THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

HEBREW FORMS OF ADDRESS: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC ANALYSIS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN LANGUAGES AND CIVILIZATIONS

BY

YOUNG BOK KIM

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

JUNE 2022

To Su Hyeon, Gunn, and Joon

אֵשֶׁת־חַיִל וְנַחֲלַת יְהוָה

αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, ἀμήν

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Acknowledgments

I sincerely thank my dear wife, Su Hyeon Kang, and my beloved sons, Gunn and Joon, for their unceasing love and support for me. They have endured twelve years to see this day–I am the worst of sinners. To them this volume is dedicated.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents, Sung Soo Kim and Ae Soon Kwon, and my parents-in-law, Hee Sung Kang and the late Hye Ri Cho, for their unconditional love for their son. They are a true reflection of God's perfect love.

I am forever grateful for the members of my dissertation committee: Dennis G. Pardee, Rebecca Hasselbach-Andee, and Lenore Grenoble. My advisor, Professor Pardee, not only provided invaluable guidance on this work but he embodied the highest standards of scholarship, generosity, and compassion throughout my graduate career. Professor Hasselbach-Andee introduced me to the more in-depth study of comparative Semitics, while Professor Grenoble kept the linguistic analysis on the straight and narrow. Without their guidance and mercy, this dissertation would not have been completed.

I am thankful to my former teachers from whom I have received exemplary philological and linguistic instruction: Alastair McEwen, Stephen Voorwinde, Miles V. Van Pelt, John Currid, Stephen A. Kaufman, Samuel Greengus, David Weisberg, *z"l*, Stuart

Abstract

In this dissertation, I examine terms of address in Biblical Hebrew (BH) and Epigraphic

Hebrew (EH). Every language has its own address system. These systems provide some of

the best clues to societal relationships and social structure. For example, many European

languages have a so-called *T/V* pronoun distinction to convey varying levels of intimacy,

distance, age, politeness, and/or insult toward the addressee (e.g., *tu* and *vous* in French,

du and *Sie* in German). Languages such as modern English have no such *T/V* distinction

but employ functional equivalents to show these attitudes toward the addressee (e.g., by

using first name or by honorific title *sir* or *ma'am*). BH and EH are similar to English in

showing no pronominal *T/V* distinction. However, various terms of address are employed

to index social relationships between speaker and addressee. This dissertation aims to

answer four main questions: (1) What are the terms of address in BH and EH?; (2) What

are the discernible distribution patterns in the BH and EH address system?; (3) How do

noticeable variations in the use of terms of address contribute to our understanding of

social factors, such as social status, age, gender, speaker's attitude to addressee, or

chronological periods?; (4) How are those variations exegetically significant? Previous

studies on Hebrew terms of address are few in number and they do not treat the subject

comprehensively. The definition and categories of terms of address developed in

sociolinguistic studies have not been adequately applied to ancient Hebrew. A

comprehensive sociolinguistic study that systematically presents the use of Hebrew

terms of address in various social interactions is still lacking. This dissertation is designed

to fill that gap.

Abbreviations of Terms and Phrases[1]

1	first person	NP	noun phrase
2	second person	NEG	negation, negative
3	third person	OT	occupational term
ABH	Archaic Biblical Hebrew	PC	prefix conjugation
ACC	the object marker ʾeṯ	PL	plural
ADJ	adjective	PN	personal name
ART	definite article	POL	politeness marker (naʾ)
BH	Biblical Hebrew	PR	proper noun
C	common gender	PREP	preposition(al phrase)
CN	common noun	PRON	pronoun
CONJ	conjunction	PTCP	participle (phrase/clause)
Cons	construct	REL	relative clause
EBH	Early Biblical Hebrew	SBH	Standard Biblical Hebrew
EH	Epigraphic Hebrew	S	speaker
F	feminine gender	SC	suffix conjugation
H	hearer	sf	pronominal suffix
IMP	imperative	SG	singular
INF	infinitive	T	title
INTER	Interrogative	VB	verb
FTA	face threatening act	VOC	vocative
KT	kinship term		
LBH	Late Biblical Hebrew		
M	masculine		
N	noun		

[1] For the interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme linguistic glosses, I generally follow the standard abbreviations and conventions of the Leipzig Glossing Rules developed by the Max Planck Institute (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php).

Bibliographical Abbreviations

ANET	J. B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).
Ant.	F. Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, trans. W. Whiston (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998)
ARM	Archives Royales de Mari (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1946-).
BDB	F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 2003).
BHRG	C. H. J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999).
BHRG²	C. H. J. van der Merwe, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2017).
BL	H. Bauer and P. Leander, *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des Alten Testamentes* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962).
CAT	M. Dietrich, O. Loretz, and J. Sanmartín, *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995).
COS	W. W. Hallo and K. L. Younger, Jr, eds., *The Context of Scripture*, 3 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2003).
DCH	D. J. A. Clines, ed., *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1993-2011).
EA	El-Amarna tablets according to the edition of A. Rainey, *The El-Amarna Correspondence* (Boston: Brill, 2015).
GKC	E. Kautzsch, ed., *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar,* rev. A. E. Cowley, 2d ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1910).
GBHS	B. T. Arnold and J. H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003)
HALOT	L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Boston: Brill, 2001).
HKM	S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat-Höyük* (Ankara: Türk Tarith Kurumu Basimevi, 1991).
IBHS	B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990).
JM	P. Joüon, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, trans. and rev. T. Muraoka (Roma: Editrice Pontificio Istituto, 2005).
LXX	Septuagint
MT	The Masoretic Text
RS	Text from Ras Shamra
SAA	State Archives of Assyria (Helsinki: Helsinki University, 1987-).
VA	Inventory numbers of the "Vorderasiatische Abteilung" in the museum of Berlin
WHS	R. J. Williams, *Williams' Hebrew Syntax*. 3rd ed., rev. and exp. J. C. Beckman (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007).

Hebrew and Aramaic Transliteration

a. Consonants

א	ʾ		ז	z		ע	ʿ
בּ	b		ח	ḥ		פּ	p
ב	ḇ		ט	ṭ		פ	p̄
ג	g		י	y when consonantal		צ	ṣ
ג	ḡ		ך ,כּ	k		ק	q
ד	d		ך ,כ	ḵ		ר	r
ד	ḏ		ל	l		שׂ	ś
ה	h when consonantal		ם ,מ	m		שׁ	š
ה	h		ן ,נ	n		תּ	t
ו	w when consonantal		ס	s		ת	ṯ

Note: dagesh forte doubles the consonant; e.g., סּ *ss.*

b. Tiberian Vowels (with ב as a dummy consonant)

בַּ	ba		בֲּ	bᵃ
בָּ	bɔ		בֳּ	bᵓ
בֵּי ,בֶּ	bɛ		בֱּ	bᵋ
בֵּי ,בֵּ	be			
בִּי ,בִּ	bi			
בּוֹ ,בֹּ	bo		בְּ	b
בּוּ ,בֻּ	bu			

Note: vowel letters (ה,ו,י) and schwa (silent or vocal) are not transliterated.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Every language has its own system of address, which comprises the forms of address and the way in which they are employed. Forms of address are defined as words or phrases that speakers use to refer to their conversation partners (Parkinson 1985, 1). According to Philipsen and Huspek (1985, 94), they constitute "a sociolinguistic subject par excellence," reflecting the social background of speaker and addressee to a greater extent than other aspects of language. Languages differ in their repertory of address forms. For example, many European languages have two forms of second-person pronoun, such as *tu/vous* in French and *du/Sie* in German, to convey varying degrees of formality, social distance, familiarity, or politeness toward the addressee. Modern English has been called "the most weakly socially encoded European language" (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990, 134), because it has only one form of second-person pronoun 'you,' which carries no social distinctions. But it may employ functional equivalents to show these attitudes toward the addressee (e.g., by using a first name or honorific title *sir* or *ma'am*). Biblical and epigraphic Hebrew (BH and EH, respectively) are similar to English in that the four different forms of second-person independent pronoun carry little social encoding (אַתָּה *ʾattɔ* [MS]; אַתְּ *ʾatt* [FS]; אַתֶּם *ʾattɛm* [MP]; אַתֵּן/אַתֵּנָה

ʾatten/ʾattenə [FP]). However, other nominal forms of address are employed to index various social relationships between speaker and addressee.

When a competent speaker of a given language refers to his addressee, he first evaluates the relationship between them and what kind of social context they are in. Then, he makes the most appropriate choice from the repertory of available address forms. What is interesting is that he is not required to stick with one form of address in a given conversation. Rather, he often switches from one form to another.

An example from the Hebrew Bible may illustrate this situation. In 1 Kgs 22:1-28,[1] we encounter a story of Ahab king of Israel[2] and Jehoshaphat king of Judah who seek the counsel of Yahweh before they go to war against Aram. At the request of Jehoshaphat, Ahab gathers about four hundred prophets, asking if he should go into battle against Ramoth Gilead. They give him a unanimous green light to go to war. Jehoshaphat, however, does not trust their response and requests again that Ahab should call upon another prophet of Yahweh. Ahab reluctantly summons Micaiah the son of Imlah, who has never prophesied good concerning him. As Ahab expects, Micaiah delivers an ominous message: he will die a bloody death in the battle.

---

[1] The text and translation are provided in the Appendix A.

[2] Ahab's name does not appear until v.20. He is rather designated with the title "king of Israel." It is worthwhile noting that his name is used at the beginning of the parallel passage in 2 Chr 18:2.

As we examine this passage, we recognize that a variety of forms of address are used by speech participants – Ahab, Jehoshaphat, Micaiah, and the prophets. Ahab, for example, almost always addresses his conversation partners with the second-person reference – whether it is expressed through a verb (i–iii, v) or a pronominal suffix (vi–vii) as shown in Table 1-1 below. But when he begins his conversation with Micaiah, he calls him by his name (iv). Why does Ahab call his name? Does he do so simply for the sake of identifying him or trying to get his attention? Is there any social significance to Ahab's choice of this particular form of address?

Table 1-1. Ahab's Use of Forms of Address in 1 Kgs 22:1-28

No.	Vs	Addressee	Text	Transliteration	Analysis	Translation
i	3	his servants	יְדַעְתֶּם	*yḏaʿtɛm*	PC 2MP	'*you* know'
ii	4	Jehoshaphat	תֵלֵךְ	*tēlēḵ*	PC 2MS	'*you* go'
iii	9	his officer	מַהֲרָה	*mahªrɔ*	IMP MS	'*(you) bring quickly!*'
iv	15	Micaiah	מִיכָיְהוּ	*miḵɔyhu*	PR	'*Micaiah*'
v	16	Micaiah	תְדַבֵּר	*tḏabber*	PC 2MS	'*you* speak'
vi	16	Micaiah	ךָ	*ḵɔ*	PRO 2MS	'*you*'
vii	18	Jehoshaphat	ךָ	*ḵɔ*	PRO 2MS	'*you*'

As can be seen in Table 1-2 below, Jehoshaphat usually addresses Ahab with the second-person reference (i-ii). But in an attempt to avoid speaking ill of the prophet Micaiah, Jehoshaphat refers to Ahab in the third person, 'the king' (iii). Is there any reason for Jehoshaphat to change his address form at this point?

Table 1-2. Jehoshaphat's Use of Forms of Address in 1 Kgs 22:1-28

No.	Vs	Addressee	Text	Transliteration	Analysis	Translation
i	4	Ahab	ךָ	*kɔ*	PRO 2MS	*'you'* (3x)
ii	4	Ahab	דְּרָשׁ	*drɔš*	IMP MS	'*(you)* seek!'
iii	5	Ahab	הַמֶּלֶךְ	*hammɛlɛk*	N	*'the king'*

The four hundred prophets also change their form of address for Ahab from the second-person reference to the nominal 'the king' as shown in Table 1-3 below (i). The prophet Micaiah shows the same pattern of addressing Ahab (ii). From then on, however, he consistently addresses him in the second person (iii-v). In choosing these different forms of address, are the prophets trying to communicate something about their attitudes towards Ahab, or are they using different forms merely for the sake of elegant variation?

Table 1-3. Prophets' Use of Forms of Address in 1 Kgs 22:1-28

No.	Vs	Addressee	Text	Transliteration	Analysis	Translation
i	6, 12	Ahab	עֲלֵה ...	*ᶜᵃle ...*	IMP MS	'*(you)* go up ...
			הַמֶּלֶךְ	*hammɛlɛk*	N	*the king*.'
ii	15	Ahab	עֲלֵה ...	*ᶜᵃle ...*	IMP MS	'*(you)* go up ...
			הַמֶּלֶךְ	*hammɛlɛk*	N	*the king*.'
iii	19	Ahab	שְׁמַע	*šmaᶜ*	IMP MS	'*(you)* hear!'
iv	23	Ahab	ךָ	*kɔ*	PRO 2MS	*'you'* (2x)
v	28	Ahab	תָּשׁוּב	*tɔ-šub*	PC 2MS	*'you* return'

Understandably, standard grammars of BH hardly deal with the questions raised above, since the choice of address forms is not governed by traditional morpho-syntax. Rather, social factors such as status, gender, age of speech participants, and their context

influence the speaker's address behavior. Sociolinguistics provides paradigms and

models for cross-linguistic comparison to help answer the questions raised above.

Since 1960s, sociolinguists have studied forms of address in a wide variety of

languages, aiming to discover underlying rules governing address usage. While the

majority of their studies have been concerned with modern languages, a growing

number of attempts have been made in the last two decades to apply their results to

older texts such as Shakespeare's plays and ancient Greek literature. Therefore, it will be

worthwhile attempting to see how modern address research can benefit our

understanding of address usage in BH and EH.

This dissertation applies the theory, methodology, and insights of modern

sociolinguistics to describe and analyze the systems of address in BH and EH. My goal is

to elucidate the forms of address in BH and EH in terms of their distribution and usage to

specify underlying rules governing address usage, while recognizing the unique

complexities of biblical and epigraphic texts as an object of sociolinguistic analysis. Such

a combination of sociolinguistics and biblical studies has two potential benefits: it may

shed light on Hebrew social structure and demonstrate the exegetical significance of

address variations.

1.2 Previous Studies

1.2.1 Scholarship on Hebrew Forms of Address

To date, studies on Hebrew forms of address are few in number and their treatments of the subject have been limited in corpus and in scope. The following review not only highlights the weaknesses and limitations of previous studies of terms of address but also provide insights on the methods that this dissertation is to employ. The review is presented in chronological order of publication.

1.2.1.1 C. L. Miller[3]

In a section entitled "Social Relationships of Speech Participants," Miller (2003, 269-281) briefly discusses terms of address and deferential language in the prose portions of Genesis through 2 Kings and epigraphic Hebrew letters. With regards to terms of address she provides several examples of kinship terms and titles that index equality (e.g., אָחִי *ʾəḥi* 'my brother') and inequality (e.g., אֲדֹנִי *ʾᵃḏoni* 'my lord'), noting that kinship terms may be used for non-family members to index intimate relationships. Concerning deferential expressions, she classifies them into four types on the basis of deictic orientation: (1) speaker-based deference (the first-person pronoun for speaker

---

[3] Miller's work is reviewed first, because there is little difference in content between the section entitled "Social Relationships of Speech Participants" in her monograph (2003, 269-281) and that in her dissertation (1992, 214-223).

and אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* 'my lord' for addressee; e.g., אַל־יַחֲשָׁב־לִי אֲדֹנִי עָוֺן *ʾal yaḥᵃšoḇ li ᵃḏoni ʕɔwon* 'May *my lord* not hold *me* guilty' in 2 Sam 19:20); (2) addressee-based deference (עַבְדְּךָ *ʕaḇdkə* 'your servant,' אֲמָתֶךָ *ᵃmɔtɛkə* 'your maidservant,' or שִׁפְחָתְךָ *šip̄ḥɔtkə* 'your maidservant' for speaker and the second-person pronoun for addressee; e.g. אַל־תִּזְכֹּר אֵת אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱוָה עַבְדְּךָ *ʾal tizkor ʾeṯ ᵃšɛr hɛ⁽ᵉwɛ ʕaḇdkə* 'May *you* not remember how *your servant* did wrong' in 2 Sam 19:20); (3) combined (עַבְדְּךָ *ʕaḇdkə* 'your servant,' אֲמָתֶךָ *ᵃmɔtɛkə* 'your maidservant,' or שִׁפְחָתְךָ *šip̄ḥɔtkə* 'your maidservant' for speaker and אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* 'my lord' for addressee; e.g., בִּי אֲדֹנִי יְדַבֶּר־נָא עַבְדְּךָ דָבָר בְּאָזְנֵי אֲדֹנִי *bi ᵃḏoni yḏabɛr nɔ ʕaḇdkə ḏɔḇər bʾozne ᵃḏoni* 'Please, *my lord*, let *your servant* speak in the ears of *my lord*' in Gen 44:18); (4) distanced/anaphoric (עַבְדּוֹ *ʕaḇdo* 'his servant' or the third-person pronoun for speaker and הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'the king' or the third-person pronoun for addressee; e.g., אַל־יָשֵׂם הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּעַבְדּוֹ דָבָר *ʾal yɔśem hammɛlɛḵ bʕaḇdo ḏɔḇər* 'let not *the king* accuse *his servant* of any matter' in 1 Sam 22:15).

Miller's linguistic description of terms of address and deferential forms is succinct and well-organized. However, it is not without problems. First, Miller's definition of 'terms of address' is ambiguous. According to Braun, the word *address* denotes "a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s)" (1988, 7). Therefore, it includes not only kinship terms and titles, but also names, patronymics, and various noun phrases. But Miller does not seem to regard names as terms of address when she

states that "[i]n most of the Arad letters, terms of address are lacking" (2003, 270). In

fact, there exist twenty-five terms of address in the Arad letters, eighteen of which are

names.[4] Also, Miller's statement that "no terms of address are used by a superior in

addressing an inferior" (2003, 270) highlights her exclusion of names as terms of address,

since names are normally used to address equals or inferiors in BH (e.g., Elijah calls his

disciple Elisha by his name in 2 Kgs 2:4).

Second, Miller's focus is limited to a linguistic description of deferential forms,

highlighting how speaker and addressee are linguistically represented. Politeness

theory–perhaps the most helpful theory to describe deferential phenomena–is not

employed. Sociolinguistic issues such as the reasons for the speaker's use of a particular

deferential form at a particular juncture, the relationship between speaker and

addressee, and variations in deferential forms in a given dialogue are not taken into

consideration. Thus, the social dynamics of deferential forms are largely ignored.

Finally, Miller's conclusions concerning deferential expressions are problematic.

She makes the important point that the narrator's ideology ultimately controls the use of

---

[4] Terms of address in the Arad letters are as follows: (1) **Name** - Elyashib (1:1; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:1; 8:1 [partial]; 10:1 [partial]; 11:1; 12:1 [partial]; 14:1 [partial]; 16:2; 18:1-2 [following the title 'my lord']; 24:1-2 [partial]; Nahum (17:1); Gedalyahu (21:1-2 [preceding a patronymic 'son of Elyair']); Malkiyahu (40:3); (2) **Title** - my lord (18:1-2 [preceding name 'Elyashib']; 21:3; 21:4 [partial]; 26:2; 26:4; 40:6; 40:10 [partial]). See Pardee *et al.* (1982).

deferential language, with which no one would disagree (2003, 28). However, her further statement "[a]s a result, no deferential language is used… by Moses and Aaron in speaking to Pharaoh" (2003, 280) is not correct, since Moses uses the title Pharaoh to address him deferentially (Ex 8:25).[5]

1.2.1.2 E. J. Revell

In his monograph *The Designation of the Individual* (1996), Revell carries out a synchronic analysis of designations used for individual characters in Judges, Samuel, and Kings (excluding poetic passages). Recognizing that two text types—narration and speech—reflect different conventions, he discusses the designations used in each type separately. The forms of address are naturally treated in the course of analyzing character designations within direct speech.

Revell approaches the subject of terms of address from a sociolinguistic perspective. He examines how characters are addressed, the relationship of speaker and addressee, the context in which an address term is used, and the speaker's attitude toward the addressee. Revell observes various patterns of terms of address, and he detects several expressive usages that may be exegetically significant, such as Michal's

---

[5] Moses uses the title Pharaoh twice to address Pharaoh in this verse. One of them has a textual variant, but the other does not. The same title is used by a chief cupbearer and Joseph as a deferential expression (Gen 41:10; 16, 25 [x2], 28 [x2]; 32, 33, 34, 35). See Longacre (2003, 131-133).

ironic use of the title מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל *mɛlɛḵ yiśrəʾel* 'king of Israel' in 2 Sam 6:20. After his careful

analysis of all the designations in narration and speech, Revell concludes that "the usage

studied is self-consistent" despite the composite nature of the text (1996, 361).

Revell's treatment of terms of address is much more detailed than Miller's. Many

of his findings are convincing and exegetically insightful. However, two problems may be

pointed out. First, Revell's corpus is rather limited, i.e., three historical books. Therefore,

many observations that he makes do not hold true outside his corpus. For example,

Revell's statement that "the personal name is the only form of vocative which God is

shown... as using to humans" (1996, 333) is contradicted in the Book of Ezekiel, where

God addresses Ezekiel exclusively as בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn ʾoḏəm* 'son of man.' This problem calls for

a comprehensive analysis of an expanded corpus of BH and EH to test which of his

conclusions can be seen as universal or idiosyncratic in BH and EH.

Second, as Revell intends to cover all the designations in the text, the forms of

address are only cursorily treated. Sometimes only verse lists are provided without any

analysis. At other times Revell makes certain assertions without providing any data at

all. Moreover, the discussions on terms of address are fragmented and scattered

throughout the book. Various components of bound forms of address are treated in

several chapters as part of broader discussions. Thus, it is extremely difficult to see the

10

coherent and overall picture of address usage. Despite these problems Revell's work is the best example of sound methodology and analysis regarding Hebrew forms of address to date.

1.2.1.3 B. D. Estelle

In his dissertation (2001) and an article based on that dissertation (2012), Estelle discusses deferential language in Aramaic and in the book of Esther. Applying Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987), he identifies five deferential strategies frequently employed in the corpus: (1) the vocative use of titles; (2) the substitution of third-person forms for second and first-person forms; (3) the deferential use of prepositions (Aramaic קֳדָם *qᵒḏɔm* or מִן־קֳדָם *min qᵒḏɔm* 'before' and Hebrew לִפְנֵי *lip̄ne* 'before'); (4) the indefinite or unspecified agent; (5) the majestic passive (2001, 41-51). The first and second strategies are directly related to forms of address. Thus, as Estelle discusses these two strategies used in the book of Esther, he naturally touches upon the topic of address usage.

However, Estelle's understanding of deferential language appears incomplete. He states that "[t]here is only one deferential vocative in the book of Esther," citing Esth. 7:3 where Esther addresses King Xerxes as הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'O king' (2012, 12). But he does not discuss the two deferential vocatives used by King Xerxes to address Esther (אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה

ʾester hammalkə 'Queen Esther' in Esth 5:3; 7:2). As Brown and Levinson point out,

deferential terms may also be used by superior to convey a mutual respect (1987, 178).[6]

1.2.1.4 B. Thomas

Thomas (2009) examines ancient Hebrew letters to discuss how politeness

strategies are employed. He rightly observes that when a letter is addressed to a

superior, politeness is expressed by the use of conventional *praescriptio* (address,

greeting, and blessing) and deferential terms (אֲדֹנִי *ʾᵃdoni* 'my lord' and עַבְדְּךָ *ʿaḇdkə* 'your

servant'). However, his statement that "[i]f it is an inferior who is addressed, neither

greeting nor term of address accompanies the personal name" (38) creates a false

impression that personal names are not part of terms of address.

1.2.1.5 R. Esposito

Esposito (2009) examines the semantic value of kinship terms in the Hebrew

Bible. He collects all the kinship terms used in the Hebrew Bible, determining whether

they are used literally or fictively. Then he concludes that about 70% of kinship terms are

used fictively. However, the validity of Esposito's conclusion is questionable, because one

cannot absolutely determine literal or fictive use of kinship terms particularly in poetry

where the contextual evidence is absent. He includes poetry in his corpus and

---

[6] O'Connor (2002, 24), Estelle's dissertation reader, also views 'Queen Esther' as a deferential
expression.

automatically counts kinship terms in these texts as fictive. But how do we know that

'my son' used repeatedly in Proverbs was not intended to address the author's real son?[7]

To be able to obtain the real semantic value of kinship terms, one should focus on prose

alone where the social status of the individuals involved may be properly assessed from

contextual indicators.

1.2.1.6 E. J. Bridge

Bridge (2010a) carries out a similar study as Thomas's, but focuses on only the

Lachish letters, all of which are addressed to a social superior. Criticizing previous

studies on ancient letters that attribute variations in deferential expressions (אֲדֹנִי *ʾₐḏoni*

'my lord' and עַבְדְּךָ *ʿaḇḏkₐ* 'your servant') to scribal differences or social distance, he

argues that the content or subject matter of a letter should be factored into analyses of

variation. The senders may freely express their opinion and even criticize the recipient

at times. When they do so, they tend to reduce the use of deferential terms.

Bridge's study suffers from using a text edition uncritically. He only resorts to the

texts provided by Dobbs-Allsopp et al. (2005). Their transcriptions often differ from those

of Pardee et al. (1982), which are based on photographs and those who have examined

---

[7] See Fox (2000, 80) who does not exclude the possibility of the literal meaning of the terms "father" and "son" in Proverbs.

the documents personally. These differences should have been pointed out, especially

when the central thesis was to be supported by only one edition.[8]

In his dissertation, Bridge (2010b) examines the use of "slave terms," such as עֶבֶד

ʿɛḇɛḏ 'servant,' אָמָה ʾɔmɔ 'maidservant,' and שִׁפְחָה šip̄ḥɔ 'maidservant' in the Hebrew Bible

from the perspective of politeness theory. These terms are frequently used by a speaker

to express self-abasement, showing that an addressee has power over him or her,

particularly in the matter of granting a request. The opposite term אָדוֹן ʾɔḏon 'lord,' which

is relevant for our purpose, is rather briefly discussed. In contrast to terms designating

servitude, it often expresses deference by raising the status level of the addressee.

Recognizing that these master-servant terms are clear examples of Brown and Levinson's

politeness strategy called *give deference*, Bridge argues that the speaker strategically

employs them to attempt to get what he or she wants.

One of Bridge's major contributions is his defense of Brown and Levinson's

politeness theory as a suitable tool for the analysis of biblical texts. Identifying politeness

strategies used by biblical characters, he demonstrates how (im)politely they are

portrayed. For instance, in Num 20:14-21 where Israel requests passage to travel through

---

[8] Bridge (2010: 530) states that "אדני is used less frequently" based on the lack of אדני in Lachish 3:6 in Dobbs-Allsopp *et al.*'s transcription (2005, 309): *šlḥtʿhˀ ˀl ʿbdk.* But many other text editions, including Torczyner (1938, 46-47, 51), Gibson (1971, 44), and Pardee *et al.* (1982, 84), read: *šlḥ ʾdny lʿbdk.*

Edom, Israel is portrayed as very polite, using various politeness strategies including *in-group identity markers* ('your brother Israel' in v.14), *give reasons* (Yahweh's deliverance of Israel from Egyptian oppression in vv.14c-16), and *minimize the imposition* (stay on the King's highway, and not drink Edom's water in v.17). In contrast, Edom is blunt, threatening to fight against Israel. They employ no politeness strategy, refusing to be a 'brother' to Israel and perhaps wanting to take the role of superior. This accords with the portrayal of Edom as a 'bad brother' to Israel/Judah elsewhere in the HB (e.g., Gen 25: 29-34 and Amos 1:11-12). As Bridge has clearly demonstrated that politeness theory can be a useful heuristic device to describe the intentionality of character's speech in general and the use of deferential terms in particular, I intend to use it in this dissertation, especially when I analyze kinship terms used as free forms of address in Chapter 3.

1.2.1.7 Summary

Previous studies on Hebrew forms of address are, despite their many helpful insights, inadequate in three respects. First, the definition and classification of forms of address together with deferential language have not adequately been understood or applied to ancient Hebrew. Second, their treatments have been partial in their corpus and/or scope. Finally, text-critical issues have not been dealt with before analyzing the

text. A comprehensive sociolinguistic study that systematically presents the use of

Hebrew forms of address in various social settings is still lacking.

1.2.2 Scholarship on Forms of Address in Different Languages

Sociolinguistics is the descriptive study of language in relation to society—a

branch of both linguistics and sociology. While the term *sociolinguistics* was coined by

Hodson in 1939,[9] it is Labov who pioneered the quantitative analysis of language

variation in 1960s.[10] Sociolinguists, in reaction to the Chomskyan assumption that

grammars are unrelated to the social lives of speakers, focus on the social motivation of

language change.[11] They are concerned with how people with different social

background (e.g., age, gender, occupation, race, ethnicity, class, regions, etc.) speak and

how their language changes in different social contexts.

Forms of address have been the subject of many sociolinguistic studies, as they

are one of the most common places for languages to encode sociolinguistic parameters of

gender, age, and status of speaker and addressee. It is generally agreed that Brown,

Gilman, and Ford initiated modern sociolinguistic investigation of address terms. They

---

[9] While Hodson uses the term in the title of his five-page article "Socio-Linguistics in India," it never appears in the body. His sociolinguistic suggestion, as Currie (1980, 407) notes, is slender. It was Nida (1949, 152) who first used the term in linguistics.

[10] For a more detailed account on Labov's contributions to the field of sociolinguistics, see Watt (2005, 172-175).

[11] For a brief history and overview of sociolinguistics, see Mesthrie (2001, 1-4)

wrote three consecutive articles on the development of the pronominal and nominal

forms of address in European languages, which have become a springboard for further

research on terms of address in different languages. The following review provides some

background to sociolinguistic work on address terms in different languages, highlighting

methodological insights relevant to our study on BH and EH forms of address.

1.2.2.1 A. Gilman and R. Brown

In an article entitled "Who Says 'Tu' to Whom," Gilman and Brown (1958) trace

the differentiation of pronominal address (polite vs. familiar) in English, French,

German, and Italian back to the 4th century C.E., when the Latin plural *vos* instead of

singular *tu* began to be used to address the Roman emperor. As the use of the plural

address spread, two dimensions governing pronominal usage developed: (1) a vertical

dimension of status (plural polite pronoun used to superiors, singular familiar pronoun

used to inferiors) and (2) a horizontal dimension of status (plural pronoun used among

distant equals, singular pronoun used among intimate equals). There was a time when

these two dimensions were visible in English (*thou* vs. *ye*). However, as the horizontal

dimension became dominant, Modern English no longer expressed the vertical

dimension with different pronouns. While pronominal differentiation has been lost, the

vertical dimension can instead be expressed by nominal differentiation (e.g., first name vs. title + last name).

In their second article entitled "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity," Brown and Gilman (1960) elaborate the concept of pronominal differentiation, introducing the symbols *T* and *V*, the abbreviations for the putative origin in Latin *tu* and *vos*. In medieval Europe, the *T/V* usage was governed by what authors now call the "power semantic," i.e., *T* for inferiors and *V* for superiors, so that non-reciprocity and asymmetry were common. However, between equals pronominal address was reciprocal: upper class speakers exchanged *V* and lower class speakers exchanged *T*.

An important observation that Brown and Gilman make is that a speaker may spontaneously shift from *V* to *T* or vice-versa to express his emotional/attitudinal change toward an addressee. Thus, in medieval European literature, a speaker's shift from *V* to *T* might express his contempt and anger toward an addressee, while respect and distance might be indicated by the opposite shift from *T* to *V*.

Since the nineteenth century, another model, the "solidarity semantic," has gradually gained ground. This understanding does not operate on power distinctions, but on the notions of intimacy and like-mindedness. It led to the reciprocal use of *T* in the

case of intimacy and the mutual use of *V* in the case of distance. Thus, there was an

extension of the *T* use (e.g., parents and son exchange *T*).

A unique contribution of this article to sociolinguistics is that Brown and Gilman

employed the modern method of questionnaires to investigate address behavior in

French, German, and Italian. Having analyzed the answers provided by French, German,

and Italian students residing in Boston, they conclude that the German *T* is more readily

used for family relations than are the French and Italian *T*.

1.2.2.2 R. Brown and M. Ford

Brown and Ford's article entitled "Address in American English" (1961) further

develops Brown and Gilman's statement: "proper names and titles... operate today on a

nonreciprocal power pattern in America" (1960, 267). To investigate the use of first

names (FN: 'John') and that of titles + last names (TLN: 'Mr. Smith'), Brown and Ford

collected data in four ways: by reviewing American plays, by observing address behavior

in a Boston business firm, by interviewing business executives, and by tape-recording of

children's usage in a midwestern American town. After analysis of the data, they found

that FN and TLN function in three dyadic patterns: the mutual TLN at the beginning for

acquaintances, the mutual FN between intimates, and the non-reciprocal use of TLN and

FN among people different in age or professional status. FN is always used for

downwards social relations (i.e., to equals or inferiors), while TLN designates upwards

relations (i.e. to superiors). Thus, the distinction in American English between address by

FN or TLN function in the same way as the distinction between *T* and *V* in European

languages.

Some scholars have claimed that Brown, Gilman, and Ford's notions of

reciprocity/non-reciprocity, of power and solidarity, and of *T* and *V* are

sociolinguistically universal.[12] But their claim has been challenged by other

sociolinguists, such as Dickey (1996, 257) who discovered that such alleged universal

notions were absent from classical Greek.[13] Thus, Brown, Gilman, and Ford's theories are

not to be regarded as absolute universals, but as tendencies. It is one of the goals of this

dissertation to test whether Hebrew forms of address are in accord with these proposed

cross-linguistic tendencies or demonstrate different patterns.

1.2.2.3 S. Ervin-Tripp and Others

Apart from Brown, Gilman, and Ford's works, Ervin-Tripp's article entitled "On

Sociolinguistic Rules" (1972) is frequently cited in literature dealing with terms of

address. She is well-known for her formulation of rules of address by means of a

---

[12] For example, Slobin, Miller, and Porter (1968, 289) state that "[i]t is a sociolinguistic universal that the address terms exchanged between intimates... is the same term used in addressing social inferiors, and that the term exchanged between non-intimates... is also used to address social superiors."

[13] A similar criticism is put forward in Braun (1988, 18-24).

computer flow chart. The flow chart consists of a number of "selectors" which influence

speaker's choice of a variant. The selectors include setting, age, rank, gender, etc. After

the speaker makes a series of binary choices, he finally reaches one type of address form.

Flow charts are set up for the choice of FN and TLN in American English and for that of *T*

and *V* in 19th-century Russian, in Yiddish, and Puerto Rican Spanish.

Since Brown, Gilman, Ford, and Ervin-Tripp's articles were published, a number

of works on terms of address in individual languages have appeared.[14] But the reliability

of their data collection methods and analyses has often been questioned.[15]

1.2.2.4 F. Braun

A large-scale group project at the University of Kiel entitled "Reflections of social

structure in natural languages: address behavior" has gathered information on patterns

and systems of address in thirty modern languages.[16] It was carried out by collecting

publications on forms of address and interviewing informants on the basis of a specially

---

[14] For example, Bates and Benigni (1975) studied pronominal address in Italian by interviewing 117 adults and found out that there was a clear age-class interaction in overall degree of formality. Hwang (1975) focused on Korean pronouns and names, Lambert and Tucker (1976) on children's pronominal address forms in French and Spanish, Parkinson (1985) on Egyptian Arabic address forms including pronouns, kinship terms, and names, and Başoğlu (1987) on Turkish terms of address used in novels and films.

[15] Dickey 1996, 3.

[16] They include Arabic, Chinese, Dari, (Irish) English, Finnish, Georgian, German, Greek, Haussa, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icelandic, Italian, Kazakh, Korean, Kurdish, Mingrelian, Norwegian, Pashto, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Rumanian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Spanish, Swedish, Tigrinya, Turkish, and Twi. See Braun 1988, 2.

designed questionnaire. The project has produced two important works on terms of

address: Braun, Kohz, and Schubert (1986) have compiled the most comprehensive

annotated bibliography including over 1100 items, and Braun (1988) published the final

report of the project, providing, in my opinion, the best overview of address theory.[17]

Braun's work is of particular importance in that it clearly sets out definitions of

important terms and concepts, classifying address terms according to both word classes

and syntax. She defines address as "a speaker's linguistic reference to his/her

collocutor(s)" (1988, 7).[18] Thus, terms of address are words and phrases used to address

the collocutor, including not only pronouns but also verbs and nominal forms.[19]

Pronouns of address are, above all, second–person pronouns (e.g., English *you*, German

du and *ihr*, and French *tu* and *vous*), but other grammatical persons can also act as

pronouns of address (e.g., German *Sie* [3MP]). Verbal forms of address are second-person

verbs in which reference to the collocutor is expressed by means of inflectional

elements.[20] Nominal forms of address include substantives and adjectives that can be

---

[17] For the full list of the works on address in individual languages that the Kiel project has produced, see Braun 1988, 5-6.

[18] This definition is universally accepted by those who study terms of address in modern languages. See Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 1992, 13.

[19] English has only two kinds of terms of address: nominal forms (*Rachel*, how are you?) and pronouns (Could *you* open the door, please?).

[20] This can be seen most clearly in languages where the use of the subject pronoun is not obligatory such as ancient Greek and modern Finnish.

classified into diverse types, such as personal names (PNs), kinship terms (KTs), titles (Ts), patronymics, and so on.

While terms of address can be classified according to the parts-of-speech criterion, they can also be classified according to the syntactic criterion.[21] The same address term may have a different syntactic status as a *bound* or *free* form. Bound forms refer to those integrated into the syntax of a sentence (e.g., May I talk to *you* for a moment?), whereas free forms are those outside the sentence structure, not holding a main constituency slot in the clausal syntax; preceding, succeeding, or inserted into the sentence (e.g., *You*! Open the window!). The relevance and applicability of Braun's terminology and classifications to Hebrew forms of address will be demonstrated in detail in §1.3.

1.2.2.5 E. Dickey

There are five popular methods employed by sociolinguists to collect data on modern languages today: introspection, questionnaires, interviews, observation, and text analysis. Obviously, the first four methods cannot be used for ancient Hebrew due to lack of native informants, but the last one appears promising. In fact, even before Dickey it was gaining popularity especially among those who study earlier forms of languages,

---

[21] This classification system has proved to be very useful in many European languages. See Zwicky (1974); Schubert (1984); Braun (1988); Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (1992); Dickey (1996; 2002).

such as nineteenth-century Russian,[22] Old French,[23] Old English,[24] Chaucer,[25] and

Shakespeare.[26] But the vast majority of these studies focused on relatively recent

historical periods.

