview of the difficulties of terminology and classification, see P. Dendale and L. Tasmowski, "Introduction: Evidentiality and Related Notions," *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (2001): 339–348.

refers to the linguistic marking for indicating that the information conveyed is new or unexpected to the speaker.¹⁵ Another way to describe mirativity is as a category whose meaning is related to an “unprepared mind, new information, and speaker’s surprise.”¹⁶ Some scholars consider mirativity to be a subcategory of evidentiality (the linguistic marking that indicates the source of evidence for a proposition, e.g., first-hand knowledge as opposed to inference or hearsay) or of mediativity (a subcategory of evidentiality that includes hearsay and inference along with unexpected information).¹⁷ But others have argued cogently that the linguistic indicators of evidentiality and mirativity are grammatically distinct.¹⁸

All languages have means for expressing a speaker’s surprise at an event or state, but they differ with respect to the extent to which the notion of mirativity is grammatically indicated. At one end of the continuum, languages may not grammatically indicate mirativity at all; at the other, languages may have morphologically distinct means for indicating mirativity.¹⁹

When a language does not have grammatical means for indicating mirativity, a speaker may express his/her surprise at new or unusual information through lexical means (e.g., with expressions such as *I’m really surprised that* or *Surprisingly*) or through phonological/prosodic means. English has two intonational patterns which may be used to indicate the speaker’s surprise. One involves stressing and lengthening the relevant word in the sentence in order to express surprise as a compliment:

6) Your daughter plays really well.²⁰

Another intonational strategy for expressing surprise in English involves the use of question intonation:

7) *You’re not coming?* (=I’m surprised that you’re not coming, because I thought you were).

¹⁵ S. Delancey, “The Mirative and Evidentiality,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (2001): 369–370.

¹⁶ A. Y. Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p. 8.

¹⁷ For example, G. Lazard, “Mirativity, Evidentiality, Mediativity, or Other?” *Linguistic Typology* 3 (1999): 91–109.

¹⁸ For example, S. Delancey, “The Mirative and Evidentiality”; C. Dickinson, “Mirativity in Tsafiki,” *Studies in Language* 24 (2000): 379–421; and A. Y. Aikhenvald, *Evidentiality*, p. 20.

¹⁹ The following classification is adapted from Lazard’s classification of mediativity (G. Lazard, “Mirativity, Evidentiality,” pp. 97–102).

²⁰ The example is from S. Delancey, “The Mirative and Evidentiality,” p. 177.

Note that the sentence is not syntactically a question, which would have subject-verb inversion (i.e., *Aren't you coming?*).

A second strategy for expressing mirativity occurs when mirativity is expressed as a possible meaning of a syntactic construction or of a morphological form. In other words, mirativity is a possible (secondary) meaning of a grammatical form, but not the only meaning. In English, for example, conditional sentences may be used in some contexts with a mirative sense, as illustrated in the following dialogue:²¹

8) Person A: Ken says he lived in Japan as a kid.

Person B: Gee, if Ken lived in Japan as a kid, then why doesn't he have an accent?

The grammatically conditional sentence spoken by person B is not truly conditional in a logical sense, since the speaker has just been told that the proposition expressed in the protasis is true. Instead, the conditional sentence indicates person B's surprise at the new information just received about Ken's childhood.

A third strategy for expressing mirativity involves the privative opposition between a neutral, unmarked form or expression and a marked form or expression that indicates mirativity. For example, Shilluk (a Western Nilotic language of Sudan) can indicate mirativity through an alternative set of third-person pronouns.²² Neutral (ordinary) Shilluk third-person pronouns are in two forms—a zero form (occurring primarily before the verb) and a long form (occurring primarily after the verb). The marked set of third-person pronouns also has two varieties, depending upon its position with respect to the verb:

	third-person singular		third-person plural	
	short form	long form	short form	long form
Neutral	--	én	g'é	g'én
Mirative	gò	gòn	gì	gìn

²¹ The example is from N. Akatsuda, "Conditionals and the Epistemic Scale," *Language* 61 (1985): 628.

²² The data are from C. L. Miller and L. G. Gilley, "Evidentiality and Mirativity in Shilluk," in *Advances in Nilo-Saharan Linguistics 2001: Proceedings of the 8th Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium. Hamburg, August 22–25, 2001* (ed. D. Payne and M. Reh; Nilo-Saharan 20; Köln: Rüdiger Köppe), pp. 193–208.

The alternative sentences in example 9 illustrate the use of the two sets of pronouns:²³

- 9a) á-kōbbì kīnnì` k̀l 'gén ká gέ k̀l̀l̀-έ
PST-say.T.BEN COMP take.T.CF.IMV 3PL and 3PL take.T.CF-3SG

S/He said, “Take them away.” And s/he took them away (as expected).

- 9b) á-kōbbì kīnnì` gέ kó k̀l̀l̀ ká g̀ì k̀l̀l̀-έ
PST-say.T.BEN COMP 3PL NEG.MODtake.T.CF.IMV and 3PL.M
take.T.CF-3SG

S/He said, “Don’t take them away.” And s/he took them away (unexpectedly or wrongly).

A fourth strategy for expressing mirativity involves grammatical indications of mirativity. For example, in Tsafiki (a Barbacoan language spoken in the western lowlands of Ecuador), verbs are marked with one of two suffixes—a “congruent” marker (indicating that the action is in accord with the speaker’s expectations) and an “incongruent” marker (indicating that the action does not accord with the speaker’s expectations). Compare the following sentences:²⁴

- 10a) *la yaka machitechi poreyoe*
1MASC 3-ACC machete-INSTR cut-**CONGR**-DECL

I cut him (intentionally, as expected) with the machete.

- 10b) *la yaka machitechi poreeie*
1MASC 3-ACC machete-INSTR cut-**INCONGR**-DECL

I cut him (unintentionally, surprisingly) with the machete.

²³ The abbreviations in the Shilluk glosses in examples 9 a–b are as follows: BEN = benefactive, CF = centrifugal, COMP = complement, IMV = imperative, M = pragmatically marked; NEG = negative, OBL = oblique, PL = plural, PST = past tense, SG = singular, T = transitive verb stem.

²⁴ The example is from C. Dickinson, “Mirativity in Tsafiki,” p. 387. The abbreviations for the Tsafiki glosses are: MASC = masculine, ACC = accusative, INSTR = instrumental, CONGR = congruent, INCONGR = incongruent, DECL = declarative (see C. Dickinson, “Mirativity in Tsafiki,” p. 418, n. 1).

Example 10a uses the “congruent” marker. The speaker indicates that he intentionally cut someone with the machete. In contrast, example 10b uses the “incongruent” marker, a grammatical indicator of mirativity. The speaker indicates that he was surprised to find that he cut someone; it was an unintentional act.

It is important to note that mirativity as unexpected or surprising information often intersects with other meanings. Prominent among these is inferentiality.²⁵ This overlap of semantics can be explained in that the mirative often has to do with counter-expectation and the speaker’s judgment of what is expected.²⁶ As a result, in some languages, the grammatical means for expressing information that is the result of inference rather than direct knowledge will also express the notion of mirativity.²⁷ Related to this is the use of a mirative construction for hearsay, that is, information for which the speaker does not have direct evidence.²⁸ Another related notion is that of reports of the witnessed visual perception of speakers, especially of new or previously unexperienced situations.²⁹

3. CATEGORIES OF USE

In contrast to the previous papers by Van der Merwe (2006 and 2007), we now postulate three polysemically related categories of use for הִנֵּה in the Tanach, namely,

- (1) instances where a speaker uses הִנֵּה to point to x in a speech situation; x may be an entity, a location, or an event (examples 1–2 above);
- (2) instances where typically a narrator, and less frequently a speaker, points to the cognitive effects of an observation on a character (or the speaker himself/herself) for which he/she was unprepared (example 5 above);

²⁵ See S. DeLancey, “The Mirative and Evidentiality,” pp. 377–378.

²⁶ V. A. Plungian, “The Place of Evidentiality within the Universal Grammatical Space,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 33 (2001): 355.

²⁷ P. Kehayov, “Typology of Grammaticalized Evidentiality in Bulgarian and Estonian,” *Linguistica Uralica* 38 (2002): 135; and M. Macaulay, “Negation, Dubitatives and Mirativity in Menominee,” in *Papers of the 34th Algonquian Conference* (ed. H. C. Wolfart; Winnipeg: University of Manitoba), pp. 217–240.

²⁸ S. DeLancey, “Mirativity: The Grammatical Marking of Unexpected Information,” *Linguistic Typology* 1 (1997): 33–52; D. Watters, *A Grammar of Kham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 300; and C. Dickinson, “Mirativity in Tsafiki,” p. 380.

²⁹ V. Friedman, “Admirativity: Between Modality and Evidentiality,” *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschungen* 58 (2005): 26–37.

- (3) instances where a speaker or narrator points to a proposition which needs to be related to another proposition (example 4 above).

We still postulate that the most basic reading is represented by instances where הַנִּזְהָר as a deictic points to a concrete entity (Category 1). From the presentation of the patterns of use below, it will be evident that it is reasonable to argue that Categories (2) and (3) each represents a radial shift from this basic reading, which we argue was pointed out to an addressee who had an “unprepared mind.” In other words, the mirative notion of הַנִּזְהָר is pervasive, but it will also be evident that within each of the categories secondary shifts of meaning have occurred that result in instances where little or no mirative nuance remains.³⁰

3.1 Category 1

A speaker uses הַנִּזְהָר to point an addressee to x in a speech situation.

3.1.1 In 83/1060 Instances, x is a Concrete Entity (i.e., about 8%)

The following sub-categories have been identified:

- (i) A speaker points to the presence of an entity. In these cases, it could typically be argued that the addressee was unprepared for what was presented to them. In other words, the presence or arrival of the entity was unexpected or newsworthy to the addressees.

³⁰ The following instances could not be accounted for in terms of our model: Gen 19:2; 42:22; Exod 31:6; Judg 21:21; 1 Sam 9:7; Isa 42:9; 52:13; Jer 18:3; Ezek 25:8; 34:11, 20; 36:6, 9; 42:8; Ps 134:1; Job 9:19; Eccl 5:17; 1 Chron 11:25. In addition to these eighteen instances there are nine instances where text-critical considerations come into play, namely, Isa 41:27 (2 times); 54:16; Jer 3:5, 22; 49:19; 50:44; Ezek 25:7; Hab 2:13. Also not included in this paper are seven instances where הַנִּזְהָר functions as an expressive (e.g., Song 1:15), two types of fixed expressions, namely, twenty-one instances of the type הַנִּזְהָר אֶל and הַנִּזְהָר עַל (e.g., Jer 21:13 and Ezek 29:3) and twenty-one of the type הַנִּזְהָר + participle passive + prepositional phrase (e.g., 1 Kgs 14:19) and twenty-eight instances where הַנִּזְהָר is used in explicit dream reports, either when a speaker announces a dream (Gen 37:9 points to what was observed in the dream [Gen 28:12] or when a speaker points to his/her experience of a dream [Gen 41:7]). The constructions which are used to report what was observed in a dream are not different from those that are used to point out something expected in the real world, it is just the frequency of the use of הַנִּזְהָר that is much higher. Compare examples 40 and 41. For more detail about the above-mentioned instances, compare Van der Merwe and Naudé, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar*.

What is indeed included in this paper are the vision reports in Jer 24:1; 38:22; Ezek 1:4, 15; 2:9 (2 times); 8:2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 14, 16; 9:2, 11; 10:1, 9; 11:1; 37:2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12; 40:3, 5, 17, 24; 43:2, 5; 44:4; 46:19, 21; 47:1, 2, 7; Amos 7:1, 4, 7; 8:1; Dan 8:3, 5; 10:5, 10, 13, 16, 20; 12:5; Zech 1:8, 11; 2:1, 5, 7; 4:2; 5:1, 7, 9; 6:1.

1) 1 Kgs 1:23

וַיִּגִּידוּ לַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה נָתָן הַנָּבִיא

And they told the king, “*Look! Nathan the prophet.*”³¹

- (ii) A speaker signals to an addressee that he/she wants him/her to pay attention to a particular entity. Something newsworthy is then said about that entity.

In these cases הִנֵּה can be translated as “*Consider x, look at x...*”

11) Josh 24:27

הִנֵּה הָאֶבֶן הַזֹּאת תִּהְיֶה-בָּנוּ לְעֵדָה

*Consider this stone, it will be a witness against us.*³²

- (iii) A speaker presents an entity (including himself/herself) to an addressee. What is presented typically prepares the ground of a subsequent speech act (examples 12–13).

12) Gen 12:19

וְעַתָּה הִנֵּה אִשְׁתְּךָ קַח וְלֵךְ

Now then, *here is your wife*, take her and go.³³

13) 2 Sam 4:8

הִנֵּה-רֹאשׁ אִישׁ-בֹּשֶׁת בֶּן-שָׁאוּל אֹיְבֶךָ אֲשֶׁר בִּקֵּשׁ אֶת-נַפְשְׁךָ וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה לְאָדְנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ
נְקָמָה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה מִשָׁאוּל וּמִנֶּעְוֹ

Here is the head of Ish-boshet, the son of Saul your enemy who sought your life. So then the Lord has avenged the lord my king from Saul and his offspring.³⁴

³¹ Gen 29:6; Judg 18:15; 1 Sam 9:17; 24:5; 1 Kgs 18:8, 11, 14; 2 Kgs 4:25; Jer 4:16 (lacks a noun phrase); Ezek 7:10.

³² Gen 31:51 (2 times); Hab 2:4; Zech 3:9; Pss 52:9; 87:4; 92:10; Job 40:15, 16 (dubious example). In the case of Song 3:7 and Ezek 31:3, the speaker signals that he/she wants the addressee to pay attention to the identity of an entity (after a question in this regard).

³³ Gen 30:3; Judg 19:24; 20:7; 1 Sam 12:3; 9:24; 26:22; 2 Sam 19:38.

³⁴ In Gen 17:4; 1 Sam 18:17; Isa 40:9; Zech 6:12; 2 Chron 16:11; 20:10. Gen 17:4 the entity is not concrete, but refers to an event. Furthermore, what is presented by means of הִנֵּה in this verse is not the ground of the subsequent speech act(s). The latter specifies the essence of what is presented, namely, God’s covenant with his people. In Exod 24:8, a speaker uses הִנֵּה to represent to his addressees the meaning of the main element (i.e., the blood) of the ritual that he is executing. In 1 Kgs 12:28, what is presented provides the ground of a preceding assertion.

- (iv) A speaker presents himself/herself to the addressee as available to participate in an event or to fulfill a particular role.

14) Gen 44:16

הִנְנּוּ עֲבָדִים לְאֲדֹנָי

Here we are, my Lord's slaves³⁵

15) Isa 6:8

וְאֶשְׁמַע אֶת־קוֹל אֲדֹנָי אֵמַר אֶת־כִּי אֶשְׁלַח וְכִי יֵלֶךְ־לִנִּי וְאֵמַר הִנְנִי שְׁלֹחֲנִי

Then I heard the voice of My Lord saying: "Who shall I send and who shall go for us." And I said: "*Here am I*, send me."

- (v) A speaker presents himself/herself after being addressed or called by another speaker. These instances are similar to (iv), but they appear to represent a conventionalized formula for responses, and indicate that the addressees are ready to be addressed. The responding speaker is often (example 16), but not always (example 17), already in the immediate proximity of the one calling.

16) Gen 22:7

וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־אֲבִרְהָם אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי בְּנִי

Then Isaac said to Abraham his father: "My father" and he said, "Yes, my son."³⁶

In Gen 22:7, the presentation provides the ground of a question.

Other less prototypical examples are when speakers present themselves (Exod 5:16; Ezra 9:15; Neh 9:36 [2 times]), addressees (Deut 1:10) or discourse active characters (1 Sam 12:2 [2 times] and Amos 4:13) as present in time or space with particular features. Having these features is the result of something that has been asserted in a preceding utterance. These instances may therefore also be classified as instances of §3.3.2 below.

In 2 Sam 5:1, it is not clear whether the construction הִנְנִי עֲצָמֶיךָ וּבְשָׂרְךָ אֲנִי should be interpreted as "Here we are, we are your flesh and blood" or "Look, we are your flesh and blood." In the latter case, הִנֵּה points to the grounding of what is asserted in 2 Sam 5:2. One could argue that the speakers' presence (coming from the north) was unexpected for David, hence the motivation "we are your flesh and blood." However, this interpretation does not explain the double use of the first-person personal pronoun.

³⁵ See also Gen 50:18 and Num 14:40. In both these cases, the special form with the *energetic nun* is also used. However, this is not the case elsewhere, namely, Gen 37:13; 1 Sam 3:5, 6, 8; 14:7, 43; 2 Sam 5:1; 15:26; Isa 6:8; 52:6; Jer 23:39. See also 1 Sam 25:41; 2 Sam 9:6; 15:15; Isa 8:18. Less typical is 1 Kgs 5:19 where a speaker *reports* to an addressee that he is now ready for an undertaking. The presentation is the ground of a subsequent request (directive). In the case of 1 Chron 28:21, not the speaker, but other entities are presented to be available to perform an action or role. In Ps 40:8, the psalmist represents himself as follows: הִנֵּה־בָּאתִי. The NRSV translates this construction as "Here I am."

³⁶ Except for 1 Sam 22:12 (הִנְנִי), the pausal form is used in Gen 27:1; 37:13; 1 Sam 3:16; 2 Sam 1:7; Isa 58:9. The special form with the *energetic nun* is used in Gen 22:7 and 27:18.