Dickey produced the first major sociolinguistic work on forms of address in an

ancient language–Greek. In her *Greek Forms of Address* (1996), Dickey analyzes 13,584

vocatives used in dialogues embedded in a variety of prose texts written by twenty-five

classical authors from Herodotus to Longus. Thus, the corpus chronologically covers

over 600 years. Following Braun's definition and categories of terms of address, Dickey

presents them in two ways. First, she classifies the addresses semantically into PNs, KTs,

Ts, etc. and observes the ways in which these different groups are employed. Secondly,

she arranges the speakers and addressees according to social variables, such as age,

kinship, gender, and rank, investigating how each group uses different addresses. By

looking at address terms from these two angles Dickey makes many insightful findings

about their meanings and the social relations that they reflect. For example, she finds

that power differences were well reflected in Greek address; in dyads where the

---

[22] Friedrich (1966)
[23] Bakos (1955)
[24] Waterhouse (1982)
[25] Nathan (1959)
[26] Replogle (1973); Brown and Gilman (1989)

addressee had power over the speaker, as in addresses from subjects to monarchs, titles

were the standard form of address, and names were disrespectful (1996, 235-238). As will

be demonstrated in the case study in Chapter 6, this appears to be the case in BH as well.

Dickey primarily takes a synchronic approach but is aware of the fact that terms of

address can change over time. Surprisingly, she detects very few diachronic changes in

the texts that she used (1996, 249). Dickey's work is a prime example of sociolinguistic

scholarship on terms of address in ancient texts.

1.3 Methodological Considerations

1.3.1 The Nature of the Data

Hebrew forms of address are contained in written texts. While there are inherent

limitations in the sociolinguistic analysis of written texts, such as lack of native speakers

who can provide the spoken language data, it has been considered a legitimate method

to obtain data on modern languages.[27] In fact, there are certain advantages to the

analysis of written texts over other methods dealing with spoken language. For example,

written texts may provide larger and more varied samples of data than are usually

obtained from live speakers.[28] Sometimes written texts may provide data on situations

which are difficult to observe in real life. Moreover, data from written texts are available

---

[27] Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 1992, 36.
[28] Romaine 1982, 109-11.

to other linguists so that they can check the validity of one scholar's conclusions. Data

collected from live informants, however, may need to be kept confidential to protect the

subjects and so one's assertions based on them cannot be checked.[29]

However, two issues of the biblical text might cause some difficulties in our study.

First, the biblical text, i.e., the Masoretic Text (MT), is a composite text, known for its

complicated history of composition and scribal transmission. Thus, the original linguistic

data might have been obscured or changed through this textual history. In order to

address this problem, I will pay close attention to textual variants and *Kethiv-Qere*

alternations. Also, while the approach of this study is primarily synchronic, special

attention will be given to linguistic variation reflecting diachronic and dialectal factors.[30]

Second, the biblical text is a literary text. Dialogues embedded within the

narrative, from which address terms are to be collected, are not exact replicas of original

locutions. They were created by the author/narrator to achieve his literary goals.

Therefore, our aim is not to recover actual conversational language of biblical

characters. Rather, our goal is simply to describe their address usage, which is ultimately

orchestrated by the narrator.[31]

---

[29] Milroy 1987, 91.
[30] This will be considered below (§1.3.2).
[31] Polak 2010, 171.

The literary nature of the biblical text, on the other hand, can be a benefit to us,

because it provides the context of an address. As Dickey points out:

> the fact that the language of a literary text was composed by an author rather
> than produced by informants is a benefit to the researcher, for each word in the
> text is likely to have a purpose, and the information necessary to understanding
> that purpose should be given to us by the author (1996: 37).

Thus, it is important for us to examine carefully the literary context of each dialogue to

find out literary factors that might affect the speaker's address behavior.

1.3.2 The Corpus

The data for our study come from dialogues of the prose sections of the Hebrew

Bible and the epigraphic Hebrew letters (Arad [Arad], Kuntillet ʾAjrud [KAjr], Lachish

[Lach], Meṣad Ḥashavyahu [MHsh], and Moussaïeff [Mous]). Poetic passages are excluded,

because poetic usage differs somewhat from that of prose.[32] Moreover, they often

provide very little contextual information that social relations between speech

participants become ambiguous.

---

[32] Dickey 1996, 40. For a brief discussion on the difference in the linguistic features of reported
speech in prose and poetry, see Miller 20-22.

As can be seen in Table 1-4 below, there are 980 address terms in our corpus (682 free forms and 297 bound forms), excepting the second- and third-person pronouns used as address terms.[33] These will be exhaustively analyzed.

Table 1-4. Number of Hebrew Forms of Address Surveyed

Book	Free	Bound	Total	Book	Free	Bound	Total
Gen	55	38	93	Zech	8		8
Exod	9	5	14	Job		1	1
Num	15	7	22	Ruth	12		12
Deut	14	4	18	Esth	5	33	38
Josh	5	1	6	Dan	24	9	33
Judg	24	2	26	Ezra	6	4	10
1 Sam	46	29	76	Neh	11	4	15
2 Sam	62	59	121	1 Chr	30	3	33
1 Kgs	53	31	84	2 Chr	50	8	58
2 Kgs	44	5	49	Arad		24	24
Isa	12		12	KAjr		1	1
Jer	42		42	Lach		27	27
Ezek	142		142	MHsh		1	1
Amos	9		9	Mous		1	1
Jonah	4		4				

It is generally agreed that "Late Biblical Hebrew" (LBH) differs from "Early Biblical Hebrew" (EBH) both syntactically and lexically.[34] Thus, it is reasonable to assume

---

[33] The title "king" in "the king's table" in 1 Sam 20:29 is probably a fixed term rather than an address term (cf. 2 Sam 9:13; 2 Kgs 25:29; Jer. 52:33). Thus, it is excluded from our corpus.

[34] Traditionally, the tripartite division of BH presented by Kutscher (1984, 12) has been accepted by many scholars – (1) "Archaic Biblical Hebrew" (ABH) for an earlier stage of Hebrew; (2) "Standard Biblical Hebrew" (SBH) for pre-exilic Hebrew; (3) "Late Biblical Hebrew" (LBH) for post-exilic Hebrew. SBH has also been called "Classical Biblical Hebrew" (CBH) since Hurvitz (1982, 157). However, since the rise of the debate between Hurvitz and Young on the linguistic dating of biblical texts in 2003, the bipartite division of BH, i.e., "Early Biblical Hebrew" (EBH) and "Late Biblical Hebrew" (LBH), has been more widely

that there may exist some differences in address patterns between the two corpora.

Special attention will be paid to parallel passages between Kings and Chronicles, whose differences might provide us with some clues to diachronic change.

The data from the Hebrew letters, although quite limited, provide an important control for the analysis of the Hebrew Bible in two ways. First, the letters may be dated to the 7th–6th centuries BCE, which corresponds to the time of composition/redaction of the pre-exilic portions of the biblical text.[35] Secondly, unlike the biblical texts, the letters are non-literary texts and therefore provide "real" usage with a specific time and situation.

---

used (Young 2003). While LBH remains the same, EBH covers both ABH and SBH (=CBH) of the traditional tripartite division. I follow this bipartite division, since ABH consists in the archaic poems such as Gen 49, which will be excluded from this study anyway.

     There has been no consensus on which passages should be included in which division, but I have created the following corpus by selecting the least debated passages from Pfeiffer 1948, 296; Radday and Pollatschek 1980, 333; Hurvitz 1982, 170; Rofé 1988, 102; Rooker 1990, 56; Sáenz-Badillos 1993, 56-57; Holmstedt 2010, 20-21; Cf. Naudé 2004, 87-102. EBH includes the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, 1&2 Samuel, 1&2 Kings, Isaiah 1-39, Jeremiah, Hosea, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah. LBH contains Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Esther, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, and 1&2 Chronicles.

     Young, Rezetko, and Ehrensvärd (2008) have recently challenged those who hold to a traditional view that biblical texts can be dated linguistically. However, even they admit that there is a distinct difference in grammar and style between EBH and LBH.

    [35] The similarity between the syntax of BH and that of EH has been noted by Gogel (1998, 292).

1.3.3 Terminology and Concepts

Many theories and insights of sociolinguistics will be particularly helpful to the present study. First of all, Braun's definitions and classifications are directly relevant and applicable to a description of Hebrew address system. Hebrew terms of address can be defined as words and phrases used to address the collocutor, including not only pronouns but also verbal and nominal forms.[36] Pronouns of address include not only second–person independent personal pronouns (אַתָּה *ʾattə* [MS]; אַתְּ *ʾatt* [FS]; אַתֶּם *ʾattɛm* [MP]; אַתֵּן/אַתֵּנָה *ʾatten/ʾattenə* [FP]) and pronominal suffixes (ךָ *kə* [MS]; ךְ *k* [FS]; כֶם *kɛm* [MP]; כֶן *kɛn* [FP]) but also third-person pronominal suffixes (הוּ *hu*, ֹה *oh*, וֹ *o*, ו *w* [MS]; הָ *hə*, הָ֯ *əh* [FS]; הֶם *hɛm*, ם֯ *əm* [MP]; הֶן *hɛn*, ן֯ *ən* [FP]).[37] Verbal forms of address are second-person verbs in which reference to the collocutor is expressed by means of inflectional elements.[38] Nominal forms of address include substantives and adjectives that can be classified according to semantic categories, such as PNs, KTs, Ts, and patronymics. This

---

[36] English has only two kinds of terms of address: nominal forms (*Rachel*, how are you?) and pronouns (Could *you* open the door, please?).

[37] The third-person pronouns may be used when a deferential title is the antecedent of the pronoun, for example, when Jacob says to Esau (Gen 33:14): יַעֲבָר־נָא אֲדֹנִי לִפְנֵי עַבְדּוֹ *yaᶜᵃḇər nəʾ ˣᵃdoni lip̄ne ᶜaḇdo* 'Let *my lord* pass on ahead of *his* servant'.

[38] Theoretically, a third-person verb could also be a form of address, as can be seen from the Amarna example (EA 7:68): [IGI.II] ⌐ša⌐ *a-ḫi-ia li-mu-ra-ma a-ḫu-ú-a li-ik-nu-uk-ma li-še-bi-la* 'May the [eyes] ⌐of⌐ my brother see to it (i.e., gold) and may my brother seal it and may *he* (i.e., my brother) send it.' But as far as I know, there is no example such as this in BH and EH.

dissertation will primarily focus on nominal forms of address since pronouns and verbs

carry little social meaning in BH and EH.[39]

Hebrew terms of address may also be classified as *bound* and *free* forms according

to the syntactic criterion. Bound forms refer to those integrated into the syntax of a

sentence. For example, when the Egyptians say to Joseph in Gen 47:18:

לֹא־נְכַחֵד מֵאֲדֹנִי

loʾ-nḵaḥeḏ   *meˣaḏoni*
not-we.will.hide   from=lord.my

We will not hide from *my lord* (the fact that…)

Free forms, however, refer to those outside the sentence structure, not holding a main

constituency slot in the clausal syntax; preceding, succeeding, or inserted into the

sentence. These free forms are normally classified as vocatives in Hebrew by which the

speaker refers to the addressee in order to either attract his/her attention or maintain

the contact between them. So, for example, when Yahweh appears to Abram in a vision,

the vocative is used (Gen 15:1):

---

[39] As in English, Hebrew second-person pronouns and verbs can be used to anyone–superior, equal, or inferior. Also, as Miller (275) points out, third-person pronouns are anaphoric rather than deictic. Thus, they are unmarked with respect to social significance.

אַל־תִּירָא אַבְרָם

ʾal	*tirɔʾ*	*ʾaḇrɔm*
not	you.will.be.afraid	Abram

Do not be afraid, *Abram*!

While many vocatives stand in apposition to the second-person pronoun or verb as in

the above case, they may stand alone as can be seen in Gen 31:11:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים בַּחֲלוֹם יַעֲקֹב

wayyoʾmɛr	*ʾelay*	*malʾaḵ*	*hɔˣlohim*	*baḥᵃlom*	*yaᶜᵃqoḇ*
and=he.said	to=me	messenger.of	the=God	in=the=dream	Jacob

Then the messenger of God said to me in the dream, "*Jacob*!"

This dissertation integrates these two classification systems so that the distinct functions

of each category may be seen more clearly.

1.3.4 Factors Influencing Address Choice

Sociolinguists have long recognized that address usage is governed by rules that

state which forms are used in which contexts.[40] Competent speakers are well-acquainted

with them to be able to communicate effectively. The fundamental importance of

understanding address rules for effective communication is well pointed out by

Parkinson: "Knowledge of the proper use of terms of address is ... as important to the

---

[40] Philipsen and Huspek (1985, 94); Dickey (1996, 6).

overall success of communication as knowledge of the conjugation of verbs would be"

(1985, 225). Different societies and cultures have different rules governing address usage,

and thus it is often difficult to figure out which factors influence the speaker's choice of

addresses (Braun 1988, 304). Nevertheless, sociolinguists recognize two social elements

that almost always play a role: the relation between speaker and addressee and the

context of the speech.[41]

    The speaker-addressee relationship is naturally associated with their identities

made up of various properties: age, gender, status, kinship, etc. All these properties of

the dyad can take part in the speaker's choice of address terms. As Brown and Ford

rightly point out, address usage "is not predictable from the properties of the addressee

alone and not predictable from properties of the speaker alone *but only from the properties*

of the dyad [emphasis added]" (1961, 375).[42] Thus, one person may receive a variety of

address forms from different speakers. For example, Abraham is addressed by his son

Isaac as אָבִי *ʾoḇi* 'my father' (Gen 22:7), while Ephron who sold his field to Abraham

addresses him as אֲדֹנִי *ʾaḏoni* 'my lord' (Gen 23:11, 15).

---

[41] Fasold 1990, 1; Dickey 1996, 7.

[42] Contra Miller (2003, 27), who mentions only "speaker-oriented factors," addressee-oriented factors may also be crucial for the speaker's choice of terms of address.

The role of the speech context, such as setting and topic of discourse, in determining the address usage is also important. Certain forms of address may be required by some settings (e.g., "Your honor" for the judge in a law court). A biblical example that might illustrate this phenomenon comes from 2 Sam 13:24, where Absalom addresses his father David as הַמֶּלֶךְ (*hammɛlɛḵ* 'king') instead of using the kinship term אָבִי (*ʾaḇi* 'my father').[43] He has done so, probably because the use of the title (or deferential terms) was normally required before the king regardless of his familial relationship with David.

The topic of discourse might also affect address usage. For instance, when a speaker makes a request of his addressee, he may want to use more polite forms of address. Conversely, when he criticizes his addressee, he may want to reduce the level of politeness (see Bridge's argument above).

As Dickey (1996, 6) points out, the address rules are far from inviolable. They can often be broken to produce powerful discourse-pragmatic effects. One of the most crucial factors for rule-breaking is the feelings of the speaker towards to the addressee. As Brown and Gilman's study has shown, for example, a medieval European speaker's shift of *V* to *T* might express his contempt and anger toward addressee. One of the main

---

[43] Also, Jonathan addresses his father Saul as הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'king' (1 Sam 19:4).

goals of our study is to identify the other factors that influence the speaker's choice of "normal" address forms so that we might be able to tell when the address rule was broken to express speaker's particular feelings. Those rule-breaking cases would be significant, not only socially, but also exegetically.

1.3.5 Variations in Rules of Address

The assumption behind the above explanation of the factors governing the choice of address form is that both speaker and addressee have a shared set of sociolinguistic rules. In reality, however, speakers of the same language may have different norms of address usage due to the difference in their sociolinguistic background, such as social class, education, regional dialect, ethnicity, education, ideology, religion, etc. All these factors may contribute to synchronic variation in address rules. In fact, the social diversity in some speech communities is so great that it is almost impossible to speak of a single standard set of address rules (Dickey 1996, 9). For example, in 14th century England, "the lowest classes would say <u>thou</u> to everybody, even to kings and queens... because the honorific pronoun [you] was still outside their repertoire of address pronouns" (Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak 1992, 79). In this regard, Braun's comment is to the point: "[v]ariation is not an exception, but rather the rule (Braun 1988, 23).

Moreover, address systems may change over time, which results in diachronic

variation. Forms of address suitable for a certain situation in one historical period may

not necessarily be suitable for the same situation in another historical period. For

example, *ye*, which was the second-person honorific pronoun in the fourteenth century

England, is no longer in use today.

We should expect to see these two kinds of variation in Hebrew. As the Hebrew

Bible is a collection of written works by diverse authors/narrators, it is reasonable to

assume that they employed different norms of address to highlight distinct

characteristics of speakers. Thus, synchronic variation in address patterns might be

visible not only between different sources/books but also between the characters within

a given source/book. As noted in §1.3.2, diachronic variation in the biblical text is most

expected between EBH and LBH. Thus, a special attention will be paid to the differences

in the address usage between these two groups of the corpus.

1.3.6 Reciprocity/Non-Reciprocity

Brown, Gilman, and Ford's concepts of reciprocity/non-reciprocity, of

power/solidarity, and of *T/V* seem to provide a useful tool to describe Hebrew address

usage. Like English, Hebrew shows no explicit *T/V* distinction in the pronoun system of

direct address. But the distinction can be achieved in nominal address forms. For

example, to intimates and equals/inferiors, a PN is often used, such as גֵּחֲזִי *geḥᵃzi*

('Gehazi'; Elisha to his servant in 2 Kgs 5:25) or חַנָּה *ḥannɔ* ('Hannah'; Elkanah to his wife in

1 Sam 1:8). To non-intimates and superiors, a T is used, such as אֲדֹנִי *ˣᵃḏoni* ('my lord';

Rebekah to a servant of Abraham in Gen 24:18) or הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* ('king'; Esther to Xerxes

in Esth 7:3).

1.3.7 Politeness Theory

Some terms of address, such as honorific titles, can be used to express politeness

toward the addressee. Thus, they have been treated in the context of politeness study,

which has become a major topic of pragmatics and sociolinguistics. The most elaborate

and influential study on politeness today comes from Brown and Levinson. According to

them (1987, 61), all competent adults have face, i.e., "the public self-image that every

member wants to claim for himself."[44] It consists in two sides: positive and negative.

Positive face refers to the desire for approval, while negative face represents the desire

to be autonomous. Certain types of acts, which Brown and Levinson call *face-threatening*

acts (FTA), have the potential to threaten the face of the speaker (S) or hearer (H).

Orders, requests, advice, and warnings threaten the negative face of H, whereas

criticism, complaints, and disagreement threaten the positive face of H. On the contrary,

---

[44] They build on Goffman's (1967, 5) notion of face which he defines as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact."

apologizing threatens S's face. According to Brown and Levinson, the potential

weightiness of a particular FTA is determined by an additive weighting of three social

factors: the degree of social distance between S and H; H's power over S; and the degree

of imposition of the FTA. Thus, they devise the following equation:

$$W_x = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + R_x$$

where W_x refers to the weightiness of the FTA, D(S,H) refers to the social distance

between S and H, P(H,S) refers to the power that H has over S, and R_x refers to the degree

of imposition of the FTA in a particular culture. As the equation illustrates, increases in

distance, hearer's power, and imposition of the FTA will result in corresponding

increases in face-threat. Intuitively this statement appears reasonable. For example, it is

more threatening for a subject to criticize a king (high weightiness due to high P[H,S])

than vice versa (low weightiness due to low P[H,S]).

In response to the weightiness of the FTAs, competent speakers must choose

appropriate politeness strategies to save face in accordance with the gravity of the FTA.

Brown and Levinson outline five main types of linguistic strategies in order of increasing

levels of politeness: (1) *bald on-record*, (2) *positive politeness*, (3) *negative politeness*, (4) *off-record*, and (5) *don't do the FTA*. *Bald on-record* is the strategy in which S clearly states the

action without attempting face-saving. A command without 'please' is an example of this

strategy ("Shut the door!"). It is an 'impolite' strategy in Brown and Levinson's scheme.

Positive politeness addresses H's positive face. That is, S affirms H by indicating solidarity with him (e.g., "How about shutting the door for us?"). *Negative politeness* addresses H's negative face. That is, S attempts to indicate respect for H's freedom of action (e.g., "Could you shut the door?"). *Off-record* addresses face concerns by keeping the meaning of the communication ambiguous. S shows concern for H's face by giving H freedom to interpret the meaning of the communication, and then to respond as he wishes (e.g., "It seems cold in here" indirectly asks H to shut the door). Finally, *don't do the FTA* is to forgo performing the act at all. For Brown and Levinson, this is the most polite strategy.

Of these five strategies, Brown and Levinson elaborate positive and negative politeness, delineating a number of sub-strategies in order of increasing politeness as follows (1987, 102-131).

Table 1-5. Chart of Strategies: Positive and Negative Politeness

Sub-strategies of Positive Politeness	Sub-strategies of Negative Politeness
1. Notice H's interests, wants, needs, and goods	1. Be conventionally indirect
2. Exaggerate interest, approval, and sympathy with H	2. Question, hedge
3. Intensify interest to H	3. Be pessimistic
4. Use in-group identity markers	4. Minimize the imposition
5. Seek agreement	5. Give deference
6. Avoid disagreement	6. Apologize
7. Assert common ground	7. Impersonalize S and H: Avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'
8. Joke	8. State the FTA as a general rule
9. Assert S's knowledge of and concern for H's wants	9. Nominalize
10. Offer, promise	10. Go on record as incurring a debt, or as not indebting H
11. Be optimistic	
12. Include both S and H in the activity	
13. Give reasons	
14. Assume or assert reciprocity	
15. Give gifts to H (goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation)	

Since the publication of Brown and Levinson's work, their theory has been

extensively tested in cross-cultural contexts, and its shortcomings have been pointed

out.[45] The most significant problem for those who wish to apply Brown and Levinson's

theory to the Hebrew Bible is that the imposition level of various FTAs (Rx) cannot be

measured due to lack of native informants. As a result, the weightiness of the FTAs

---

[45] See Goldsmith (2007, 227) for bibliography.

cannot be measured, which in turn makes Brown and Levinson's graded scale of

politeness strategies useless.

Nevertheless, we cannot deny that the weightiness of the FTA is somehow related

to the social distance between S and H, H's power over S, and the imposition level of the

FTA. Thus, as we encounter certain politeness strategies used in the Hebrew Bible, we

can still attempt to explain them in terms of these three social factors. In fact, many of

Brown and Levinson's politeness strategies can be identified in speech between biblical

characters.[46] Among them, three sub-strategies seem particularly relevant to our study

of Hebrew forms of address. First, *in-group identity markers* are used to remind the

addressee that he or she has a connection to the speaker (1987, 107-109). In the Hebrew

Bible, KTs tend to be used in this way (e.g., a king of northern Israel calls the prophet

Elisha אָבִי *ʾābi* 'my father' in 2 Kgs 6:21). Second, *give deference*: the speaker gives

deference to the addressee by either abasing himself or raising him. The speaker may

raise the addressee by using honorific titles, which directly encode relative social status

between them, such as אֲדֹנִי *ᵃdoni* 'my lord' or הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'the king.' Deference is

mostly shown to superiors, but may be shown to inferiors to show mutual respect (e.g.,

King Ahasuerus speaks to Queen Esther: אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה *ʾɛster hammalkɔ* 'Queen Esther!' in

---

[46] See my review of Bridge above.

41

Esth 5:3; 7:2). Third, *impersonalize S and H: avoid the pronouns 'I' and 'you'*: the speaker uses third-person reference to the addressee to express politeness (אַל־יֹאמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ כֵּן *ʾal yoʾmar hammɛlɛḵ kɛn* 'let not *the king* say so' in 1 Kgs 22:8). This is also called *indirect address*,[47] bringing the effect of increasing distance between the speaker and addressee. Brown and Levinson's politeness theory will be utilized throughout this study not only to identify politeness strategies used in the Hebrew Bible but also to consider the factors that might have brought about the speaker's choice of specific strategies. Their theory can be useful to understand many different types of communication and character's address behavior.

1.3.8 Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation attempts primarily to describe the patterns of Hebrew address usage. This will be done as follows. In Chapter 2, I focus on the internal structure of free forms of address in BH by classifying them semantically into names, kinship terms, titles, patronymics, etc. and observe the ways in which these different groups are employed. The classification is based on that developed by Braun (1988, 9-11) for modern languages with some necessary modifications. In Chapter 3, social dynamics of free forms of address are explored based on Brown, Gilman, and Ford's address theory (Brown and Gilman 1960; Brown and Ford 1961) and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987).

---

[47] Svennung 1958, 3f.

Then, in Chapter 4, I attempt to describe the external syntax of free forms of address,

seeking to find the correlation between their position and function in a sentence. In

Chapter 5, bound forms of address are classified, and their usage is analyzed. Finally, in

Chapter 6, I conclude with some ramifications of the analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

FREE FORMS OF ADDRESS: INTERNAL STRUCTURE

2.1 Introduction

Nominal forms of address in BH and EH can be divided into two groups according to the syntactic criterion: 'bound' and 'free' forms.[1] Bound forms are integrated into the syntax of a sentence, such as *ᵃḏoni* 'my lord' in (1):

(1) Gen 47:18

לֹא־נְכַחֵד מֵאֲדֹנִי

loʾ-nḵaḥeḏ   *meᵃḏoni*
not-we.will.hide   from=lord=my

We will not hide from *my lord* (the fact that…)

Free forms of address, however, stand outside the sentence structure.[2] They do not hold a main constituency slot in the clausal syntax. Rather, they precede the sentence, succeed it, or inserted into it, such as *ʾaḇrəm* 'Abram' in (2):

---

[1] The syntactic distinction of bound vs. free forms has proved to be very useful in many European languages. See Schubert (1984); Braun (1988); Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak (1992); Dickey (1996; 2002). Note that in linguistics, the terms "bound" and "free" are used for *morphological* distinction: bound forms refer to forms that cannot occur in isolation, such as pronominal suffixes, whereas free forms refer to forms that can stand alone, such as independent personal pronouns. In address studies, however, these terms are used for *syntactic* distinction: bound forms of address are forms that are integrated into the syntax of the sentence, whereas free forms of address are like adjuncts, which do not serve as an argument of the verb.

[2] Revell (1996, 325) defines a free form of address as "a noun or noun phrase used to designate an addressee who is otherwise represented by second person pronouns." This, however, is an insufficient definition, as it could also be applied to a bound form of address. The syntactic feature of a free form

(2) Gen 15:1

אַל־תִּירָא אַבְרָם

ʾal-tirɔʾ   *ʾaḇrɔm*
not-you.be.afraid   Abram

Do not be afraid, *Abram*!

Thus, a free form of address in BH can be defined in terms of a combination of several criteria. Morphologically, it is a nominal element. Syntactically, it is separated from the sentence that may accompany it, behaving like an adjunct. Semantically and pragmatically, it refers to the addressee, functioning in general as either calls/summons, or addressee identification.[3] In this chapter I will focus on the internal structure of free forms of address in BH by examining their constituents, word order, and distribution pattern,[4] which grammarians have largely overlooked. As will be demonstrated below, there are certain structural patterns that biblical authors follow in their use of free forms of address.

---

distinct from that of a bound form must be noted in the definition in order to differentiate between the two.

[3] I agree with Revell who equates a free form of address with the vocative in BH (1996, 325). Zwicky (1974, 787), Leech (1999, 107), and Busse (2006, 29) also equate them, understanding the vocative as a form of address loosely integrated with the rest of the sentence. Curiously, Miller (2010b, 348) thinks that Leech differentiates the vocative from a free form of address. Judging from the definition and the examples of the vocative that he provides, however, it is certain that Leech identifies the vocative with a free form of address.

[4] Note that there are no examples of free forms of address in EH.

2.2 Internal Structure of Free Forms of Address

Previous studies of addresses in ancient and modern languages have attempted to

analyze the internal structure of address forms based on either grammatical or semantic

categories. A prime example of a grammatical analysis comes from Kambylis' study of

Greek forms of address used in the works of Pindar (1964, 95-199). After dividing address

forms into two groups, namely, single-word addresses and multi-word addresses, he

arranged each group according to the grammatical structure of the forms (e.g., proper

noun, proper noun with an attributive adjective, etc.). Each structure, then, was further

sorted by the type of addressee (e.g., gods, goddesses, humans, etc.) as well as the

presence or absence of the particle ὦ ('O'). In so doing, Kambylis sought to present the

grammatical and syntactic regularities and peculiarities that address forms display.

Dickey (1996), however, used lexical meaning as a basis to organize free forms of

address used in Greek prose. Adapting the classification developed by Braun for modern

languages (1988, 9-11), she assigned a semantic type (e.g., personal names, kinship terms,

titles, etc.) to each of the addresses and observed the ways in which these different

semantic types are employed.

In the following sections, I will attempt to categorize free forms of address in BH

according to both grammatical and semantic criteria in order to gain a more

comprehensive understanding of their internal structure. Following Kambylis' method, I

will divide address forms at the outset into two groups according to the number of

constituents in the address form: *simple address* and *complex address.* The former consists

of a single word, while the latter is made up of two or more words. Not infrequently in

BH, however, simple address(es) and/or complex address(es) are combined to form a

long string of addresses, which may be termed a *compound address.* I will reference these

three terms frequently in my discussions below.[5]

2.2.1 Grammatical Categories

A free form of address in BH typically consists of a nominal element: noun phrase

(NP), adjective, or participle. It is occasionally expanded with a modifier, such as an

attributive adjective, relative clause, or prepositional phrase. As noted by Joüon and

Muraoka (§137g), the free form of address is pragmatically definite, since it points to a

specific participant in the speech situation. Therefore, when a nominal element is used

as a free form of address, it should be marked for definiteness according to the standard

categories of nominal definiteness in Biblical Hebrew: by the definite article, by a

pronominal suffix, by being in construct with a definite *nomen rectum*, or by virtue of

---

[5] In this study, the number of free forms of address reflects the sum of simple and complex addresses. Simple address(es) and/or complex address(es) within a compound address are counted individually. Thus, a compound address would not count as just one form of address (contra Miller [2010a, 48]).

being a proper noun. One encounters, however, a significant number of nominals

functioning as free forms of address that are neither proper nouns nor bound to another

definite element but that do not bear the definite article. As I organize free forms of

address according to grammatical categories, I will set aside these cases and discuss the

possible reasons for the absence of the definite article in §2.2.1.3.

2.2.1.1 Simple Address

A simple address may be used alone or as a constituent of a compound address.

Almost all the simple addresses in our corpus are either intrinsically definite or overtly

marked for definiteness,[6] consisting either of a proper noun (3a),[7] a common noun

bearing a pronominal suffix (3b),[8] or a common noun, adjective, or participle prefixed

with the definite article (3c):[9]

(3a) Gen 31:11

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים בַּחֲלוֹם יַעֲקֹב
</div>

... wayyoʾmɛr	*ʾelay*	*malʾak*	*hɔˣlohim*	*baḥᵃlom*	*yaᶜᵃqoḇ*
... and=he.said	to=me	messenger.of	the=God	in=dream	Jacob

Then the messenger of God said to me in the dream, "*Jacob!*"

---

[6] See discussion below of the distribution of actual forms in the corpus.

[7] See §1.1.1 in Appendix B for a list of examples of proper nouns, including common nouns functioning as proper nouns.

[8] See §1.1.2 in Appendix B for a list of examples of common nouns with a pronominal suffix.

[9] See §1.1.3 in Appendix B for a list of examples of common nouns/adjectives/participles prefixed with the definite article.

(3b) 2 Sam 13:25

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּ֨אמֶר הַמֶּ֜לֶךְ אֶל־אַבְשָׁל֗וֹם אַל־בְּנִי֙ אַל־נָ֣א נֵלֵ֣ךְ כֻּלָּ֔נוּ וְלֹ֥א נִכְבַּ֖ד עָלֶ֑יךָ

</div>

wayyoʾmɛr	*hammɛlɛḵ*	*ʾɛl-ʾaḇšɔlom*	*ʾal-bni*	*ʾal-nɔʾ*	*nelɛḵ*
and=he.said	the=king	to-Absalom	not-son=my	not-POL	we.will.go

kullɔnu	*wloʾ*	*niḵbaḏ*	*ʿɔlɛḵɔ*
all.of=us	and=not	we.will.be.heavy	upon=you

The king said to Absalom, "No, *my son*, let us not all go, lest we be burdensome to you."

(3c) Num 20:10

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּ֣אמֶר לָהֶ֗ם שִׁמְעוּ־נָא֙ הַמֹּרִ֔ים הֲמִן־הַסֶּ֥לַע הַזֶּ֖ה נוֹצִ֥יא לָכֶ֖ם מָֽיִם׃

</div>

wayyoʾmɛr	*lɔhɛm*	*šimʿu-nɔʾ*	*hammorim*	*hᵃmin-hassɛlaʿ*
and=he.said	to=them	hear-POL	the=rebels	INTER=from-the=rock

hazzɛ	*noṣiʾ*	*lɔḵɛm*	*mɔyim*
the=this	we.will.bring	for=you	water

He (i.e., Moses) said to them (i.e., the assembly), "Hear, *rebels*! Shall we bring water for you out of this rock?"

However, a few simple addresses consist of a common noun (4a), adjective (4b), or participle (4c) unmarked with the definite article:[10]

---

[10] See §1.2 in Appendix B for a list of examples of common nouns/adjectives/participles without the definite article.

(4a) 1 Kgs 13:2

<div dir="rtl">וַיִּקְרָא עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בִּדְבַר יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ</div>

wayyiqrɔ	*ʕal-hammizbeaḥ*	*biḏḇar*	*yhwh*	*wayyoʼmɛr*
and=he.called	against-the=altar	in=word.of	YHWH	and=he.said

mizbeaḥ	*mizbeaḥ*
altar	altar

He cried against the altar by the word of YHWH, saying, "O *Altar, Altar!*"[11]

(4b) 2 Kgs 2:23

<div dir="rtl">וּנְעָרִים קְטַנִּים יָצְאוּ מִן־הָעִיר וַיִּתְקַלְּסוּ־בוֹ וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ עֲלֵה קֵרֵחַ עֲלֵה קֵרֵחַ</div>

unʕɔrim	*qṭannim*	*yɔṣʼu*	*min-hɔʕir*	*wayyiṯqallsu-ḇo*
and=boys	small	they.went.out	from-the=city	and=they.mocked-in.him

wayyoʼmru	*lo*	*ʕᵃle*	*qereaḥ*	*ʕᵃle*	*qereaḥ*
and=they.said	to=him	go.up	bald	go.up	bald

Some young boys came out of the city and jeered at him, saying, "Go up, *baldy*! Go up, *baldy*!"

(4c) Ezek 16:35

<div dir="rtl">לָכֵן זוֹנָה שִׁמְעִי דְּבַר־יְהוָה</div>

lɔḵen	*zonɔ*	*šimʕi*	*dḇar-yhwh*
therefore	prostitute	hear	word.of-YHWH

Therefore, *prostitute*, hear the word of YHWH!

Out of 682 free forms of address in our corpus, 473 forms are simple addresses

(69%). 461 simple addresses are inherently or overtly marked for definiteness (more than

---

[11] For the translation with the capital letter 'A' in 'Altar,' see §2.2.1.3.

97%): 217 proper nouns; 207 common nouns with a pronominal suffix; thirty-five

common nouns, one adjective, and one participle prefixed with the definite article.

Twelve simple addresses, however, consist of a common noun, adjective, or participle

without the definite article (less than 3%).

The most frequently occurring proper nouns are *yhwh* 'YHWH' (104 times) and

yiśrɔʾel 'Israel' (15 times), while among the common nouns bearing a pronominal suffix or

the definite article, *ˣḏoni* 'my lord' (50 times), *ˣḏonəy* '(my) Lord' (44 times), and *hammɛlɛḵ*

'the king' (28 times) are the most frequent.[12]

---

[12] There has been considerable debate over the ending *qɔmeṣ yod* of the word אֲדֹנָי *ˣḏonəy*. Eissfeldt (1974, 70) claims that it is "a nominal afformative, which elevate(s) the basic form (*ʾɔḏon*) to a *status emphaticus* and g(ives *ˣḏonəy*) the meaning 'the Lord of all.'" He is followed by *IBHS* (§7.4.3e-f). Eissfeldt's claim is based on four Ugaritic words: *ủlny*, *ʿẓmny* (*CAT* 1.2 iv 5), *hnny*, and *ṯmny* (*CAT* 2.11:10, 14). However, his vocalization with /ā/ before {y} in these words is questionable (see Bordreuil and Pardee [2009, 161, 234]; Pardee [2003-2004, 128-129]; Huehnergard [2012, 104]). Moreover, if the vowel before {y} were indeed /ā/, its Hebrew reflex would have been /ō/ due to the Canaanite shift. In addition, *qɔmeṣ yod* as a nominal affirmative is not evident elsewhere in BH, and thus there is no clear reason why it should only be preserved with *ˣḏonəy* (Brettler 1989, 41-42).

Since Dalman's monograph *Studien zur biblischen Theologie: der Gottesname Adonaj und seine Geschichte* in 1889, many Hebrew grammarians and lexicographers have held that *qɔmeṣ yod* is a first-person singular pronominal suffix attached to the plural of majesty *ˣḏonim*, denoting a personal relationship of the speaker to God (GKC §135*q*; JM §136*d*; Blau 2010, 272; BL §29*t*; BDB 11; *HALOT* 13; *DCH* 1:122, 133f). The use of *qɔmeṣ* instead of *paṭaḥ* expected in this form might represent the pausal form, which presumably resulted from its frequent use as a free form of address in prayers (BL §29*t*), an attempt to distinguish the term referring to the divine Lord (*ˣḏonəy*) from that referring to human lord(s) (*ˣḏoni* or *ˣḏonay*; Baudissin 1929, 2:27), or both (Revell, 1996, 197 n.2). As LXX consistently translates *ˣḏonəy* as (ὁ) κυριος '(the) Lord' instead of κυριος μου 'my lord' or κυριοι μου 'my lords,' it seems probable that the significance of the suffix had disappeared by the 2nd century BCE. As Dalman (1889, 33) states, however, "on the basis of the written material available today, one can hardly speak of a real history of the use of אדני in the time covered by the Old Testament books... least of all a transition from a conscious use of the suffix to a use of the suffix which has no significance." I follow the view that *qɔmeṣ yod* was originally a first-person singular pronominal suffix, acknowledging the uncertainty of whether the significance of the suffix was

2.2.1.2 Complex Address

A complex address consists of two or more words. Like a simple address, it may be used alone or as a part of a compound address. A complex address may fall into one of four constructions. First, it may be a construct chain. While the construct chain may be formed with three or more words (e.g., בֶּן־נַעֲוַת[13] הַמַּרְדּוּת 'son of a perverse, rebellious woman' in 1 Sam 20:30), almost all the construct chains in our corpus involve two words, the first of which (*nomen regens*) is bound to the second (*nomen rectum*) in a genitive relationship. The construct chain is considered definite when the *nomen rectum* is definite, as in (5a).[14] However, there are some cases where the common noun of the *nomen rectum* is not prefixed with the definite article, as in (5b):[15]

(5a) 1 Kgs 17:18

וַתֹּאמֶר אֶל־אֵלִיָּהוּ מַה־לִּי וָלָךְ אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים

wattoʾmɛr	*ʾɛl-ʾeliyyɔhu*	*ma-lli*	*wɔlɔḵ*	*ʾiš*	*hɔᵓlohim*
and=she.said	to-Elijah	what-to=me	and=to=you	man.of	the=God

Then she said to Elijah, "What have you against me, *man of God*?"

---

maintained throughout the period that the Old Testament books portray. In order to reflect this situation, I put parentheses around 'my' in my translation of *ᵓ<u>d</u>onɔy*.

[13] On the basis of LXX's κορασίων 'of girls,' a feminine construct noun נַעֲרַת *naᵃraṯ* 'girl of' may be read instead of נַעֲוַת *naᵃwaṯ* 'a twisted one of' (Niphal Ptc F SG Cons). However, as the plural of LXX is improbable and MT, as it stands, clearly intensifies the degree of insult, I follow MT.

[14] See §2.1.1 in Appendix B for a list of examples of definite construct phrases.

[15] See §2.1.2 in Appendix B for a list of examples of construct phrases with an anarthrous *nomen rectum.*

(5b) Dan 10:19

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּאמֶר אַל־תִּירָא אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת שָׁלוֹם לָךְ

</div>

wayyoʾmer	*ʾal-tiraʾ*	*ʾiš-ḥᵃmuḏot*	*šᵊlom*	*lᵊḵ*
and=he.said	not-you.be.afraid	man.of-preciousness	well-being	for=you

He said, "Do not be afraid, *precious man*, it will be well for you."

Second, a complex address may consist of a definite construct phrase conjoined with a definite NP, as in (6):[16]

(6) 2 Kgs 13:14

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֵּרֶד אֵלָיו יוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּבְךְּ עַל־פָּנָיו וַיֹּאמַר אָבִי אָבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו׃

</div>

wayyered	*ʾelᵃyw*	*yoʾᵃš*	*mɛlɛḵ-yiśrᵃʾel*	*wayyeḇk*	*ʿal-pᵊnᵃyw*
and=he.went.down	to=him	Joash	king.of-Israel	and=he.wept	upon-face=his

wayyoʾmɛr	*ʾᵃḇi*	*ʾᵃḇi*	*rɛḵɛḇ*	*yiśrᵃʾel*	*up̄ᵃrᵃšᵃyw*
and=he.said	father=my	father=my	chariot.of	Israel	and=horsemen=its

Joash king of Israel went down to him (i.e., Elisha) and wept before him and said, "My father, my father! *Israel's chariot and its horsemen*!"

Joash's utterance to Elisha on his death-bed consists of four NPs: 'my father'; 'my father'; 'Israel's chariot'; 'its horsemen.' Miller (2010b, 354) thinks of the first two NPs as the only forms of address, but I regard the final two NPs as an address form also.[17] It stands in apposition to the first two NPs, referring to Elisha, who has been a source of power and guidance for the northern kingdom of Israel. Interestingly enough, the exact same form

---

[16] See §2.2 in Appendix B for an example of a definite construct phrase conjoined with an NP.

[17] I view the final two NPs as a fixed expression referring to Elisha. Thus, they constitute one form of address.

of address was used by Elisha himself when his mentor Elijah was being taken up to

heaven by a whirlwind in 2 Kgs 2:12. As Alter (2013, 737) points out, the imagery of the

chariot and horsemen, perhaps triggered by the vision of the chariot of fire in v.11,

conveys the idea that "Elijah has been Israel's true power, as chariotry is the driving

power of an army." Now being a proverbial epithet for a leader, the form of address,

consisting of a construct phrase conjoined with an NP, is applied to Elisha.

Third, a complex address may consist of a definite construct phrase followed by a

definite NP appositional to the *nomen rectum* of the construct phrase, as in (7):[18]

(7) 1 Chr 29:10

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִיד בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ מֵעוֹלָם וְעַד־עוֹלָם׃

wayyoʾmɛr	*dɔwid̲*	*bɔruk̲*	*ʾattɔ*	*yhwh*	*ˀᵉlohe*	*yiśrɔʾel*	*ʾɔb̲inu*
and=he.said	David	blessed	you	YHWH	God.of	Israel	father=our

meˁolɔm	*wˁad̲-ˁolɔm*
from=eternity	and=to-eternity

David said: "Blessed are you, YHWH, *God of Israel our father*, forever and ever."

In this example, a simple address consisting of a proper noun *yhwh* 'YHWH' is

followed by a complex address headed by *ˀᵉlohe* 'God of.' Note that a common noun with a

pronominal suffix *ʾɔb̲inu* 'our father' is in apposition to the *nomen rectum* of the preceding

---

[18] See §2.3 in Appendix B for a list of examples of a definite construct phrase plus an NP
appositional to the *nomen rectum* of the construct phrase.

54

construct phrase *yiśrəʾel* 'Israel,' not to *ᵉlohe* 'God of.' Thus, the phrase *ᵉlohe yiśrəʾel ʾo̱binu*

'God of Israel our father' is to be viewed as one address form consisting of three words,

having the same referent as that of *yhwh* 'YHWH.'

Finally, a complex address may consist of a definite NP followed by a modifier,

such as an attributive adjective, relative clause (headed by אֲשֶׁר-, ה-, or "zero-" relative

complementizer),[19] or prepositional phrase, as in (8a):[20]

(8a) Jer 44:24

וַיֹּאמֶר יִרְמְיָהוּ אֶל־כָּל־הָעָם וְאֶל כָּל־הַנָּשִׁים שִׁמְעוּ דְּבַר־יְהוָה כָּל־יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם

wayyoʾmɛr	*yirmyəhu*	*ʾɛl-kol-həʿɔm*		*wᵊ ʾɛl*	*kol-hannəšim*
and=he.said	Jeremiah	to-all-the=people		and=to	all-the=women

šimʿu	*dḇar-yhwh*	*kol-yhudə*	*ᵃšɛr*	*bᵊ ɛrɛṣ*	*miṣrəyim*
hear	word.of-YHWH	all-Judah	who	in=land.of	Egypt

Jeremiah said to all the people and all the women, "Hear the word of YHWH, *all you people of Judah who are in the land of Egypt*!"

However, there are several cases where a modifier follows an anarthrous common NP, as

in (8b):

---

[19] I follow Holmstedt (2002, 83ff; 2010, 27-31) who, building on the works of Barr (1989) and Siloni (1995), argues that the ה prefixed to a participle functions as a relative complementizer, while the participle functions as a main verb within the relative clause. For an argument that the definite article in Phoenician and Hebrew originally functioned as a relative marker, see Gzella (2006, 11). Also following Holmstedt (2002, 60), I regard a participle with no prefix ה as the main verb within a "zero-" relative clause in which there is no overt relative complementizer.

[20] See §2.4.1 in Appendix B for a list of examples of a definite NP followed by a modifier.

(8b) Jer 3:14

<div dir="rtl">שׁוּבוּ בָנִים שׁוֹבָבִים נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי אָנֹכִי בָּעַלְתִּי בָכֶם</div>

šuḇu	*bɔnim*	*šoḇɔḇim*	*nʾum-yhwh*	*ki*	*ʾɔnoḵi*	*bɔʿalti*	*bɔḵɛm*
return	sons	faithless	utterance-YHWH	for	I	I.am.master	over=you

"Return, *faithless children*," declares YHWH; "for I am your true master"

To sum up, there are 209 complex addresses in our corpus, which constitute about 30% of free forms of address. 110 complex addresses are grammatically definite: eighty-two construct phrases containing a definite *nomen rectum*; two definite construct phrases conjoined with a definite NP; six definite construct phrases followed by an NP appositional to the *nomen rectum* of the construct phrase; twenty definite NPs followed by a modifier. However, ninety-nine complex addresses are unmarked with the definite article: ninety-five construct phrases with an anarthrous *nomen rectum* and four anarthrous NP followed by a modifier.

2.2.1.3 Reasons for the Absence of the Definite Article in Free Forms of Address

As we compare the frequency of nominal forms of address with the definite article to those without it,[21] we find that the latter outnumber the former. For the sake of comparison, the statistics for both prose and poetry are presented in Table 2-1:[22]

---

[21] This comparison excludes anarthrous forms of address that are definite: proper nouns, nouns with a pronominal suffix, and nouns in construct with any of these nouns.

[22] Miller (2010a, 48) has a similar table, but the numbers are slightly different as she employs a different counting method. For example, she counts multiple appositional appositives referring to the same addressee as one form of address.

Table 2-1. Nominal Forms of Address and the Definite Article in Biblical Hebrew

	+ Definite Article	- Definite Article	Total
Prose	55	111	166
Poetry	74	212	286
Total	129	323	452

From a statistical point of view, nominal forms of address in both prose and poetry seem more likely to be anarthrous. These statistics have led Miller (2010a, 43) to conclude that the definite article does not mark the vocative (i.e., free form of address) in Biblical Hebrew; instead, nominals used as vocatives may be either definite or indefinite.

However, Miller's conclusion is misleading as she neglects to consider the following important issues behind the statistics. First, there is a skewed distribution of nominal forms of address without the definite article in prose. Table 2-2 lists anarthrous nominal forms of address in prose in the order of the books of the Hebrew Bible:

Table 2-2. Nominal forms of Address without the Definite Article in Prose

Forms	Verses	Forms	Verses
פְּלִשְׁתִּים	1 Sam 4:9	זוֹנָה	Ezek 16:35
מִזְבֵּחַ	1 Kgs 13:2 (2x)	חָלָל רָשָׁע	Ezek 21:30[23]
עַמִּים	1 Kgs 22:28 = 2 Chr 18:27	עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת ...	Ezek 22:3
קֵרֵחַ	2 Kgs 2:23 (2x)	כְּרוּב הַסֹּכֵךְ	Ezek 28:16
בָּנִים שׁוֹבָבִים	Jer 3:14	רָשָׁע	Ezek 33:8
רֹעִים מְאַבְּדִים...	Jer 23:1[24]	רֹעִים	Ezek 34:7
אָדוֹן	Jer 34:5	חֹזֶה	Amos 7:12
בֶּן־אָדָם	Ezek 2:1, etc. (91x); Dan 8:17	אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת	Dan 10:11, 19

---

[23] I view this expression as a construct phrase, following BHS's repointing *ḥᵃlal rɛšaʿ*. This may be supported by the fact that two adjectives in apposition are rare in BH and that there is a corresponding plural construct phrase *ḥalle ršᵃʿim* in Ezek 21:34.

[24] For a defense of viewing what follows after הוֹי *hoy* 'woe' as a form of address in Jer 23:1, see Hillers (1983, 185-188).

As can be seen in this table, ninety-two of the 111 anarthrous nominal forms of address are of one form, בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn-ʾoḏəm* 'son of man,' all but one of which come from a single book, i.e., the book of Ezekiel.[25] It is noteworthy that the prophet Ezekiel is consistently addressed by YHWH with the phrase throughout the book, never by his personal name. Thus, it may be argued that the phrase is used as a substitute for Ezekiel's personal name and hence should be construed as definite, i.e., '*O Human!*'[26] As Clines (1972, 287) points out, the phrase has the effect of accentuating the distance between Ezekiel and the sublime God who speaks to him, highlighting "the comparative insignificance of the one who is addressed not by his proper name, but only by the name of his 'father'."

Second, if we set aside the phrase בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn-ʾoḏəm*, we are left with only nineteen anarthrous forms of address in prose, which come to about one third of the number of arthrous forms of address. Again, the distribution of these remaining forms is uneven, as twelve of the nineteen forms occur in prophetic books, especially Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These books are mixtures of prose and poetry, well known for freely employing poetic features in the prose section, including the restricted use of the definite article, which

---

[25] The phrase *bɛn-ʾoḏəm* in Dan 8:17 may have been derived from that in Ezekiel. See Eichrodt (1970, 61) and Block (1997, 30).

[26] Note that the phrase בֶּן־אָדָם is in form a perfectly plausible personal name, and personal names (virtually) never include the definite article. Thus, it is quite possible that the phrase was created in the form of a personal name, as a substitute for the personal name, with the second element, which is usually theophoric, being non-theophoric in this phrase.

Andersen and Forbes (1983, 165ff) call a "prose particle."[27] Thus, the lack of the definite article in the thirteen forms of address in the prose section of the prophetic books may reflect this reality.[28]

The seven anarthrous forms of address in the historical books are in fact four forms, as six of them are the results of the repetition of three forms in the same verse (מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbeaḥ* 'altar' in 1 Kgs 13:2; קֵרֵחַ *qereaḥ* 'baldy' in 2 Kgs 2:23) or in duplicate passages (עַמִּים *ʿammim* 'peoples' in 1 Kgs 22:28 = 2 Chr 18:27). The reasons for the absence of the definite article in these four forms of address may be explained as follows. First, פְּלִשְׁתִּים *plištim* 'O Philistines!' in 1 Sam 4:9 is a gentilic plural adjective. Unlike other gentilic plural forms that regularly take the definite article in referring to the entire group (e.g., הָעִבְרִים *haʿiḇrim* 'the Hebrews'), פְּלִשְׁתִּים is almost always found without the definite article (228 out of 257 forms).[29] Thus, the absence of the article in a form of address should come as no surprise.

---

[27] According to Garr (2004, 89), the definite article is a relatively recent innovation in Hebrew, making its first appearance during the early first millennium B.C.E. Thus, its frequent omission in archaic biblical poetry, such as the song of Deborah in Judges 5, may be accounted for. The reasons for the absence of the definite article in poetry in subsequent periods may vary, including archaizing, rhythm, brevity, and stylistic elegance. For a list of biblical poems that do not use the definite article at all, see Andersen and Forbes (1983, 165). See also Freedman (1985, 49-62) for a discussion of the use of the three "prose particles," i.e., ʾeṯ, ᵃšɛr, and ha-, in the poetry embedded in the prose narratives of the Hebrew Bible.

[28] This also corresponds to the general tendency of the reduced use of the definite article in free forms of address in poetry shown in Table 2-1.

[29] Only ten times is ה used. In nineteen cases is a preceding position (ב, ל, כ) given the pointing of the definite article.

Second, מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbeaḥ mizbeaḥ* 'O altar, altar!' in 1 Kgs 13:2 is an example of

rhetorical device called apostrophe, in which the speaker turns away from his/her

audience to address "a dead or absent person, or an abstraction or inanimate object."[30]

This technique is used to emphasize a point, heighten grief, or express indignation, often

involving personification. An unnamed man of God from Judah directly addresses an

altar, an inanimate object, as Jeroboam the king of Israel is standing by it to make

offerings at Bethel. He does so for shock effect to deflect attention from the royal but

self-constituted priest and direct it to an entirely illegitimate altar and cult. The man of

God completely ignores Jeroboam, as if he were not present, while he personifies the

altar, as if it had ears to hear his prophecy. Thus, it may be argued that the common

noun מִזְבֵּחַ functions as a quasi-proper noun, 'Mr. Altar! Mr. Altar!', and hence, no definite

article may be necessary.[31] The lack of the definite article in other common nouns for

inanimate objects used as free forms of address, such as עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת דָּם *ʿir šōp̄eḵet dɔm* 'O City

that sheds blood!' (Ezek 22:3) may be explained in the same way.

Third, עַמִּים *ʿammim* 'O peoples!' in 1 Kgs 22:28 (= 2 Chr 18:27) may not be original

in MT, but a scribal gloss. According to MT, this anarthrous form of address comes from

---

[30] Baldick (2008, 22).

[31] Waltke and O'Connor's explanation is similar, when they state that "[q]uite frequently the article is not used when reference is to persons not present or who are more or less imaginary" (*IBHS* §13.5.2c).

the mouth of Micaiah, the son of Imlah. Just after he prophesies the death of Ahab in a battle with Aram, Ahab orders him imprisoned until his safe return (vv.19-27). Unperturbed, however, Micaiah makes another bold declaration introduced by וַיֹּאמֶר *wayyoʾmɛr* 'then he said': "If you return safely, YHWH has not spoken to me" (v.28). Then, with no intervening response from Ahab, we encounter another וַיֹּאמֶר introducing Micaiah's final address: וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם *wayyoʾmɛr šimʿu ʿammim kulləm* 'He said, "Hear, all you peoples!"' (v.28). As Alter (2013, 725) points out, it is too abrupt and odd for Micaiah to say this in this narrative context. In fact, some versions of LXX lack these four words. As the exact same words שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם are found at the beginning of the prophecy of the literary prophet Micah (Mic 1:2), it seems probable that the four words וַיֹּאמֶר שִׁמְעוּ עַמִּים כֻּלָּם in 1 Kgs 22:28 are a scribal interpolation intended to identify Micaiah the son of Imlah with Micah of Moresheth. Thus, the lack of the definite article in the form of address עַמִּים may be due to the fact that it was directly borrowed from the poetic section of the book of Micah.

Finally, in 2 Kgs 2:23 we see some young boys jeering at the prophet Elisha, saying, עֲלֵה קֵרֵחַ עֲלֵה קֵרֵחַ *ʿăle qereaḥ ʿăle qereaḥ* 'Go up, baldy! Go up, baldy!' A possible reason for the absence of the definite article in קֵרֵחַ is provided by Miller (2010a, 54), who argues

that the address form consisting of an evaluative term is anarthrous[32] when the speaker

wishes to use it "to highlight the *nature*, *characteristics*, or *attributes* of the addressee,"

whereas the definite article is used when the speaker wishes to use it "to specify the

identity of the addressee." Thus, the definite article is not used in קֵרֵחַ, since the young

boys are sarcastically taunting and insulting Elisha by highlighting his physical defects

with the term.[33] However, when Saul re-identifies his son Jonathan by an insulting term

בֶּן־נַעֲוַת הַמַּרְדּוּת *bɛn-naᶜᵃwaṯ hammarduṯ* 'You son of a perverse, rebellious woman!' (1 Sam

20:30), the definite article is used.[34]

Having examined all the anarthrous forms of address in prose, I conclude that the

lack of the definite article in free forms of address does not necessarily indicate that the

form is indefinite in function. As the referent(s) of free forms of address, i.e., the

addressee(s), are most often identifiable by the speech context, the form is to be

---

[32] Note that Miller uses the term "indefinite" instead of anarthrous. I view free forms of address as pragmatically definite regardless of the presence or absence of the definite article, since they point to a specific participant in the speech situation.

[33] Perhaps, other anarthrous forms of address consisting of an evaluative term for praise, such as אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת *ʾiš-ḥᵃmuḏoṯ* 'O precious man!' in Dan 10:11, 19, may be explained in the same way.

[34] Another possible explanation for the use of the definite article in this insulting phrase is that the phrase נַעֲוַת הַמַּרְדּוּת specifically refers to Jonathan's mother (Ahinoam?), and therefore is definite. See also 2 Sam 16:7, in which the definite article is used as Shimei specifies the identity of David by two insulting phrases אִישׁ הַדָּמִים וְאִישׁ הַבְּלִיָּעַל *ʾiš haddəmim wᵊʾiš habbliyyᵊᶜal* 'You man of blood, (and) you man of worthlessness!'.

construed as definite. The definite article in free forms of address may be omitted for various reasons discussed above.

2.2.1.4 Correlation between Free Forms of Address and Speech Participants

As we consider the types of address forms and the types of speech participants, there appears to be a close correlation between them. While simple addresses are quite frequently found in conversations between two humans (175 times, constituting 37% of simple addresses), the rate of complex-address usage in such situations is significantly lower (19 times, constituting 8% of complex addresses). Furthermore, none of the twenty-four complex addresses consisting of an NP followed by a modifier appears in human-to-human conversations. Rather, they occur either in dialogues between God and human(s) or in a prophet's address to a group of people or inanimate object(s), in which the speaker describes certain features and characteristics of the addressee(s).[35] In (8b) above, for example, God calls the people of Judah *bᵊnim* 'children,' describing their spiritual state with an attributive adjective *šoḇaḇim* 'faithless.' As the prophet Jeremiah addresses the people of Judah in (8a), he specifies the place where they live (i.e., Egypt) with a relative clause. Thus, it may be concluded that complex addresses in general and

---

[35] For God's address to human(s), see Isa 10:24; Jer 3:14; 23:1; Ezek 21:30; 22:3; 28:16; 34:2. For man's address to God, see Gen 32:10; Num 16:22; 2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16; Dan 9:4, 15; Neh 1:5. For the prophet's address to a group of people, see Jer 7:2; 17:20 (3x); 22:2; 29:20; 44:24, 26. For the prophet's address to inanimate objects, see Ezek 37:4; Zech 4:7.

those consisting of an NP plus a modifier in particular do not reflect everyday

conversation between two humans in ancient Israel. They are used only in particular

speech contexts where the speaker feels it necessary to describe the characteristics and

attributes of the addressee(s).

2.2.1.5 Compound Address

A compound address is formed by a combination of co-referential simple

address(es) and/or complex address(es). Three types of compound addresses may be

identified based on the ways in which their constituent addresses are combined:

apposition, *repetition*, and *coordination*.

2.2.1.5.1 Apposition

Two or three co-referential addresses may be juxtaposed asyndetically to form a

compound address. There are 106 compound addresses made up of appositional

addresses in our corpus. All but one of them consist of two addresses. Table 2-3 presents

the combinations that the two addresses exhibit along with their frequency, in both

dialogue between two humans and in total:

Table 2-3. Combinations of Two Appositional Addresses

Combination	Human-to-Human	Total
Simple + Simple	29	75
Simple + Complex	2	27
Complex + Complex	–	3

As is clear from the statistics, the structure of two simple addresses in apposition is used more often than any other structure, and more than a third of the total appear in human-to-human conversations. There is no example of a complex address followed by simple address in our corpus.

When a simple address appears as the head of a compound address, it almost always (99 times) consists of a proper noun or a common noun with a pronominal suffix, as in (9a) and (9b), respectively:[36]

(9a) 1 Sam 3:16

וַיִּקְרָא עֵלִי אֶת־שְׁמוּאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנִי

wayyiqrɔʾ   *ʿeli*   *ʾɛṯ- šmuʾel*   *wayyoʾmɛr*   *šmuʾel*   *bni*
and=he.called   Eli   ACC-Samuel   and=he.said   Samuel   son=my

Eli called Samuel and said, "*Samuel,* my son!"

(9b) 1 Sam 26:17

וַיַּכֵּר שָׁאוּל אֶת־קוֹל דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר הֲקוֹלְךָ זֶה בְּנִי דָוִד וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד קוֹלִי אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ:

wayyakker   *šɔʾul ʾɛṯ-qol*   *dɔwiḏ*   *wayyoʾmɛr*   *hᵃqolkɔ*
and=he.recognized   Saul   ACC-voice.of   David   and=he.said   INTER=voice=your

zɛ   *bni*   *dɔwiḏ*   *wayyoʾmɛr*   *dɔwiḏ*   *qoli*   *ˣᵃḏoni*   *hammɛlɛk*
this   son=my   David   and=he.said   David   voice=my   lord=my   the=king

Saul recognized David's voice and said, "Is this your voice, *my son* David?" David replied, "It is my voice, *my lord* the king."

---

[36] See §3.1.1 and §3.1.2 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses headed by a simple address.

When a complex address comes as the head of a compound address, it is always

followed by an appositive complex address, as in (10):[37]

(10) 2 Sam 7:27

כִּי־אַתָּה יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל גָּלִיתָה אֶת־אֹזֶן עַבְדְּךָ

*ki-ʾatə yhwh   ṣḇəʾoṯ *ˡohe   yiśrəʾel gəliṯə   ʾɛt-ʾozɛn ʿaḇdkə*
for-you YHWH.of hosts God.of Israel   you.uncovered ACC-ear.of servant=your

For you, *YHWH of hosts,[38] God of Israel*, have revealed to your servant.

There are three examples showing this structure in our corpus, all of which appear in

conversations between God and human(s), never between two humans. Thus, it does not

seem that this structure represents a feature of everyday conversation in ancient Israel.

There is only one compound address consisting of three appositional addresses in

our corpus:

---

[37] See §3.1.3 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses headed by a complex address.

[38] For epigraphic evidence of a proper noun in the construct state, see KAjr 18.2 and 19A.5-6 where *yhwh šmrn* 'YHWH of Samaria' and *yhwh tmn* 'YHWH of Teman' are attested, respectively. For a defense of this interpretation, see Emerton (1982, 2-20).

(11) Neh 1:5

וָאֹמַר אָנָּא יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וָחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו׃

wɔʾomar	ʾɔnnɔʾ	yhwh	ᵉlohe	haššɔmayim	hɔʾel	haggɔḏol
and=I.said	please	YHWH	God.of	the=heavens	the=God	the=great

whannorɔʾ	šomer	habbriṯ	wɔḥɛsɛḏ
and=the=awesome	keeping	the=covenant	and=mercy

lʾohᵃḇɔyw	ulšomre	miṣwoṯɔyw
to=loving=him	and=to=keeping	commandments=his

I said, "Please, *O YHWH, God of heaven, great and awesome God, who keeps covenant and mercy with those who love him and keep his commandments!*"

A simple address consisting of a proper noun *yhwh* 'YHWH' is followed by two complex addresses – *ᵉlohe haššɔmayim* 'God of heaven' and *hɔʾel haggɔḏol whannorɔʾ* 'great and awesome God' modified by a zero-relative clause. Again, this long compound address occurs in the context of a prayer to God. Though inconclusive due to the paucity of data, it may be argued that this structure could hardly have been used with any frequency in human-to-human dialogues in ancient Israel.

2.2.1.5.2 Repetition

A compound address may be partially or totally formed by the repetition of a simple address consisting of a proper or common noun. Five examples of compound

addresses consist of a simple address repeated twice in a row, such as ʾaḇrəhəm 'Abraham'

in (12):[39]

(12) Gen 26:11

וַיִּקְרָא אֵלָיו מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה מִן־הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּנִי:

wayyiqrəʾ	ʾeləyw	malʾaḵ	yhwh	min-haššəmayim	wayyoʾmɛr
and=he.called	to=him	messenger.of	YHWH	from-the=heavens	and=he.said

ʾaḇrəhəm	ʾaḇrəhəm	wayyoʾmɛr	hinneni
Abraham	Abraham	and=he.said	behold=me

The LORD's messenger called to him from heaven, "*Abraham! Abraham!*" And he answered, "Here I am!"

Two examples of compound addresses consist of two simple addresses repeated twice or

three times, as in (13):[40]

(13) 2 Sam 19:5

וְהַמֶּלֶךְ לָאַט אֶת־פָּנָיו וַיִּזְעַק הַמֶּלֶךְ קוֹל גָּדוֹל בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי:

whammɛlɛḵ	ləʾaṭ	ʾɛṭ-pənəyw	wayyizʿaq	hammɛlɛḵ
and=the=king	he.covered	ACC-face=his	and=he.cried.out	the=king

qol	gəḏol	bni	ʾaḇšəlom	ʾaḇšəlom	bni	bni
voice	great	son=my	Absalom	Absalom	son=my	son=my

The king covered his face and cried out loudly, "*My son, Absalom! O Absalom, my son, my son!*"

---

[39] See §3.2.1 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses consisting of a simple address repeated twice in a row.

[40] See §3.2.2 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses consisting of two simple addresses repeated twice or three times.

There are three examples of compound addresses consisting of two addresses, one of which is repeated twice, as in (14):[41]

(14) 2 Kgs 2:12

וֶאֱלִישָׁע רֹאֶה וְהוּא מְצַעֵק אָבִי אָבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו

wɛˣlišɔʿ	*roˀɛ*	*whuˀ*	*mṣaʿeq*	*ˀɔḇi*	*ˀɔḇi*
and=Elisha	seeing	and=he	crying.out	father=my	father=my

rɛkɛḇ	*yiśrɔˀel*	*up̄ɔrɔšɔyw*
chariot.of	Israel	and=horsemen=its

While Elisha was watching, he was crying out, "*My father, my father! Israel's chariot and its horsemen!*"

From the functional point of view, the repetition of simple addresses along with the interjections tends to perform what Jakobson (1960, 354) calls the "emotive function" of verbal communication, which aims to express the emotional attitude of the speaker toward the addressee and the content of his/her speech. For example, as many commentators point out, the repetition of a proper noun 'Abraham' in (12) seems to connote urgency on the part of the speaker YHWH's messenger in order to stop the addressee Abraham from plunging a knife into his son Isaac.[42] The speaker's sense of

---

[41] See §3.2.2 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses consisting of two simple addresses, one of which is repeated twice.

[42] See Hamilton (1995, 111); Hartley (2000, 209); Sarna (2001, 153).

urgency can also be detected in Exod 3:4, in which YHWH is trying to keep Moses from

coming close to the burning bush by calling his name twice, "*Moses, Moses!*".

The emotive function of the repetition of simple addresses is more visible in (13).

When David hears of the death of his son Absalom, he is so troubled and distressed that

he gives way to outbursts of grief. The twofold repetition of 'Absalom' and the threefold

repetition of 'my son' serves to accentuate the intensity and depth of David's sorrow and

anguish.[43]

The repetition of a simple address in (14) occurs in a situation similar to that in

(13): the speaker is about to lose his beloved addressee. When Elijah is suddenly being

taken up to heaven by a whirlwind, his disciple Elisha desperately cries out. The twofold

repetition of 'my father' followed by two co-referential NPs 'Israel's chariot and its

horsemen' seems to emphasize his mixed feelings of surprise, sorrow, and despair.

Elisha's emotional state is further revealed in the rest of this verse as he tears his own

clothes – a gesture of extreme grief – at the loss. Interestingly enough, exactly the same

address form is found later in the mouth of Joash king of Israel at the death-bed of Elisha,

as in (6) above. Again, the repetition of 'my father' appears to accentuate the intensity of

Joash's feeling of sadness, which he expresses by weeping before him (2 Kings 13:14).

---

[43] See Anderson (1989, 226); Bar-Efrat (1989, 211).

2.2.1.5.3 Coordination

A compound address may be formed by two co-referential addresses linked by a

coordinating conjunction *w* 'and,' as in (15):[44]

(15) 2 Sam 16:7

וְכֹה־אָמַר שִׁמְעִי בְּקַלְלוֹ צֵא צֵא אִישׁ הַדָּמִים וְאִישׁ הַבְּלִיָּעַל׃

wḵo-ʾɔmar	*šimꜤi*	*bqallo*	*ṣe*	*ṣe*
and=so-he.said	Shimei	in=cursing=his	get.out	get.out

ʾiš	*haddɔmim*	*wʾiš*	*habbliyyɔꜤal*
Man.of	the=blood	and=man.of	the=worthlessness

Shimei said as he cursed, "Get out! Get out! *You man of blood, (and) you man of
worthlessness!*"

In this example, Shimei, a Benjamite of the house of Saul, curses David, who is

approaching Bahurim in his flight from Jerusalem on the occasion of the rebellion of his

son Absalom (2 Sam 16:5). Two complex addresses consist of the construct phrases, 'man

of blood' and 'man of worthlessness.' The construct form *ʾiš* 'man of' is repeated, with

two different nouns, 'blood' and 'worthlessness,' as its *nomen rectum* (but cf. Gen 14:19).

The two complex addresses are conjoined by the coordinating conjunction *w* 'and.' It is

clear from the context that both complex addresses refer to none other than David.

---

[44] See §3.3.1 in Appendix B for a list of compound addresses consisting of two co-referential
addresses linked *w*.

There is one compound address in our corpus which contains both a coordinating conjunction and an appositive, as in (16):

(16) Gen 32:10

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אַבְרָהָם וֵאלֹהֵי אָבִי יִצְחָק יְהוָה הָאֹמֵר אֵלַי

wayyoʾmɛr	*yaʿᵃqo̱ḇ*	*ᵉlohe*	*ʾo̱bi*	*ʾaḇrɔhɔm*	*weʾlohe*	*ʾo̱bi*
and=he.said	Jacob	God.of	my father	Abraham	and=God.of	my father

yiṣḥɔq	*yhwh*	*haʾomer*	*ʾelay*
Isaac	YHWH	the=saying	to=me

Jacob said, "*O God of my father Abraham and God of my father Isaac, YHWH who said to me, ...*"

The two co-referential complex addresses, *ᵉlohe ʾo̱bi ʾaḇrɔhɔm* 'God of my father Abraham' and *ᵉlohe ʾo̱bi yiṣḥɔq* 'God of my father Isaac' are linked by the coordinating conjunction *w* 'and.' They are in apposition to the following simple address consisting of a proper noun *yhwh* 'YHWH,' which is modified by the ה-relative clause.[45]

To sum up, there are 119 compound addresses in our corpus. Almost all of them are formed by placing simple and complex addresses in apposition (106 forms, constituting 89% of compound addresses). There are a small number of compound addresses formed by the repetition of a simple address or by the coordination of simple and complex addresses (13 forms, constituting 11% of compound addresses).

---

[45] See footnote 19.

2.2.2 Semantic Categories

In addition to their grammatical categories, free forms of address may be

arranged according to lexical meaning. The classification commonly used today was

developed by Braun (1988, 9-11) for modern languages. Slightly modifying her categories

to fit the BH system, I provide the following scheme that will be employed throughout

this study:

Table 2-4. Semantic Types of Free Forms of Address in BH

	Category	Examples
(i)	Personal Name (PN)	'David'
(ii)	Kinship Term (KT)[46]	'my father'
(iii)	Title (T)[47]	'commander'
(iv)	P/Matro/Andronymic[48]	'son of Ahitub'
(v)	Group Address (GA)	'house of Israel'
(vi)	Evaluative Term (ET)[49]	'wicked one'
(vii)	Geographic Name (GN)	'Tyre'
(viii)	Gentilic	'Philistines'
(ix)	Other	'Altar! Altar!'

What follows in the next sections is a description of the distribution patterns of

these semantic categories. A semantic type has been assigned to each of the simple and

---

[46] A kinship term is defined as any term that implies relationship by blood or marriage (Braun 1988, 9; Dickey 1996, 62).

[47] As Braun (1988, 10) notes, there is no consensus on the definition of 'title.' I define it as a term used when addressing a person or deity to express his/her social, political, or religious status, determined by a combination of factors such as rank, occupation, or age.

[48] P/Matro/Andronymic refers to terms that define addressees as son, daughter, or wife of someone.

[49] Evaluative terms refer to descriptive terms that express the speaker's attitudes and evaluation of the addressee (cf. Zwicky 1974, 792; Miller 2010a, 54). Revell (1996, 50) calls these terms 'nonce epithets.'

complex addresses. Address forms may be largely divided into two groups according to the types of addressees: those used for animate beings and those for inanimate objects. The former group may be subdivided into those used for human beings and those for divine beings. In order to compare and contrast how these groups are addressed, I will discuss them in separate sections. In each section, I will consider the cases in which a simple or complex address is used alone and the cases in which a compound address is used. Note that a simple or complex address consists of one semantic type (e.g., 'troublemaker of Israel' for ET), while a compound address is composed of two-or-more semantic types (e.g., 'Hagar, servant of Sarai!' for PN + Occupational T).

2.2.2.1 Addresses to Animate Beings

2.2.2.1.1 Human Beings

In an address to human(s), the speaker may employ either a simple or complex address alone or a compound address. In our corpus there are 330 cases in which a simple or complex address is used alone, while a compound address is used fifty-one times.

2.2.2.1.1.1 Simple/Complex Addresses Alone

Table 2-5 shows the frequency distribution of simple and complex addresses used alone to human(s):

Table 2-5. Simple/Complex Addresses to Human(s)[50]

	Category	Frequency
(i)	PN	64
(ii)	KT	57
(iii)	T	49
(iv)	GA	39
(v)	ET	13
(vi)	P/Matro/Andronymic	101
(vii)	GN	3
(viii)	Gentilic	2
(ix)	Other	2

The category 'P/Matro/Andronymic' immediately stands out in this table, as it occurs

more frequently than any other semantic category. However, the data are skewed by the

fact that ninety-two of its 101 occurrences are of one form, בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn-ʾoḏɔm* 'son of man,'

all but one of which appear in the book of Ezekiel. While the phrase takes the patronymic

form, it is not to be viewed as a typical patronymic, which normally derives from the

personal name of a father or paternal ancestor. As I have argued above, it functions as a

substitute for Ezekiel's personal name in the book of Ezekiel, i.e., '*O Human!*' Putting these

occurrences aside, we are left with nine P/Matro/Andronymics; P/Matro/Andronymic is

thus placed after ET in the table.

Apart from this skewed P/Matro/Andronymic category, the two most frequently

occurring semantic types are PN and KT, which correspond to the cross-linguistic

---

phenomenon that PNs and KTs comprise the core lexical domain for free forms of address (Daniel and Spencer 2009, 632; Braun 1988, 9). As in example (2) above, most of the PNs are used to address a single person,[51] but a group of people may also be addressed by a PN of an eponymous ancestor.[52] It is also worthwhile to note that PN is always used for equal or downwards social relations (see §3.4.1).