17) Gen 22:1

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי

He said to him “Abraham” and he said, “Here I am” or “I am listening.”³⁷

הִנֵּה pointing to a concrete entity therefore serves a variety of pragmatic functions. In (i) to (ii) it has a mirative nuance, while in (iii) to (v) it has the nuance of a presentative particle. In the latter instances, הִנֵּה maintains its deictic (pointing) function, but it is not always possible to ascertain, in particular in (iv) and (v), that the addressees were unprepared for what was pointed out to them, or that it was a surprise to them. If one compares the examples of sub-category (iii) above with the majority of instances listed in category 3, it appears as if the mirative nuance may become secondary when הִנֵּה is used to point out that one proposition must be related to another one.

3.1.2 In 30/1060 Instances, *x* is the Location of an Entity (i.e., about 2.8%)

A speaker points to the location and/or presence at a particular location of an entity from his/her speech situation. The discourse active entity (i.e., the noun phrase) is often omitted,³⁸ but not always.³⁹ A participle is sometimes used to modify the entity involved.⁴⁰

The location and/or presence of the entity that is pointed out at a particular location could be proximate to the speech situation.⁴¹ However, in the majority of the instances, this is not the case.⁴²

In most cases, the location pointed out appears to be newsworthy and/or unexpected to the addressee. In such cases, an explanation mark could express this nuance well (examples 18–20). However, in a few cases, it is hard to determine exactly why הִנֵּה is used (example 21).

³⁷ Gen 22:11; 31:11; 46:2; Exod 3:4; 1 Sam 3:4, 16; Isa 65:1 (2 times); Job 38:35. In each of these cases, the pausal form is used. In most of these cases, God is calling a human. The human’s name is often repeated (Gen 22:11; 46:2; Exod 3:4).

³⁸ Gen 16:14; 18:9; 48:28; Judg 18:12; 1 Sam 9:12; 19:22; 2 Sam 16:3; 1 Kgs 21:18; 2 Kgs 6:13.

³⁹ Gen 32:19, 21; 1 Sam 20:21, 22; 2 Sam 9:4. In the case of 1 Sam 12:2; 2 Chron 20:2; 29:19, the noun phrase is a suffixed person pronoun. Nahum 2:1 is an atypical case. The entity involved is not discourse active.

⁴⁰ 1 Sam 10:22; 21:10. In a few cases, the location (and modification) involves the trajectory of the entity, in other words, he/she is approaching the observers, for example, Song 2:8. In the case of 1 Sam 25:19, the entity is following “right behind” the addressees. In the latter case, it can also be argued that the utterance governed by הִנֵּה provides the grounds of the preceding directive.

⁴¹ Gen 32:19, 21; 42:28; 1 Sam 9:12; 10:22; 20:21, 22; 21:10; Song 2:9.

⁴² Gen 47:1; Josh 7:21, 22; 18:12; 1 Sam 19:19, 22; 28:7; 2 Sam 9:4; 16:3; 1 Kgs 2:39; 21:18; 2 Kgs 6:13; Nah 2:1; 2 Chron 20:2; 29:19.

In each of the instances discussed under this heading, הַנָּה can be regarded as a deictic particle, which typically functions as a discourse marker.

18) Gen 18:9

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֵלָיו אַיֵּה שָׂרָה אִשְׁתְּךָ וַיֹּאמֶר הַנָּה בְּאֹהֶל

They said to him, “Where is Sarah you wife?” and he said: “There in the tent!”

19) 2 Sam 9:4

וַיֹּאמֶר־לוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ אִיפֹה הוּא וַיֹּאמֶר צִיבָא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ הַנֶּה־הוּא בֵּית מַכִּיר
בֶּן־עַמִּיאֵל בֶּלֹו דְבָר

The king said to him, “Where is he?” Ziba said to the king, “He is there in the house of Makir, the son of Ammiel in Lo-Debar!”

20) Josh 7:21

וַאֲקָחֵם וְהֵנָּם טְמוּיָנִים בְּאֶרֶץ בְּתוֹךְ הָאֹהֶלִי

I took them, and there they are, hidden in the ground in the middle of my tent!⁴³

21) Gen 16:14

עַל־כֵּן קָרָא לְבְאֵר בְּאֵר לַחַי רֹאֵי הַנָּה בֵּין־קַדֶּשׁ וּבֵין בְּרֵד

Therefore the well was called Beer-lahai-roi. It is there between Kadesh and Bered.⁴⁴

3.1.3 In 308/1060 Instances, *x* is an Event State of Affairs. (i.e., 29%)

A speaker points to an event or state of affairs that is proximate to the time of speaking. In these cases, a participle (examples 22–24) is typically the main verb of the clause or in the first clause of a number of (*weqatal*) clauses governed by הַנָּה.⁴⁵ The participle may refer to an event that is taking place at the time of speaking (example 22) or that is about to take place (examples 23–24). It is, however, sometimes difficult to discern whether the imminent character of the participle is used to indicate the irreversibility of a

⁴³ Gen 32:19, 21; 42:28; Judg 17:2; 1 Sam 9:12; 10:22; 19:22; 20:21, 22; 21:10; 28:7; 2 Sam 16:3; 1 Kgs 2:29, 39; 21:18; 2 Kgs 6:13; Nah 2:1; Song 2:9; 2 Chron 20:2; 29:19.

⁴⁴ Gen 47:1; Judg 18:12.

⁴⁵ Compare, for example, 1 Kgs 17:12; 20:36; Jer 9:24; 25:9; Ezek 37:5; Amos 6:11.

threat or promise, or whether indeed the imminence of the event is the reason why the participle is used. Compare, for example, examples 23–25.

In a number of cases, a *qatal* form with a performative function (example 26) is governed by הִנֵּה. Sometimes the event that is pointed out (by means of a *qatal* form or a nominal clause) has the character of an event that is reported to the addressee. The addressee typically reacts immediately on hearing the news (example 27).⁴⁶

22) Gen 27:42–43

הִנֵּה עֹשֶׂה אָחִיךָ מִתְנַחֵם לְךָ לְהַרְגֶךָ
וְעַתָּה בְּנִי שָׁמַע בְּקִלְי

Look, Esau, you brother is consoling himself [by planning] to kill you.
Therefore, listen to me.

23) Gen 6:13–14

וְהִנְנִי מִשְׁחִיתֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ
עֲשֵׂה לְךָ תֵּבַת עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר

And *look, I am about to destroy them with the earth*. Make for yourself an ark
of cypress wood

24) Ezek 33:33

וּבְבֹאֵה הִנֵּה בָּאָה וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי נָבִיא הָיָה בְּתוֹכְכֶם

When it comes—*look, it is coming!*—then you shall realize that it was a
prophet who has been among you.

25) 2 Chron 34:28

הִנְנִי אֹסֵף אֶל־אֲבוֹתֶיךָ וְנֹאסַפְתָּ אֶל־קְבֻרָתֶיךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם וְלֹא־תִרְאֶינָה
עֵינֶיךָ בְּכָל הַרְעָה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מֹבִיא עַל־הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל־יֹשְׁבָיו

Look, I will certainly gather you to your ancestors and you shall be gathered to
your grave in peace; your eyes shall not see all the disaster that I am about to
bring on this place and its inhabitants.

26) Gen 1:29

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה נֹתְתִי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב זֶרַע זֶרַע

God said: “*Look, I hereby give to you all the seed-bearing plants*”

⁴⁶ In Judg 9:36, 37; 21:19; 1 Sam 14:11, 33; 19:19; 23:1; 24:2; 2 Sam 18:26; 19:2, 9; 1 Kgs 18:44; Esth 6:5; 7:9; Jer 32:7, a current state of affairs is reported to addressees upon which they react. In these cases, however, a participle is used.

27) Gen 48:2

וַיִּגְדַּר לְיַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה בְנִי יוֹסֵף בָּא אֵלַיךְ וַיַּחֲתֶנְק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּשֵׁב עַל-הַמֶּטֶה

Someone reported to Jacob and said, “Look, your son Joseph has come to you.” Then Israel strengthened himself and sat up on his bed.

In the above-mentioned cases, הִנֵּה serves two pragmatic functions:

- (i) A speaker typically points to an event or state of affairs for which the addressee was unprepared. In other words, it was newsworthy for him/her.

The newsworthiness predominantly resides in the fact that an unexpected threat (examples 28 and 23), or negative information⁴⁷ is pointed out to the addressees. Less frequently, but still in a significant number of instances, a promise or positive information is pointed out to the addressees (examples 29 and 25).⁴⁸ The newsworthiness of the events or states of affairs that are pointed out, is sometimes evident from the reaction of the addressees (example 27). When a speaker points out his/her performative action, a positive gesture⁴⁹ to the advantage of the addressee is often involved (example 26). However, in the latter instances, in a few cases it is not possible to state absolutely that הִנֵּה points out something that is unexpected (example 30).

Sometimes, something “unexpected” is pointed out which also provides or prepares the ground of a subsequent (example 23) or preceding speech act (example 31).

28) Jer 19:3

הִנְנִי מְבִיא רָעָה עַל-הַמְּקוֹם הַזֶּה

*Look, I am about to bring a disaster over this place.*⁵⁰

⁴⁷ In 1 Kgs 11:22 the speaker points out that what he as speaker experienced was unexpected and disturbing.