About 50% of KTs are used literally to refer to the addressee(s) who in fact is related to the speaker in the fashion indicated by the literal meaning of the term, as in (3b) above.[53] The other half of KTs, however, are used with an 'extended'[54] meaning to address a person or a group of people who is not in fact genetically related to the speaker in the fashion expressed by the literal meaning of the term in question.[55] In (14) above,

---

[51] 43 times in total for 31 different names ('Abram' [Gen 15:1]; 'Hagar' [Gen 21:17]; 'Abraham' [Gen 22:1]; 'Jacob' [Gen 31:11]; 'Korah' [Num 16:6]; 'Samson' [Judg 16:9, 12, 14, 20]; 'Hannah' [1 Sam 1:8]; 'Samuel' [1 Sam 3:6]; 'Jonathan' [1 Sam 14:44]; 'Abner' [1 Sam 17:55; 26:14]; 'Ahimelech' [1 Sam 22:16]; 'Asahel' [2 Sam 2:20]; 'Mephibosheth' [2 Sam 9:6; 19:26]; 'David' [1 Kgs 12:16]; 'Elijah' [1 Kgs 19:9, 13]; 'Micaiah' [1 Kgs 22:15; 2 Chr 18:14]; 'Elisha' [2 Kgs 2:4]; 'Gehazi' [2 Kgs 5:25]; 'Jehu' [2 Kgs 9:22]; 'Ahaziah' [2 Kgs 9:23]; 'Jeremiah' [Jer 1:11; 24:3]; 'Pashhur' [Jer 20:6]; 'Hananiah' [Jer 28:15]; 'Baruch' [Jer 45:2]; 'Oholibah' [Ezek 23:22]; 'Gog' [Ezek 38:16]; 'Amos' [Amos 7:8; 8:2]; 'Daniel' [Dan 9:22; 10:12; 12:4, 9]; 'Jeroboam' [2 Chr 13:4]; 'Asa' [2 Chr 15:2]; 'Uzziah' [2 Chr 26:18]).

[52] 21 times in total for 5 different names ('Israel' [Exod 32:4, 8; Deut 4:1; 5:1; 6:3, 4; 9:1; 10:12; 20:3; 27:9; Josh 7:13; 1 Kgs 12:16, 28; Ezek 13:4; 2 Chr 10:16]; 'Gilead' [Judg 12:4]; 'Moab' [2 Kgs 3:23]; 'Judah' [Jer 11:13; 2 Chr 20:17, 20]; 'David' [2 Chr 10:16]).

[53] 30 times in total for 7 KTs ('my father' [Gen 22:7; 27:18, 34, 38 {2x}; Gen 48:18; Judg 11:36; Isa 8:4]; 'my son' [Gen 22:7, 8; 27:1, 8, 13, 18, 20, 21, 26, 37, 43; 48:19; 2 Sam 13:25; 1 Chr 22:11]; 'my sons' [1 Sam 2:24]; 'my brother' [Gen 33:9; 2 Sam 13:12]; 'my daughter' [Judg 11:35]; 'my sister' [2 Sam 13:11, 20]; 'my mother' [1 Kgs 2:20; Isa 8:4]).

[54] I find the term 'extended' coined by Dickey (2004) to be more appropriate than 'fictive' by Braun (1988), Contini (1995), and Esposito (2009), as the latter has a connotation of 'not genuine.'

[55] 'My brother' (2 Sam 20:9; 1 Kgs 9:13; 13:30); 'my brothers' (Gen 19:7; 29:4; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 30:23); 'my daughter' (Ruth 2:2, 8, 22; 3:1, 10, 11, 16, 18); 'my daughters' (Ruth 1:11, 12, 13); 'my father' (1

for example, Elisha addresses Elijah as אָבִי *ʾăḇi* 'my father,' although the latter is by no means the biological father of the former.[56]

T may be subdivided into two types according to its nature and function: (a) honorific T and (b) occupational T. Honorific T refers to a conventional term that conveys the speaker's respect and deference for the addressee who has power and authority over him/her by virtue of rank, status, or age.[57] There is only one term in our corpus that fits this definition, i.e., אָדוֹן *ʾăḏon* 'lord/master,' which is almost always used with a first-person common singular pronominal suffix, as in (9b).[58] Occupational T designates an addressee's profession or function. There are seven types of occupational Ts in our corpus, such as הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'the king' in (12).[59] In contrast to PN, T is almost always used for upwards social relations (see §3.4.2).

GA is a term used to refer to a group of people. While other semantic types may also be used to address a group of people, GA does not fit into any of those types. GAs

_____

Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 5:13; 6:21); 'my son' (Gen 43:29; Josh 7:19; 1 Sam 3:6; 4:16; 2 Sam 18:22); 'my sons' (2 Chr 29:11).

[56] A more detailed discussion of how KTs index the social relationship between speaker and addressee in BH will be provided in §3.4.3.

[57] This definition is adapted from Pickett (2000, 843).

[58] Gen 23:6, 11, 15; 24:18; 42:10; 43:20; 44:18; Num 12:11; Judg 4:18; 1 Sam 1:15, 26 (2x); 22:12; 25:24, 26; 1 Kgs 1:17; 3:17, 26; 2 Kgs 6:5, 15; Jer 34:5 (with no pronominal suffix); Ruth 2:13.

[59] 'The king(s)' (Judg 3:19; 1 Sam 17:55; 23:20; 26:22; 2 Sam 14:4; 15:34; 24:23; Jer 17:20; 19:3; 22:2; Esth 7:3; 2 Chr 25:7; 35:21); 'man of God' (1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 1:9, 11, 13; 4:40); 'seer' (Amos 7:12); 'princes of Israel' (Ezek 45:9); 'the king's son' (2 Sam 13:4); 'shepherds' (Jer 23:1; Ezek 34:2, 7, 9); 'the commander' (2 Kgs 9:5 [2x]).

used for humans naturally fall into two subcategories: ethnic terms and other descriptive terms. The former has the form of either 'NP of PN/GN' (e.g., 'house of Israel') or 'all PN ± a relative clause (e.g., 'all Judah'),'[60] while the latter is formed with 'NP ± a relative clause' (e.g., 'my flock').[61]

ETs by which the speaker expresses his/her attitudes and evaluation of the addressee may be further divided into two categories: praise and insult, as in (17):

(17a) Judg 6:12 (Praise)[62]

וַיֵּרָא אֵלָיו מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו יְהוָה עִמְּךָ גִּבּוֹר הֶחָיִל׃

wayyerɔ'	*'elɔyw*	*mall'ɔk*	*yhwh*	*wayyo'mɛr*	*'elɔyw*
and=he.appeared	to=him	messenger.of	YHWH	and=he.said	to=him

yhwh	*'immkɔ*	*gibbor*	*hɛḥɔyil*
YHWH	with=you	mighty.of	strength

YHWH's messenger appeared and said to him, "The LORD is with you, *O mighty man of valor!*"

---

[60] 'Leaders of Shechem" (Judg 9:7); 'house of Israel' (Jer 10:1; 18:6 [2x]; Ezek 11:5; 18:25, 29, 30, 31; 20:31, 39, 44; 33:11, 20; 36:22, 32; 44:6; Amos 3:1; 5:1); 'inhabitants of Jerusalem' (Jer 19:3; 2 Chr 20:15, 20); 'remnant of Judah' (Jer 42:15, 19); 'all Judah' (2 Chr 15:2; 20:15); 'all Israel' (2 Chr 13:4); '(all) Benjamin' (2 Chr 15:2); 'all Judah who enter these gates to worship the LORD' (Jer 7:2); 'all Judah (who enter these gates)' (Jer 17:20); 'all Judah who are in the land of Egypt' (Jer 44:24); 'all Judah who dwell in the land of Egypt' (Jer 44:26); 'all the inhabitants of Jerusalem (who enter these gates)' (Jer 17:20).

[61] 'All his company' (Num 16:6); 'my people' (Ezek 37:12, 13); 'my flock' (Ezek 34:17); 'my people who dwell in Zion' (Isa 10:24); 'all you exiles whom I sent away from Jerusalem to Babylon' (Jer 29:20).

[62] ETs for praise include 'blessed of Yahweh' (Gen 24:31), 'mighty man of valor' (Judg 6:12), and 'man greatly loved' (Dan 10:19).

(17b) 1 Kgs 18:17 (Insult)[63]

וַיְהִי כִּרְאוֹת אַחְאָב אֶת־אֵלִיָּהוּ וַיֹּאמֶר אַחְאָב אֵלָיו הַאַתָּה זֶה עֹכֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל׃

wayhi	*kirʾoṯ*	*ʾaḥʾoḇ*	*ʾɛṯ-ʾelyyɔhu*	*wayyoʾmɛr*	*ʾaḥʾoḇ*	*ʾelɔyw*
and=it.was	as=seeing	Ahab	ACC-Elijah	and=he.said	Ahab	to=him

haʾattɔ	*zɛ*	*ʿoḵer*	*yiśrɔʾel*
INTER=you	this	troubling	Israel

When Ahab saw Elijah, he said to him, "Is it you, *troublemaker of Israel*?"

Apart from the recurring phrase בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn-ʾɔḏɔm* '*O Human!*' in the book of Ezekiel, there are nine address forms that fall into the P/Matro/Andronymic category. Five are used to refer to a group of people (e.g., 'sons of Levi'),[64] while the rest address one or three individuals, taking the form of patronymic (e.g., 'son of Ahitub'),[65] matronymic (e.g., 'sons of Zeruiah'),[66] or andronymic (e.g., 'wife of Jeroboam').[67] It is noteworthy that all the p/matro/andronymic addresses to individuals appear to convey a derogatory tone, as they occur in the contexts in which the speaker rebukes the addressee(s).[68]

---

[63] ETs for insult are 'the rebels' (Num 20:10), 'faithless children' (Jer 3:14), 'rebellious house' (Ezek 12:25), 'prostitute' (Ezek 16:35), 'son of a perverse, rebellious woman' (1 Sam 20:30), 'troublemaker of Israel' (1 Kgs 18:17), 'my enemy' (1 Kgs 21:20), 'baldhead' (2 Kgs 2:23 [2x]), and 'wicked one' (Ezek 33:8).

[64] 'Sons of Levi' (Num 16:7, 8); 'sons of Israel' (31:6; 2 Chr 13:12; 30:6).

[65] 1 Sam 22:12.

[66] 2 Sam 16:10; 19:23.

[67] 1 Kgs 14:6.

[68] See Lande (1949, 35), who argues that the expression 'wife of Jeroboam' carries a disparaging nuance. Kugel (2007, 599) finds a hint of condescension even in the patronymic-like expression בֶּן־אָדָם *bɛn-ʾɔḏɔm* 'son of man,' translating it as 'little man' or 'mere man.' Block (1997, 30-31) shares the same view, pointing out that the expression highlights the distance between God and man.

There are three GNs and two examples of Gentilic, all of which are used to address an ethnic group of people.[69] The category of Other consists of two NPs that do not seem to fit in any of the semantic categories discussed so far: הַנַּעַר *hannəʿar* 'lad' (1 Sam 17:58); כְּרוּב הַסֹּכֵךְ *kruḇ hassoḵeḵ* 'guardian cherub' (Ezek 28:16).[70]

2.2.2.1.1.2 Compound Addresses

Compound addresses to humans may be arranged according to which semantic type comes at the head of the address form. Table 2-6 shows the frequency distribution of compound addresses to human(s):

---

[69] GNs include 'Tyre' (Ezek 26:3), 'Sidon' (Ezek 28:22), and 'Jerusalem' (2 Chr 20:17). Gentilics are 'Philistines' (1 Sam 4:9) and 'Levites' (2 Chr 29:5).

[70] Whether הַנַּעַר *hannəʿar* 'lad' denotes an age or social position will be discussed in Ch. 3.

Table 2-6. Compound Addresses to Human(s)[71]

Head	Structure	Frequency
T	Honorific T + Occupational T	19
	Honorific T + PN	2
	Occupational T + PN	1
PN	PN + Occupational T	6
	PN + PN	4
	PN + KT	2
	PN + ET	2
	PN + KT + KT	1
KT	KT + PN	4
	KT + KT + Other T	2
	KT + GA	1
	KT + PN + KT + KT + PN	1
	KT + PN + PN + KT + KT	1
ET	ET + ET	1
	ET + Occupational T	1
GA	GA + GA	2
	GA + Patronymic	1

As shown in Table 2-6, there are 51 compound addresses headed by T, PN, KT, ET, and GA, while no examples can be found in which P/Matro/Andronymic, GN, or Gentilic comes as the head of a compound address. When T comes as the head, the compound addresses are always used for social superiors. Furthermore, honorific T never comes after other semantic types, but it always precedes occupational T or PN. Thus, it might be

---

[71] See §1.1.2 in Appendix C for a list of compound addresses used for humans.

tentatively argued that honorific T prefers the first position in a free form of compound

address used to social superiors.[72]

The majority of cases of the honorific T + occupational T structure come from the

term *ʾᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* 'my lord the king' as in (9b). It occurs eighteen times as a free form

in our corpus, whereas its reverse form *hammɛlɛḵ ʾᵃḏoni* 'O king, my lord,' is never attested

as a free form. The latter appears once as a bound form (2 Sam 14:15), but the former

prevails as a bound form as well (39 times). One cannot rule out the possibility that

hammɛlɛḵ ʾᵃḏoni 'O king, my lord,' was used as a free form in the biblical period, but it is

clear that the biblical writers had a strong preference for *ʾᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* 'my lord the

king.' This is in stark contrast to the almost exclusive use of 'O king my lord' in ancient

Near Eastern writings during the second and first millennium BCE.[73]

---

[72] Unfortunately, there are no examples in BH or EH for a combination of honorific T, KT, ET, and GA to make this claim stronger.

[73] For a free form, 'O king my lord,' see the Egyptian Bentresh Stela, which was made to appear as a monument of Ramesses II, but which was actually written much later, either in the Persian or the Ptolemaic period. Examples of a bound form 'the king my lord' abound in the Assyrian letters in the first millennium BCE as well as in the Ugaritic and Amarna letters in the second millennium BCE: RS 18.040; RS 18.113A+B; RS 94.2391; RS 34.148; EA 51; EA 53; EA 60; EA 63-65; EA 68; EA 70; EA 74-76; EA 78-79; EA 81; EA 83-85; EA 87-92; EA 94; EA 102-109; EA 112; EA 114; EA 116-119; EA 121-123; EA 125-126; EA 128-132; EA 135-144; EA 147-162; EA 164-166; EA 168; EA 171-172; EA 174-177; EA 179; EA 182-187; EA 189; EA 191-209; EA 211-212; EA 214-217; EA 221; EA 223-235; EA 237; EA 239-245; EA 248-262; EA 264-265; EA 267-275; EA 277; EA 279-290; EA 292-302; EA 304-305; EA 315; EA 317-321; EA 323-331; EA 335; EA 337; EA 362-366; EA 371; EA 378; SAA 1.1; SAA 1.29; SAA 1.31-39; SAA 1.41-60; SAA 1.62; SAA 1.64-67; SAA 1.70-78; SAA 1.80; SAA 1.82-85; SAA 1.87-94; SAA 1.96-102; SAA 1.104; SAA 1.106-110; SAA 1.112; SAA 1.115-119; SAA 1.121; SAA 1.124-125; SAA 1.128-139; SAA 1.143-144; SAA 1.146; SAA 1.148-150; SAA 1.152; SAA 1.155-156; SAA 1.158-161; SAA 1.163-165; SAA 1.171-177; SAA 1.179; SAA 1.181-186; SAA 1.188-190; SAA 1.192-202; SAA 1.204-208; SAA 1.210; SAA 1.212; SAA 1.216; SAA 1.219; SAA 1.222-224; SAA 1.226-227; SAA 1.229-231; SAA 1.233; SAA 1.235-243; SAA

When PN comes as the head of a compound address, it may be followed by occupational T, PN, KT, or ET. As is the case with PN used alone, all the compound addresses headed by PN are used for social inferiors, as in (9a).[74] KT may be followed by PN, KT, GA, or other T.[75] It may be used with a literal or extended meaning, indexing either an equal (e.g., 'my brothers') or unequal (e.g., 'my father'; 'my son') relationship between the speaker and the addressee, as in (3b). When KT is used in an extended sense, as in (6), it also appears to highlight an intimate relationship.

2.2.2.1.2 Divine Beings

As is the case with addresses to human(s), the speaker may employ either a simple or complex address alone or a compound address when he/she addresses divine being(s).

1.245-246; SAA 1.249; SAA 1.251-252; SAA 1.256-260. Note that Abimilki, the ruler of Tyre, addresses the king of Egypt once with a free form, *be-li* LUGAL "my lord the king" (EA 150:18), but otherwise he always addresses him as LUGAL *be-li* "the king my lord" in his nine letters to him (EA 146-154). For the sake of comparison, the Hittite emperor was typically addressed by his officials as ᵈUTU-*ši be-lí-ia* '(the) sun, my lord' (e.g., *HKM* 46:15), not as LUGAL *be-lí-ia* 'the king my lord.' The king of Mari was addressed simply as *be-lí-ia* "my lord" (e.g., ARM 27/1:1). There is an Aramaic letter by an Assyrian officer Bel-etir to his fellow officer, Pir-amurri, where the king of Assyria (Ashurbanipal) was referred to, not addressed, as *mry mlkʾ* 'my lord the king' (VA 8384).

[74] Jer 34:4 in which Jeremiah the prophet addresses Zedekiah the king of Judah by his PN + occupational T may not be an exception to my claim, as he functions as a spokesperson for God, the ultimate king of Israel. At this moment, Jeremiah speaks to the king as God does. The relationship between prophets and kings in ancient Israel is complex. In order to figure out the exact nature of their relationship, therefore, a variety of factors must be considered. In Ch. 3, I will discuss their relationship from the perspective of address usage.

[75] The titles that do not fit into any of the honorific or occupational Ts, such as רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו *rɛḵɛḇ yiśrɔʾel up̄ɔrɔšɔyw* 'Israel's chariot and its horsemen' in 2 Kgs 2:12 and 13:14 are classified as 'Other T.'

2.2.2.1.2.1 Simple/Complex Addresses Alone

There are ninety-six simple and complex addresses used for divine beings. Almost

90% of them are used for the God of Israel (85 times), while the rest are for his

messengers (9 times), Satan (once), and Baal (once). Table 2-7 shows the frequency

distribution of simple and complex addresses to divine being(s):

Table 2-7. Simple/Complex Addresses to Divine Being(s)[76]

	Category	Frequency
(i)	PN	51
(ii)	T	45

What immediately stands out from this table is the absence of KT. Unlike addresses to

human(s), KT is never used to address divine being(s) in our corpus.[77] Furthermore,

compared to common images used of God in the Hebrew Bible, such as king and

shepherd, the passages in which God is known as 'father' are relatively few.[78] This is quite

striking since the attribution of fatherhood to the deities was so common in the nations

around Israel that their gods were freely addressed as 'father.'[79] Perhaps the relative

---

[76] See §1.2.1 in Appendix C for a list of simple/complex addresses used alone for divine beings.

[77] Note that there are two poetic passages outside our corpus in which 'my father' occurs as a free form of address used for God (Jer 3:4, 19).

[78] Deut 32:6; 2 Sam 7:14; Isa 63:16; 64:8; Jer 3:4, 19; 31:9; Mal 1:6; 2:10; Psa 68:5; 89:26; 1 Chr 17:13; 22:10; 28:6.

[79] For Mesopotamian, Hittite, Egyptian, and Ugaritic examples, see *COS* I:536, *ANET* 397, *COS* I:29, and *COS* I:344, respectively.

paucity of references to the fatherhood of God in the Hebrew Bible may be explained by polemical concerns.[80]

All the free forms of address directed to divine being(s) are concentrated in PN and T. All the PNs but three come from addresses to God (e.g., *ʾel, ᵡlohim, hɔᵡlohim, yhwh, yhwh ṣḇɔʾoṯ*).[81] Thus, he is more often addressed by PN than any other semantic type in our corpus. The question arises as to why the most supreme being in the Israelite religion is addressed by PN, which seems to be used only for social equals and inferiors in human society. The practice of addressing God by PN, however, corresponds to the practice in other ancient Near Eastern religions, in which the deities were freely addressed by their PNs. God was initially addressed by PN perhaps to emphasize intimacy rather than social hierarchy. Some time after the Israelites' return from Babylon, however, the practice of using אֲדֹנָי *ᵡdonɔy* '(my) Lord' as a surrogate began developing to express distance between God and man, which is reflected in the use of *κυριος* 'Lord' for *yhwh* in the LXX.[82]

---

[80] See vanGemeren 1988, 397.

[81] See §1.2.1.1.1 in Appendix C for a list of personal names for God of Israel, which includes common nouns functioning as proper names. I classify *ʾel, ᵡlohim,* and *hɔᵡlohim* as personal names, as they are unique appellatives that function more or less as names (*IBHS* §13.4b).

[82] The appearance of *ᵡdonɔy* instead of *yhwh* in the first position of compound addresses in Dan 9:4, 15 might be an indication of this development.

Three PNs are used for divine beings other than God: a messenger of God, (*gaḇriʾel* 'Gabriel' [Dan 8:16]), Satan (*haśśɔṭɔn* 'Satan'), and Baal (*habbaʿal* 'Baal'). Note that *haśśɔṭɔn* 'Satan' and *habbaʿal* 'Baal' may be taken as personal names, as the *definite article + common noun* combination, through usage, may function as the equivalent of a proper name (e.g., *hɔˀᵉlohim* 'God'; *hannɔhɔr* 'the Euphrates').[83]

T may be either divine or honorific. Divine T refers to the appellatives for YHWH (e.g., *ˀᵉlohe yiśrɔˀel* 'God of Israel' [1 Kgs 8:26]; *ˀᵉlohenu* 'our God' [Dan 9:17]; *ˀᵉlohay* 'my God' [Ezra 9:6]) and hence is used for God only,[84] while honorific T is used for God (אֲדֹנָי *ˀᵃdonɔy* '[my] Lord') and his messenger(s) (אֲדֹנִי *ˀᵃdoni* 'my lord'; אֲדֹנַי *ˀᵃdonay* 'my lords').[85]

2.2.2.1.2.2 Compound Addresses

There are sixty-seven compound addresses used for divine being(s). All but one of them is used to refer to God. Table 2-8 shows the frequency distribution of compound addresses to divine being(s):

---

[83] For more examples, see *IBHS* §13.6a.

[84] See §1.2.1.2.1 in Appendix C for a list of divine Ts.

[85] See §1.2.1.2.2 & §1.2.1.2.3 in Appendix C for a list of honorific Ts.

Table 2-8. Compound Addresses to Divine Being(s)[86]

Head	Structure	Frequency
PN	PN + Divine T	31
	PN + PN	7
	PN + Divine T + Divine T	1
T	Honorific T + PN	27
	Divine T + Divine T + PN	1

All the examples headed by PN come from addresses to God. Almost all of the PNs are

yhwh. However, אֲדֹנָי *ᵃḏonəy* '(my) Lord' in Dan 9:4, 15 and אֵל *ʾel* 'God' in Num 16:22 are

construed as PNs, as they occupy the head position of compound addresses, which is

otherwise always taken by *yhwh.* The appellative *ᵉlohim* 'God' following *yhwh* functions

more or less as a divine name; and hence, is classified as PN.[87] Except for Dan 9:4 in which

divine T *həʾel* follows PN *ᵃḏonəy*, all the divine Ts immediately following PN are forms

derived from *ᵉlohim* 'God,' as in (7).[88]

---

[86] See §1.2.2 in Appendix C for a list of compound addresses used for divine beings.

[87] 'YHWH God' (2 Sam 7:25; 1 Chr 17:16, 17; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:41 [2x], 42)

[88] See §1.2.2.1 in Appendix C for a list of the examples of PN + Divine T.

All the examples headed by T also come from addresses to God.[89] As is the case

with compound addresses to human(s), honorific T אֲדֹנָי *ᵃḏonəy* '(my) Lord' always

occupies the first slot in a compound address to God. All the examples in the category of

Honorific T + PN share the same form אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה *ᵃḏonəy yhwh* '(my) Lord YHWH.'[90]

As we have seen above, PN usually precedes divine Ts headed by forms derived

from *ᵉlohim* (32x). But there is one exceptional case in which two phrases headed by

divine T אֱלֹהֵי *ᵉlohe* 'God of' are followed by PN *yhwh*, as in (16).

2.2.2.2 Addresses to Inanimate Objects

Inanimate objects are rarely addressed in the prose sections of the Hebrew

Bible.[91] There are eight addresses used for inanimate objects in our corpus: seven

simple/complex addresses used alone and one compound address. The inanimate objects

include a city, stones, mountain(s), bones, breath, and altar. Table 2-9 presents address

forms used for inanimate objects:

---

[89] In Judg 6:22 we see Gideon crying out, אֲהָהּ אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה *ᵃhəh ᵃḏonəy yhwh* 'Alas, (my) Lord YHWH!' What is interesting is that he does so right after a messenger of YHWH who was conversing with him has vanished from his sight. Thus, it appears that Gideon is identifying the messenger with YHWH. This is confirmed by the fact that throughout this story the narrator alternates Gideon's conversation partner between the messenger (vv. 12, 20) and YHWH (vv 14, 16, 18, 23). For a discussion of how the messenger of YHWH is identified with YHWH himself in this passage, see Cole (2013, 64-65); Webb (2012, 232-233).

[90] See §1.2.2.4 in Appendix C for a list of Honorific T + PN. Note that MT has the vowels of אֱלֹהִים *ᵉlohim* 'God' under the *Tetragrammaton* to avoid the repetition of *ᵃḏonəy* after honorific T אֲדֹנָי *ᵃḏonəy*.

[91] However, addresses for inanimate objects are often found in the poetic section of the prophetic books, as they are called on to witness YHWH's judgment and consolation towards Israel (e.g., שָׁמַיִם ... אֶרֶץ *šomayim ... ᵓɛrɛṣ* 'O heavens!... O earth!' in Isa 1:2; אִיִּים *ᵓiyyim* 'O coastlands!' Isa 41:1 witness)

Table 2-9. Addresses to Inanimate Object(s)

Forms	Verses	Forms	Verses
הַר־הַגָּדוֹל	Zech 4:7	הָעֲצָמוֹת הַיְבֵשׁוֹת	Ezek 37:4
הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ezek 36:1, 4, 8	הָרוּחַ	Ezek 37:9
עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת דָּם בְּתוֹכָהּ ...	Ezek 22:3	מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ	1 Kgs 13:2

As can be seen in Table 2-9, all the address forms used for inanimate objects come from two prophetic books, Ezekiel and Zechariah, except for one compound address מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ *mizbeaḥ mizbeaḥ* 'O Altar, Altar!' that comes from a historical book. While this compound address is recorded in a historical book, it actually comes from the mouth of an unnamed prophet from Judah, and thus, all the address forms for inanimate objects in our corpus have their origins in prophetic utterances.

As I have discussed above, these address forms are typical examples of a rhetorical technique called apostrophe, in which the speaker addresses a dead or absent person, or an inanimate object. Thus, the inanimate addressees are naturally personified:

Zech 4:7   YHWH addresses the great mountain, as if it could hear.
Ezek 36:1, 4, 8 Ezekiel addresses the mountains of Israel, as if they could hear.
Ezek 22:3   Ezekiel describes the city as if it were shedding blood.
Ezek 37:4   Ezekiel addresses the dry bones, as if they could hear and move.
Ezek 37:9   Ezekiel addresses breath, as if it could hear and move.
1 Kgs 13:2   A man of God addresses the altar, as if it could hear.

As common-noun address forms used for these personified objects are definite by context, it may be argued that they function as quasi-proper nouns. Thus, the absence of the definite article in מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ 'O Altar! Altar!' in 1 Kgs 13:2 and עִיר 'O City!' in Ezek 22:3

may be explained in this manner, although it could have resulted from the poetic nature of prophetic utterances.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the internal structure of free forms of address in BH, which have been grouped into simple, complex, and compound addresses according to the number of constituents in the address form. Having classified them based on grammatical and semantic categories, I have observed the following meaningful patterns. First, out of 682 free forms of address in our corpus, 69% of them are simple addresses. Complex addresses in general and those consisting of an NP plus a modifier in particular do not occur in dialogues between two humans, but only in special circumstances, such as in prayer. Thus, they do not seem to represent a feature of everyday conversation between two humans in ancient Israel. Second, both simple and complex addresses are to be construed as definite. The absence of the definite article in common noun address forms may be explained in various ways. Third, a compound address in BH may be formed by way of apposition, repetition, or coordination of co-referential simple address(es) and/or complex address(es). Almost 90% of the compound addresses are formed by placing simple and complex addresses in apposition. Fourth, when a simple or complex address is used alone, the two most frequently occurring

semantic types are PN and KT. This corresponds to the cross-linguistic phenomenon that PNs and KTs comprise the core lexical domain for free forms of address. Fifth, there seems to exist a correlation between the use of particular semantic types and social relations. PN or a compound address headed by PN is only used for social equals or inferiors, while honorific T is only used to address social superiors in human society (see Chapter 3). Sixth, honorific T always occupies the first slot in a free form of compound address. Seventh, the biblical writers show a strong preference for the word order *ᵃdoni hammɛlɛḵ* 'my lord the king,' which is in stark contrast to the almost exclusive use of its reverse order 'O king my lord' in other ancient Near Eastern writings during the second and first millennia BCE. Eighth, unlike addresses to human(s), KT is never used to address God in our corpus, perhaps for polemical reasons. Finally, apostrophe, in which inanimate objects are addressed and hence personified, is typical in prophetic literature. Common-noun address forms may function as quasi-proper nouns.

CHAPTER THREE

FREE FORMS OF ADDRESS: SOCIAL DYNAMICS

3.1 Introduction

Free forms of address are often considered "extragrammatical,"as they play little

or no role in the basic grammatical structure of a sentence.[1] They neither hold the main

constituency slot in the clausal syntax nor serve as the argument of another element of

the sentence. However, free forms of address function as important conveyors of social

and cultural meanings, encoding information about the speaker's view of him-/herself,

the addressee, and the relationship between them in a speech context.[2] As widely

recognized in sociolinguistic research on address terms, address usage is rule-governed

behavior exhibiting a regular, orderly pattern and does not take place randomly.[3] While

the rules governing address usage may change over time and vary in different situations,

languages, and cultures, sociolinguists have found that the speaker's choice of address

forms is influenced by two primary factors: the relationship between the speaker and the

addressee and the context of the speech.[4] A competent speaker evaluates his/her

relationship with the addressee in a given situation, takes into account rules of address

---

[1] Daniel and Spencer 2009, 633.
[2] Parkinson 1985, 1.
[3] Kroger 1982, 810; Parkinson 1985, 3.
[4] Fasold 1990, 1; Dickey 1996, 7; Qin 2008, 409.

in his/her speech community, and chooses the most appropriate form – whether right or deliberately wrong – from the repertoire of available address forms.[5] Thus, as we examine the patterns in the speaker's choice of a particular form of address, we may be able to determine the social relationship that the speaker perceives to exist between him/her and the addressee as well as address rules operating in a given speech context.

This chapter provides a descriptive analysis of address rules governing three nominal types of free forms of address, i.e., personal names (PNs), titles (Ts), and kinship terms (KTs), which are mostly frequently used between two human beings in BH prose.[6] Using Brown, Gilman, and Ford's (Brown and Gilman 1960; Brown and Ford 1961) address theory and Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory as theoretical frameworks, I demonstrate that the address usage is guided by the social relationship of the speakers and the speech context in which the address occurs. After describing general rules of address usage operating in BH, I identify possible examples of what Brown and Gilman (1960, 270–273) term "expressive shift," that is, tactical and strategic violation of address rules to communicate the speaker's temporary feelings and attitudes. These rule-

---

[5] In this study, therefore, I am in favor of Hymes's (1966) broader concept of "communicative competence," which refers to a speaker's capability to function appropriately in a whole communicative situation rather than the Chomskian (1965) "linguistic competence," which merely refers to the capability to produce grammatical sentences.

[6] For the significance of free forms of address used for and by God, angel(s), group(s), and inanimate being(s), see Chapter 2.

breaking cases produce powerful discourse-pragmatic effects, which would be of not

only social and emotive significance but also of exegetical importance. This chapter

consists of three main sections: (1) theoretical frameworks; (2) Data; (3) Analysis.

3.2 Theoretical Frameworks

3.2.1 Brown, Gilman, and Ford's Address Theory

In this chapter, the social dynamics of free forms of address in BH are discussed

primarily within the context of Brown, Gilman, and Ford's sociolinguistic theory of

address. Their pioneering cross-linguistic analyses of the use of the second person

pronouns in European languages (Brown and Gilman 1960) and nominal forms of address

in American English (Brown and Ford 1961) remain the most influential in the field of

address theory.[7] A brief review of their articles has been given in §1.2.2.1 and §1.2.2.2. Of

central interest in this chapter are the theoretical contributions that they make to the

field of address theory, which are as follows.

---

[7] Before Brown, Gilman, and Ford, there were many works on the address pronouns in
Shakespeare's works, including Abbott (1870), Franz (1900), and Byrne (1936). However, their works were
the first comprehensive and comparative effort to theorize the use of the second person pronouns in
European languages as well as English, suggesting a "universal" pattern that underlies all languages.

3.2.1.1 *T/V* Distinction

Brown and Gilman (1960) introduce the symbols of *T* and *V*, the abbreviations for the putative origin in Latin *tu* and *vos*, to refer to the so-called "familiar" and "polite" second person pronouns in French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

3.2.1.2 Power and Solidarity

Brown and Gilman argue that the choice between *T* and *V* is governed by two social considerations: power and solidarity. A "power semantic" asserts social inequality and differences between speaker and addressee based on their personal attributes and social roles that convey power differences (e.g., physical strength, wealth, age, sex, the role in the state, the army, or within the family). Social inequality calls for those of inferior status to use *V* and receive *T*. Thus, the pronoun usage expressing this power relation is asymmetrical and non-reciprocal. On the contrary, a "solidarity semantic" highlights social equality and commonalities between speaker and addressee based on such things as kinship ties, membership in political, religious, and professional groups, sex, birthplace, and frequency of contact. Social equality calls for interlocutors who have something in common to exchange *T* and those who feel distant exchange *V*. Thus, the pronoun usage is symmetrical and reciprocal.

3.2.1.3 Diachronic Development

Brown and Gilman identify roughly four stages of the evolution of pronominal address in European languages: (1) Towards the fourth century the Latin plural *vos* was directed to the emperor and extended to other prestigious persons; (2) In medieval Europe, the power semantic prevailed: superior said *T* and received *V*;[8] equals from the upper classes exchanged *V*, equals from the lower classes *T*;[9] (3) During the Early Modern period there was a development of the solidarity semantic differentiating pronominal address among equals: *T* was used for inferiors or intimate equals, while *V* for superiors or distant equals (see Figure 3-1*a*); (4) From the 19th century onwards, the solidarity semantic has gained supremacy in all types of dyadic relationships, which resulted in the reciprocal *T* for the solidary and the reciprocal *V* for the non-solidary.[10] Subsequently there was an extension of the *T* use (see Figure 3-1*b*).[11]

---

[8] E.g., the nobility said *T* to commoners and received *V*; the priest said *T* to penitents and received *V*; the master of a household said *T* to his slave and received *V*; parents said *T* to children and received *V*; God says *T* to His angels and receives *V* in Froissart.

[9] In the drama of 17th century France, for example, the nobility and bourgeoisie address one another as *V*, whereas servants and peasantry use *T* among themselves.

[10] According to Brown and Gilman (1960, 264), the emergence of this reciprocal solidarity semantic was due to a change in the social structure of European societies that led to "social mobility and an equalitarian ideology."

[11] E.g., parents and children exchange *T*; master and his faithful servant exchange *T*.
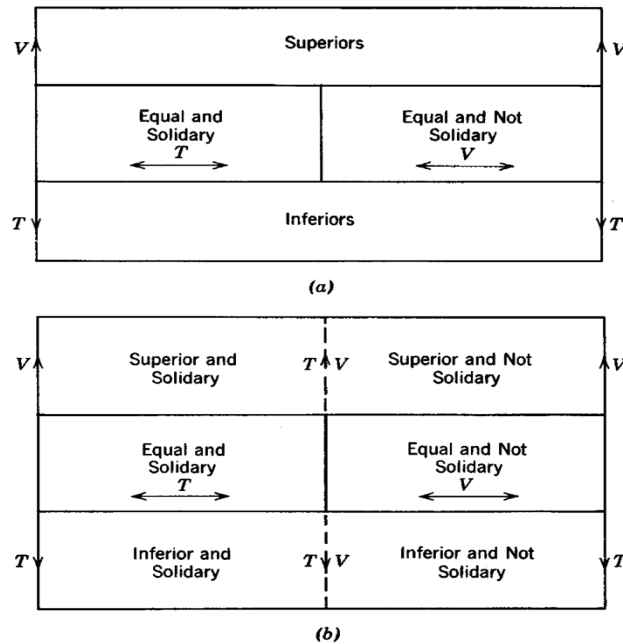
Figure 3-1. Brown and Gilman's (1960, 259) Power and Solidarity Semantic *(a)* in Equilibrium and *(b)* under Tension

3.2.1.4 Correlation of Address, Social structure, and Ideology

Brown and Gilman find that address usage is associated with social structure and ideological attitudes in the language community. In static and hierarchical societies, such as in a feudal society in Europe during the Middle Ages, the non-reciprocal power semantic prevails. In a society with social mobility and an equalitarian ideology, however, the reciprocal solidarity semantic becomes a governing principle.

3.2.1.5 Expressive Shift

Brown and Gilman argue that a switch between *T* and *V* that violates a "group norm" of power and solidarity may signal the speaker's "transient moods and attitudes" toward the addressee. Such pronoun shift is frequently witnessed in both Medieval and

97

Early Modern European literature when expressing feelings such as contempt or anger

(e.g., the use of *T* by those who usually exchange *V* or by an inferior to a superior), irony

or mockery (e.g., the use of *V* by a superior to an inferior), or admiration or respect (e.g.,

a switch to *V* by a superior to an inferior).[12] The exact interpretation of the speaker's

attitude depends not only on the address norm the speaker violates but also on the

contextual information, including his attendant words, actions, and the total setting.

3.2.1.6 Address in American English

According to Brown and Ford (1961), while American English has no *T/V*

distinction in the second person pronominal system, the distinction can be achieved in

nominal forms of address. They find that the principal variants are first name (FN, e.g.,

James) and title plus last name (TLN, e.g., Professor Pardee), which show three dyadic

patterns: reciprocal exchange of FN between intimates, reciprocal exchange of TLN

between newly introduced adults, and non-reciprocal exchange of FN and TLN, i.e., TLN

for the superior in age or occupational status and FN for the inferior. Thus, power and

solidarity semantics are at work in American English as well, only using different

grammatical structures. Brown and Ford also discuss the use of address variants of minor

---

[12] The examples of expressive shifts are witnessed in non-European languages as well, such as in Yoruba (Oyetade 1995, 531), Mijikenda (McGivney 1993, 31), and post-revolutionary Iranian Persian (Keshavarz 1988, 570).

importance, arranging them according to the degree of deference: title (T, e.g., Sir, Madam, Ma'am, Miss) being most deferential, last name (LN, e.g., Jones) between TLN and FN, and multiple names (MN, e.g., several versions of the proper name for the same addressee) least deferential. As a relationship between interlocutors develops over time, there is a progression from more deferential to more intimate forms of address (mutual T → non-reciprocal T and TLN → mutual TLN → non-reciprocal TLN and LN → mutual LN → non-reciprocal LN and FN → mutual FN → non-reciprocal FN and MN → mutual MN), though some steps may be skipped in actual dyads.

3.2.1.7 Linguistic Universal

Based on nominal address patterns in American English as well as pronominal address behavior in many European and non-European languages, Brown and Ford (1961, 380) go so far as to claim that the "linkage in personal address of intimacy and condescension, distance and deference" is a "linguistic universal." In his monograph *Social Psychology* (1965, 92), Brown summarizes the findings presented in his earlier articles and reconfirms his claim by formulating an "invariant norm of address": "the linguistic form that is used to an inferior in a dyad of unequal status [X] is, in dyads of equal status, used mutually by intimates; the form used to a superior in a dyad of

unequal status [Y] is, in dyads of equal status, used mutually by strangers." This may be

diagrammed as in Figure 3-2.
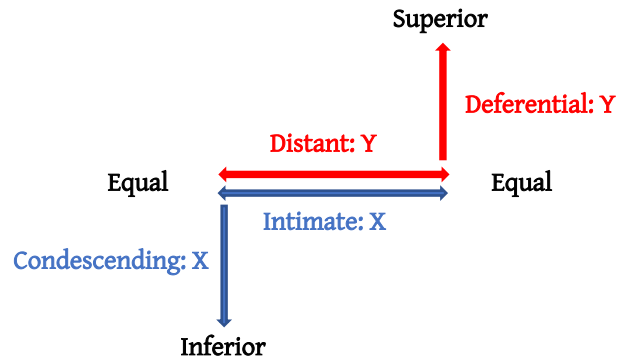
Figure 3-2. Brown and Ford's (1961, 380) Linguistic Universal in Abstract Terms

Brown, Gilman, Ford's articles sparked a wave of studies on address forms in

different languages and societies, which can be divided into two broad groups. First,

many of these studies have come up with findings that support their claim of "linguistic

universal." For example, Slobin (1963) investigated the use of the second person

pronouns in Yiddish—the singular *du* and the plural *ir*, finding that *du* is directed both

downward and to intimates, whereas *ir* is directed to both upward and to non-

intimates.[13] However, there are also works that epitomize language, group, and

individual peculiarities and differences. Parkinson (1985, 71), for instance, reports a

striking phenomenon in Egyptian Arabic called "address inversion" in which a father

---

[13] For studies that confirm Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal," see Kroger, Cheng, and Leong (1979) for Chinese; Hijirida and Sohn (1983) for Japanese and Korean; Kroger, Wood, and Beam (1984) for Greek; Kroger and Wood (1992) for German; Qin (2008) for Chinese.

addresses his sons and daughters with a term بابا *bābā* 'daddy.' According to Braun (1988, 309), the reciprocation of a senior kinship term to the junior is perfectly normal to express affection and authority, especially in talking to children, and is found in a variety of languages, including Georgian, Italian, and Romanian.[14]

The above provides the *raison d'être* for my analysis of free forms of address in BH. Like modern English, BH does not show a *T/V* distinction in the second person pronominal system. The distinction, however, may be achieved in nominal forms of address, especially with the alternation of PNs and Ts. So far, there is no comprehensive study that describes these two address forms in BH within the framework of Brown, Gilman, and Ford's address theory. Thus, it is one of the aims of this chapter to apply their bi-dimensional power/solidarity model to test whether nominal address usage in BH is in accord with their claim of "linguistic universal" or exhibits unique rules and patterns. Also, I attempt to identify possible cases of "expressive shift," in which address rules in BH are strategically violated to communicate the speaker's temporary feelings and attitudes.

---

[14] For studies that highlight language particulars in terms of address usage, see Bates and Benigni (1975) for Italian; Kuglin (1977) for German and Turkish; Wales (1983) for Early Modern English; Oyetade (1995) for Yoruba; and Dickey (1996) for ancient Greek. Also, for a complete reanalysis of Brown and Gilman's presentation of the *T/V* system according to the concept of "indexical orders," see Silverstein (2003, 204-211).

3.2.2 Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

In this chapter, KTs in particular are considered within the framework of Brown and Levinson's pragmatic theory of politeness.[15] While Brown, Gilman, and Ford's address theory has proven a useful tool for describing address phenomena in languages with a *T/V* pronominal distinction, the suitability of their dichotomic approach for languages that have rather complex systems of nominal address (esp. KTs) has often been questioned (e.g., Braun 1998, 6–7). Brown and Levinson bring a fresh angle to the field of address research by viewing the act of addressing as a behavioral strategy to attend to the interlocutor's face. The following are their conceptual contributions to the field of address theory.

3.2.2.1 Face

Building on Goffman's (1967, 5) notion of face,[16] Brown and Levinson (1987, 61) define face as the "public self-image" that every member of a society seeks to establish in social interactions. In other words, face is "one's situated identity" (Holtgraves 2001, 38).

---

[15] For an extensive review of Brown and Levinson's work, see §1.3.7.

[16] Goffman (1967, 5) defines the term "face" as "the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact." His concept of face is modelled on the Chinese concept of face, which was identified as a key component of the Chinese culture more than a hundred years ago in the writings of two missionaries, Smith (1894, 6ff) and Macgowan (1912, 301ff). Goffman employs a dramaturgical metaphor in which he likens daily face-to-face interaction to theatrical performance; people are actors on a stage and those who watch their performances are the audience. Face is like a mask that an actor chooses to put on in a given situation. He is emotionally attached to it, strives to maintain it by using certain strategies, and often loses it.

One may "lose" it when failing to have his/her identity ratified in an encounter and "save" it when maintaining his/her identity that has been challenged. Thus, face must constantly be attended to during interaction. Inspired by Durkheim's (1915, 427ff) distinction of positive and negative rites and Goffman's (1967, 62ff) distinction of presentation and avoidance rituals, Brown and Levinson (1987, 61) argue that an individual's face consists of two universal desires: the desire for approval and solidarity, termed "positive face,", and the desire for autonomy and unimpeded freedom of action, termed "negative face."

3.2.2.2 Face Threatening Acts (FTA)

These two desires, whether those of the hearer (H) or those of the speaker (S), can be threatened by certain inherently face-threatening acts (FTAs) during the course of social interaction. For example, apology and confession threaten the positive face of S (they denigrate S), whereas promise, acceptance of offer, excuse and thanks threaten the negative face of S (they restrict S's desire not to be imposed upon). Disagreement, challenges, criticism, contempt, accusations, insults, and complaint threaten the positive face of H (they disapprove of H), while order, request, offer, suggestion, advice, and warning threaten the negative face of H (they restrict H's autonomy). The typology of FTAs is depicted in Figure 3-3.

Face Threat

Speaker's Face   Hearer's Face

Positive   Negative   Positive   Negative
apology   promise   disagreement   order
confession   thanks   criticism   request
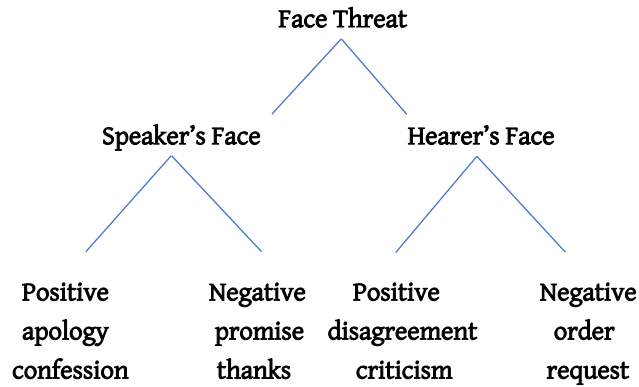
Figure 3-3. Typology of Face-Threatening Acts (FTAs)

Now there exists a fundamental conflict for interlocutors. On the one hand, they need

and want to perform these FTAs to each other's face. On the other hand, they want to

cooperatively maintain each other's face. It is this conflict that motivates interlocutors

to engage in "face-work" or "politeness" i.e., the mitigation of face threats posed by FTAs

toward one another.

3.2.2.3 Positive and Negative Politeness

According to Brown and Levinson (1987, 70), the mitigation of face threats may be

achieved by employing positive and negative politeness oriented toward the positive and

negative face of H, respectively. Positive politeness is an "approach-based" strategy in

which S attempts to meet H's desire for approval by claiming solidarity and intimacy

with H. Brown and Levinson present fifteen behavioral sub-strategies of positive

politeness (see Table 1-5), of which the strategy of "use in-group identity markers" is

particularly relevant to our study as KTs are frequently used as polite address terms to

indicate that S shares common membership with H (e.g., a king of northern Israel calls the prophet Elisha אָבִי *ʾōḇi* 'my father!' in 2 Kgs 6:21). Negative politeness, on the other hand, is an "avoidance-based" strategy in which S attempts to ensure H's desire for autonomy by distancing him-/herself from H and being indirect. Brown and Levinson present ten sub-strategies of negative politeness (see Table 1-5), of which the strategy of "*give deference*" is most relevant to this chapter as honorific Ts and occupational Ts are often employed as deferential address terms to convey a status differential between S and H (e.g., אֲדֹנִי *ˣᵈoni* 'my lord!' or הַמֶּלֶךְ *hamⲙⲉlⲉḵ* 'O king!'). For Brown and Levinson, negative politeness is deemed to be more polite than positive politeness, because the former attempts to avoid the positively polite presumption of solidarity, an assumption that may or may not be true from H's point of view.[17]

3.2.2.4 Social Determinants of Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987, 76ff) argue that S's choice of a particular strategy depends on the "weightiness" of a particular FTA that he wants to perform (i.e., the degree of risk to H's face). The greater the weightiness of the FTA, the greater the

---

[17] One of the major claims made by Brown and Levinson (1987, 68) is that five super-strategies may be arranged in order of increasing levels of politeness: (1) bald on-record, (2) positive politeness, (3) negative politeness, (4) off-record, and (5) don't do the FTA. Their ordering of negative and positive politeness is consistent with that of Durkheim's (1915, 427ff) and Goffman's (1967, 62ff) ordering of negative rites/avoidance rituals as being more deferential than positive rites/presentational rituals.

likelihood that S will opt for a more polite strategy.[18] The weightiness of the FTA is

determined by S's perception of three social factors: (1) the social distance between S and

H; (2) H's power over S; (3) the culturally influenced degree of imposition of the FTA.

Increasing weightiness of a given FTA is associated with increasing distance between S

and H (e.g., requesting a pen of a stranger is weightier than requesting of one's friend),

increasing power of H relative to S (e.g., requesting a pen of one's teacher is weightier

than requesting of his/her friend), and increasing imposition of the FTA (e.g., a request

to borrow a car is weightier than a request to borrow a pencil). Thus, it is more likely

that S will employ more polite strategies when addressing a person with a higher status

than one with an equal or lower status, when addressing a stranger than S's friend, and

when asking for a big favor than a small favor.

3.3 Data

There are forty-one PNs, eighty-one Ts, and sixty-four KTs, which account for

95% of the total number of the semantic categories used in address between two human

beings. They are used either alone or as part of a compound address between two human

beings in biblical Hebrew prose. They appear in a wide variety of situations in life

---

[18] This must be balanced, however, against the need for efficient communication. In emergency situations, for example, concerns with politeness may be outweighed by the motive for clarity and efficiency. In this sense, therefore, all politeness can be viewed as violations of Grice's (1975) conversational maxims (quality, quantity, relevance, and manner).

ranging from a private conversation between husband and wife (e.g., 1 Sam 1:8) to a diplomatic negotiation between an Israelite king and a Syrian king (e.g., 1 Kgs 20:4). They appear in a wide variety of situations in life ranging from a private conversation between father and son (e.g., Gen 27:1) to a diplomatic negotiation between an Israelite king and a Syrian king (e.g., 1 Kgs 20:4).

Upon examination of these address forms, the resulting data include the semantic category of each form, the situational context in which each form is used, and the personal information of the speaker and the addressee, such as their age, gender, and occupation.[19] The relative power status of a speech participant is classified as "superior," "inferior," or "equal" to his/her interlocutor by weighing their social roles (e.g., kings, officers, servants, father, son), personal attributes (e.g., age, gender, wealth), and other contextual clues that indicate the power differential between them (e.g., posture and gesture).[20] The social distance between two interlocutors is classified as "close" or

---

[19] Such information may not be always available in the text. Especially, the ages of biblical characters are rarely provided. In many cases, however, their approximate ages can be inferred from the context.

[20] Revell (1996, 43-44) describes the status system in ancient Israel in terms of three levels: (1) the top level (kings, queens, prophets, and perhaps other religious leaders); (2) the middle level (members of the king's family, officers in the service of the king, elders, and anyone who does not belong to the top or bottom level); (3) the bottom level (servants). God and celestial beings are above this ranking system, always treated as superior to human beings. Further gradations within the same level are possible. For example, members of the king's family appear to be superior to king's officers, as can be seen in 2 Sam 14:29-32, where Absalom, a king's son, treats Joab, the commander-in-chief in Israel, as a subordinate. In this chapter, I use Revell's tripartite scheme as a starting point for attempting to determine the status of the interlocutors in our corpus. In the course of my discussion below, however, I attempt to refine his

"distant" based on the degree of their like-mindedness that results from frequent

contact (Brown and Gilman 1960, 258).[21] All this information is categorized as a separate

row in the data table according to the following structure:

---

scheme from the perspective of address usage, questioning some of his assumptions and interpretations, such as his claim that kings and prophets are equal in status.

[21] The term (social) "distance" is the most often used label for the horizontal dimension of interlocutor relations in sociolinguistics. Other terms used for this dimension include solidarity, closeness, familiarity, and relational intimacy (see Spencer-Oatey [1996, 3] for a list of labels and glosses used for the variable "social distance"). Following Brown and Gilman (1960, 258) and Brown and Levinson (1987, 76-77), I take social similarity/difference based on the frequency of interaction between two interlocutors as a key determinant of levels of social distance. Thus, I regard the following relationships as "close": members of a nuclear family (e.g., Abraham and Isaac), friends (e.g., Jonadab and Amnon), lovers, and those who have worked together for a common purpose for a long time (e.g., Saul and Abner). Acquaintances (e.g., Absalom and Hushai) and strangers (e.g., Rebekah and Abraham's servant), however, are considered "distant." Role relationships are commonly used in the field of address studies to identify and illustrate a given degree of social distance, as we all have prototypical conceptions of the nature of the types of relationships.

Table 3-1. Data Table for Address Forms

Scripture	Address Form	Semantic	Speaker	Addressee	P	D	Context
2 Sam 9:6	Mephibosheth	PN	David 40s[22] Male King	Mephibosheth 20s Male Friend's son	s>i	d	Doing Mephibosheth a favor for his father's sake
1 Sam 17:55	King	occupational T	Abner Younger than Saul? Male Commander of the Army	Saul 60?[23] Male King	i>s	c	Responding to Saul who asked him about David
2 Sam 13:12	My brother	KT	Tamar Teen?[24] Female half-sister	Amnon 20? Male half-brother	e>e	c	Trying to keep Amnon from raping her

Note: P = power relation; D = social distance; PN = personal name; T = title;
KT = kinship term; s = superior; e = equal; i = inferior; c = close; d = distant.

In most of the cases, the power relation and social distance between the

interlocutors can be assessed with a fair degree of confidence. There are some cases,

however, in which it is difficult to determine these two variables with certainty due to

lack of information. For example, there is no way to tell whether the relationship

between Jahaziel the Levite and King Jehoshaphat is close or distant when the former

---

[22] The text does not tell us how old David and Mephibosheth are when they first meet. However, their appropriate ages may be inferred from the context in the following way. David is thirty years old when he begins to reign at Hebron right after the death of Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam 5:4). Mephibosheth is five years old when Saul and Jonathan die (2 Sam. 4:4). Thus, David is twenty-five years older than Mephibosheth. He begins to reign in Jerusalem when he is about thirty-seven years old (2 Sam 5:5) and meets Mephibosheth in Jerusalem (2 Sam 9:13) sometime before he commits adultery with Bathsheba (2 Sam 11:1ff). According to McFall's [2010, 527]) reckoning, David is about fifty years of age at the time of his adultery with Bathsheba. Therefore, David is between thirty-seven and fifty years old of age, and Mephibosheth is between twelve and twenty-five years old of age when they first meet.

[23] The determination of Saul's age at the time of David's victory over Goliath is based on the assumption that he is 30 years old when he is selected by God to be the first king of Israel. See McFall (2010, 527).

[24] It is impossible to determine the age of Tamar when she was raped by Amnon. She appears to be a couple of years younger than Absalom who was probably about 17 years old at the time of the rape of his sister. See McFall (2010, 527).

encourages the latter to fight against the Moabites and Ammonites (2 Chr 20:15). In cases like this, a question mark is placed in a data cell to indicate uncertainty regarding the status and/or distance.

I seek to describe general rules of address from relatively clear cases, including a correlation between status/distance and the speaker's choice of address forms. Then, I investigate the uncertain cases, attempting to determine the most likely possibilities for status and/or distance in light of the address rules evidenced from the clearer cases. Finally, I suggest possible cases of expressive shift that strategically violate the norms of address to communicate the speaker's momentary attitude toward addressee.

3.4 Analysis

3.4.1 Person Names

PNs are prototypical forms of address. As most anthropologists agree, naming is a cultural universal in modern human societies (Murdock 1945, 124; Lévi-Strauss 1966, 161; Alford 1988, 1; Brown 1991, 181).[25] In general, a child is given a PN by his/her parents at

---

[25] While naming behavior is a cultural universal, the types of names and the ways in which they are bestowed and used in social interaction vary from society to society See, for example, Alford (1988, 2–4) who provides a detailed description of the naming practices of two societies, the Dogon of West Africa and the Iroquois of northeastern United States, to illustrate the cross-cultural variability in naming practices. A Dogon child receives three given names plus a surname from the eldest male in the child's paternal group three weeks after he/she is born. An Iroquois child, however, is provided with a single given name, which is selected at or even before the child's birth by the mother or sometimes the maternal grandmother.

birth and he/she does not care to change it unless special circumstances require him/her to do so. By naming a child, parents individualize, classify, and tie their child's identity into his/her community (Bramwell 2016, 279).

Ancient Israelite society portrayed in the HB is no exception to this universal practice. Naming a child was usually the mother's task (e.g., Gen 4:25, 19:37–38; 29:31–30:24; 35:18; 38:4–5; Judg 13:24; 1 Sam 1:20; 4:21; 1 Chr 4:9; 7:16.), but the father occasionally did the naming (e.g., Gen 4:26; 5:3, 29; 16:15; 38:3; Exod 2:22; 1 Chr 7:23) and even altered the mother's choice (Gen 35:18).[26] In special cases naming was performed by non-parental figures including God (e.g., Gen 17:19; Exod 2:10; 2 Sam 12:25; Isa 8:3; Hos 1:4, 9; Ruth 4:17). The birth names of people were sometimes changed by God and others at important junctures of their lives (e.g., Abram to Abraham [Gen 17:5]; Joseph to Zaphenath-Paneah [Gen 41:45]; Azariah to Abednego [Dan 1:7]). These naming and renaming events were often accompanied by a prophecy of the person's destiny (e.g., nations and kings will come from Jacob [Gen 35:10–12]) together with folk-etymologies or plays on words (e.g., Edom for the "red" stew exchanged for his birthright [Gen 25:30]).[27]

---

[26] For a survey of naming practices in the ancient Near East, see Seymour (1983, 108–120).

[27] The works on folk etymology of biblical names are numerous. To name a few, Krašovec (2010); Marks (1995); Zimmermann (1966).

As is widely recognized by biblical scholarship, a PN in Israelite society was not merely a label to distinguish one person from another; it represented the essence, character, and reputation of its bearer.[28] Thus, the act of naming signified an endowment of new essence whereby the name giver was exercising the power and authority over the one named. For example, Adam demonstrated his mastery over the animals by naming them (Gen 3:19).[29] A PN was also believed to affect a person's destiny, so it often expressed blessing and hope (Greenstein 1992, 970).[30] Changing names could serve to determine or change destiny. For instance, Rachel named her second son Ben-oni "son of my sorrow," as she was dying; but Jacob called him Benjamin "son of the right hand" (Gen 35:18). In doing so, Jacob sought to guard the future of the child (Avrahami 2011, 25).[31]

---

[28] This can be supported by a number of etiological narratives about name giving and changing throughout the HB (e.g., Noah [Gen 5:29]; Abraham [Gen 17:5]). There are countless works dealing with the significance of PNs and naming giving in the HB, including Abba (1962, 501–508); Porten (1982, 33–51); Garsiel (1991); Greenstein (1992, 968–971); Demsky (1997, 27–37); and Avrahami (2011, 15–53).

[29] For more examples of naming that marks authority and control, see Avrahami (2011, 19ff), who conveniently classifies them into three groups according to the realms in which they occur in the HB: theological (e.g., YHWH's changing of Abram to Abraham in Gen 17:5), political (e.g., the king of Babylon's changing of the name Mattaniah to Zedekiah in 2 Kgs 24:17), and geographical (the Danites' changing of the name Laish to Dan in Judg 18:29).

[30] The etymology, structure, and/or meaning of PNs in BH are not of primary interest in this study, and thus will not be discussed here. Hebrew onomastics has been widely studied, as can be seen in Singerman's (2001, 18–46) extensive bibliography on biblical names. To add a few recent works to that list, Hess (2013, 2015) and Golub (2017).

[31] The same belief is held in the Babylonian Talmud (b.Roš Haš. 16b), which states that one of four ways to avoid something evil happening to a person is to change his/her name:

3.4.1.1 Position and Distribution

There are four address types in which PNs are used: (1) a PN used alone (e.g., אַבְנֵר *ʾaḇner* "Abner!"); (2) a PN used at the beginning of a compound address (e.g., שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנִי *šmuʾel bni* "Samuel, my son!"); (3) a PN used in the middle of a compound address (e.g., בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי *bni ʾaḇšɔlom ʾaḇšɔlom bni ḇni* "My son, Absalom, Absalom, my son, my son!"); (4) a PN used at the end of a compound address (e.g., אֲדֹנִי אֵלִיָּהוּ *ᵃḏoni ʾeliyyɔhu* "My lord, Elijah!"). As seen in §3.4.1.2, the first two types—address forms composed of a PN alone (henceforth, APNs) and compound addresses headed by a PN (henceforth, HPNs)—are treated together in this section since they convey the same power relationship between the speaker and the addressee in our corpus. The other two types, however, convey different power relationships that ultimately depend on what comes at the beginning of the compound addresses. Those in which a T or a KT comes at the beginning will be dealt with in §3.4.2 and §3.4.3.[32]

ואֹ"ר יצחק ד' דברים מקרעין גזר דינו של אדם אלו הן צדקה צעקה שינוי השם ושינוי מעשה ...שינוי השם דכתיב (בראשית יז, טו) שרי אשתך לא תקרא את שמה שרי כי שרה שמה וכתיב וברכתי אותה וגם נתתי ממנה לך בן

wʾ"r yṣḥq d' dbrym mqrʿyn gzr dynw šl ʾdm ʾlw hn ṣdqh ṣʿqh šynwy hšm wšynwy mʿśh... šynwy hšm dktyb (brʾšyt yz, tw) śry ʾštk lʾ tqrʾ ʾt šmh śry ky śrh šmh wktyb wbrkty ʾwth wgm ntty mmnh lk bn

And Rabbi Isaac said: "Four things avert the evil decree (by God) on man: charity, prayer, change of one's name, and change of one's deeds... change of one's name, as it is written: 'As for Sarai your wife, you shall not call her name Sarai, but Sarah shall be her name' (Gen 17:15), and it is also written: 'And I will bless her, and I will also give you a son from her.'"

[32] There are only eight address forms that do not begin with a PN, a T, or a KT. They are excluded from our study.

There are twenty-three cases of APN and seven cases of HPN in our corpus, which account for 20% of the total free forms of address used between two human beings (150 forms). Table 3-2 shows the distribution of addresses by APN and HPN according to the books of the HB. Most of them are concentrated in Samuel and Kings, in which we find ample examples of speech by a superior to an inferior.

Table 3-2. Number of APNs and HPNs in Each Book of the Hebrew Bible

Book	# of APNs	# of HPNs
Numbers	1	
Judges	4	
1 Samuel	5	1
2 Samuel	3	1
1 Kings	1	
2 Kings	4	1
Jeremiah	2	1
Esther		2
1 Chronicles		1
2 Chronicles	3	
Total	23	7

3.4.1.2 Pattern

3.4.1.2.1 Superior to Inferior

The most conspicuous pattern of APNs or HPNs lies in power relations: they are mostly used by superiors to inferiors.[33] Twenty-two out of thirty cases of APNs or HPNs come from the superior-inferior dyads. Table 3-3 shows APNs and HPNs used by

---

[33] Lande (1949, 28) also detects this tendency, but her list of exceptions is quite different from mine.

superiors to inferiors, which can be divided into three groups according to the factors

that determine the power relations between the speaker and the addressee:

occupation/position in the family (##1–17); non-reciprocal address pattern (##18–20);

speech context (##21–22).

Table 3-3. APNs and HPNs Used by Superiors to Inferiors

#	Relationship	Speaker	Form	Semantic	D	Speech Context	Scripture
1, 2	King > Queen Husband > Wife	Xerxes	Queen Esther[34]	PN+T	c	Pleased with Esther and willing to grant her wish	Esth 5:3; 7:2
3	King > Commander	Saul	Abner	PN	c	Inquiring of Abner about David who killed Goliath	1 Sam 17:55
4		Jehoram	Jehu	PN	d	Greeting Jehu who was coming to kill him	2 Kgs 9:22
5	King > Friend's Son	David	Mephibosheth	PN	d	Doing Mephibosheth a favor for his father's sake	2 Sam 9:6
6		David	Mephibosheth	PN	c[35]	Questioning Mephibosheth's allegiance	2 Sam 19:26
7	Leader > Rebel	Moses	Korah	PN	c?	Rebuking Korah for rebelling against him	Num 16:6
8	Queen Mother > Commander	Jezebel	Zimri, murderer of his lord	PN+ET[36]	d	Greeting Jehu who came to kill her	2 Kgs 9:31
9	Prophet > Disciple	Elijah	Elisha	PN	c	Asking Elisha not to follow him	2 Kgs 2:4
10		Jeremiah	Baruch	PN	c	Delivering God's word to Baruch that God will give him life	Jer 45:2
11	Prophet > Servant	Elisha	Gehazi	PN	c	Rebuking Gehazi for his greed and lies	2 Kgs 5:25
12	Priest > Servant	Eli	Samuel my son	PN+KT	c	Asking Samuel to let him know what God told him	1 Sam 3:16
13	Commander > Officer	Abner	Asahel	PN	d	Persuading Asahel not to pursue him	2 Sam 2:20
14	Husband > Wife	Elkanah	Hannah	PN	c	Comforting Hannah who had no child	1 Sam 1:8
15	Father > Son	Saul	Jonathan	PN	c	Taking an oath to put Jonathan to death	1 Sam 14:44
16		David	Absalom, my son, my son	PN+KT+KT	c	Mourning for the death of Absalom	2 Sam 19:1
17		David	Solomon my son	PN+KT	c	Commissioning Solomon to build the temple	1 Chr 28:9
18, 19	King > Prophet	Ahab	Micaiah	PN	d	Asking Micaiah if he should go to battle against Aram	1 Kgs 22:15 = 2 Chr 18:14
20	King > Priest	Saul	Ahimelech	PN	d?	Pronouncing the death sentence upon Ahimelech who helped David	1 Sam 22:16
21	King > King	Abijah	Jeroboam	PN	d	Accusing Jeroboam and northern Israel of idolatry	2 Chr 13:4
22	Prophet > Prophet	Jeremiah	Hananiah	PN	d?	Prophesying Hananiah's death	Jer 28:15

[34] Note that PN comes before T in Hebrew: אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה ʾester hammalkə "Queen Esther!"

[35] In contrast to case #5, where David and Mephibosheth had just met, I view their relationship as close here, as I assume that it has developed over time (2 Sam 9:11).

[36] Evaluative terms (ET) refer to descriptive terms that express the speaker's attitudes and evaluation of the addressee (cf. Zwicky 1974, 792). Revell (1996, 50) calls these terms 'nonce epithets.'

In the first seventeen cases, the fact that the speaker is superior to the addressee is

evident from the speaker's higher status in society whether by occupation or by family

hierarchy.[37] The king is superior to the queen (##1–2), military commanders (##3–4),[38]

and his friend's son (##5–6). The leader of a nation is superior to a rebel (#7). The queen

mother is superior to a rebellious military commander (#8).[39] The prophets and priests

are superior to their disciples and servants (##9–12). The military commander is superior

---

[37] Age might have been an important factor in determining the status of the individuals in certain situations (esp. among siblings). However, there is no case above in which one can say that age is the sole factor that determines the relative status of the speaker and the addressee. Rather, the key determining factors seem to be their occupational status or position in the household. In fact, occupational status often prevails over age in determining the speaker's social status relative to the addressee (e.g., Aaron addresses Moses as "my lord" twice [Exod 32:22; Num 12:11], even though he was three years older than Moses [Exod 7:7]).

[38] In case #3, Saul and Abner are cousins (1 Sam 14:50). Their non-reciprocal address pattern (i.e., Saul addresses Abner by APN and receives T, "O king!" [1 Sam 17:55]) cannot be viewed as "normal" between cousins. Rather, it shows a formal address exchange between a king and his servant. In this case, occupation prevails over familial status.

[39] In 2 Kgs 9:30–31, the queen mother Jezebel receives the rebellious commander Jehu with regal nobility and defiance both by appearing at the palace window dressed like the queen mother she is and by mockingly addressing him as "Zimri, murderer of his lord." In doing so, Jezebel deliberately links Jehu to Zimri, a chariot commander who killed his king, Elah son of Baasha, and destroyed that dynasty (1 Kgs 16:8–16), because he was coming to her after he killed his king Jehoram (2 Kgs 9:24). There is no doubt that she intends to treat him as an inferior traitor by upbraiding and insulting him (Brueggemann 2000, 387–388).

to an officer (#13).[40] The husband is superior to the wife (#14).[41] The father is superior to

his son (##15–17).

The unequal power relations may also be demonstrated by what Brown, Gilman,

and Ford call non-reciprocal address exchange in which the speaker uses APN or HPN

---

[40] Abner is the commander of King Saul's army (1 Sam 14:50) and remains the real power behind Ish-bosheth after Saul's death (2 Sam 2:12ff). However, Asahel never achieves a military position as high as Abner's, being listed "among the thirty" in King David's army (2 Sam 23:24). In terms of military rank, Joab, Asahel's older brother, could be seen as equal to Abner as he is the commander of King David's army (2 Sam 20:23). It is interesting to note that Uriah the Hittite is also named "among the thirty" in King David's army (2 Sam 23:39) and he refers to Joab as "my lord" (2 Sam 11:11). Thus, it is probable that Asahel is considered inferior to Joab in the military hierarchy. Revell (1996, 331) views Abner and Asahel as equals without giving any explanation, but all the evidence seems to point to Abner's superiority over Asahel. It seems very unlikely that Abner views Asahel as an equal. For a useful table of PNs and Ts of functionaries in the Hebrew Bible and epigraphic records, see Fox (2000, 281–301).

[41] It has been traditionally held that Israelite wives were subordinate to their husbands. For recent discussion and bibliography, see Lemos (2015, 236ff). While she rejects the argument made by Wegner (1988) that Israelite wives were the "property" of their husbands, she argues that the dominant-subordinate pattern governed relations between husbands and wives in ancient Israel. For examples in biblical laws and narratives where husbands are stated to be dominant over wives, see Gen 3:16; Deut 22:20–21; Ezekiel 16, 23.

In the case of Elkanah and Hannah in 1 Sam 1:1ff, it seems clear that Elkanah acts as a superior by leading the whole family to go up to Shiloh, distributing portions to his household, and comforting Hannah who is in distress due to the lack of a child. See Lande (1949, 27), who also views Elkanah as superior to Hannah.

Curiously, Revell (1996, 332) states that "[s]pouses typically converse as equals." However, the address patterns between husband and wife used in the Hebrew Bible seem to go against his statement. If we set aside address forms used between the king and the queen in which the latter addresses the former as "king," not as "husband" (e.g., Bathsheba addresses King David as "my lord the king!" in 1 Kgs 1:13–21), it appears that the address exchange between husband and wife is non-reciprocal. Lamech and Elkanah address their wives by APNs, "Adah and Zilla!" (Gen 4:23) and "Hannah!" (1 Sam 1:8), respectively, whereas there is no case where a wife addresses her husband by APN. Apart from the case in which Sarah refers to Abraham as "my lord" (Gen 18:12), a wife commonly refers to her husband as אִישִׁי *ʾiši* "my man" (Gen 29:32, 34; 30:15, 18, 20; 2 Sam 14:5, 7; 2 Kgs 4:1; Hos 2:9). Note that the two terms, אִישׁ *ʾiš* "man" and בַּעַל *baʿal* "master," are often used to refer to husbands (e.g., Judg 13:8f; 2 Sam 11:26). Of course, these referential usages do not necessarily prove that Israelite wives actually addressed their husbands with these terms. However, Hos 2:18 may reflect the Israelite practice that a wife would address her husband by either אִישִׁי "my man" or בַּעְלִי *baʿli* "my master," instead of APN.

and receives a T or an ascending KT. About half of the first seventeen cases clearly

exhibit the non-reciprocal pattern. King Ahasuerus addresses Esther by HPN, "Queen

Esther" (##1–2), while he receives T, "the king" used as a bound form of address (Esth 5:4,

8; 7:3, 4). King Saul addresses Abner by APN (#3), while he receives T, "O king!" (1 Sam

17:55). King David addresses Mephibosheth by APN (##5–6), while he receives T, "my lord

the king" used as a free (2 Sam 19:27) or a bound form (2 Sam 19:28, 29, 31),[42] or "the

king" used as a bound form (2 Sam 19:29).[43] Elijah the prophet addresses Elisha by APN

(#9), while he receives an ascending KT, "my father!" (2 Kgs 2:12). King Saul addresses his

son Jonathan by APN (#15), while he receives T, "the king" used as a bound form (1 Sam

19:4). King David addresses Absalom by HPN "Absalom, my son, my son" (#16), while he

receives T, "the king" used as a bound form (2 Sam 13:24).

In the other half of the seventeen cases, the speaker receives no address form. It

seems reasonable, however, to assume that the speaker would have received a T or an

ascending KT, had an address been made by the addressee.[44] In other words, the non-

reciprocal address pattern between the speaker and the addressee is a clear indication of

---

[42] Strictly speaking, T is composed of honorific T + occupational T.

[43] In addition, Mephibosheth gives deference to King David by employing a deprecatory self-
reference form, עַבְדְּךָ *ʿaḇdɛḵə* "your servant" (2 Sam 9:6, 8).

[44] Of course, this assumption can be justified only in ordinary circumstances. One can hardly
expect Jehu to abide by the norm of address usage when he intends to murder Jezebel in 2 Kgs 9:31.

the inequality of their status, and hence, it may be used as a helpful tool to determine their unequal power relations, which may be uncertain otherwise.

As many scholars have pointed out (e.g., Dallaire 2014, 24–25), the power relations among kings, prophets, and priests in the HB cannot be determined for certain by their occupations alone. However, their address exchange patterns may help us elucidate their relative status. Thus, the non-reciprocal pattern in which King Ahab addresses Micaiah the prophet by APN (##18–19) and receives T "the king" as a bound form of address (1 Kgs 22:15) demonstrates that Ahab views himself as superior to Micaiah.[45] Likewise, it is certain that King Saul views Ahimelech the priest as inferior to him, as he addresses Ahimelech by APN (#20) and receives Ts, "my lord" as a free form (1 Sam 22:12) and "the king" as a bound form (1 Sam 22:14).

The power relations of those in cases ##21–22 may not be determined by occupation or by address exchange pattern.[46] Rather, the speech context in which address exchange occurs is to be taken into consideration. At first glance, Abijah, the king of southern Judah, and Jeroboam, the king of northern Israel, may be regarded as equals on the basis of their occupations (#21). However, it must be noted that Abijah addresses Jeroboam by APN in the context of waging war, where it is likely that taunting

---

[45] In fact, Ahab never shows respect to any prophets in his time.
[46] The speakers receive no address.

insults are frequently exchanged. Thus, Abijah's use of APN towards Jeroboam may be viewed as condescending and intentionally "putting him in his place" by treating him as a servant (2 Chr 10:1ff). The fact that Abijah speaks of the divine legitimacy of both the Davidic dynasty and the Aaronic priests of southern Judah (2 Chr 13:5, 10) and rebukes Jeroboam for his rebellion and idolatry (2 Chr 13:6–9) also seems to support that he views himself as superior to Jeroboam.

In case #22, Jeremiah and Hananiah may be viewed as equals as both of them are prophets. However, Jeremiah's address to Hananiah by APN occurs in the context of prophesying his death in the name of YHWH.[47] As is widely recognized in biblical scholarship, when a true prophet acts on God's behalf, he stands above the human social hierarchy and is superior to any of its members (Thompson 1980, 540–541; Leithart 2006, 201).[48] Thus, it may be argued that Jeremiah, a representative of God, speaks as a superior to Hananiah in this situation.