⁴⁸ Sometimes, it is not possible to regard what is pointed out as unexpected as either negative or positive information. In Isa 38:8, something nearly “unbelievable” to the addressee is pointed out, while in Jer 40:10, it is merely Jeremiah’s decision to stay at Mizpah that was surprising to his addressees. In Ezek 29:19, God points out to his people that he is going to give Egypt to the Babylonians. In some cases, an audience is merely directed to something surprising that is going to happen (Exod 7:17 and 2 Sam 20:21) or that is happening (1 Sam 15:12).

⁴⁹ Obadiah 1:2 is atypical. This example can also be interpreted as a so-called prophetic perfect.

⁵⁰ Gen 6:17; 20:3; 42:22; Exod 4:23; 7:27; 8:17; 9:3, 18; 10:4; 1 Sam 2:31; 3:11; 24:10; 2 Sam 12:11; 1 Kgs 11:31; 13:2, 3; 14:10; 16:3; 17:12; 20:36; 21:21; 22:25; 2 Kgs 7:2, 10; 20:17; 21:12; 22:16; Isa 3:1; 8:7; 13:17; 17:1; 19:1; 22:17; 24:1; 26:21; 30:27; 39:6; Jer 2:35; 5:14, 15; 6:21, 23; 7:20, 32; 8:17; 9:6, 14,

29) Gen 41:29

הַגָּה שִׁבַע שָׁנִים בְּאוֹת שָׁבַע גְּדוֹל בְּכָל-אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם

Look, seven years of great abundance are about to come in all the land of Egypt.⁵¹

25) 2 Chron 34:28

הִנְנִי אֹסֵף אֶל-אַבְתֵּיךָ וְנֹאסַפְתָּ אֶל-קִבְרֵתֶיךָ בְּשָׁלוֹם וְלֹא-תִרְאֶינָה עֵינֶיךָ בְּכָל הַרְעָה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְבִיא עַל-הַמָּקוֹם הַזֶּה וְעַל-יֹשְׁבָיו

Look, I will certainly gather you to your ancestors and you shall be gathered to your grave in peace; your eyes shall not see all the disaster that I am about to bring on this place and its inhabitants.⁵²

27) Gen 48:2

וַיִּגְדַּר לְיַעֲקֹב וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה בִנְךָ יוֹסֵף בָּא אֵלַיךָ וַיִּתְחַזַּק יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּשֶׁב עַל-הַמֶּטֶה

Someone reported to Jacob and said, "Look, your son Joseph has come to you." Then Israel strengthened himself and sat up on his bed.⁵³

24; 10:22; 11:11, 22; 12:14; 13:13; 16:9, 16, 21; 18:11; 19:6, 15; 21:4; 23:2, 15; 25:9, 32; 28:16; 29:17, 21, 32; 32:3, 28; 34:2, 17, 22; 35:17; 37:7; 39:16; 43:10; 44:11, 27, 30; 45:4, 5; 46:25; 47:2; 48:12; 49:2, 5, 35; Ezek 4:16; 6:3; 7:5, 6; 16:37; 21:3, 12; 22:19; 23:22, 28; 24:16, 21; 25:4; 28:7; 29:8; 34:17; Hos 2:8; Amos 2:13; 4:2; 6:14; 7:8; 8:11; 9:9; Mic 2:3; Hab 1:6; Zech 2:13; 11:6; 12:2; 14:1; Mal 2:3; 3:19; Dan 11:2; 2 Chron 18:24; 2 Chron 21:14; 34:24. Genesis 27:39 is quite atypical: הַגָּה governs a number of clauses with *yiqtol* forms. Also atypical is 2 Sam 16:8 where הַגָּה governs a nominal clause without a participle and Jer 30:23; 49:15; Ezek 3:25 and 17:12 where a clause with a *qatal* form is governed. In Hos 9:6, הַגָּה is governed by כִּי, and points out (to their horror), that even when Israel managed to escape one form of destruction, they will encounter another.

⁵¹ Gen 48:4, 21; Exod 4:14; 8:25; 14:17; 16:4; 17:6; 19:9; 23:20; 34:11; 1 Kgs 20:13; 2 Kgs 20:5; Isa 10:33; 29:14; 54:11; Jer 16:14; 23:5, 7; 27:16; 30:18; 31:8, 27; 31:31, 38; 32:37; 33:6, 14; 46:27; 49:35; 50:9, 18, 41; 51:1, 36; 51:47, 52; Ezek 25:9, 16; 26:7; 30:9; 37:5, 12 (part of a dream vision), 19, 21; Hos 2:16; Joel 2:19; 4:7; Amos 9:13; Zeph 3:19; Zech 2:14; 3:8, 9; 8:7; Mal 3:1 (2 times), 23; Dan 8:19; 1 Chron 22:9. The verses in italics are instances where threats to enemies of addressees are involved. In other words, it was good news for the addressees. In Joel 4:1, הַגָּה is governed by כִּי and points out an expected action of God referred to by means of a *weqatal* form.

Genesis 16:11 and Judg 13:5, 7 are atypical. In each case, הַגָּה does not immediately govern a clause with a participle, but an adjective + *weqatal*. In Isa 49:22, הַגָּה governs a number of clauses. The fact that most are *yiqtol* forms is atypical.

⁵² 2 Kgs 22:20

⁵³ Gen 22:20 (no reaction of character reported); 38:13; Josh 2:2; 22:11; Judg 13:10; 1 Sam 16:18; 2 Sam 4:10; 13:35; 18:10; 1 Kgs 1:51 (2 times); 2 Kgs 19:9. 2 Chronicles 25:19 is atypical, since a speaker reports what his addressee had claimed to be newsworthy. Genesis 38:24 and 48:1 differ from the other examples listed here. They refer to states of affairs by means of nominal clauses. In the other instances, a *qatal* form is used to refer to something that has happened. In Isa 62:11, two pieces of good news are pointed out, first by an *x-qatal* clause governed by הַגָּה and then a nominal clause governed by הַגָּה. In 2 Kgs 5:6, the report is the contents of a letter, and it spells out what an Aramaean king ("unexpectedly") expects from his Israelite counterpart. In Ezek 39:8, the coming of a newsworthy event is reported.

26) Gen 1:29

וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים הִנֵּה נֹתְתִי לָכֶם אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב זֶרַע זֶרַע

God said: “*Look, I hereby give to you all the seed-bearing plants*”⁵⁴

30) 2 Sam 14:21

וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־יֹאבָב הִנֵּה־נָא עָשִׂיתִי אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְלֹךְ הָשִׁב אֶת־הַנֶּעֱר

אֶת־אֲבִשָׁלוֹם

Then the king said to Joab, “*Very well, I grant this. Go and return the young man Absalom.*”⁵⁵

23) Gen 6:13–14

וְהִנְנִי מְשַׁחִיתֶם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ
עֲשֵׂה לָךְ תֵּבַת עֲצֵי־גֹפֶר

And *look, I am about to destroy them with the earth. Make for yourself an ark of cypress wood.*⁵⁶

31) Isa 43:18–19

אַל־תִּזְכְּרוּ רֵאשִׁנוֹת וְקִדְמוֹנוֹת אֶל־תִּתְּבֹנְנוּ
הִנְנִי עֹשֶׂה חֲדָשָׁה

Do not remember the earlier events, these former things you must not consider. *Look, I am about to do something new.*⁵⁷

(ii) A speaker sometimes points to an event or state of affairs that is noteworthy to the addressee.⁵⁸ However, what is pointed out is not

⁵⁴ The performatives are mainly expressed by means of a *qatal* form of the verb. Gen. 17:20; 20:16; Num 3:12; 18:6, 8, 21; Deut 26:10; Judg 1:2; 1 Kgs 3:12 (2 times); 15:19; Isa 51:22; Jer 1:9, 18; 40:4; 44:26; Ezek 3:8; 4:8. In Gen 9:9; Exod 34:10; Num 25:12; Jer 21:8 a participle is used, and in 2 Sam 16:4; Job 1:12 and 2:6, nominal clauses are used to express the performative action governed by הִנֵּה. In a number of instances, an addressee is pointed to the appointment (in a particular office) of somebody by the speaker. In these instances, it is typically not possible to postulate that the appointment was unexpected, for example, Num 3:12; 18:6, 8. This use of הִנֵּה appears to overlap with that of the imperative form of רָאה, for example, Gen 41:41; Exod 31:2; 35:30; Jer 1:10. Something newsworthy, rather than something unexpected is pointed out. See also the use of הִנֵּה in Num 18:21; Deut 26:10 and 1 Kgs 15:18.

⁵⁵ Similarly, in the case of Gen 19:21; 1 Kgs 3:12 (each with a *qatal* form of the verb) and Jer 42:4 (with a participle), the translation value of “very well, I (hereby) grant...” appears to capture the function of the participle.