The sixth column in Table 3-3 shows the distance dimension in the superior-inferior dyads. While the members in half of the dyads can be said to be closely related either by familial relationship (##1–3, 14–17) or by like-mindedness through frequent

---

[47] Note that Jeremiah's prophecy of Hananiah's death begins with a "messenger formula" כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *ko ʾɔmar yhwh* "Thus says YHWH" that confirms that the prophet's message is not his own, but a prophetic oracle from Yahweh (Jer 28:16).

[48] See, for example, the prophet Nathan rebukes King David for his adultery (2 Sam 12:1–15).

contact (##9–12), the members in the other half of the dyads are to be viewed as distant.

For example, in cases #4, #8, and #13, the relationship between the speakers (Jehoram,

Jezebel, and Abner) and the addressees (Jehu and Asahel) is not close, as the latter are

trying to kill the former. In case #5, David and Mephibosheth are strangers as they just

meet with the help of Ziba. In cases ##18–19, Ahab and Micaiah are distant, since Ahab

himself says that he hates Micaiah (1 Kgs 22:8). In case #21, Abijah and Jeroboam are

distant, as they are about to fight in battle. Considering all these cases, it appears that

there is little correlation between the power and distance dimensions in the superior-

inferior dyads. Therefore, Revell's (1996, 331) claim that the use of APN or HPN is

"normally restricted to family members and intimate associates" may not be

substantiated. As will be seen in §3.4.3.4, the family members and intimate associates are

normally addressed with KTs. The use of APN or HPN connotes simply the superiority of

the speaker in the superior-inferior dyads.[49]

---

[49] That the use of PN in address may mark the superiority of the speaker appears to be confirmed in the Hebrew letters dating to ca. 600 BCE in Judaea. Thirteen letters unearthed at Tel Arad were written from a superior to an inferior (Arad 1–8, 10–12, 14, 17), all of which begin with a simple address formula: ʾl + PN "to PN." This is in stark contrast to the address formula found in another Arad letter written from an inferior to a superior (Arad 18), in which an honorific T is inserted before PN: ʾl + honorific T + PN "to my lord PN." All the Lachish letters that contain address formulae appear to have been written from an inferior to a superior. All of them identify their recipients in the address formulae as either honorific T + PN (Lachish 2, 3, 6) or simply honorific T (Lachish 4, 5, 8, 9, 12, 17, 18).

Note, however, that there are two letters (Arad 21, 40) written by an inferior to a superior (presumably a son to his genetic father) in which the former greets and addresses the latter by PN, saying, "your son PN sends greetings to PN." These seem to constitute counterexamples to address usage of PN as a marker of the superiority of the speaker. It is not easy to explain why PN was used this way. Might there

3.4.1.2.2 Between Close Equals

There are five cases in which APNs are used in the seemingly close-equal dyads,

as can be seen in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4. APNs Used between Close Equals

#	Relationship	Speaker	Form	Semantic	D	Context	Scripture
1–4	Lover > Lover	Delilah	Samson	PN	c	Informing Samson of the Philistines' attack	Judg 16:9, 12, 14, 20
5	King > King	Jehoram	Ahaziah	PN	c	Informing Ahaziah of Jehu's revolt	2 Kgs 9:23

The close equal relationship between speech participants in these dyads can be deduced

from their personal relationship and occupations. In cases ##1–4, Delilah addresses

Samson by APN, informing him of the Philistines who came to seize him. While Revell

(1996, 332) thinks of these two as a married couple, there is no textual evidence for it. It

can be said, though, that their relationship is close since they are lovers.[50] With respect

to the power relation between the two lovers, Dallaire (2014, 75) describes Delilah as

"lesser" than Samson without providing any evidence for her description, while Revell

(1996, 332) views them as equals, saying, "spouses typically converse as equals." As

Lemos (2015, 241) observes, the HB generally portrays Israelite women as subordinate to

---

have been an epistolary convention which allowed an inferior to address a superior in his family by PN? Or might not the sender and the addressee have been biologically related but close enough to address each other by PN? For a detailed analysis of the epistolary formulae in these letters, see Pardee et al. 1982, 145–164.

[50] Strictly speaking, the text states that Samson loved her (Judg 16:4) but mentions nothing about her emotional attachment to him. Exum (2000, 69) takes this as a hint that Delilah did not love Samson and would have "no qualms about betraying him."

their husbands or fathers. However, Delilah does not seem to fit this general portrayal of Israelite women.[51] Rather, the story shows many signs of her socio-economic independence and strong personality: (1) Delilah is the only woman introduced by name in the Samson narrative; (2) unlike many other biblical women, she is not identified in terms of her relationships with male kin (cf. Gen 29:10); (3) she seems to have her own house and servants (Judg 16:9); (4) she deals with the Philistine lords without any male kin acting as a mediator (cf. Judg 15:1); (5) she manipulates and harasses Samson to bring him down.[52] In light of these factors, it is difficult to view Delilah as "lesser" than Samson, as Dallaire does. At the same time, it is equally difficult to think of Samson as socially inferior to Delilah, taking into account the general portrayal of the superiority of Israelite men over women in the HB. Thus, it seems logical to view Samson and Delilah as equals.[53]

Regarding address usage, Delilah's use of APN is unusual, as women hardly address men by APN or HPN in our corpus.[54] However, it seems that Delilah's use of APN

---

[51] The text is silent about Delilah's ethnicity, though many assume that she is a Philistine (e.g., Block [1999, 454]; Webb [2012, 399]).

[52] See Fewell (1996, 73) and Exum (2000, 68-69) for these observations. For the objections to the idea of Delilah's independence, see Blyth (2014, 56-57).

[53] Note that this decision is the same as Revell's but on different grounds.

[54] Women usually use T or KT to address men (e.g., "my lord," "king," "man of God," "my father," "my brother," "my son," "my husband," "my man"). Apart from Delilah's use of APN, there is only one case in which a woman uses HPN to address a man: Jezebel addresses Jehu as "Zimri, murderer of his lord!" (2 Kgs 9:31).

is not particularly offensive to Samson but normal in this situation (she addresses him by

APN four times throughout the narrative!). Samson never addresses Delilah back, but it

seems likely that he would have used APN or HPN to address her, as men often use APN

or HPN to address women (e.g., Gen 4:23; 1 Sam 1:8; Esth 5:3; 7:2; 8:7).[55] Thus, though it is

an argument from silence, this reconstruction might be used as an example to

demonstrate that Brown, Gilman, and Ford's address rule—the reciprocal exchange of PN

in the equal-close dyad—works in the HB.[56]

In case #5, Jehoram king of Israel addresses Ahaziah king of Judah by APN,

urgently informing him of Jehu's military coup and dynastic overthrow. Jehoram and

Ahaziah may be viewed as equals based on their royal status, though one may argue for

Jehoram's superiority over Ahaziah based on familial status (Jehoram is Ahaziah's

uncle).[57] Their relationship appears to be close, as they are not only relatives but allies in

a campaign against Hazael king of Aram at Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kgs 8:28).

---

[55] Samson might also have used KTs or ETs to address his lover Delilah, as can be seen in Song of Songs (e.g., אֲחֹתִי *ᵃḥoti* "my sister" [Song 4:9]; רַעְיָתִי *raʿyati* "my love" [Song 1:9]; יָפָתִי *yop̄ati* "my beautiful one" [Song 2:10], etc.).

[56] Compare this to Arad 16 in which a PN is used by Hananyahu to address his brother Elyashib, which may be considered an equal-close dyad.

[57] This is based on the traditional assumption that there were two different Jehorams in the ninth century BCE: Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat king of Judah and Jehoram the son of Ahab king of Israel (see, for example, Provan 1995, 206–7; Revell 1996, 332; Brueggemann 2000, 376). The former married Athaliah who was the daughter of Ahab (interpreting the phrase בַּת־עָמְרִי *baṭ-ʿomri* [lit. "daughter of Omri" in 2 Kgs 8:26 and 2 Chr 22:2] as "granddaughter of Omri") and the sister of the latter (2 Kgs 8:25, 29). Ahaziah was the son of Jehoram king of Judah and Athaliah (2 Kgs 8:25–26). Thus, Jehoram king of Israel was Ahaziah's uncle. Due to seeming discrepancies between the accounts of Kings and Chronicles, however, the

According to Brown, Gilman, and Ford, the reciprocal exchange of PN is expected in this type of dyad.[58] Unfortunately, Jehoram receives no address from Ahaziah to justify the validity of such a claim. Furthermore, there is no case of address exchange between kings or of that between uncle and nephew in our corpus that may shed light to the Jehoram-Ahaziah dyad. Thus, there is no way to tell how Ahaziah would have addressed Jehoram.[59]

---

genealogy of Jehoram and Ahaziah has been highly controversial. Many scholars have attempted to harmonize these discrepancies, offering alternatives to the traditional interpretation. For example, Hayes and Hooker (1988, 32–36) argue that Jehoram of Judah and Jehoram of Israel were actually the same person and Ahaziah was his son. While agreeing with Hayes and Hooker that the two Jehorams were the same person, Barrick (2001, 9–25) makes a case that Jehoram was Ahaziah's uncle. However, these alternatives are not entirely convincing, as the text in the book of Kings clearly presents Jehoram of Judah and Jehoram of Israel as two different individuals. Moreover, what is ultimately important for the study of address usage in the narrative is not necessarily the historical reality of the genealogy, but the ways in which the narrator presents it within a given narrative context. Thus, I follow the traditional interpretation which seems to adhere to the narrator's presentation faithfully.

[58] According to Lande (1949, 20), addressing someone by PN was considered impolite in ancient Israel, since PN was mostly used by a superior to address an inferior. She argues, however, that Jehoram's impolite use of PN when addressing Ahaziah was acceptable because it was used in an emergency situation. In response to Lande, Clines (1972, 273) states that Jehoram's address by PN is hardly impolite, but he offers no explanation as to why that is the case. If Jehoram and Ahaziah were equal and close, as I argued above, Jehoram's use of PN in that type of dyad is not necessarily impolite but is completely expected according to Brown, Gilman, and Ford's address rule.

[59] There are several cases in which a king addresses another king but the former never receives an address back. The address forms that the speaker uses vary according to his view of the relationship between himself and the addressee. To whom he views as a superior or the one worthy of respect, he uses a T (e.g., Adonijah addresses Solomon as "King Solomon" [1 Kgs 1:51]; Ahab addresses Ben-Hadad as "my lord the king" [1 Kgs 20:4]; Hiram addresses Solomon as "my lord" [2 Chr 2:14]; Jehoshaphat addresses Ahab as "the king" [1Kgs 22:8=2 Chr 18:7]; Pharaoh Necho addresses Josiah as "king of Judah" [2 Chr 35:21]); To whom he views as an inferior, he uses PN (e.g., Abijah addresses Jeroboam as "Jeroboam" in the context of war [2 Chr 13:4]); To whom he views as an equal, he uses KT (e.g., Hiram addresses Solomon as "my brother" [1 Kgs 9:13]).

There are a few cases in which address forms are used between nephew and uncle, but the speaker receives no address back in any of these cases. Furthermore, the uncle in every case is King David.

3.4.1.2.3 Inferior to Superior? The Cases of Expressive Shift

So far, I have argued that the use of APN or HPN in address may mark the

superiority of the speaker or possibly the closeness between equals. But there are three

cases in which APN or HPN is used in the seemingly inferior-superior dyads, as can be

seen in Table 3-5.

Table 3-5. APNs and HPNs Used by Inferiors to Superiors

#	Relationship	Speaker	Form	Semantic	D	Context	Scripture
1	Prophet > King	Jeremiah	Zedekiah, King of Judah	PN+T	d	Prophesying Zedekiah's death	Jer 34:4
2	Prophet > King	Azariah	Asa	PN	d?	Encouraging Asa to carry out religious reforms	2 Chr 15:2
3	Outlaw > Commander	David	Abner	PN	d	Accusing Abner of neglecting Saul	1 Sam 26:14

As discussed in cases ##18–19 in §3.4.1.2.1, the power relation between prophets and

kings cannot be determined by their occupations alone. Thus, some other factors, such as

address pattern or speech context, must be considered in order to determine the power

relation between the prophet Jeremiah and King Zedekiah. As we examine Jeremiah's

address usage, it seems most likely that he views Zedekiah as superior to himself under

normal circumstances. Apart from case #1, there is one more case in our corpus in which

Jeremiah addresses Zedekiah. As Jeremiah privately asks Zedekiah not to send him back

to the house of Jonathan the secretary, he addresses Zedekiah by honorific T +

Thus, King David and his nephews address each other not as relatives but as kings and subjects. For the cases in which Joab or Jonadab addresses King David, see 2 Sam 13:32, 33, 35; 14:22; 1 Chr 21:3. For the cases in which King David addresses Joab and Abishai, see 2 Sam 16:10 = 2 Sam 19:23.

occupational T, אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ᵃdoni hammɛlɛk̲* "O my lord the king!" (Jer 37:20). This compound

address is typically used by subjects to give deference to the king, conveying that the

king is of higher social status (e.g., Ebed-Melech, an Ethiopian eunuch, addresses

Zedekiah as "my lord the king" in Jer 38:9).[60] By using the deferential address, therefore,

Jeremiah acknowledges that he is a subject of Zedekiah who has authority over him.

There is no doubt that this kind of deferential address would have been Jeremiah's usual

way of addressing Zedekiah when talking about civil affairs.

In case #1, however, Jeremiah addresses Zedekiah by HPN, which may mark the

social superiority of the speaker.[61] Does this mean that Jeremiah speaks as a superior to

Zedekiah in this case? I answer this question affirmatively by taking into account the

speech context in which his address occurs. Jeremiah's use of HPN occurs in the context

of delivering Yahweh's message that King Zedekiah will die a peaceful death in Babylon

(Jer 34:5). He makes it clear that his message is not his own, but it originates from

Yahweh who sent him by using the so-called "messenger formula" כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *koʾ ᵊmar

yhwh* "Thus says YHWH" (Jer 34:2) and the "proclamation formula" שְׁמַע דְּבַר־יְהוָה *šmaʿ

d̲bar-yhwh* "Hear the word of Yahweh!" at the beginning of his speech (Jer 34:4). As seen

---

[60] For the usage of the compound address אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ, *ᵃdoni hammɛlɛk̲* see my discussion below in §3.4.2.2.1.2.

[61] In this case, the HPN may not connote the closeness between equals. The relationship between Jeremiah and Zedekiah does not seem to be close as Zedekiah puts him in prison (Jer 37:18).

in case #22 in §3.4.1.2.1, when a prophet speaks as God's spokesperson, he stands above the human social hierarchy, even the king. Thus, it can be said that as Jeremiah delivers Yahweh's message to Zedekiah in case #1, he positions himself over Zedekiah and addresses him by HPN as a superior.[62]

I would argue that this is a good example of what Brown and Gilman (1960, 270–273) call "expressive shift," that is, tactical violation of address rules to communicate the speaker's temporary attitudes toward the addressee. Jeremiah's usual address to Zedekiah would be an AT or an HT to give deference to his royal status (see §3.4.2.2.1). However, when he delivers Yahweh's message to Zedekiah, he momentarily switches his address from AT/HT to HPN to signal that Yahweh, who is above all human beings, is speaking, and hence, one must take heed of what he says.

Case #2 may also be viewed as an example of expressive shift. The prophet Azariah addresses King Asa by APN, encouraging him to carry out religious reforms. Again, that his message of encouragement is not his own is clear from 2 Chr 15:1, in which the Chronicler states that the spirit of God (רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים *ruᵃḥ ᵉlohim*) came upon Azariah. Thus, it can be argued that Azariah shows that he is in authority over King Asa

---

[62] Note that Yahweh consistently refers to Zedekiah by APN "Zedekiah" or HPN "Zedekiah king of Judah" throughout the book of Jeremiah (Jer 21:7; 24:8; 27:3; 32:4, 5; 44:30) but never by T + PN "King Zedekiah" which the narrator often uses to refer to him (Jer 37:3, 17, 18; 38:5, 14, 16). Thus, the way in which Jeremiah addresses Zedekiah in case #1 corresponds to the way in which Yahweh refers to him.

as God's spokesperson by choosing APN to address him. Unfortunately, there is no address used by Azariah elsewhere that might demonstrate his usual address usage for Asa. However, it seems reasonable to assume that he used an AT or HT, since all the other prophets who address kings in our corpus use an AT or an HT, except for Jeremiah's expressive shift in case #1 (Nathan addresses David as "the king" [1 Kgs 1:25] or "my lord the king" [1 Kgs 1:24, 27 (2x)]; 400 prophets address Ahab as "the king" [1 Kgs 22:6, 12 = 2 Chr 18:5, 11]; Micaiah addresses Ahab as "the king" [1 Kgs 22:15]; Jeremiah addresses Zedekiah as "O my lord the king!" (Jer 37:20); an unnamed man of God addresses Amaziah as "O king" [2 Chr 25:7]; Jahaziel addresses Jehoshaphat as "King Jehoshaphat" [2 Chr 20:15]).[63]

Finally, David's address of Abner by APN in case #3 might be another example of expressive shift. After stealing King Saul's spear and water jug near his head, David calls Abner by APN from the top of a hill, saying, "Will you not answer, Abner?" In terms of

---

[63] There is a possible case of expressive shift outside of our corpus. In 2 Chr 26:18, the priest Azariah and eighty other priests address King Uzziah by APN in the context of rebuking him for burning incense to Yahweh, which is for the priests to do. According to the Chronicler, Azariah and the other priests' rebuke is an expression of Yahweh's righteous anger upon Uzziah, who sinned against Yahweh out of his pride by entering his temple (2 Chr 26:28). Thus, it can be said that they are acting as superiors to King Uzziah on behalf of Yahweh by choosing APN to address him. Unfortunately, no address is made by Azariah and the other priests to King Uzziah elsewhere that might show their normal address usage for him. However, all the other priests who address kings in our corpus use an AT or an HT (e.g., Ahimelech addressed Saul as "my lord" [1 Sam 22:12] or "the king" [1 Sam 22:14, 15]; Abiathar addresses Adonijah "King Adonijah" [1 Kgs 1:25]). In light of these cases, though inconclusive, it seems probable that the priests address kings by AT or HT under normal circumstances.

occupation and family connections, Abner is Saul's commander-in-chief (1 Sam 14:50;

17:55) and his cousin (1 Sam 14:50), while David is a leader of outlaws (1 Sam 22:1–2;

23:13) and Saul's son-in-law (1 Sam 18:27). The last military position that David had held

before he left Saul's army was commander of a thousand (1 Sam 18:13). All these seem to

lead to the conclusion that Abner is superior to David. Thus, David's use of APN to

address Abner is surprising in light of its usual function, i.e., marking the superiority of

the speaker.[64]

Unfortunately, there is no evidence to show how David addressed Abner before

he fled from Saul. Considering their respective military ranks, however, it seems

reasonable to establish that he would have had to address Abner by either an AT, an HT,

or an ascending AKT,[65] similar to how Uriah the Hittite officer refers to Joab the

commander of the army as אֲדֹנִי יוֹאָב *ᵃḏoni yoʾāḇ* "my lord Joab" (2 Sam 11:11).[66] Then,

David's address shift from AT/HT to APN in this encounter may be viewed as his

deliberate attempt to express his feelings of contempt or anger toward Abner.[67] This

---

[64] The APN may not mark the closeness of the equals in this dyad, since David and Abner are hostile to each other.

[65] See §3.4.2.2.1 and §3.4.3.4.2.1 for the function of AT, HT, and ascending AKT and HKT to mark the superiority of the addressee.

[66] Biblical characters other than military officers also address military commanders by either AT or ascending AKT: Jael addresses Sisera as אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* "my lord" (Judg 4:18); a young prophet addresses Jehu as הַשָּׂר *haśśər* "commander" (2 Kgs 9:5); and the servants address Naaman as "my father" (2 Kgs 5:13).

[67] See Lande (1949, 20) and Revell (1996, 333) who also view David's use of APN as a sign of disrespect or insult.

interpretation is supported by the immediately following context in which David

rebukes Abner for failing to guard his master Saul when he slept (1 Sam 26:15–16).

From the narrative point of view, David's use of APN to address Abner seems to

convey more than temporary expressive significance. I would argue that it serves as a

turning point in their power relation in the narrative flow. The Book of Samuel records

three encounters between David and Abner. First, they meet after David's return from

his slaughter of Goliath (1 Sam 17:57). At that time, Abner did not even know whose son

David was (1 Sam 17:55): he was simply nobody. From then on, Abner appears to have

maintained superiority over David as the commander of the army. However, in their

second recorded encounter (case #3), David claims superiority over Abner as the king-

elect by addressing him by APN. Note that up to this point there was only one other

person who addressed Abner by APN, i.e., King Saul (1 Sam 17:55). After this, David and

Abner meet once more when they make a peace covenant after a war between the house

of Saul and the house of David. During this encounter, Abner himself acknowledges

David's superiority by addressing him as "my lord the king" (2 Sam 3:21). Thus, we

clearly see a progressive change in the power relation between David and Abner in

which David's address of Abner by APN functions as a hinge that radically overturns the

power dynamic.

3.4.1.3 Conclusion

Cross-linguistically, PNs are recognized for their relatively "specific and direct referentiality" vis-à-vis Ts or KTs which highlight positional or relational status (Fleming and Slotta [2015, 172]). PN (e.g., 'David') makes a direct reference to a particular individual, while T (e.g., 'King') or KT (e.g., 'my brother') may refer to more possible referents than PN does. According to Brown and Levinson's politeness theory, the more indirect is the more polite. Thus, PNs may be considered less polite than T or KT. Accordingly, the avoidance or restrictions of PNs when addressing superiors is attested in many languages and cultures and biblical Hebrew is no exception.[68] As can be seen in Figure 3-4, APNs and HPNs are almost exclusively used "downward," i.e., in the superior-inferior dyads, while there are a couple of cases in which APNs are used between close equals.[69] The address usage of APNs and HPNs, therefore, seems to be largely governed by

---

[68] For example, see the Appendix in Fleming and Slotta (2015, 179) for the result of a cross-cultural survey of the proper name-kin term alternation. Among the 35 speech communities surveyed, the avoidance of PNs in address in younger-older dyads is witnessed in 32 speech communities.

[69] The tendency to avoid PNs when addressing or even referring to superiors is also found in the Babylonian Talmud (Sanh. 100a), which reflects social practices during the Amoraic period (200–500 CE):

רב נחמן אמר זה הקורא רבו בשמו דאמר רבי יוחנן מפני מה נענש גיחזי מפני שקרא לרבו בשמו שנאמר
(מלכים ב ח) ויאמר גחזי אדני המלך זאת האשה וזה בנה אשר החיה אלישע

rb nḥmn ʾmr zh hqwrʾ rbw bšmw dʾmr rby ywḥnn mpny mh nʿnš gyḥzy mpny šqrʾ lrbw bšmw šnʾmr (mlkym b ḥ)
wyʾmr gḥzy ʾdny hmlk zʾt hʾšh wzh bnh ʾšr hḥyh ʾlyšʿ

---

the power relation between the speaker and the addressee. Marking the superiority of

the speaker, APNs and HPNs in BH seem to function as the *T* in Brown, Gilman, and Ford's

T/V system and confirm Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal." It must be also pointed

out that compound addresses in which a PN comes in the middle or at the end may

convey a different power relationship than APNs and HPNs. In other words, the first

constituent in an address, whether in a simple or compound address, may function as an

indicator of the power relation between the speaker and the addressee. The use of APNs

or HPNs in the seemingly inferior-superior dyads may be viewed as "expressive shifts,"

in which the speaker (or narrator) strategically violates the rules of address above to

show that he or she is in authority over the addressee.

Rav Naḥman said, "One who calls his teacher by his name (is an Apikoros), as Rabbi Yoḥanan said, 'Why was Gehazi punished? It is because he called his teacher by his name, as it is stated, "Gehazi said, 'My lord the king, this is the woman, and this is her son, whom Elisha revived'""" (2 Kgs 8:5).

In his answer to the question, "What is an Apikoros (i.e., one who denies the rabbinic tradition)?", Rav Naḥman points out that addressing a social superior, such as a teacher (רב *rb*), by PN alone is considered irreverent, implying that a title of respect (e.g., רבי *rby* 'Rabbi') is to be used with or without PN, instead. Rabbi Yoḥanan's explanation of the reason for Gehazi's punishment is not to be taken seriously, as he was cursed by Elisha because of his greed and lies on another occasion (2 Kings 5). However, it clearly reflects an Amoraic assumption about a sociolinguistic rule in northern Israel around the ninth century BCE: reference to a social superior by PN in his absence was disrespectful.
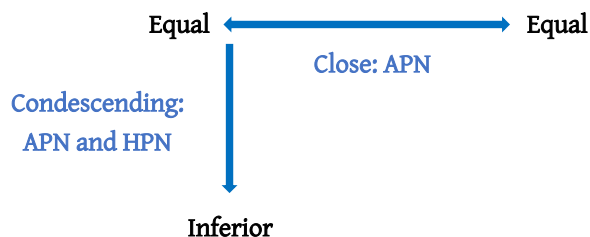
Figure 3-4. The Use of APNs and HPNs in the HB

3.4.2 Titles

Ts express a non-kinship-related status or position achieved by or ascribed to an individual (Fitch 1998, 39). When they are used in address in BH, they may be divided into two types according to their nature and function: honorific T and occupational T (see §2.2.2.1.1.1 in Chapter 2). Honorific T is a conventional term that conveys the speaker's deference for the addressee who has power over him/her by virtue of rank, status, or age (e.g., אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* 'my lord!'), while occupational T designates an addressee's profession or function (e.g, הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* 'O king!'). As we shall see below, not only honorific Ts but also occupational Ts almost invariably mark some kind of respect toward the addressee and/or formality of relationship.

3.4.2.1 Position and Distribution

There are three address types in which Ts are used: (1) a T used alone (e.g., הַשַּׂר *haśśər* "Commander!"); (2) a T used at the beginning of a compound address (e.g., אֲדֹנִי מֹשֶׁה

135

ˣᵃḏoni mošɛ "My lord Moses!"); (3) a T used at the end of a compound address (e.g., אֶסְתֵּר

הַמַּלְכָּה ˀɛster hammalkə "Queen Esther!"). As seen below, the first two types—address

forms composed of a T alone (henceforth, ATs) and compound addresses headed by a T

(henceforth, HTs)—are treated together in this section since they convey the same power

relationship between the speaker and the addressee in our corpus. The third type has

only three examples (Jer 34:4; Esth 5:3; 7:2), in which a T is always preceded by a PN.

These cases have already been accounted for in §3.4.1.2.1 and §3.4.1.2.3.

There are thirty-five cases of AT and twenty-two cases of HT in our corpus. These

cases account for about 39% of the total free forms of address used between two human

beings. Therefore, ATs and HTs are attested twice more frequently than APNs and HPNs.

Table 3-6 shows the distribution of ATs and HTs according to the books of the HB. As can

be seen in this table, most of them are concentrated in Samuel and Kings where the

speakers' interactions with high officials (kings, prophets, priests, military commanders)

abound. In Genesis through Numbers, where there are only a few dialogues involving

these officials, only the honorific T אֲדֹנִי ˣᵃḏoni "my lord" is attested.

Table 3-6. ATs and HTs in Each Book of the Hebrew Bible

Book	# of ATs	# of HTs
Genesis	4	
Numbers	1	1
Judges	2	
1 Samuel	8	2
2 Samuel	4	5
1 Kings	4	6
2 Kings	7	4
Jeremiah		2
Amos	1	
Ruth	1	
Esther	1	
1 Chronicles		1
2 Chronicles	2	1
Total	35	22

3.4.2.2 Pattern

3.4.2.2.1 Inferior to Superior

As in the case of PNs, the most conspicuous pattern of ATs and HTs also lies in power relations, but in the other direction: the absolute majority of them are used by inferiors to superiors.[70] Fifty-five out of fifty-seven cases of ATs and HTs come from the inferior-superior dyads.

3.4.2.2.1.1 ATs

Table 3-7 shows ATs used by inferiors to superiors.

---

[70] Revell (1996, 326) also detects this tendency.

Table 3-7. ATs Used by Inferiors to Superiors

#	Form	Speaker	Addressee	Scripture	#	Form	Speaker	Addressee	Scripture
1–2	My lord	Ephron	Abraham	Gen 23:11, 15	19	King	Ehud	Eglon	Judg 3:19
3		Rebekah	Abraham's servant	Gen 24:18	20		Abner	Saul	1 Sam 17:55
4		Judah	Joseph	Gen 44:18	21		David	Saul	1 Sam 26:22
5		Aaron	Moses	Num 12:11	22		Tekoaite Woman	David	2 Sam 14:4
6–8		Hannah	Eli	1 Sam 1:15, 26 (2x)	23		Araunah	David	2 Sam 24:23
9		Jael	Sisera	Judg 4:18	24		Hushai	Absalom	2 Sam 15:34
10		Ahimelech	Saul	1 Sam 22:12	25		Esther	Xerxes	Esth 7:3
11–12		Abigail	David	1 Sam 25:24, 26	26		Prophet	Amaziah	2 Chr 25:7
13		Bathsheba	David	1 Kgs 1:17	27–28	Commander	Prophet-in-training	Jehu	2 Kgs 9:5 (2x)
14		Prostitute	Solomon	1 Kgs 3:17	29–31	Man of God	Captain	Elijah	2 Kgs 1:9, 11, 13
15		Prostitute	Solomon	1 Kgs 3:26	32		Widow	Elijah	1 Kgs 17:18
16		Prophet	Elisha	2 Kgs 6:5	33	King's son	Jonadab	Amnon	2 Sam 13:4
17		Servant	Elisha	2 Kgs 6:15					
18		Ruth	Boaz	Ruth 2:13					

The honorific T, אֲדֹנִי *ʾăḏoni* "my lord!", is the most frequently used AT in our corpus.[71]

While it may be used by a servant to address his/her master as in case #17, it is much more commonly attested in interactions between social inferiors and superiors who have no literal servant-master relationship.[72] Thus, אֲדֹנִי is used by: (a) a local landowner to a

---

[71] גְּבִירָה *gḇirə* "lady, queen, queen-mother," the female counterpart of אָדוֹן *ʾəḏon* "lord, master," is never attested as an address form in our corpus, though it is occasionally used in reference (e.g., 2 Kgs 5:3).

[72] Lande (1949, 29) suggests that אֲדֹנִי was used first in the servant-master dyads, but through metaphorical extension, it came to be used as an expression of courtesy by the speaker to whomever he/she wanted to show deference. She finds a similar development in the French *Monsieur*, which literally means "my lord." It was originally used for the eldest brother of the king in the French royal court but has now become a courtesy title, equivalent to *Mr.* or *Sir* in English.

Like KTs, אָדוֹן *ʾəḏon* "lord/master" is essentially a term of relation, designating the superior in a master-servant relationship. Thus, like KTs used in address (see below), אָדוֹן is always used in address with the first-person possessive pronoun, -יָ *-i* "my." As Revell (1996, 326) argues, the speaker's use of אֲדֹנִי might imply that he/she wishes to appeal to his/her personal relationship with the addressee in order to receive a favor. In some cases, however, אֲדֹנִי seems to function merely as a term of politeness (e.g., Rebekah's use of אֲדֹנִי for Abraham's servant, who is a total stranger in Gen 24:18).

prominent foreigner (##1–2);[73] (b) a young girl to an elderly wealthy stranger (##3, 18);[74]

(c) a Hebrew man to the vizier of Egypt (#4);[75] (d) the high priest to a national leader

(#5);[76] (e) a woman to a priest (##6–8); (f) a woman to the commander of the army (#9);

(g) a woman to a leader of outlaws (##11–12); (h) a disciple to his teacher (#16);[77] (i) a

servant to a prophet (#17); (j) a variety of people (priest [#10], king's wife [#13],

prostitute [##14–15]) to their kings. Most of these cases occur when the speaker

explicitly requests a favor from the addressee (##1–2, 4–5, 9, 11–13, 15), while the other

cases are attested in the context of offering a drink (#3), informing (##7–8), responding

(#10), claiming (#14), reporting (##16–17), and thanking (#18). In all these cases, it is clear

that the speaker wishes to acknowledge the superior social status of the addressee.

---

[73] The Hittites refer to Abraham as נְשִׂיא אֱלֹהִים *nśi(ʾ) ʾlohim* "a prince of God" in Gen 23:6. While the precise connotation of this phrase is debatable, it is certain that they view Abraham as an individual of some importance despite his identification of himself as גֵּר־וְתוֹשָׁב *ger-wtošob* "resident alien" (Gen 23:4). As Hamilton (1995, 129) points out, Abraham's interactions with Pharaoh (Genesis 12) and Abimelech (Genesis 20) might have led the Hittites to consider him as royal. For the interpretation of אֱלֹהִים as conveying a superlative sense, see Davidson (1942, 49) and Thomas (1953, 219).

[74] Rebekah's use of honorific T might have been caused by the fact that Abraham's servant looks much older than her (זָקֵן *zqan* "old" in Gen 24:2) or that he looks wealthy as he has ten camels and all sorts of luxuries (Gen 24:10). Similarly, Ruth's use of honorific T might have been caused by Boaz's age or wealth.

[75] Apparently, Judah does not know that the vizier is his brother Joseph.

[76] Aaron the high priest is the elder brother of Moses. His use of honorific T to address Moses may be explained as what Brown and Levinson call a negative politeness strategy in which he desires to appease Moses's anger by humbling himself and exalting Moses. However, it may also indicate that occupational status prevailed over age or family hierarchy in the determination of deference at that time.

[77] The disciple is referred to as one of בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים *bne hannbiʾim* "the sons of the prophets" (2 Kgs 6:1, 3). See below for the meaning of "the sons of the prophets."

Like the honorific T אֲדֹנִי, occupational Ts also seem to mark the superior status of the addressee.[78] הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* "O king!" is normally used by subjects (queen [#25], prophet [#26], military commander [#20], outlaw/king's son-in-law [#21], and civilians [##22–23]), almost always in the context of requesting (##21–23, 25–26).[79] It is also used by Israelites to address a foreign king (#19) and a usurper (#24). In both cases, הַמֶּלֶךְ occurs when the speakers (Ehud and Hushai) begin to unfold their secret plans to deceive these kings. While the speakers' use of this particular address form might simply reflect the conventional address usage before kings at that time, it might also be viewed as a deliberate strategy to convince the kings that they were faithful subjects under their authority.[80]

---

[78] Unlike the honorific T אָדוֹן *ʾoḏon* "lord/master" (or KTs), which is a term of relation, occupational T is normally incompatible with the first-person possessive pronoun, ־ִי *-i* "my," when used in address between two human beings. Thus, for example, מַלְכִּי *malki* "my king" is never used in address in the HB, except when it is used to address God in two poetic passages (Ps 5:2; 84:3).

[79] The king as the head of a nation is superior to all the citizens of it. Thus, the non-reciprocal pattern of address exchange between the king and his subjects is consistently attested in our corpus: the king typically receives Ts (honorific T אֲדֹנִי, occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ, or a combination of both אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ) from his subjects, while he addresses them by PN. There is no case in our corpus in which the king's subjects address him by PN, except when the prophet or the priest delivers the message of God to him (see §3.4.1.2.3).

[80] Strictly speaking, the address form הַמֶּלֶךְ in #25 does not come directly from Hushai, but from David who dictates to him the exact script he is to use when he comes before Absalom. This seems to further support the possibility that the use of הַמֶּלֶךְ was part of a deliberate strategy to deceive Absalom. When Hushai encounters Absalom later, he indeed addresses Absalom as הַמֶּלֶךְ, but as a bound form of address (יְחִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *yḥi hammɛlɛḵ* "Long live *the king*!" [2 Sam 16:16]), not as a free form of address.

הַשָּׂר *haśśər* "O commander!" is used by an unnamed man sent by Elisha to address

Jehu as he asks Jehu for a private meeting to anoint him king over Israel (##27–28). In

terms of occupation, Jehu is a military commander,[81] presumably in charge of Jehoram's

army (Miller and Hayes [2006, 323]), while the unnamed man is referred to as אַחַד מִבְּנֵי

הַנְּבִיאִים *ʾaḥaḏ mibbne hannḇiʾim* "one of the sons of the prophets" (2 Kgs 9:1). The term בְּנֵי

הַנְּבִיאִים has been traditionally understood to denote the members of an organized guild of

prophetic disciples under the leadership of great prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha.[82] If

this is correct, the unnamed man would have been a prophet in training under Elisha.[83]

---

[81] Jehu is said to be one of שָׂרֵי הַחַיִל *śəre haḥayil* "the army commanders" in 2 Kgs 9:5. While the term שַׂר may be used to refer to any of the civil, religious, and military leadership positions (BDB, 978–79; *HALOT*, 1350–53), the modifier הַחַיִל makes it clear that Jehu's leadership role lay in the military context. For a detailed discussion of the etymology and semantics of the term שַׂר, see Fox (2000, 158–63), who argues that the term *śr* branched out in three directions: (1) in Mesopotamia it was restricted to refer exclusively to a king (e.g., *šarru* in Akkadian); (2) in Egypt it broadened to refer to "prince," "noble," "royal official," "military official and magistrate"; (3) in Israel it covered the same meanings as in Egypt but was frequently followed by a qualifying substantive denoting particular duties.

[82] The earliest attestation of this view is found in the works of Josephus, who uses the word μαθητής "disciple" to refer to both Elisha who was left behind by Elijah (*A.J.* 9.28) and the unnamed man sent by Elisha to anoint Jehu (*A.J.* 9.106). For modern scholars who hold this view, see, for example, Gray (1963, 384), Williams (1966, 345), Verhoef (1997, 4:1070), and Brueggemann (2000, 250). Note that the phrase בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים occurs eleven times in the HB (1 Kgs 20:35; 2 Kgs 2:3, 5, 7, 15; 4:1, 38 [2x]; 5:22; 6:1; 9:1), all of which describe northern prophets and all but the first occur in connection with the prophet Elisha. Thus, it has been argued that בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים during the time of Elijah and Elisha are to be distinguished from the earlier groups of prophets during the time of Samuel and Saul who are called חֶבֶל נְבִיאִים *ḥɛḇɛl nḇiʾim* "a band of prophets" (1 Sam 10:5, 10) and לַהֲקַת הַנְּבִיאִים *lahᵃqaṯ hannḇiʾim* "the company of the prophets" (1 Sam 19:20). For this argument, see Verhoef (1997, 4:1070) and Witherington (1999, 102).