⁵⁶ Gen 27:42; 37:19; Judg 7:17; 9:31 (2 times); 1 Kgs 14:5; 2 Chron 20:11.

⁵⁷ 2 Kgs 19:7; Isa 37:7; 38:5; 43:19; 65:17, 18; 66:12, 15; Jer 1:15; 6:19; 10:18; 20:4; 25:29; 30:3, 10; Amos 6:11; Mic 1:3; Zech 11:16. Isaiah 66:15 differs from the other instances; the clause governed by הִנֵּה has a *yiqtol* form of the verb, and not a participle.

newsworthy (as in examples 23 and 31), but it primarily provides or prepares the grounds of a subsequent (or sometimes preceding⁵⁹) speech act (examples 32–33).

32) Josh 3:11–12

הַנְּהָה אֶרְוֹן תְּבַרִית אֶרְוֹן כָּל-הָאָרֶץ עָבַר לְפָנֶיכֶם בְּיַרְדֵּן
וְעַתָּה קַחוּ לָכֶם שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר אִישׁ

Look the ark of the covenant of the Lord of the whole earth is about to go before you through the Jordan.

Therefore take for yourselves twelve men.⁶⁰

33) Gen 25:32

וַיֹּאמֶר עֵשָׂו הַנְּהָה אֲנֹכִי הוֹלֵךְ לָמוּת וְלָמָּה-זֶה לִי בְכֹרָה

Esau said, “Look I am about to die, so what use is a birthright to me?”⁶¹

3.2 Category 2

A narrator (and less often a speaker) uses הַנְּהָה⁶² to point to the cognitive effects on a character (or less often the speaker himself/herself) of an observation or mental consideration⁶³ (265/1060, i.e., 25%).

⁵⁸ We make a distinction between the notions “newsworthy” and “noteworthy.” By “newsworthy,” we mean that the information has communicative value for the addressee; it modifies the content or implicatures of statements in the preceding co-text. Information with a communicative value is defined in relevance theoretical circles as information that “yields contextual effects” (D. Blakemore, *Understanding Utterances: An Introduction to Pragmatics* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1992], p. 30). The contextual effects may be something the addressees did not know, something they were unprepared for (e.g., something surprising or the denial of an expectation) or it may be confirming something they already know. By “noteworthy,” we mean something a speaker wants his/her addressee to take note of since it establishes a common ground of another speech act. Something “noteworthy,” could be “newsworthy,” but need not be so.

⁵⁹ Exod. 7:15; 8:16; 2 Chron 20:16.

⁶⁰ Gen 24:13, 43; Num 24:14; Deut 31:16 (the directive occurs in 31:19); Josh 23:14; Judg 9:33; Ezek 12:27; 37:11 (part of a vision report); Ruth 3:2; 2 Chron 2:3. In Judg. 6:37; 1 Sam 14:8; 1 Sam 20:21 (as atypical example since הַנְּהָה governs a clause introduced by *yiqtol*) in the clause governed by הַנְּהָה, the speaker points to an action that provides the basis of the subsequent protasis and apodosis of a conditional sentence.

⁶¹ Gen 50:5; Exod 3:13; Josh 2:18.

⁶² In its typical use as a conventionalised indicator of a character’s (or sometimes the speaker’s) perception, הַנְּהָה in category 2 is almost always preceded by the conjunction *waw*. However, because הַנְּהָה as an indicator of mirativity could be used without *waw* and because there is nothing about the *waw* preceding הַנְּהָה that triggers a mirative reading, we will continue to refer to הַנְּהָה (rather than הַנְּהָה) in category 2.

⁶³ Follingstad compares the use of הַנְּהָה and כִּי within narrative after verbs of perception. He concludes that there are important semantic differences. הַנְּהָה “typically indicates immediate perceptions of a state of affairs..., but does so from the character’s viewpoint and as newly manifest to him/her” (C. M. Follingstad, *Deictic Viewpoint in Biblical Hebrew Text: A Syntagmatic and Paradigmatic Analysis of the Particle כִּי*

A narrator (about two-thirds of the instances) uses הַנָּה to point to the cognitive effects of the observation of characters (and rarely the narrator) for which they were unprepared (examples 5, 34–35). Less often, speakers (about one-third of the instances) point to the effects of observations for which they were unprepared (example 36).

Typically, some type of movement and/or change of scene is involved so that the observers are confronted with a new situation which is surprising to them (examples 5, 34–39a). Often, when a situation is closely observed, the “new” perspective is a surprise to the observer (examples 39b, 40–41).

In most of these cases הַנָּה can be regarded as a clause deictic functioning as a discourse marker that represents the mirative stance of a character or speaker.

34) Gen 37:29

וַיָּשָׁב רְאוּבֵן אֶל-הַבּוֹר וְהִנֵּה אֵין-יֹסֵף בַּבּוֹר

Reuben returned to the pit, *and to his surprise*, Joseph was not in the pit.

5) Judg 3:24

וְהוּא יָצָא וַעֲבָדָיו בָּאוּ וַיִּרְאוּ וְהִנֵּה דְלָתוֹת הָעֶלְיָה נִעְלוֹת

After he had gone, his servants came and saw, *to their surprise*, the doors of the upper room were locked!

35) Num 17:7

וַיְהִי בְהַקְהֵל הָעֵדָה עַל-מֹשֶׁה וְעַל-אַהֲרֹן וַיִּפְּנוּ אֶל-אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד
וְהִנֵּה כְסָהוּ הָעֶנָן וַיִּרְא כְבוֹד יְהוָה

And then, when the assembly gathered against Moses and Aaron, they turned to the tent of meeting and *just then* the cloud had covered it and the glory of the LORD appeared!⁶⁴

(*kî*) [Dallas, Tex.: SIL International, 2001], pp. 496–497). By contrast, כִּי marks “mental perceptions of propositions which include inference, knowledge gained through the senses, and other reflections” (C. M. Follingstad, *Deictic Viewpoint*, p. 497). Fokkelman made a similar observation about the use of הַנָּה in narrative to mark a shift in narrative point of view from third-person omniscience to the character’s direct perception; the narrator “withdraws behind his protagonist” and records what the character sees (J. P. Fokkelman, *Narrative Art in Genesis: Specimens of Stylistic and Structural Analysis* [Studia Semitica Neerlandica 17; Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum], pp. 50–55). However, Miller notes that הַנָּה is used to present only a character’s *visual* perception and, furthermore, there are instances in which הַנָּה is a narratorial device and does not present any character’s point of view (C. L. Miller, *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Hebrew Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis* [Harvard Semitic Monographs 55; Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press], pp. 50–55). Compare Gen 15:12, 17 and Num 12:10.

⁶⁴ Gen 8:11; 15:4; 24:15, 30; 25:24; 29:25; 37:15; 38:27, 29; 42:35; Exod 2:13; 4:6, 7; 16:10, 14; 34:30; Num 12:10 (2 times, in the first instance the narrator appears to point to his own experience); 17:23; 23:6,

36) Gen 43:21

וַיְהִי כִּי־בָּאוּנוּ אֶל־הַמְּלֹאֵן וַנִּפְתַּח אֶת־אֲמֹתֵהֶנּוּ וְהָיָה כֶּסֶף־אִישׁ בְּפִי אֲמֹתָהֶנּוּ

And then, when we arrived at the lodging place and opened our sack, the money of each was in the mouth of his sack!⁶⁵

37) Gen 42:27

וַיִּפְתַּח הָאָחֵד אֶת־שַׁקּוֹ לָתֵת מְסֻפּוֹא לְחֶמְרוֹ בַּמְּלֹאֵן וַיֵּרָא אֶת־כֶּסֶפוֹ
וְהָיָה הוּא בְּפִי אֲמֹתָהֶנּוּ

The one opened his bag to give his donkey fodder at the lodging place, and he saw his money, it was there in the mouth of his sack!⁶⁶

38) Gen 8:13

וַיִּסַּר נֹחַ אֶת־מִכְסֵה הַתֵּבָה וַיֵּרָא וְהָיָה תְּרַבּוּ פְּנֵי הָאָרֶץ

Noah removed the covering of the ark, and saw: the surface of the ground was dry!⁶⁷

39) 1 Kgs 3:21

(a)

וַאֲקָם בַּבֶּקֶר לְהִינִיק אֶת־בְּנֵי וְהָיָה־מֵת

(b)

וַאֲתַבּוֹנֵן אֵלָיו בַּבֶּקֶר וְהָיָה לֹא־הָיָה בְּנֵי אֲשֶׁר יִלְדָתִי

I rose in the morning to nurse my son and *to my surprise*, he was dead! However, when I looked at him closely in the morning, *to my surprise*, it was not my son whom I gave birth to.⁶⁸

17; 25:6; Josh 7:22; Judg 3:25; 4:22 (2 times); 6:28; 7:13; 11:34; 14:5, 8; 19:16, 22, 27; 20:40; 1 Sam 4:13; 5:3, 4; 9:14; 10:10; 11:5; 13:10; 14:20, 26; 17:23; 19:16; 25:20, 36; 26:7; 30:3; 30:16; 2 Sam 1:2, 6 (2 times); 3:22; 13:36; 15:24, 32; 16:1, 5; 18:31; 19:42; 1 Kgs 1:22, 42; 13:1; 13:25 (the narrator points out to his readers what “just then” happened!); 17:10; 18:7; 19:5, 9, 11, 13; 20:13; 2 Kgs 1:9; 3:20; 4:32; 6:15, 33; 7:5, 15; 8:5; 9:5; 13:21; 19:35; Isa 37:36; Jer 14:18 (2 times); 36:12; 48:40 (the Lord announces that Moab’s enemy will swoop down on them like an eagle); 49:15; Ezek 3:23; 17:7; 2 Chron 13:14; 26:20; Ps 37:36; Prov 7:10; Ruth 2:4; 3:8; 4:1. In 2 Kgs 2:11, a narrator points to the unexpected appearance of “a chariot and horses of fire” by means of הַנְּהָה + noun phrase. For a similar construction, see Isa 17:14 and Ezek 37:7.