[83] See Hobbs (1985, 24–27), however, who argues that בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים were "lay supporters" of Elisha rather than a guild of prophetic disciples under his leadership.

The unnamed man is also called הַנַּעַר *hannaʿar* (2 Kgs 9:4).[84] While BDB (2003, 654–55) gives "boy, lad, youth" as primary definitions of the term נַעַר, it is used to cover a wide range of age-groups in Israelite society: an unborn child (Judg 13:5, 7, 8, 12), an infant (Exod 2:6), a child recently weaned (1 Sam 1:24), a seventeen-year-old youth (Gen 37:2), a thirty-year-old adult (Gen 41:12), and Ziba who must have been a seasoned man with fifteen sons and twenty servants (2 Sam 9:9–10; 16:1; 19:18). Furthermore, Leeb's (2000, 66–67) contextual study shows that נַעַר is not primarily an age term but a term for social status mostly used for individuals who are independent of their family but are attached to the house of their master to perform services of various types. In the narrative, they are depicted as secondary characters in that their names or genealogies are rarely mentioned and their primary responsibilities are to build up the house of their masters, not of themselves nor of their own fathers.[85] Thus, the unnamed man in ##27–28

---

[84] In the MT, the unnamed man is referred to as הַנַּעַר הַנַּעַר הַנָּבִיא *hannaʿar hannaʿar hannoḇiʾ* lit. "the lad, the lad, the prophet." The repetition of הַנַּעַר is awkward. The second הַנַּעַר may be the result of dittography (note that some manuscripts of the Septuagint and the Peshitta have only one הַנַּעַר, reading הַנַּעַר הַנָּבִיא as two nouns in apposition, "the lad [that is] the prophet"), or it may be the construct noun with the definite article mistakenly added due to the preceding הַנַּעַר (note that Targum Jonathan and the Vulgate removed the definite article of the second הַנַּעַר, reading "the lad, the prophet's lad"). While the first option cannot be ruled out, I prefer the second one, as it seems to correspond better to the traditional understanding of the meaning of בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים.

[85] For other principal works on the term נַעַר, see MacDonald (1976, 169), who defines נַעַר as "squire" or "young knight"; Stähli (1978), who proposes two sematic domains for נַעַר: "servant" and "unmarried dependent"; Stager (1985, 25), who connects נַעַר to a young, unmarried male who takes a career path in the military, government, or priesthood until he marries and becomes head of a household, like the aristocratic youth of the 12th-century France.

may be described as Elisha's "aide" who performs the tasks he receives from his master, such as anointing Jehu.

Taking into account their occupations and social statuses, it seems most likely that Jehu is socially superior to the unnamed man. Thus, the unnamed man's use of the occupational T הַשָּׂר to address Jehu may be viewed as a polite address to give deference to a social superior.[86] This view can be further supported by the fact that the unnamed man no longer uses occupational T in his anointing speech to Jehu but consistently addresses him with the second-person pronoun (מְשַׁחְתִּיךָ *mšaḥtiḵə* "I anoint *you*" [2 Kgs 9:6]; וְהִכִּיתָה *whikkitə* "*you* shall strike down"; אֲדֹנֶיךָ *ᵃdonɛḵə* "*your* master" [2 Kgs 9:7]). I would argue that the unnamed man's refrain from the use of occupational T in his speech was deliberate in order to show that he anoints Jehu as the representative of God and thus he is no longer inferior to Jehu, but in fact, superior to him.[87]

אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים *ʾiš hə-ᵉlohim* "man of God" is used to address the prophet Elijah in the northern kingdom of Israel:[88] a captain of fifty men addresses him as אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים as he

---

[86] Note that שר is also used as a bound form to address a superior in Meṣad Ḥashavyahu (lines 1 and 12). The superiority of the addressee is clear as שר is preceded by אדני in line 1. The addressee might have been either the local commander or the district governor located elsewhere (Pardee et al. 1982, 21).

[87] Note that the unnamed man begins his speech with the so-called prophetic messenger formula, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *ko ʾəmar yhwh* "Thus says YHWH," which signals that his message is not his own, but Yahweh's (2 Kgs 9:6). See my discussion of #1 in §3.4.1.2.3.

[88] Note that Elisha is addressed as "man of God" in 2 Kgs 4:40 as well. However, it was excluded from our corpus, since it is addressed by more than one person.

delivers the king's message to come down from a hilltop (##29–31); the widow of

Zarephath addresses him with the same T as she complains about her son's death (#32).

As Revell (1996, 326) rightly assumes, there is no question about the superior status of

Elijah over a captain of fifty men or the widow of Zarephath.[89]

בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ *bɛn-hammɛlɛk* "son of the king, prince" is used by Jonadab to address

Amnon, who was obsessed with his half-sister Tamar to the point of making himself ill

over her (#33 in Table 3-7). Amnon was the eldest son of King David (2 Sam 3:2) and the

presumptive heir to the throne. Thus, בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ, an occupational T derived from genealogy

and reserved for members of the royal family, is fitting for Amnon.[90] Jonadab was the son

---

[89] Ahaziah, the king of Israel, dispatches to Elijah three captains at different times, each of whom is referred to as שַׂר. Their inferior status compared to Elijah is clearly demonstrated when the third one falls on his knees as he entreats him to come down from a hilltop.

[90] In the HB, the term בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ is attested in reference to nine men. Often it is used explicitly for known sons of a king: Amnon son of David (2 Sam 13:4); Absalom son of David (2 Sam 18:12, 20); Solomon son of David (Ps 72:1); Joash son of Ahaziah (2 Kgs 11:4 = 2 Chr 23:3, 11); Jotham son of Azariah (2 Kgs 15:5). In four instances, however, the term is used for those whose genealogy is uncertain: Joash (1 Kgs 22:26 = 2 Chr 18:25); Jerahmeel (Jer 36:26); Malchiah (Jer 38:6); Maaseiah (2 Chr 28:7).

Ever since Clermont-Ganneau (1888, 33–36) first suggested that the term בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ can refer to minor administrative officials not of royal blood, the proposal was embraced by subsequent scholars without serious critique (e.g., Diringer [1934, 232–3]; De Vaux [1965, 119–20]; Yeivin [1965, 160]; Brin [1969, 433–65]). However, this long-standing consensus was challenged by Rainey (1975, 427–32), who showed both from Hebrew sources and Hittite practices as reflected in cuneiform texts from el-Amarna and Boghazköy that the bearers of the title בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ in ancient Israel were sons of the monarch only. Rainey's view has been adopted and expanded by Avigad (1978; 55; 1986, 28); Lemaire (1979, 59–65); Barkay (1993, 110–12), Avishur and Heltzer (2000, 62–74), and Fox (2000, 43–53). Avishur and Heltzer, for example, argue that the term בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ designates the position/status of a person who could not only be an actual son of the reigning king, but also any member of royal genealogy, such as the king's nephews and their descendants. I find their argument to be most convincing, as there is no Israelite material that contains an example of a בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ whose origin is clearly non-royal.

of Shimeah (2 Sam 13:3), David's elder brother (1 Chr 2:13), which makes him a cousin to Amnon. No information is given about Jonadab's occupation, except that he is referred to as Amnon's "friend" (רֵעַ *reᵃ*) and a "very wise man" (אִישׁ חָכָם מְאֹד *ʾîš ḥɔḵɔm mˀoḏ* [2 Sam 13:3]). While רֵעַ in this instance may simply denote a friend (Anderson 1989, 174), it is also possible that it is a court title for a royal counselor, such as רֵעֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ *reᶜɛ hammɛlɛḵ* lit. "king's friend," who played an official role as the king's counselor (e.g., Hushai, David's counselor [1 Chr 27:33; cf 2 Sam 15:37; 16:16] and Zabud, Solomon's counselor [1 Kgs 4:5]).[91] The narrator's additional depiction of Jonadab as a "wise man" seems to make the interpretation of רֵעַ as a title for counselor more likely (Alter 2013, 495). Based on Amnon and Jonadab's personal relations and occupations, therefore, it is clear that Amnon is socially superior to Jonadab.[92] Thus, Jonadab's use of occupational T בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ to address Amnon may be viewed as a polite address to give deference to a social superior.

---

[91] Van Selms (1957, 119) is the first who suggested that רֵעַ in this instance functions as an official title. For detailed studies of the meaning and use of רֵעֶה הַמֶּלֶךְ, see Donner (1961, 260–77); Mettinger (1971, 63–69), and Fox (2000, 121).

[92] Even if we take the term רֵעַ to denote a "friend," it does not automatically guarantee that Amnon and Jonadab are socially equal. A close relation could develop between two men in ancient Israel who are not of equal status. For example, the relationship between Jonathan and David has traditionally been interpreted as a platonic friendship (e.g., see Guttmacher 1903, 5:520–21). In their dialogue, however, David consistently refers to himself as עַבְדְּךָ *ʿaḇdɛḵɔ* "your servant" (e.g., 1 Sam 20:7, 8 [2x]), while Jonathan addresses David by APN (1 Sam 20:12, 15). The non-reciprocal exchange of self-referential and address terms between these two clearly demonstrates that they remained close friends despite being socially unequal in status. For the deferential use of the self-referential terms in the book of Samuel, see Kim (2015, 588–605).

3.4.2.2.1.2 HTs

Like ATs, HTs may mark the superior status of the addressee. As can be seen in

Table 3-8, there are two types of HTs in our corpus: those headed by the honorific T אֲדֹנִי

(##1–21) and those headed by the occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ (#22).

Table 3-8. HTs Used by Inferiors to Superiors

#	Form	Speaker	Addressee	Scripture
1–2		David	Saul	1 Sam 24:9; 26:17
3–5		Bathsheba	David	1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20
6		Nathan	David	1 Kgs 1:24
7–8		Joab	David	2 Sam 14:22; 1 Chr 21:3
9–10		Tekoaite Woman	David	2 Sam 14:9, 19
11		Mephibosheth	David	2 Sam 19:27
12	My lord the king	Ziba	David	2 Sam 16:4
13		Ahab	Ben-Hadad	1 Kgs 20:4
14		Servant	King of Aram	2 Kgs 6:12
15		Woman	King of Israel	2 Kgs 6:26
16		Gehazi	King of Israel	2 Kgs 8:5
17		Jeremiah	Zedekiah	Jer 37:20
18		Ebed-Melech	Zedekiah	Jer 38:9
19	My lord man of God	Woman	Elisha	2 Kgs 4:16
20	My lord Moses	Joshua	Moses	Num 11:28
21	My lord Elijah	Obadiah	Elijah	1 Kgs 18:7
22	King Jehoshaphat	Jahaziel	Jehoshaphat	2 Chr 20:15

When the honorific T אֲדֹנִי comes at the head of a HT, it is most frequently followed by the

occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛk* "the king" (##1–18).[93] As in the cases where הַמֶּלֶךְ is used

alone, אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ is normally used for kings by their subjects (outlaw [##1–2]; king's wife

[##3–5]; prophet [##6, 17]; commander [##7–8]; woman [##9–10, 15]; son of king's friend

[#11]; servant [##12, 14, 16]; eunuch [#18]) in a variety of contexts (calling [#1];

responding [#2]; requesting [##3–5, 9, 12, 15, 17]; informing [##6, 10–11, 14, 16, 18];

---

[93] Lande (1949, 32) counts seventeen cases of אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ, but I count eighteen of them.

thanking [#7]; opposing [#8]).[94] There is one case, however, in which Ahab king of Israel

addresses Ben-Hadad king of Aram as אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ (#13), as the former acknowledges the

latter's sovereignty over him (1 Kgs 20:4).[95]

In sociolinguistics, it is commonly assumed that the level of deference the

speaker shows to the addressee increases as the number of appositional honorific titles

used by the speaker increases (Aliakbari 2008, 9). Thus, it can be said that when the

occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ is used together with the honorific T אֲדֹנִי, the degree of deference

that the speaker gives to the king increases. The speaker not only acknowledges the

superior position of the king with the use of the occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ, but further

expresses his/her respect for him with the use of the honorific T אֲדֹנִי.[96]

The honorific T אֲדֹנִי may also be followed by the occupational T אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים *'iš*

hɔʾlohim "man of God" (#19), which is used as an address form only for Elijah and Elisha

in the HB (see 3.4.2.2.1.3 below). After the prophet Elisha tells the Shunammite woman

---

[94] As Lande (1949, 32) perceptively observes, הַמֶּלֶךְ as an address form is particularly prevalent in older texts (1x in Judges; 2x in 1 Samuel; 3x in 2 Samuel; 1x in Esther; 1x in 2 Chronicles), while אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ frequently occurs in later texts (2x in 1 Samuel; 5x in 2 Samuel; 5x in 1 Kings; 3x in 2 Kings; 2x in Jeremiah; 1x in 1 Chronicles). Compare, for example, the Tekoaite woman's cry for help to King David, הוֹשִׁעָה הַמֶּלֶךְ, *hošiʿɔ hammɛlɛḵ* "Save, O king!" (2 Sam 14:4) with a woman's cry for help to the unnamed king of Israel הוֹשִׁיעָה אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *hošiʿɔ ʾdoni hammɛlɛḵ* "Save, my lord the king!" (2 Kgs 6:26).

[95] Note that after Israel's victory at the battle of Samaria and Aphek, Ahab refers to Ben-Hadad as his "brother," treating him as an equal (1 Kgs 20:32). This is one of the rare examples which demonstrates that the speaker may choose different forms of address as the situation changes over time, as seen in §3.2 (f).

[96] Examples equivalent to compound address composed of honorific T + occupational T include "Mr. President" in English and *Monsieur le Président* in French.

that she will have a son in return for her kindness to him, she addresses him as אֲדֹנִי אִישׁ

הָאֱלֹהִים as she asks him not to give her false expectations (2 Kgs 4:16). By using this

compound address composed of honorific T + occupational T, she increases the level of

deference towards Elisha compared to when either T is used alone. By doing so, she not

only acknowledges Elisha's superior status as the prophet of Yahweh but also expresses

her deference towards him.

There are two cases in which the honorific T אֲדֹנִי is followed by a PN (##20–21). In

both cases, the superior status of the addressee over the speaker is clear. Joshua, who

addresses Moses as אֲדֹנִי מֹשֶׁה *ᵃḏoni mošɛ* "my lord Moses!", is his assistant (מְשָׁרֵת מֹשֶׁה *mǝšorɛṯ*

mošɛ "the assistant of Moses" [Num 11:28]). Obadiah is a high administrative official in

Ahab's court (אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַבָּיִת *ᵃšɛr ʿal-habbɔyiṯ* "a minister over the royal house" [1 Kgs

18:3]).[97] However, his use of the honorific T אֲדֹנִי for Elijah, along with the narrator's

description that he is a fearer of Yahweh (1 Kgs 18:3), clearly indicates that he fully

recognizes Elijah's spiritual authority as the prophet of Yahweh.

I have shown in §3.4.1.2 that APNs and HPNs mark the superiority of the speaker.

Thus, one might wonder if the use of a PN in the second position of compound addresses,

such as the cases above, is appropriate for the superior addressee. For this, I would argue

---

[97] For a full discussion of the rank, functions, and jurisdiction of the bearers of the title אֲשֶׁר עַל־
הַבָּיִת, see Fox (2000, 81–96).

that the fronting of the honorific T אֲדֹנִי presumably keeps the addressee from possibly

feeling that the speaker's use of PN is presumptuous. This word order may explain why

there is no indication in the text that Moses was offended by Joshua's address nor Elijah

by Obadiah's address.

There is one case in which the occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ is followed by a PN in address

(#22). Jahaziel addresses Jehoshaphat as הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹשָׁפָט *hammɛlɛḵ yhošəp̄aṭ* "King

Jehoshaphat!", as he encourages him to go out to battle against Moab and Ammon (2 Chr

20:15–17). Nothing is known about Jahaziel, except that he was a Levite of the family of

Asaph (2 Chr 20:14) who served as the chief temple musician in David's time (1 Chr 16:5).

Therefore, it may be safely assumed that Jahaziel was among the Levitical musicians in

Jehoshaphat's court, and hence, Jehoshaphat was superior to Jahaziel. Then, as in the

cases where the occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ is used alone, Jahaziel's use of compound address

headed by the occupational T הַמֶּלֶךְ may be viewed as expressing his respect for King

Jehoshaphat.

3.4.2.2.1.3 Excursus: אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים VS. נָבִיא

Revell (1996, 164) contends that נָבִיא *nəḇiʾ* "speaker, spokesman, prophet" and אִישׁ

הָאֱלֹהִים *ʾiš hăʾlohim* "man of God" are free variants. His contention, however, results from

failing to recognize the distinction between their referential and address usages.[98] As Zwicky (1974, 790) observes, there are words that may be used referentially but not as an address, such as 'physician,' 'assistant professor,' or 'person' in English (compare 'doctor,' 'professor,' or 'man,' which can be used in address instead of these, respectively).[99] A similar phenomenon might be seen in the use of נָבִיא, which is the most common term for prophets in the HB (317x).[100] Generally speaking, it functions as a professional designation used not only for the prophets of Yahweh (e.g., Samuel [1 Sam 3:20]) but also for false prophets (e.g., Hananiah [Jer 28:1]) and pagan prophets (e.g., the prophets of Baal and Asherah [1 Kgs 18:19]).[101] It is widely used as a referential term throughout the HB but is never used in address.[102]

In contrast, אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים, the second most common term for prophets, only designates someone who acts under Yahweh's power and authority and is used both as a

---

[98] A term of reference is a linguistic expression by which speaker A *refers to* or *talks about* B in communication with C, whereas a term of address is a linguistic item by which speaker A *addresses* B in a one-on-one interaction.

[99] Conversely, some terms are used in address, but never in reference, such as "Sir!"

[100] For the etymology and semantics of נָבִיא, see Müller (1974, 9:130–35); Jeremias (1997, 2:697); Verhoef (1997, 4:1065).

[101] See Jeremias (1997, 2:700), who views נָבִיא as a professional designation.

[102] The distribution of the word נָבִיא is uneven. It occurs most often in prophetic books (especially in Jeremiah [95x]) and the older historical books (especially in Kings [84x]), while less often in the Pentateuch (14x) and poetic books (3x).

referential (71x) and address term (5x).[103] Table 3-9 shows the distribution of נָבִיא and

אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים in the HB.[104]

Table 3-9. The Distribution of נָבִיא and אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים in the HB

	Reference	Address
נָבִיא	X	--
אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	X	X

When אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים is used as an address term, it exclusively applies to Elijah and Elisha

(#30–33 in Table 3-7 and #19 in Table 3-8). Thus, it is necessary to focus on the Elijah-

Elisha narrative (1 Kings 17–2 Kings 13) in order to see more clearly how נָבִיא and אִישׁ

הָאֱלֹהִים are used in reference and in address within the narrative. Just as אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים is

exclusively used for Elijah and Elisha in address, it is exclusively used for Elijah and

Elisha in reference as well. No one except for Elijah and Elisha is referred to as אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים

---

[103] Twelve individuals are referred to or addressed as אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים in the HB (with or without the article before אֱלֹהִים): Moses (Deut 33:1; Josh 14:6; Ps 90:1; Ezra 3:2; 1 Chr 23:14; 2 Chr 30:16); the messenger of Yahweh who appeared to Manoah's wife (Judg 13:6; 8); the man who delivered Yahweh's judgment message to Eli (1 Sam 2:27); Samuel (1 Sam 9:6, 7, 8, 10); Shemaiah (1 Kgs 12:22; 2 Chr 11:2); the man from Judah who proclaimed a message of judgment against the altar in Bethel (1 Kgs 13:1, 4, 5, 6 [2x], 7, 8, 11, 12, 14 [2x], 21, 26, 29, 31; 2 Kgs 23:16, 17); Elijah (1 Kgs 17:18, 24; 2 Kgs 1:9, 10, 11, 12, 13); the man who delivered Yahweh's message to Ahab that Israel would defeat the Arameans (1 Kgs 20:28); Elisha (2 Kgs 4:7, 9, 16, 21, 22, 25 [2x], 27 [2x], 40, 42, 5:8, 14, 15, 20; 6:6, 9, 10, 15; 7:2, 17, 18, 19; 8:2, 4, 7, 8, 11, 13:19); Hanan the son of Igdaliah (Jer 35:4); David (Neh 12:24, 36; 2 Chr 8:14); the man who advised King Amaziah of Judah to refrain from taking the army of Israel to war (2 Chr 25:7, 9 [2x]).

[104] רֹאֶה *roʾɛ* "seer" and חֹזֶה *ḥozɛ* "seer" are also used for the prophets who "saw" God's message by dreams or visions. While these two terms are synonymous and occasionally alternate with each other (2 Chr 16:7; 19:2), it seems that they were used in different time periods. According to 1 Sam 9:9, רֹאֶה was the older equivalent of נָבִיא, a common term for prophets in the narrator's day. The term חֹזֶה is an Aramaic loanword and mostly used in the later books of the HB (e.g., 1 Chr 25:5). For a discussion of the meaning and the usage of these terms, see Naudé (1997, 2:56–61; 3:1004–12).

within the Elijah-Elisha narrative. However, נָבִיא, which is always used as a referential

term, applies not only to the prophets of Yahweh, including Elijah and Elisha (e.g., 1 Kgs

18:36; 2 Kgs 6:12), but also to false Israelite prophets (e.g., 1 Kgs 22:6) and the prophets of

Baal and of Asherah (e.g., 1 Kgs 18:19). Table 3-10 shows the distribution of נָבִיא and אִישׁ

הָאֱלֹהִים in the Elijah-Elisha narrative.

Table 3-10. The Distribution of נָבִיא and אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים in the Elijah-Elisha Narrative

	Reference	Address
נָבִיא	Any Prophets	--
אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	Exclusively Elijah & Elisha	Exclusively Elijah & Elisha

This distribution pattern indicates that the narrator's portrayal of Elijah and Elisha is

distinct from that of other prophets within the narrative. For the narrator, Elijah and

Elisha are primarily אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים as well as נָבִיא, while other prophets are simply נָבִיא.

Therefore, Revell's contention that נָבִיא and אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים are free variants cannot be

substantiated from the Elijah-Elisha narrative. The narrator's attempt to distinguish

Elijah and Elisha from other prophets may be more clearly observed in the absence of the

use of נָבִיא in address. Is it possible that the speaker (ultimately, the narrator)

deliberately avoided נָבִיא as a term of address for Elijah and Elisha (and perhaps other

prophets too)? If so, why? While no explanation may be conclusive due to the paucity of

data, I suggest the following as one possibility. As discussed above, נָבִיא as a *neutral*

professional title is often used for false prophets and pagan prophets in the Elijah-Elisha

narrative. Thus, in order to remove any negative connotation that might be evoked by

the use of נָבִיא, the narrator might have placed אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים in the mouths of the speakers

to address Elijah and Elisha. By applying this *theologically-oriented* title exclusively to

Elijah and Elisha, the narrator managed to successfully distinguish them from other

(false) prophets.

3.4.2.2.2 Superior to Inferior? The Cases of Expressive Shift

So far, I have argued that the use of ATs or HTs in address may mark the

superiority of the addressee. There are two cases, however, in which an AT is used in the

seemingly superior-inferior dyads, as can be seen in Table 3-11.

Table 3-11. ATs Used by Superiors to Inferiors

#	Form	Speaker	Addressee	Relationship	Context	Scripture
1	King of Judah	Necho	Josiah	king of Egypt > king of Judah	Asking Josiah to leave the way open at Megiddo	2 Chr 35:21
2	Seer	Amaziah	Amos	Priest > Prophet	Trying to stop Amos from prophesying at Bethel	Amos 7:12

In case #1, the superiority of Pharaoh Necho II over Josiah king of Judah seems clear. As

Miller and Hayes (2006, 450–453) show, there are several pieces of historical evidence

suggesting that Judah was under Egyptian dominance throughout Josiah's reign (641–609

BCE). For example, the Babylonian Chronicle records the Egyptian campaigns against

Nabopolassar's forces in Gablini in 616 BCE and in Harran in 610 BCE (Grayson 1975, 91).

Such military expeditions would not have been possible without control over entire

trade routes throughout the Syro-Palestinian states, including the Via Maris, which ran

through the western edge of Judean territory and the Jezreel valley near Megiddo.[105]

Thus, it can be reasonably assumed that Necho's address to Josiah, who was

militarily inferior, would have been APN or HPN under normal circumstances (see

§3.4.1.2.1).[106] Furthermore, his speech occurs in the context of military confrontation.

The Egyptian pharaoh was leading his army to Carchemish to aid his Assyrian ally

against the Babylonian army, but Josiah and his army intercepted him at the plain of

Megiddo to attack his forces (2 Chr 35:20).[107] In such situations, the condescending use of

an APN or an HPN (or derogatory terms) is to be expected (see case #21 in §3.4.1.2.1).[108] At

the beginning of his speech, however, Necho addresses Josiah by the occupational T מֶלֶךְ

יְהוּדָה *mɛlɛk yhuḏɔ* "King of Judah!" (2 Chr 35:21).

---

[105] See also Schipper (2010, 200–226), who argues that Egypt filled the power vacuum created by the departure of the Assyrians in the southern Levant at the end of the seventh century BCE. Based on archaeological, epigraphic and Egyptian source, he claims that Pharaoh Psammetichus I with the help of his Greek mercenaries established an Egyptian-controlled system of vassal-states with a fortress at Meṣad Ḥashavyahu sometime after 616 BCE.

[106] See also EA 162:1, 367:1, 369:1, and 370:1, in which an Egyptian pharaoh addresses his vassal by PN + T.

[107] Josiah's rationale for blocking and attacking the Egyptians at Megiddo is unknown. It may have been his fear of Assyrian dominance over Judah once again, the result of a coalition with Babylon (Falk 1996, 181), or his own desire to reunite Israel and Judah (Frost, 1968, 371; Hamilton 2002, 90).

[108] For the condescending referential use of PN in the context of war, see the speech of the Assyrian Rab-shakeh to Hezekiah's officials in 2 Kings 18. He consistently refers to King Hezekiah by APN (vv. 19, 22, 29–32), while he refers to his master Sennacherib by honorific T or occupational T (e.g., מֶלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל מֶלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר *mɛlɛk haggɔḏol mɛlɛk ʾaššur* "the great king, the king of Assyria" [vv. 19, 28]).

Considering the context in which Necho speaks, I view his use of the occupational T as a case of expressive shift. Immediately after addressing Josiah by the occupational T, Necho states that he has no quarrel with Josiah and that it is God (אֱלֹהִים *ᵉlohim*) who commanded him to hurry (2 Chr 35:21).[109] Undoubtedly, the ultimate goal of his statement is to secure a right of way without unnecessary delay and casualties at Megiddo. Thus, it can be argued that in order to dissuade Josiah from fighting him, the powerful Egyptian pharaoh deliberately avoids the expected APN or HPN, which might convey a sense of condescension, and hence, potentially provoke Josiah. Instead, he chooses to show respect to Josiah by using occupational T.

In case #2, Amaziah addresses Amos by the occupational T חֹזֶה *ḥozɛ* "seer," as he forbids Amos from prophesying in Bethel, the chief northern sanctuary and rival of Jerusalem. In terms of occupation, Amaziah is designated as כֹּהֵן בֵּית־אֵל *kohen beṯ-ʾel* "the priest of Bethel" in Amos 7:10.[110] This title probably indicates that he was the head priest

---

[109] There has been a debate over whether Pharaoh Necho indeed referred to the god of Israel. For example, Rudolph (1955, 332) argues that while the Egyptian pharaoh spoke in the name of one of his own gods, the Chronicler turned it into the word of the god of Israel. Based on Tractate Sop. 4:9, however, Kimḥi (2007, 277) asserts that Necho indeed spoke of the god of Israel. One can never be sure about the historical reality. It seems certain, though, that the Chronicler viewed Necho's speech as the word of the god of Israel, as can be seen in his comment on Josiah's military action: "[Josiah] did not listen to the words of Necho *from the mouth of God [אֱלֹהִים]*" (2 Chr 35:22; italics mine).

[110] The title כֹּהֵן בֵּית־אֵל occurs only here in the HB. While the titles of priests with divine names are relatively common (e.g., כֹּהֵן יְהוָה, [*kohen yhwh* "the priest of Yahweh" in 1 Sam 14:3; 22:17, 21; Isa 61:6; 2 Chr 13:9]; כֹּהֵן הַבַּעַל [*kohen habbaʿal* "the priest of Baal" in 2 Kgs 11:18 = 2 Chr 23:17]; כֹּהֲנֵי דָגוֹן [*kohᵃne ḏāḡon* "the priests of Dagon" in 1 Sam 5:5]), those containing the place of office are rarely attested (e.g., כֹּהֵן מִדְיָן [*kohen miḏyɔn* "the priest of Midian" in Exod. 3:1]; כֹּהֵן אֹן [*kohen ʾon* "Potiphera, the priest of On" in Gen. 41:45]). For

155

at the shrine (Petersen 1981, 428; Andersen and Freedman 1989, 766; Noble 1998, 428; Garrett 2008, 217): this may be supported by the authoritative tone in which he deals with Amos (vv. 12–13).

Amaziah also plays a political role by informing King Jeroboam II of Amos's prophecy.[111] It is noteworthy that Amaziah presents Amos's message in purely political terms, completely removing its theological dimension. He portrays Amos as a conspirator, not as a prophet (קָשַׁר *qəšar* "he conspired" [v. 10]). He parodies the so-called prophetic messenger formula, כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה *ko ʾəmar yhwh* "Thus says Yahweh" by saying, כֹּה אָמַר עָמֹוס *ko ʾəmar ʿəmos* "Thus says *Amos*" (v. 11). He omits the beginning part of the final clause of Amos's prophecy in v. 9, "I (the Lord) will rise against," turning the rest of it into an explicit prediction of the violent death of the king, "Jeroboam shall die by the sword" (v. 11). In short, Amaziah was a high-ranking official in northern Israel who could wield significant influence in the religious and political realms.

As far as Amos's occupation is concerned, there can be no question that he functioned as a prophet of Yahweh. In v. 15, he himself states that he received a personal

---

a discussion on a title written on an eighth-century BCE Hebrew seal, כהן דאר *khn dʾn* "the priest of Dor," see Avigad (1975, 101–5).

[111] The fact that Amaziah had a direct access to King Jeroboam might indicate that he was a high-ranking officer.

call from Yahweh to prophesy against the northern kingdom of Israel (cf. 3:8). In v. 14,

however, Amos seems to deny that he is a prophet:

<div dir="rtl">

לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי וְלֹא בֶן־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי כִּי־בוֹקֵר אָנֹכִי וּבוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים

</div>

loʾ-nəḇiʾ   ʾɔnoḵi   wloʾ   ḇɛn-nɔḇiʾ   ʾɔnoḵi   ki-ḇoqer   ʾɔnoḵi   uḇoles
not-prohet   I   and=not   son.of-prophet   I   but-herdsman   I   and=dresser.of

šiqmim
sycamore figs

"I am no prophet, nor a prophet's son, but I am a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore figs."

Most scholars are divided into two groups regarding this seeming contradiction.[112] Some (e.g., Wolff 1977, 312; Hayes, 1988, 236; Witherington 1999, 109) see no contradiction between v. 14 and v. 15, asserting that Amos's statement in v. 14 is to be understood as a direct response to Amaziah's prohibition of Amos's prophetic ministry at Bethel in vv. 12–13. According to them, Amos is not denying his prophetic activities (note that he testifies that Yahweh said to him, הִנָּבֵא *hinnɔḇeʾ* "Prophesy!" in v. 15) but repudiating Amaziah's insinuation that he is a hireling, i.e., a professional prophet who earns his living from his prophetic activities (see v. 12 in which Amaziah demands Amos, אֱכָל־שָׁם לֶחֶם וְשָׁם תִּנָּבֵא **ḵɔl-šɔm lɛḥɛm wšɔm tinnɔḇeʾ* "eat bread and prophesy there [Judah]!").

---

[112] For a survey of different attempts to resolve the problem of a contradiction between v. 14 and v. 15, see Paul (1991, 244–247).

Stating that he is involved in various agricultural enterprises in v. 14 (בּוֹקֵר *ḇoqer*

"herdman"; בּוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים *ḇoles šiqmim* "a dresser of sycamore figs),[113] Amos contends that he

has no need to prophesy for money. Thus, he is taking pains to distinguish between one

called by Yahweh to prophesy and a prophet by profession (נָבִיא), between one

commissioned by Yahweh and a prophet's disciple (בֶּן־נָבִיא),[114] and between a financially

independent man sanctioned by Yahweh and a salaried cult official. This interpretation,

however, is not without criticism. For example, Paul (1991, 246) questions the validity of

interpreting נָבִיא as a prophet by profession.

Others (e.g., Paul 1991, 246; Noble 1998, 430) view all of the nominal clauses in v.

14 as depending on the subsequent perfective narrative clause in v. 15 (וַיִּקָּחֵנִי יְהוָה

wayyiqqoḥeni yhwh "Then Yahweh took me"), and thus, translate them in the past tense:

"I was not a prophet, nor a prophet's son; on the contrary, I was a herdsman and a

dresser of sycamore figs."[115] For them, Amos is putting the entire emphasis on the divine

initiative, declaring that he was not a prophet but did become one when Yahweh

charged him to prophesy. This interpretation, however, fails to explain adequately the

---

[113] For a discussion on the meaning and significance of בּוֹקֵר and בּוֹלֵס, see Andersen and Freedman (1989, 778–779) and Steiner (2003). Note also that the narrator identifies Amos's profession as a shepherd in 1:1: בַּנֹּקְדִים *ḇannoqḏim* "[he was] among the shepherds."

[114] It is most likely that the term בֶּן denotes a member of a group in this context, not a biological son.

[115] Note that the LXX translates these verbless clauses in the past tense (ἤμην "I was").

meaning of the second nominal clause in v. 14: וְלֹא בֶן־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי. If Amos is indeed saying

that he formerly was not a prophet (נָבִיא) but now is one, he must be also saying that he

formerly was not a prophet's disciple (בֶן־נָבִיא) but now is one, which can hardly be the

case.

While scholars are divided over Amos's occupation at the time of his

confrontation with Amaziah, there is a broad consensus that Amaziah held a socially

superior position in relation to Amos (e.g., Andersen and Freedman 1989, 766). It seems

certain that the religious and political power of Amaziah as the head priest of Bethel

outweighed that of Amos who came from another nation (Judah) without official

position, institutional background, or external certification (Andersen and Freedman

1989, 772). Thus, Amaziah's address to Amos, who was socially inferior, would have been

an APN or an HPN under normal circumstances (see §3.4.1.2.1). Note that Amaziah refers

to Amos by PN as he sends Jeroboam II a report of his preaching in v. 10, which may

indicate that Amos's name was in Amaziah's repertoire of address. He addresses Amos,

however, by the occupational T חֹזֶה, which would be normally used to express the

speaker's respect toward the superior addressee.

I would argue that Amaziah's use of the occupational T חֹזֶה is an example of

expressive shift. Unlike case #1 above, however, in which the speaker (Necho II) conveys

159

his respect towards the inferior addressee (Josiah) by using an occupational T, Amaziah's

address seems to reveal his derogatory attitude toward Amos. As Brown and Gilman

(1960, 275) rightly point out, the exact interpretation of the speaker's attitude does not

necessarily depend on the literal meaning of an address term but on the context in

which it is used. While the occupational T חֹזֶה itself appears to be an honorable one in

Israel,[116] it is sandwiched between Amaziah's outright rejection of Amos's message (vv.

10–11) and his prohibition of Amos's prophetic activities at Bethel (vv. 12–13).[117] Thus, it

can hardly be said that Amaziah's address intended to express his admiration or respect

for Amos, as some (e.g., Wolff 1977, 311) argue. Rather, it seems more reasonable and

likely that Amaziah's intention was to mock Amos ironically with respectful address,

implying his denial of Amos's prophetic authority.

---

[116] The title חֹזֶה, denoting the one who receives divine revelation by seeing, is mainly applied to royal officials, such as court prophets (Gad [2 Sam 24:11; 1 Chr 21:9; 29:29; 2 Chr 29:25]), scribes (Iddo [2 Chr 9:29; 12:15]; Jehu [2 Chr 19:2; cf. 2 Chr 20:34]), and worship leaders (Heman [1 Chr 25:5; 2 Chr 35:15]; Asaph [2 Chr 29:30; 35:15]; Jeduthun [2 Chr 35:15]). While those who are called חֹזֶה are sometimes condemned by Yahweh for their sinful actions (Isa 29:10; Mic 3:7), the title itself is never viewed in a negative light (contra Cohen [1961, 177] and Crenshaw [1971, 67] who assume that חֹזֶה is a derogatory title). See Petersen (1981, 56–57), who views חֹזֶה as a technical term for a Judahite prophet. Note that the term חֹזֶה was rarely used in the pre-exilic books.

[117] Because of the presence of the "ethical dative" in v. 12 (בְּרַח־לְךָ *braḥ-lḵə* "Flee away!"), some commentators (e.g., Wolff 1977, 306, 311; Hayes 1988, 234) view Amaziah's directives in vv. 12–13 as an expression of personal good will to save Amos before King Jeroboam could act. This view, however, fails to explain why Amaziah sent Jeroboam a report of Amos's activities (vv. 10–11) if he wanted to save Amos in the first place.

Amaziah's address חֹזֶה does not only convey momentary expressive significance

but also serves as a phraseological link between a series of Amos's vision reports (7:1–3,

4–6, 7–9; 8:1–3; 9:1–6) and the prose narrative of Amaziah's confrontation with Amos

embedded in the midst of them (7:10–17). Note that each of these visions begins with the

verb ראה *rʾh* "to see" (7:1, 4, 7; 8:1; 9:1), a synonym of חזה *ḥzh* "to see" (cf. 1:1). The use of

the noun חֹזֶה instead of its semantic equivalent רֹאֶה might have been inevitable as the

latter became obsolete by the time of Amos (see 1 Sam 9:9; footnote 104). It is possible

that Amaziah used חֹזֶה simply because he had heard Amos reporting visions he had seen

(Mays 1969, 126; Garrett 2008, 220). It is also possible, however, that the narrator placed

it in Amaziah's mouth as he inserted the dialogue between Amaziah and Amos in the

middle of the vision reports (Paul 1991, 240). In any case, the encounter between

Amaziah and Amos is not to be considered an isolated incident, but it is closely

connected with the surrounding vision reports by Amaziah's address term חֹזֶה. The

readers are forced to deal with this encounter in the context of Amos's visions, especially

the third (7:7–9) and fourth ones (8:1–3), in which the message of doom upon political

and religious institutions is declared.[118]

---

[118] For an extensive discussion on the interrelationship between Amos's vision reports and the account of Amaziah's confrontation with Amos, see Landy 1987.