⁶⁵ Gen 24:45; 1 Kgs 3:21; 20:39; 2 Kgs 7:10; Isa 21:9; Jer 13:7; 18:3; Ezek 8:4, 8, 14, 16; 9:2, 11; 11:1; 37:2 (2 times), 7; 40:3, 17, 24; 43:2, 5; 46:19, 21; 47:1, 2, 7; Amos 7:1 (2 times), 4, 7; 8:1; Zech 1:11; 2:7; 5:7; Dan 10:10, 13, 16, 20; Job 1:19; Prov 24:31. Note that all the instances from Ezekiel, Amos, Zechariah, and Daniel are part of vision reports. Compare also Ps. 139:8. In Gen 18:10, speakers point out to their addressees what they will find surprising in a year’s time (i.e., arriving in time at a new scene/situation). In 2 Sam 18:11, a speaker expresses his own surprise about what he has been told.

⁶⁶ Gen 40:6; Exod 2:6; 2 Chron 20:24, also Isa 5:30 and 8:22.

⁶⁷ Gen 19:28; 26:8; 29:2 (2 times); Exod 3:2; Josh 8:20; Judg 9:43; 1 Sam 10:11; 14:16; 1 Kgs 19:6; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20, 30; 11:14; Jer 4:23, 24, 25, 26; 2 Chron 23:13.

⁶⁸ Eccl 1:14; 2:1, 11; 4:1.

40) Gen 31:10

וַיְהִי בַעַת יַחַם הַצֹּאן וְאִשָּׂא עֵינַי וַאֲרָא בַחֲלוֹם וְהַנְּהָה הָעֵתְדִים הָעֵלִים
עַל-הַצֹּאן עֲקָרִים נִקְרָדִים וּבְרָדִים

And then during the mating of the flock. I lifted up my eyes and saw, *to my surprise*, the male goats that leaped upon the flock were striped, speckled, and mottled.⁶⁹

41) Gen 24:63

וַיִּשָּׂא עֵינָיו וַיִּרְא וְהִנֵּה גַמְלִים בָּאִים

[When] he looked closely (lit. lifted up his eyes and looked), unexpectedly *there camels were coming!*⁷⁰

Sometimes a situation is reconsidered and הַנְּהָה is used to point out how the observers experienced the findings of their observations. In most cases it is not possible to argue that the findings were necessarily unexpected or surprising to the observers (examples 42–43). Often it merely confirms what they expected (examples 44–47). In these instances, however, הַנְּהָה is still used to represent the stance of an observer. In terms of our definition of the notion, הַנְּהָה still points out something “newsworthy.”

42) Deut 9:16

וַאֲרָא וְהִנֵּה חָטְאתֶם לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם

I looked *and indeed* you had sinned against the LORD your God.

43) Gen 6:12

וַיִּרְא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָרֶץ וְהִנֵּה נִשְׁחָתָה

God observed the earth, *and indeed*, it was corrupt.⁷¹

⁶⁹ This example is the only example of a dream report listed in this paper. The other dream reports are treated separately. See also the vision reports in Jer 24:1; 38:22; Ezek 1:4, 15; 2:9 (2 times); 8:2, 5, 7, 10; 10:1, 9; 37:8; 44:4; Dan 8:3, 5; 10:5; 12:5; Zech 1:8; 2:1, 5; 4:2; 5:1, 9; 6:1. In Ezek 40:5, an observation is implied in a vision report.

⁷⁰ Gen 18:2; 22:13; 33:1; Exod 14:10; Josh 5:13; 2 Sam 13:34; 18:24.

⁷¹ Gen 1:31; 31:2; Exod 32:9; 39:43; Num 32:1; Deut 9:13; Judg 18:9. Numbers 32:1 differs from the other examples listed here; what is pointed out is not necessarily the confirmation of an expectation. In Judg 21:8, an inquiry is implied.

44) Deut 13:15

וְדַרְשָׁתָּ וְחִקְרָתָּ וְשָׁאַלְתָּ הִיטֵב וְהִנֵּה אִמְתָּ נִכּוֹן הַדְּבָר נִעְשְׂתָה הַתּוֹעֵבָה
הַזֹּאת בְּקִרְבְּךָ

Then you shall inquire and probe and make a thorough investigation. If *it turns out* that the truth of this matter can be established: this abhorrent thing has been done among you.⁷²

45) Judg 21:9

וַיִּתְפָּקֵד הָעָם וְהִנֵּה אֵין־שָׁם אִישׁ מִיזְשָׁבִי יָבֵשׁ גִּלְעָד

The people were counted, and *indeed*, there was no one from the inhabitants of Jabesh-Gilead.

46) Exod 9:7

וַיִּשְׁלַח פָּרְעֹה וְהִנֵּה לֹא־מֵת מִמִּקְנֵה יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־אֶחָד

Pharaoh sent [a messenger] and, *indeed*, not even one of the livestock of the Israelites was dead.⁷³

47) Lev 13:5

וְרָאָהּ הַכֹּהֵן בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁבִיעִי וְהִנֵּה הִנְגַּע עֹמֵד בְּעֵינָיו לֹא־פָשָׂה הִנְגַּע בְּעוֹר
וְהִסְגִּירוֹ הַכֹּהֵן שִׁבְעַת יָמִים שְׁנִית

The priest must then examine it on the seventh day, and if *it turns out* the infection has stayed the same and has not spread on the skin, then the priest shall confine the person for another seven days.⁷⁴

3.3 Category 3

הַהֲנָה points to a proposition (or propositions) which need to be related to another proposition (or propositions) or speech act(s) (271/1060, i.e., about 26%)

3.3.1 הַהֲנָה Points to Propositional Content which Provides or Prepares the Grounds of Another Speech Act (166/271, i.e., about 61%)

Related to category 1.3 (ii) are instances where הַהֲנָה is also pointing to information a speaker regards as noteworthy. In this regard, instances in cate-

⁷² Deut 17:4; 19:18; Ezek 16:8; Neh 6:12.

⁷³ Lev 10:16; Num 17:12; Josh 7:22; 1 Sam 14:17.

⁷⁴ Lev 13:6, 8, 10, 13, 17, 20, 21, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 53, 55, 56; 14:3, 37, 39, 44, 48.

gory 3.1 overlap with both category 1.1 (ii)–(iii) and category 1.3 (ii). A speaker may also point out what he/she regards as the grounds of what is asserted (often by means of a rhetorical question). Sometimes, what is pointed out could be unexpected to the addressee (examples 50 and 54).

In these cases, the scope of הִנֵּה is predominantly the propositional content of one or more sentences. It may be regarded as a sentential deictic or a macro-syntactic deictic that functions as a discourse marker. In most cases, it can be translated as: “*Look/see*, x [+ y] is the case.” However, in some cases “*listen*” or “*you must realize*” may be more appropriate.

The following constructions are typically used: הִנֵּה (or הִנֵּה־נָה) + verbal and/or nominal clause(s) + (וְעַתָּה) directive (examples 3, 48–50), (mainly) rhetorical questions (example 51) or explicit assertions (examples 52–53). The latter speech acts typically follow (examples 3, 48–53), but sometimes (example 54) precede הִנֵּה + verbal and/or nominal clause(s).

3) Gen 42:2

הִנֵּה שָׁמַעְתִּי כִּי יֵשׁ־שָׂבֵר בְּמִצְרַיִם רְדוֹ־שָׂמָה וְשָׁבְרוּ־לָנוּ מִשָּׂם

*Look, I have heard that there is grain in Egypt, go down and buy grain for us there.*⁷⁵

48) Gen 16:6

הִנֵּה שְׁפָתַיִךָ בְּיַדְךָ עֹשִׂי־לָהּ הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ

*Look, your slave-girl is in your hand, do to her as you please.*⁷⁶

49) 2 Kgs 5:15

הִנֵּה־נָא יָדַעְתִּי כִּי אֵין אֱלֹהִים בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ כִּי אִם־בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
וְעַתָּה קַח־נָא בְּרָכָה מֵאֵת עַבְדְּךָ

*Look, I know that there is no God in the whole world except in Israel. So then, please take this gift from your servant.*⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Gen 27:6; Num 32:23; Judg 16:10; 2 Sam 24:17; 2 Kgs 5:22; Esth 8:7; Job 5:27; Ps 132:6; Ruth 1:15; 2 Chron 16:3; 23:3; 28:9. In 2 Kgs 7:6, the directive is implied. In Gen 18:27, the directive follows only after a condition.

⁷⁶ Gen 20:15; 24:51; 34:21; Exod 1:9; 33:21; Num 20:16; Josh 9:25; 1 Sam 9:8; 20:5; 2 Sam 15:36; 2 Kgs 7:13; Jer 26:14; Job 5:17; Pss 54:6; 123:2; Ruth 3:2; 1 Chron 22:14; 2 Chron 18:12. In 1 Chron 11:1 and 17:1, a directive is implicit.

⁷⁷ Gen 27:2; 1 Sam 9:6; 24:21; 2 Kgs 1:14 and 2 Chron 28:9; also Gen 12:11, 16:2; Judg 19:9 (2 times); 1 Kgs 20:31; 2 Kgs 4:9 and 6:1. In the latter cases, the directive is not introduced by וְעַתָּה. In Gen 19:8, 20; 1 Sam 16:15; 24:5; 2 Sam 13:24; 1 Kgs 22:13, and 2 Kgs 2:16, 19, הִנֵּה governs a nominal clause or clauses. In the case of 2 Kgs 2:19, the directive is implicit.

50) 1 Sam 18:22

הַגָּה חָפֵץ בְּךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־עַבְדָּיו אֲהַבִּיךָ וְעַתָּה הִתְחַתֵּן בְּמֶלֶךְ

*Look, the king is pleased with you and all his servants like you. So then, become the king's son-in-law.*⁷⁸

51) 2 Kgs 10:4

הַגָּה שְׁנֵי הַמְּלָכִים לֹא עָמְדוּ לְפָנָיו וְאִיךָ נִעְמַד אֲנַחְנוּ

*Look, two kings could not stand before him; how can we withstand?*⁷⁹

52) Jer 32:17

הַגָּה אַתָּה עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּכַחַךְ הַגָּדוֹל וּבְזַרְעֶךָ הַנְּטוּיָה לֹא־יִפְלֵא מִמֶּךָ כָּל־דָּבָר

*Look, you yourself made the heaven and the earth with your great power and an outstretched arm. Nothing is impossible for you.*⁸⁰

53) 1 Kgs 8:27

הַגָּה הַשָּׁמַיִם וְשָׁמַיִם הַשָּׁמַיִם לֹא יִכְלְפוּךָ אֶף כִּי־הַבַּיִת הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר בָּנִיתִי

*Look, the heaven and the highest heaven cannot contain you, how much less this house which I have built.*⁸¹

⁷⁸ Exod 3:9; Num 22:5 (2 times), 11; 1 Sam 8:5; 24:21; 25:14; 28:21. In 1 Kgs 2:8, הַגָּה governs a number of clauses and וְעַתָּה follows only in 1 Kgs 2:9.

⁷⁹ Judg 14:16; 1 Sam 20:2; 21:15; 28:9; 2 Sam 3:24; 12:18; 2 Kgs 4:13; 5:11; 10:4; 19:11; Isa 37:11; Jer 7:8; 8:9, 19; 49:12, 19; Ezek 22:13; Job 4:3; 13:18. In the case of Gen 18:27, 31, the question of the speaker, Abraham, is preceded by a condition. In Gen 26:9; 2 Kgs 6:33; 7:2; Isa 20:6, and Jer 32:27, הַגָּה introduces a nominal clause; in 2 Kgs 7:19 and Ezek 17:10, הַגָּה introduces a nominal clause. The rhetorical question(s) may also precede the construction governed by הַגָּה. Compare Num 22:32; Judg 6:15; 1 Sam 15:22; 24:11; 2 Sam 14:32; 2 Kgs 18:21; Isa 36:6; Jer 6:10 (2 times); 7:11; 8:8; 23:19; Ezek 15:4; Hab 2:19; Ps 11:2.

⁸⁰ Num 23:20; 1 Sam 12:1; 2 Kgs 5:20; Isa 6:7; 28:16; Ezek 28:3; Ps 7:15. In Isa 25:9; 65:6; Jer 38:5, and Ps 127:3, a nominal clause is governed by הַגָּה. In the case of Judg 13:3, a speaker uses הַגָּה to prepare the ground of a promise. He concedes that “despite” the barrenness of his addressee, she will conceive and bear a son. See also Gen 19:19 where הַגָּה is also used to point out a concession. In 1 Sam 12:13, the speaker prepares the ground of a subsequent condition. In Eccl 1:16, an insight pointed out by a speaker by means of הַגָּה provides the ground of a subsequent action of the same speaker.

⁸¹ 1 Sam 23:3; 2 Sam 16:11; Ezek 15:5; 2 Chron 6:18. In Isa 65:13 (3 times) and 65:14, הַגָּה is used to set up a positive situation for the Lord's servants, which is then four times contrasted with the antithetical situation of the addressees. In Jer 32:24, הַגָּה is used, first to point out to the addressee the dire situation of Jerusalem, and, second, the fact he himself could see it, and then, nevertheless he is the one that had told Jeremiah to buy a field for himself near the city.

54) 1 Kgs 17:9

קוּם לְךָ צָרַפְתָּה אֲשֶׁר לְצִידוֹן וְיָשַׁבְתָּ שָׁם הֲנֵה צֹיִתִי שָׁם אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה לְבִלְכָלְךָ

Go at once to Zarephath which belongs to Sidon and stay there. *Look, I have instructed there a widow to feed you.*⁸²

3.3.2 הַנְּהָה Points to a Proposition (or Propositions) in Order to Relate It to Another Proposition (or Other Propositions) which It Modifies⁸³ (105/271, i.e., about 39%).

הַנְּהָה points to information (i.e., propositional content) which a speaker or narrator regards to *be newsworthy as far as other discourse active propositions* are concerned. The information presented modifies the content or implicatures of statements in the *preceding* co-text. This modification may provide the confirmation (examples 5 and 55), elaboration (example 56), outcome of (example 57), or retreat from possible implications of preceding utterances. The retreat may be the denial of an expectation (example 58) or a contradiction (example 59–60) thereof.⁸⁴ In the latter instances, that is examples 59–60, it is obvious that what is pointed out was not expected. In these cases, the scope of הַנְּהָה may be a phrase,⁸⁵ a sentence, or a series of sentences. In other words, הַנְּהָה may be a phrase, a sentence, or macro-syntactic deictic that functions as a discourse marker. Another significant feature of this use of the particle is that it sometimes modifies the content of a cluster of preceding sentences (examples 4 and 55–56).

⁸² Gen 38:23; Exod 24:14; 32:34; 2 Kgs 7:13; Isa 35:4; 38:17; 41:15; 47:14; 62:11; Zech 9:9; Pss 39:6; 119:40; Job 33:2 (הַנְּהָה־נָּא); Prov 1:23. See also 1 Kgs 1:14; 14:2; Jer 17:15; 2 Chron 2:7, 9. In these cases הַנְּהָה governs a nominal clause. In Isa 60:2; Pss 59:4; 83:3 and Song 2:11, כִּי explicitly marks the utterance introduced by הַנְּהָה as the grounds of the preceding directive. In the case of Isa 48:7, a directive (“You do not need to tell me”) may be implied. In Jer 1:6; 14:13, and Ezek 4:14, the expressive, “Ah my Lord Yahweh” has the illocutionary force of “Do not ask/tell me this.”

⁸³ A significant difference between category 3.1 and category 3.2 is that all instances of 3.2 follow the utterance(s) of which the propositional content is modified.

⁸⁴ The relationships between the propositions involved in the above-mentioned categories correlate more or less with those identified by Lewis (D. M. Lewis, “Discourse Markers in English,” in *Approaches to Discourse Particles* [ed. K. Fischer; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006], p. 46). In his study of discourse markers in English, Lewis identifies three types of rhetorical relationships that could be signaled by discourse markers in English, namely, claim + justification, claim + elaboration, and claim + retreat.

⁸⁵ Compare, for example, Isa 5:7; Isa 22:13; 59:9; Jer 8:15, and Hag 1:9. In these cases, the scope of the particle is a noun phrase.

4) 1 Sam 26:21

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל חַטָּאתִי שׁוּב בְּנֵי־דָוִד כִּי לֹא־אָרַע לְךָ עוֹד תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר יָקָרָה נַפְשִׁי
בְּעֵינֶיךָ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הִנֵּה הִסְכַּלְתִּי וְאֲשָׁגָה תִרְבֶּה מְאֹד

Then Saul said, “I have sinned. Come back my son, David. I will not harm you again, because my life was precious today for you (lit. precious in your eyes today). Indeed, I acted foolishly and have erred so very much”

55) Isa 12:1, 2

אוֹדֶה יְהוָה כִּי אֲנַפְתָּ בִּי יְשׁוּב אַפְּךָ וַתִּנְחַמְנִי
הִנֵּה אֵל יְשׁוּעָתִי אֲבִטָה וְלֹא אֶפְחָד

I praise you LORD, for [though] you were angry with me your anger turned away and you comforted me. Yes, God is my deliverer. I will trust and not be afraid.⁸⁶

56) Gen 42:13

וַיֹּאמְרוּ שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר עֲבָדֶיךָ אֲחִים אֲנַחְנוּ בְּנֵי אִישׁ־אֶחָד בְּאֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן
וַהֲנֵה הַקָּטָן אֶת־אֲבִינוּ הַיּוֹם וְהָאֶחָד אֵינָנוּ

They said, “Twelve are your servants, [we are] brothers. We are the sons of one man in the land of Canaan, but you must believe us the youngest one is today with his father and the other one is no more.⁸⁷

57) Gen 15:3

וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָם הֵן לִי לֹא נָתַתָּה זָרַע וְהִנֵּה בֶן־בֵּיתִי יוֹרֵשׁ אֹתִי

Abram said: “After all, you have not given me an offspring, so now, a son of my house will be my heir!”⁸⁸

⁸⁶ 1 Sam 12:13; 20:23; 26:21; 2 Sam 17:9; 1 Kgs 22:23; 2 Kgs 10:9; 13:9; 28:2; 34:5; 48:10; 49:12 (2 times); 65:13 (3 times), 14; Jer 4:13; 18:6; 50:12; Ezek 7:10; 17:18; 22:6; 33:32, 33; 43:12; Amos 9:8; Nah 3:13; Pss 33:18; 40:10; 48:5; 55:8; 59:8; 73:12, 27; 121:4; 128:4; Job 3:7; 16:19; 32:19; 33:7.

⁸⁷ Gen 27:36; 45:12; Deut 3:11; 1 Sam 10:8; 20:12, 21; 1 Kgs 10:7; 2 Kgs 6:25; Isa 7:14; Ezek 13:12; 16:49; 23:39, 40; 30:21; 2 Chron 9:6; 13:12; 19:11. Isaiah 40:10 (2 times) represents an atypical use of הַנְּהָה. After pointing out the presence of God in Isa 40:9, הַנְּהָה is used twice to elaborate the implications of his presence for the addressees. In the case of 1 Kgs 1:25; Jer 16:12; 44:2; Ezek 8:17; 13:10; 33:32, and 2 Chron 29:9, a speaker represents as newsworthy a current event or state of affairs that is conclusive evidence of what is asserted in a preceding utterance.

⁸⁸ Josh 14:10 (2 times); 1 Sam 10:2; 26:24; 2 Sam 3:12; 14:7; 19:21; 2 Kgs 17:26; Ezek 16:27, 44; 18:18; 2 Chron 18:22; 19:11.

58) 1 Sam 16:11

וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל אֶל־יְשִׁי הַתַּמּוּ הַנְּעָרִים וַיֹּאמֶר עוֹד שָׂאֵר הַקָּטָן וְהַנְּהָה רֹעֵה בְּצֹאֵן

And then Samuel said, “Is that all the young men?” He said, “The youngest still remains, but he is keeping the sheep and goats.”⁸⁹

59) Isa 5:7

וַיִּקֶן לְמוֹשָׁפֶט וְהַנְּהָה מִשְׁפָּח לְצָרָקָה וְהַנְּהָה צָעֲקָה

He expected justice, but [got] bloodshed, righteousness, but [got] cries for help!⁹⁰

60) Gen 48:11

רָאָה פָּנֶיךָ לֹא פָלַלְתִּי וְהַנְּהָה הִרְאָה אֹתִי אֱלֹהִים גַּם אֶת־זְרַעְךָ

To see your face I did not expect, but the Lord has let me see even your children!⁹¹

Except for examples 50, 54, 58–60, it is hard to argue that הַנְּהָה has a mirative sense in most instances listed in both 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. However, the semantic relationship of category 3 to categories 1–2 can still be motivated⁹² as a radial shift based on the following three facts concerning הַנְּהָה as a discourse marker. First, הַנְּהָה in category 3 always implies a relationship with other discourse active information (i.e., it is a discourse deictic) and, second, it points out information that is noteworthy or newsworthy with respect to the other discourse active information. Furthermore, in terms of studies into the diachronic development of discourse markers across languages, the third use of הַנְּהָה represents a typical example of how discourse markers tend to develop.⁹³

⁸⁹ 1 Kgs 10:7; Ezek 18:14; Zech 9:4. Numbers 22:38 is atypical since a speaker uses הַנְּהָה to point out his countering response to a reproach.

⁹⁰ Isa 22:13; 59:9; Jer 8:15; 14:19; Hag 1:9.

⁹¹ Exod 7:16; 23:11; 24:10, 11; 32:14; Deut 22:17; Josh 9:12, 13; Judg 3:25; 1 Kgs 1:18; Ezek 14:22 (2 times); Job 32:12; Neh 5:5. In Ps 33:18, the psalmist uses הַנְּהָה to point out how the Lord differs from a king and his army.

⁹² For the concept “motivation” in this context, compare G. Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, p. 91.

⁹³ Compare M.-B. Mosegaard-Hansen, “A Dynamic Polyseme Approach to the Lexical Semantic of Discourse Markers (with an Exemplary Analysis of French *toujours*),” in *Approaches to Discourse Particles* (ed. K. Fischer; Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006), p. 29.

4. CONCLUSIONS

In category 1, which comprises about 40% of our corpus, הִנָּה points to an entity in about 8% of the instances (1.1); to a location in about 3% of the instances (1.2) and to an event or events in about 29% of the instances (1.3). While in the latter two categories, that is, 1.2 and 1.3, it nearly always can be argued that the addressee's mind was "unprepared" for what has been pointed out to him/her; this is not always the case in 1.1. Instead, in the majority of the instances of 1.1, הִנָּה attained a presentative character, either where speakers present themselves to be available or where the presentation of an entity provides the grounds of a subsequent speech act.

In category 2, which comprises 25% of the corpus, typically a narrator uses הִנָּה (typically in the construction הִנָּה הִנָּה) to point to the cognitive effects on characters of the observation of something for which they were unprepared. In a few instances,⁹⁴ where the findings of characters' observations are reported, and expectations of them are confirmed, it cannot be argued that they were unprepared for what they found. However, it is reasonable to argue that these cases (where something newsworthy is still pointed out) are a secondary development of the primary use in which הִנָּה prototypically has an unambiguously mirative sense.

Category 3 comprises 26% of the corpus. Here הִנָּה is used to point to the propositional content of an utterance that needs to be related to that of another proposition or speech act. In slightly more than 60% of the cases (category 3.1), speakers point to information they regard as noteworthy (and sometimes also newsworthy) for their addressees since it provides the ground of another speech act. In the rest of the cases (category 3.2), speakers or narrators point to propositions that they regard as newsworthy with respect to the immediately preceding propositions. Typically, the propositional content pointed out in both these sub-categories does not represent something unexpected to the addressees.

Although the categorical status of members within category 2 could be established with a fair degree of certainty, this was not always the case with some of the members of categories 1 and 3. It was particularly difficult to categorize some members of category 3. For the time being we will consider our categorization of these instances as tentative. Nevertheless, in each of the three categories we have distinguished, הִנָּה has a deictic function which should be regarded as its semantic core. If one considers that in about two-

⁹⁴ Of the about fifty instances, more than half are confined to Numbers 13–14.

thirds of its occurrences in our corpus, it is unambiguously clear that הַנִּזְהָרָה is used to point to something either addressees or characters were not prepared for, it is appropriate to identify the most typical use of הַנִּזְהָרָה as a marker of mirativity.

However, having said that, it has to be pointed out that in our corpus some secondary developments in terms of radial shifts have been identified. First, we noted instances where pointing out the proximity in space of an entity shifted to pointing out the availability of an entity and the preparedness of an entity to respond. Second, pointing out something an addressee or a character was unprepared for became a means for pointing out something that was “newsworthy” but not necessarily unexpected. Third, pointing out something “newsworthy” (i.e., information with communicative value yielding contextual effects) became a means for also pointing out something “noteworthy” (i.e., something which establishes a common ground), as far as another speech act was concerned.⁹⁵ Pointing out something “noteworthy” as far as another speech act is concerned, most probably paved the way for pointing out something “newsworthy” as far as another set of propositions was concerned.

In short, it is evident from this study that הַנִּזְהָרָה is primarily a lexical marker of mirativity, and that non-mirative uses of הַנִּזְהָרָה can be explained in a principled manner.

⁹⁵ In these cases, הַנִּזְהָרָה is typically a near-synonym of those instances of הָאֵלֶּה which point to information that a speaker affirms and establishes as the ground of another speech act. Compare, for example, Job 33:5–7. Compare also, C. H. J. van der Merwe and J. A. Naudé, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (revised edition).