3.4.2.3 Conclusion

In contrast to APNs and HPNs, ATs and HTs in our corpus are normally used "upward," i.e., in the inferior-superior dyads, as can be seen in Figure 3-5. Their address usage, therefore, seems to be governed by the power relation between the speaker and the addressee. Marking the superiority of the addressee, ATs and HTs seem to function as the *V* in Brown, Gilman, and Ford's *T/V* system and partially confirm Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal" (Note that there is no case in which distant equals exchange address forms in our corpus). In Brown and Levinson's scheme, both ATs and HTs function as deferential terms. They are strategically chosen by the speaker to acknowledge the superior power of the addressee. In doing so, the speaker seeks to decrease the degree of potential threats to the addressee's desire for autonomy (Brown and Levinson call it a negative politeness strategy). The use of ATs in the seemingly superior-inferior dyads may be viewed as "expressive shifts," in which the speaker (or narrator) strategically violates the rules of address above to convey his/her feelings of respect or contempt. These shifts produce powerful pragmatic and literary effects which the readers are to take into account for proper understanding of the text.
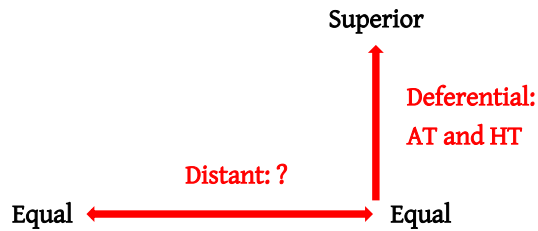
Figure 3-5. The Use of ATs and HTs in the HB

3.4.3 Kinship Terms

3.4.3.1 Taxonomy

Kinship is a system of family relations. In anthropology, two types of kinship are commonly recognized: consanguineal and affinal kinship.[119] Consanguineal kinship refers to a family relation established through blood, that is, biological procreation (from Latin *con* "with" and *sanguis* "blood"), while affinal kinship derives from marriage (from Latin *affinis* "relation by marriage"). Thus, KTs can be defined as words that refer to consanguineal or affinal kinship. For English speakers, the consanguineal KTs include father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, nephew, niece, and cousin, while husband, wife, and terms marked with the '-in-law' suffix (e.g., mother-in-law) belong to the

---

[119] These are by no means the only criteria by which kin relations can be established. In some societies, kinship can be established through adoption, a godparent relationship, and suckling (El Guindi 2012, 551–3).

163

affinal KTs. Some KTs, such as uncle and aunt, may be both consanguineal (Ego's parent's siblings) and affinal (Ego's parent's sibling's spouse).[120]

KTs can be classified according to the degree of closeness Ego has to his/her kin: primary, secondary, and tertiary KTs. Primary KTs are words that refer to the kin who are directly related to Ego (e.g., father, mother, brother, sister, son, daughter, husband, wife). Secondary KTs refer to the primary kin of Ego's primary kin (e.g., grandparents, uncle, aunts, in-laws, etc.). Tertiary KTs refer to the primary kin of Ego's secondary kin or the secondary kin of Ego's primary kin (e.g., great-grandparents, first cousins, etc.).

KTs can also be grouped according to the generation affiliation of Ego and his/her kin: ascending, descending and horizontal KTs. Ascending KTs are terms that refer to the kin who belong to a generation above (one step or more) the generation of Ego (e.g., father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, etc.). Descending KTs are terms that refer to the kin who belong to a generation (one step or more) below the generation of Ego (e.g., son, daughter, nephew, niece, grandson, granddaughter, etc.). Horizontal KTs are terms that refer to the kin who belong to the same generation as Ego (e.g., brother, sister, cousin, etc.).

---

[120] The term Ego is commonly used in anthropology to designate a given individual who forms the starting point in kinship reckoning.

It is worthwhile to point out that all these KTs are terms of reference, i.e., terms

by which Ego would *refer to* his/her kin in communications with others. As we will see

below, KTs used as terms of reference, not terms of address, express the actual kin

relationships between Ego and his/her kin. Table 3-12 shows a list of the KTs used in

reference in the HB.[121] For brevity and clarity, I follow Murdock's (1947, 56) kin-type

notation in which he proposes two-letter abbreviations for primary kins (Fa[ther],

Mo[ther], Br[other], Si[ster], So[n], Da[ughter], Hu[sband], Wi[fe]) and their

juxtapositions to indicate possessive relation (e.g., FaMo for "father's mother").

---

[121] Note that דּוֹד *doḏ*, דּוֹדָה *doḏɔ*, יָבָם *yɔḇɔm*, and יְבֵמֶת *yḇemɛṯ* are excluded from this table, as it is
difficult to determine the precise kin relationships that these terms denote. For discussion of the semantic
range of each term, see McClenney (2007, 50–52).

Table 3-12. KTs Used in Reference in the HB[122]

		Consanguineal			Affinal		
	Generation	Hebrew	Transli.	Notation	Hebrew	Transli.	Notation
Primary	Ascending	אָב	ʾɔ̄ḇ	Fa			
		אֵם	ʾēm	Mo			
	Horizontal	אָח	ʾɔ̄ḥ	Br	אִישׁ / בַּעַל	baʿal / ʾiš	Hu
		אָחוֹת	ʾɔ̄ḥōṯ	Si	אִשָּׁה	ʾiššɔ	Wi
	Desending	בֵּן	ben	So			
		בַּת	baṯ	Da			
Secondary	Ascending	אֲבִי אֵם [123]	ᵃḇi ʾēm	MoFa	חָם [124]	ḥɔm	HuFa
		אֲחִי־אָב [125]	ᵃḥi-ʾɔḇ	FaBr	חָמוֹת [126]	ḥɔmōṯ	HuMo
		אֲחוֹת־אָב [127]	ʾɔḥōṯ-ʾɔḇ	FaSi	חֹתֵן [128]	ḥoṯen	WiFa
		אֲחִי־אֵם [129]	ᵃḥi-ʾēm	MoBr	חֹתֶנֶת [130]	ḥoṯɛnɛṯ	WiMo
		אֲחוֹת־אֵם [131]	ʾɔḥōṯ-ʾēm	MoSi			
	Horizontal	בַּת־אָב [132]	baṯ-ʾɔḇ	FaDa	אֵשֶׁת אָח [133]	ʾešɛṯ ʾɔḥ	BrWi
		בַּת־אֵם [134]	baṯ-ʾēm	MoDa			
	Descending	בֶּן־אָח [135]	bɛn-ʾɔḥ	BrSo	חָתָן [136]	ḥɔṯɔn	DaHu
		בֶּן־בֵּן [137]	bɛn-ben	SoSo	כַּלָּה [138]	kallɔ	SoWi
		בַּת־בֵּן [139]	baṯ-ben	SoDa			
		בַּת־בַּת [140]	baṯ-baṯ	DaDa			

---

[122] Andersen (1969, 38) and McClenney-Sadler (2007, 41–43) provide similar tables of KTs, but they contain either KTs unattested in the HB (Andersen) or numerous errors in verse lists (McClenney-Sadler).

[123] Gen 28:2; Judg 9:1.

[124] Gen 38:13, 25; 1 Sam 4:19, 21.

[125] Gen 29:12; Lev 18:14.

[126] Ruth 1:14; 2:11, 18; 2:19 (2x), 23; 3:1, 6, 16, 17.

[127] Lev 18:12; 20:19.

[128] Exod 3:1; 4:18; 18:1–2, 5–8, 12 (2x),14–15, 17, 24, 27; Num 10:29; Judg 1:16; 4:11, 19:4, 7, 9.

[129] Gen 28:2; 29:10 (3x).

[130] Deut 27:23.

[131] Lev 18:13; 20:19.

[132] It refers to a half-sister of Ego. See Gen 20:12; Lev 18:9; 20:17; Deut 27:22; Ezek 22:11.

[133] Gen 38:8, 9; Lev 18:16; 20:21.

[134] It refers to a half-sister of Ego, not a full sister. See Gen 20:12; Lev 18:9; Deut 27:22.

[135] Gen 12:5; 14:12.

[136] Gen 19:12, 14 (2x); Judg 15:6; 19:5; 1 Sam 18:18; 22:14; 2 Kgs 8:27; Neh 6:18; 13:28.

[137] Gen 11:31; Exod 10:2; Deut 6:2; Judg 8:22; Jer 27:7.

[138] Gen 11:31; 38:11; 38:16; 38:24; Lev 18:15; 20:12; 1 Sam 4:19; Ezek 22:11; Mic 7:6; Ruth 1:6, 7, 8, 22; 2:20, 22; 4:15; 1 Chr 2:4.

[139] Lev 18:10, 17.

[140] Lev 18:10, 17.

3.4.3.2 Referential and Address Usages

KTs are a semantic category that may likely show a considerable difference between their referential and address usages (Zwicky, 1974, 791; Dickey 1996, 61-62). While the ways in which this difference manifests itself may vary from language to language, two are the most relevant for our study.[141]

First, certain KTs may be used only referentially and never as an address. For instance, the English KT 'brother-in-law' may be used in reference ("My *brother-in-law* gave me this car") but is virtually unusable as a term of address ("I wonder, *brother-in-law*, if you can give me your car"). In our corpus, there are several possible examples of this phenomenon, the most illustrious one of which comes from the book of Ruth. Ruth is the wife of Mahlon, Naomi's son (4:10), and thus, she is Naomi's daughter-in-law. The KT that expresses Ruth's identity in relation to Naomi is כַּלָּה *kallə* "daughter-in-law," which appears seven times in the book and is always used as a term of reference in narration. For example, Ruth 1:22 states, "So Naomi returned, accompanied by her Moabite *daughter-in-law* (כַּלָּה) Ruth, who came back with her from the region of Moab" (see also

---

[141] While not attested in the HB, KTs used in address are often used in ways radically different from their referential (= literal) meanings in other languages. In Egyptian Arabic, for instance, عم *ʿam*, which means "(paternal) uncle" when used in reference, is used only to those who are *not* the speaker's uncle when used in address (Parkinson 1982, 98). See also the so-called "address inversion" phenomenon found in various languages mentioned above.

1:6–8; 2:20, 22; 4:15). When Naomi addresses Ruth, however, she does not use the secondary affinal KT כַּלָּה, but the primary consanguineal KT בַּת *baṯ* "*daughter*": "Ruth the Moabite said to Naomi, 'Let me go to the field so that I can gather grain behind anyone in whose eyes I may find favor.' Naomi replied, 'Go, my *daughter* (בַּת)'" (2:2). Naomi addresses Ruth five times throughout the book, and she does so consistently with בַּת (Ruth 2:2, 22; 3:1, 16, 18). Thus, it seems reasonable to assume that כַּלָּה was used only in reference but never in address at the time of the composition of Ruth.[142]

Second, when KTs are used as terms of address, they may be used in an "extended" sense, i.e., the speaker addresses his/her collocutor by a KT whose referential meaning does not describe the actual kin relation existing between them.[143] For instance, pastors often address the church attendees as "brothers and sisters," even though they have no actual kin relation with them. In our corpus too, KTs are often used in address with an extended meaning. For example, Elisha addresses Elijah as אָבִי *ʾāḇi* "my father!", although the latter is by no means the biological father of the former (2 Kgs

---

[142] It is equally possible that Naomi's address usage may not represent the typical address usage between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law at that time (Lande 1949, 23). However, the fact that the KT כַּלָּה occurs thirty-four times in the HB but is never used as a term of address with the meaning of "daughter-in-law" (note that כַּלָּה is used as a term of address six times in Song of Songs [4:8–12; 5:1], but it denotes a "bride," not a "daughter-in-law") seems to support my claim.

[143] I find the term 'extended' coined by Dickey (2004) to be more appropriate than 'fictive' by Braun (1988), Contini (1995), and Esposito (2009), as the latter has a connotation of 'not genuine.'

2:12). As will be seen below, the use of extended KTs in address may be viewed as a

politeness strategy to express the speaker's affection and/or respect for the addressee.

3.4.3.3 Position and Distribution

In our corpus, only six KTs are used in address: אָבִי *ʾăḇi* "my father"; אִמִּי *ʾimmi* "my

mother"; אָחִי *ʾăḥi* "my brother"; אֲחֹתִי *ʾăḥoṯi* "my sister"; בְּנִי *bni* "my son"; בִּתִּי *bitti* "my

daughter." These are the primary consanguineal KTs, which primarily refer to the

members of a nuclear family. There are three ways in which these KTs are used in

address: (1) a KT used alone (e.g., בְּנִי *bni* "My son!"); (2) a KT used at the beginning of a

compound address (e.g., בְּנִי דָוִד *bni ḏăwiḏ* "My son David!"); (3) a KT used at the end of a

compound address (e.g., שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי *šlomo-ḇni* "Solomon my son!"). The first two types—

address forms composed of a KT alone (henceforth, AKTs) and compound addresses

headed by a KT (henceforth, HKTs)—are treated together in this section since they

convey the same power relationship between the speaker and the addressee in our

corpus. The third type has only three examples (1 Sam 3:16; 2 Sam 19:1; 1 Chr 28:9), in

which a descending KT is preceded by a PN. These cases have already been dealt with in

§3.4.1.2.1 and §3.4.1.2.3.

There are forty-six cases of AKT and eight cases of HKT in our corpus. These cases

account for about 36% of the total free forms of address used between two human beings.

Therefore, AKTs and HKTs are attested almost as frequently as ATs and HTs and twice

more frequently than APNs and HPNs. Table 3-13 shows the distribution of AKTs and

HKTs according to the books of the HB. As can be seen in this table, more than 60% of

AKTs come from Genesis and Ruth, in which there are an abundant number of cases for

family dialogue.

Table 3-13. AKTs and HKTs in Each Book of the Hebrew Bible

Book	# of AKTs	# of HKTs
Genesis	20	
Joshua	1	
Judges	2	
1 Samuel	3	4
2 Samuel	6	2
1 Kings	2	
2 Kings	1	2
Isaiah	2	
Ruth	8	
1 Chronicles	1	
Total	46	8

3.4.3.4 Pattern

3.4.3.4.1 Literal Use of KTs

More than half of the AKTs and HKTs in our corpus are used in a literal sense, that

is, the referential meaning of a KT constituent within an address form describes the

actual kin relation existing between the speaker and the addressee. Since all these KT

constituents are the primary consanguineal KTs, the AKTs and HKTs used literally are

used for the members of a nuclear family. Table 3-14 shows these address forms.

170

Table 3-14. AKTs and HKTs Used Literally

#	Form	Semantic	Relation	Speaker_Address	Scripture
1				Isaac_Abraham	Gen 22:7
2			So > Fa	Jacob_Isaac	Gen 27:18
3–5	My father	KT		Esau_Isaac	Gen 27:34, 38 (2x)
6				Joseph_Jacob	Gen 48:18
7				Boy_Isaiah	Isa 8:4
8			Da > Fa	Daughter_Jephthah	Judg 11:36
9				Boy_Isaiah's wife	Isa 8:4
10	My mother	KT	So > Mo	Solomon_Bathsheba	1 Kgs 2:20
11	My brother	KT	Br > Br	Esau_Jacob	Gen 33:9
12			FaDa > FaSo	Tamar_Amnon	2 Sam 13:12
13	My sister	KT	Br > Si	Absalom_Tamar	2 Sam 13:20
14			FaSo > FaDa	Amnon_Tamar	2 Sam 13:11
15, 16				Abraham_Isaac	Gen 22:7, 8
17, 18				Isaac_Esau	Gen 27:1, 37
19–22	My son	KT		Isaac_Jacob	Gen 27:18, 20, 21, 26
23			Fa > So	Jacob_Joseph	Gen 48:19
24				David_Absalom	2 Sam 13:25
25				David_Solomon	1 Chr 22:11
26	My son, Absalom, my son, my son, Absalom	KT+PN+KT+KT+PN		David_Absalom	2 Sam 19:1
27	My son, Absalom, Absalom, my son, my son	KT+PN+PN+KT+KT		David_Absalom	2 Sam 19:5
28–30	My son	KT	Mo > So	Rebekah_Jacob	Gen 27:8, 13, 43
31	My daughter	KT	Fa > Da	Jephthah_daughter	Judg 11:35

Children address their fathers and mothers with ascending AKTs, אָבִי ʾāḇi "my father" or

אִמִּי ʾimmi "my mother" (##1–10). Siblings address each other with horizontal AKTs, אָחִי

ʾāḥi "my brother" or אֲחֹתִי ʾaḥoṯi "my sister" (##11–14).[144] Parents address their sons and

daughters with descending AKTs, בְּנִי bni "my son" or בִּתִּי bitti "my daughter," or

descending HKTs, בְּנִי bni "my son, Absalom…" (##15–31).

---

[144] In cases #12 and #14, Amnon and Tamar are half-siblings who are of the same father, David, but have different mothers, Ahinoam and Maacah, respectively. Thus, they may be classified as secondary consanguineal kin. However, they address each other with primary consanguineal KTs, אָחִי ʾāḥi "my brother" or אֲחֹתִי ʾaḥoṯi "my sister." Since primary consanguineal KTs are often used to refer to half-siblings in our corpus (e.g., 2 Sam 13:8, 10), I view these two cases as literal usages. See also Esposito (2009, 133) for this view.

It is noteworthy that there is a non-reciprocal address pattern between parents

and children. In cases #26 and #27, a father addresses his son by PN following KT: בְּנִי

אַבְשָׁלוֹם *bni ʾaḇšəlom* "my son, Absalom!" We also have seen three cases in Table 3-3 (#15–

17), in which a father addresses his son by PN or PN followed by KT. Children, however,

never address their parents with address forms containing a PN in our corpus. This non-

reciprocal address pattern seems to suggest that children in ancient Israel avoided using

PNs in addressing their parents.

3.4.3.4.2 Extended Use of KTs

The remaining AKTs and HKTs are used in an extended sense for those who are

outside the nuclear family. As Esposito (2009, 129) points out, the extended use of

primary consanguineal KTs in address may be viewed as the result of "metaphorical

mappings" between the nuclear family and the society in general. In other words, the

nuclear family serves as a conceptual model for secondary usages of KTs, as features of

family relations within the nuclear family are mapped onto the society. Thus, for

example, the ascending KT, "father" or "mother," may be applied to teachers, who share

the same educating role as parents.

Pragmatically, however, this extended use may also be regarded as a politeness

strategy. KTs are inherently relational, implying solidarity and emotive closeness

between Ego and the referent. At the same time, all kinds of power relations between

them may be expressed through the use of ascending, horizontal, and descending KTs.

Moreover, compared to PNs, which make specific and direct references to particular

individuals, KTs may be considered relatively unspecific and indirect in terms of

referential indexicality (Fleming and Slotta, 2015, 172). All these semantic and referential

properties of KTs allow them to be what Brown and Levinson (1987, 107) call "in-group

identity markers," which may be used in address to convey "positive" politeness by

claiming common ground between speakers and addressees of all types of social

relations. In the following sections, the extended usages of KTs are presented according

to different power relations.

3.4.3.4.2.1 Inferior to Superior

Just as children address their parents, social inferiors may also address social

superiors by ascending AKTs or HKTs, which not only imply a sense of solidarity but

convey a sense of deference in extended use. Thus, the use of ascending AKTs and HKTs

in an extended sense may function as a negative politeness strategy (by acknowledging

the superior status of the addressee) as well as a positive politeness strategy (by claiming

solidarity between the speaker and the addressee) to soften potential face-threatening

acts (FTAs). Table 3-15 shows ascending AKTs and HKTs used by social inferiors to social

superiors.

Table 3-15. Ascending AKTs and HKTs Used by Inferiors to Superiors

#	Form	Semantic	Relation	Speaker_Addresse	Context	Scripture
1	My father	KT	Outlaw > King	David_Saul	Persuading Saul to stop pursuing him	1 Sam 24:12
2		KT	King > Prophet	Jehoram_Elisha	Asking Elisha if he should strike down the Aramean army	2 Kgs 6:21
3	My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and its horsemen	KT+KT+T	Disciple > Teacher	Elisha_Elijah	Seeing Elijah going up by a whirlwind into heaven	2 Kgs 2:12
4		KT+KT+T	King > Prophet	Jehoash_Elisha	Seeing Elisha fallen sick with the illness of which he was to die	2 Kgs 13:14

In all these cases, the superiority of the addressees over the speakers is out of question: a

king is superior to an outlaw (#1); [145] a teacher is superior to his disciple (#3);[146] while

kings might be considered superior to prophets in the political realm, the power of the

former is often overshadowed by the religious and moral authority of the latter (#2, 4).

Thus, the use of ascending AKTs or HKTs in these cases is deemed appropriate.

Note, however, that two of these address forms are used in the context of

requesting. In case #1, David addresses King Saul by the ascending AKT, אָבִי *ʾ<u>o</u>b̲i* "my

father," as he attempts to persuade Saul to stop pursuing him. In case #2, the king of

Israel addresses Elisha as אָבִי *ʾ<u>o</u>b̲i* "my father," as he asks Elisha for advice on whether he

---

[145] It seems unlikely that David addresses Saul as "my father" in the meaning of "my father-in-law," as Saul would probably have given Michal to Palti before this event (1 Sam 25:44).

[146] The ascending KT, "my father," obviously corresponds to "the *sons* of the prophets," a designation for the members of an organized guild of prophetic disciples under the leadership of great prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha (Moore, 2007, 162).

should strike down the Aramean army. In situations such as these, the speakers are likely

to employ politeness strategies to get what they want. Thus, it can be argued that the use

of the ascending AKT, אָבִי *ʾăḇi* "my father," in these two cases is to be viewed as a

politeness strategy. In order to mitigate the potential face-threats posed by their

requests, David and the king of Israel use ascending AKTs, by which they boldly claim

solidarity with Saul and Elisha while fully acknowledging their higher power and

authority over themselves.

3.4.3.4.2.2 Between Equals

Just as siblings address each other, social equals may address each other by

horizontal AKTs (or HKTs), which convey a sense of solidarity and equal status in

extended use. Thus, the use of horizontal AKTs in an extended sense may function as a

positive politeness strategy by claiming solidarity between the speaker and the

addressee to soften potential FTAs. Table 3-16 shows horizontal AKTs used between

social equals.[147]

---

[147] There are several cases outside our corpus in which the horizontal AKT, "my brother" or "my brothers," are used: David addresses Jonathan as "my brother" (2 Sam 1:26); people address a dead man of God as "my brother (1 Kgs 13:30); Lot addresses the inhabitants of Sodom as "my brothers" (Gen 19:7); Jacob addresses some strangers as "my brothers" (Gen 29:4); an old man in Gibeah addresses his fellow villagers as "my brothers" (Judg 19:23); David addresses his officials and his people as "my brothers" (1 Sam 30:23; 1 Chr 28:2). In all these cases, it can be argued that the speakers consider or claim the addressees to be equal and close in their relationship.

175

Table 3-16. AKTs Used between Equals

#	Form	Semantic	Relation	Speaker_Addresse	Context	Scripture
1	My brother	KT	King > King	Hiram_Solomon	Complaining about the cities Solomon gave him	1 Kgs 9:13
2	My brother	KT	Commander > Commander	Joab_Amasa	Greeting Amasa before striking him down	2 Sam 20:9

In case #1, Hiram, King of Tyre, addresses Solomon as אָחִי ʾŏḥi "my brother."[148] There is no

question that Hiram considers Solomon to be equal and close in their relationship, and

hence, his use of the horizontal AKT is deemed appropriate.[149] It must be noted, however,

that his address appears in the context of complaining about the cities he received from

Solomon. Thus, it can also be said that Hiram seeks to claim solidarity with Solomon by

deliberately using the horizontal AKT at this point in order to soften the potential face

threat posed by his complaint.

In case #2, Joab addresses Amasa as אָחִי ʾŏḥi "my brother." This, however, is rather

a surprising address from Amasa's point of view for the following reasons. Joab and

Amasa may be considered equal in power, as they are both commanders of David's army

(2 Sam 19:13) and they are cousins (2 Sam 17:25). It cannot be said, however, that they

are close in their relationship, since they just finished fighting a bloody war against each

other (2 Sam 17:24–18:33). Furthermore, Joab would probably have been jealous that

---

[148] KTs in general are commonly used in diplomatic relations in the ancient Near East. See Schloen (2001, 46).

[149] In Chronicles, however, Hiram addresses Solomon as "my lord" in a bound form (2 Chr 2:14). There is no doubt that the Chroniclers updated this event to present Solomon as the Great King (Esposito 2009, 134–135).

Amasa, whom he considered a traitor, had just been promised by David to take over the

position that he had held (2 Sam 19:13). Amasa would have known about these negative

feelings that Joab had had towards him. But now Joab approaches Amasa in a friendly

manner, addressing him as "my brother," by which he seems to claim solidarity with

him. It must have been a surprise, indeed. Amasa might have thought that this was a

gesture of reconciliation between them. Thus, Amasa lets down his guard and trustfully

allows Joab to come near to him, which ultimately leads to his death. It can be argued,

therefore, that Joab employs the horizontal AKT, "my brother," as a positive politeness

strategy to successfully deceive Amasa and carry out his murder.[150]

3.4.3.4.2.3 Superior to Inferior

Just as parents address their children, social superiors may address social

inferiors by descending AKTs or HKTs, which not only imply a sense of solidarity but also

convey a sense of inequality in extended use. Thus, the use of descending AKTs and HKTs

in an extended sense may function as a positive politeness strategy by claiming solidarity

between the speaker and the addressee to soften potential FTAs. Table 3-17 shows

descending AKTs and HKTs used by social superiors to social inferiors.

---

[150] While Revell (1996, 331), Miller (2003, 270), and Esposito (2009, 133–134) also view Joab's
address as a deceitful tactic, they do not explain it according to the framework of Brown and Levinson's
politeness theory.

Table 3-17. AKTs and HKTs Used by Superiors to Inferiors

#	Form	Semantic	Relation	Speaker_Addresse	Context	Scripture
1	My son	KT	Vizier > Foreigner	Joseph_Benjamin	Greeting Benjamin	Gen 43:29
2	My son	KT	Priest > Boy	Eli_Samuel	Responding to Samuel, telling him that he did not call him	1 Sam 3:6
3	My son	KT	Priest > Soldier	Eli_Battle Survivor	Inquiring the man about the battle with the Philistines	1 Sam 4:16
4	My son	KT	Leader > Man	Joshua_Achan	Urging Achan to confess his sins	Josh 7:19
5	My son	KT	Commander > Priest's Son	Joab_Ahimaaz	Asking Ahimaaz not to run after the Cushite	2 Sam 18:22
6–9	My son, David	KT+PN	King > Outlaw	Saul_David	Regretting the evil he did to David	1 Sam 24:17; 26:17, 21, 25
10	My daughter	KT	Mother-in-Law > Daughter-in-Law	Naomi_Ruth	Permitting Ruth to go to the field	Ruth 2:2
11					Instructing Ruth to listen to Boaz	Ruth 2:22
12					Arranging a marriage for Ruth	Ruth 3:1
13					Inquiring Ruth about the meeting with Boaz	Ruth 3:16
14					Instructing Ruth to wait until Boaz has settled the matter	Ruth 3:18
15	My daughter	KT	Old Man > Young Woman	Boaz_Ruth	Requesting Ruth to glean in his field	Ruth 2:8
16, 17	My daughter	KT	Old Man > Young Woman	Boaz_Ruth	Promising Ruth to do all that she asked	Ruth 3:10, 11

In all these cases, there is no question about the speaker's superiority over the addressee based on higher social standing or older age: an Egyptian vizier is superior to a foreigner (#1); a priest is superior to a temple servant and a soldier (##2, 3); a national leader is superior to a law-breaker (#4); a military commander is superior to a priest's son (#5); a king is superior to an outlaw (##6–9); a mother-in-law is superior to her daughter-in-law (##10–14); an old man is superior to a young woman (##16–17).

In some of these cases, the use of descending AKTs seems to reflect the social conventions of the time (#1)[151] or merely expresses kindly feelings of a senior towards a junior (##2–3, 10-14). It is noteworthy, however, that address forms in the remaining cases appear in the context of requesting or promising. In case #4, Joshua addresses Achan as בְּנִי *bni* "my son," as he urges Achan to confess his sins before God.[152] In case #5, Joab addresses Ahimaaz as בְּנִי *bni* "my son," as he tries to persuade Ahimaaz not to run after the Cushite. In case ##6–9, Saul addresses David as בְּנִי דָוִד *bni ḏɔwiḏ* "my son David," as he repents of his wrongdoing and asks him to return. In case #15, Boaz addresses Ruth as בַּתִּי *bitti* "my daughter," as he requests her to glean in his field. In case #16, Boaz addresses Ruth again as בַּתִּי *bitti* "my daughter," as he promises her to do all that she asks him to do. In these situations, the speakers are likely to employ politeness strategies to get what they want. Thus, it can be argued that the use of the descending AKTs and HKTs in these cases is to be viewed as a positive politeness strategy. In order to soften the potential face-threats posed by their requests and promises, the superior speakers show

---

[151] See, for example, a letter from an Egyptian general to Rib-Hadda (EA 96), in which the former addresses the latter as "my son."

[152] While Esposito (2009, 130) views Joshua's address as a deceptive strategy to elicit Achan's confession, it seems more likely that Joshua genuinely shows a paternal and sympathetic attitude to Achan by using that address.

their affection and sympathy towards the inferior addressees by using the descending

AKTs and HKTs.

3.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have studied the three most frequently appearing address

terms in our corpus: PNs, Ts, and KTs. When these are used between two human beings,

they may be used alone (a simple address) or as a constituent of a compound address. I

have shown that the first constituent in an address, whether in a simple or a compound

address, functions as an indicator of the power relation between the speaker and the

addressee. When PNs are used as the first constituent, they seem to mark the superiority

of the speaker. Thus, APNs and HPNs are almost exclusively used "downward," i.e., in the

superior-inferior dyads, while there are a couple of cases in which APNs are used

between close equals. In contrast, when Ts are used as the first constituent, they seem to

mark the superiority of the addressee. Thus, ATs and HTs are normally used "upward,"

i.e., in the inferior-superior dyads. Therefore, APNs and HPNs seem to function as the *T*

in Brown, Gilman, and Ford's *T/V* system, whereas ATs and HTs seem to function as the

V. As far as PNs and Ts are concerned, they seem to partially confirm Brown and Ford's

"linguistic universal." However, when KTs are used as the first constituent, they can

convey all types of power relations. Ascending AKTs and HKTs are used "upward,"

horizontal AKTs and HKTs are used "horizontally," and descending AKTs and HKTs are used "downward." When KTs are used in an extended sense, the majority of them, if not all, may be viewed as politeness strategies. Therefore, the address usages of KTs in BH does not support Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal." Figure 3-6 shows the use of these three address terms.
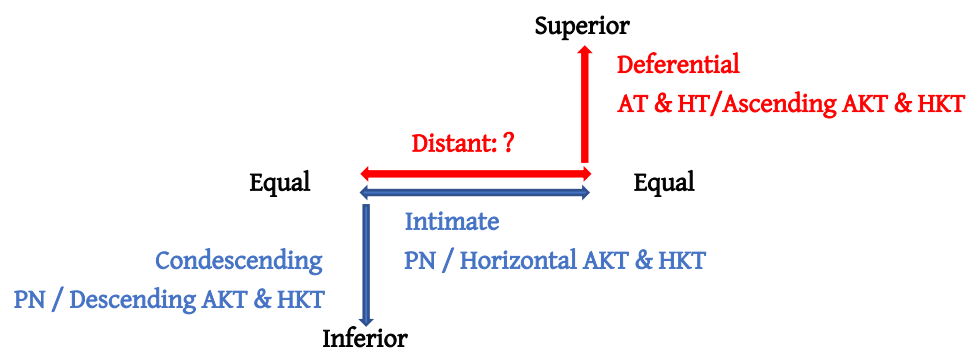
Figure 3-6. The Use of Address Terms in Biblical Hebrew

CHAPTER FOUR

FREE FORMS OF ADDRESS: POSITION AND FUNCTION

4.1 Introduction

Free forms of address in Biblical Hebrew prose may occur in a variety of syntactic

positions in a sentence. They may occur at the beginning, as in (1):

(1) Judg 11:36

<div dir="rtl">

אָבִי פָּצִיתָה אֶת־פִּיךָ אֶל־יְהוָה
</div>

ʾɔḇi	pɔṣiṯɔ	ʾɛṯ-piḵɔ	ʾɛl-yhwh
father=my	you.opened	ACC-mouth=your	to-YHWH

My father, you have opened your mouth to YHWH.

They may come at the end, as in (2):

(2) 2 Sam 16:4

<div dir="rtl">

אֶמְצָא־חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ
</div>

ʾɛmṣɔ-ḥen	bʿenɛḵɔ	ˣḏoni	hammɛlɛḵ
I.will.find-favor	in=eyes.of=your	lord=my	the=king

Let me find favor in your sight, *my lord the king*.

They may stand in the middle, as in (3):

182

(3) 1 Sam 30:23

לֹא־תַעֲשֹׂו כֵן אֶחָי אֵת אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן יְהוָה לָנוּ

lo²-ṯaʿᵃśu	ken	²ɛḥɔy	²eṯ	ˣᵃšɛr-nɔṯan	yhwh	lɔnu
not-you.will.do	so	brothers=my	with	what-he.gave	YHWH	to=us

You shall not do so, *my brothers*, with what the LORD has given us.

They may even be used alone as a complete utterance, as in (4):

(4) Gen 22:1

וַיְהִי אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וְהָאֱלֹהִים נִסָּה אֶת־אַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְרָהָם

wayhi	²aḥar	haddḇɔrim	hɔ²ellɛ	whɔˣlohim	nissɔ
and=it.was	after	the=things	the=these	and=the=God	he.tested

²ɛt-²aḇrɔhɔm	wayyo²mɛr	²elɔyw	²aḇrɔhɔm
ACC-Abraham	and=he.said	to=him	Abraham

Sometime after these things God tested Abraham. He said to him, "*Abraham!*"

As we carefully examine each of these addresses, we notice that their pragmatic functions are quite different from each other. The stand-alone address in (4), for example, is clearly used to call or summon the addressee (i.e., Abraham), for it occurs at the beginning of conversation. However, the speaker in (3), i.e., David, hardly needs to call his addressees at this point, as he is already in the middle of conversation with them. Thus, a different function must be attributed to his address, which comes at the end of a sentence.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the correlation between the position and function of free forms of address in our corpus. Based on their field research on the use of free forms of address in different modern languages, linguists have long recognized that there is a strong correlation between the position and function of free forms of address. However, there are very few works that discuss either the external syntax or the pragmatic function of free forms of address in Biblical Hebrew. In the following, I first examine previous studies both in general linguistics and in Biblical Hebrew that deal with this issue to glean the insights on the method of analysis as well as the results of their research. Then I formulate my method, which will be followed by an analysis of the Biblical Hebrew data.

4.2 Previous Studies

4.2.1 General Linguistics

4.2.1.1 The Functions of Free Forms of Address in Initial and Final Position

Since the 1970s, linguists have attempted to describe the correlation between position and function of free forms of address in various languages. Zwicky (1974, 787) was the first to note two pragmatic functions of free forms of address in English—calls and addresses, as illustrated by (i) and (ii), respectively:[1]

---

[1] Zwicky (1974, 799) notes that the distinction between calls and addresses was inspired by Schegloff (1968:1080-1081), who distinguished between *summonses* and *terms of address*.

(i)   Hey *lady*, you dropped your piano.

(ii) I'm afraid, *sir*, that my coyote is nibbling on your leg.

According to him (1974, 787, 797), calls are used to "catch the addressee's attention" and are "essentially restricted to discourse-initial position." Addresses, however, are used to "maintain or emphasize contact between the speaker and the addressee" and may occur in a variety of positions—after introductory expressions (e.g., look, look here, listen, say, well, why, please, come on, tell me, you know), after greetings (hi, hello, good morning), after exclamations (wow, atta girl, dammit, oh boy), and in positions open to parenthetical adjuncts. Zwicky (1974, 787, 798) also points out that free forms of address never occur in embedded clauses (e.g., *Melinda maintained that, dumbass, the bite was negligible) and they are set off from their host sentences by special intonation.

While many subsequent linguists followed Zwicky's call/address dichotomy (e.g., Levinson 1983, 71; Quirk et al. 1985, 773; Dickey 1996, 6; Portner 2004, 8; Anderson 2004, 442; Huang 2014, 181; Haddad 2020, 19), some have offered additional functions of free forms of address and have attempted to correlate them with their positions in the sentence. Leech (1999, 116), who carried out a corpus-based study of free forms of address in British and American English conversation, attributes three discrete functions to free forms of address:

185

(i) getting someone's attention (e.g., "*Mum!*")
(ii) identifying someone as an addressee (e.g., "Hey *Ben*, do you remember a hole puncher coming in I ordered?")
(iii) maintaining and reinforcing social relationships (e.g., "Oh yeah *dude* totally.").

He argues that free forms of address in initial position seem to combine function (i) with function (ii), while those in final position are more likely to combine function (ii) with function (iii).

Leech also points out that there is a noticeable difference between the lengths of "C-units"[2] associated with the two positions: initial free forms of address tend to be associated with longer sentences (mostly six words or more), whereas final free forms of address are associated with shorter sentences (mostly three words or less). The reason for this tendency, Leech (1999, 117) explains, is that initial free forms of address, which can serve as attention-getters, can also have the function of "clearing space for a lengthy turn," while final free forms of address tend to occur "after a short remark, where attracting attention is not a problem."

---

[2] Leech (1999, 108) coins the term "C-unit" (where 'C' stands for 'communicative') and uses it as the unit of analysis. He defines the term as "a unit with optimal syntactic independence, in that it is not part of a larger syntactic unit, except by means of coordination." As a unit of spoken English grammar, therefore, a C-unit is "essentially the spoken analogue of a written sentence." A C-unit can be either a clausal (e.g., "So this was your mother's?") or non-clausal unit (e.g., "No!"). The former consists of an independent clause within which any dependent clauses may be embedded, while the latter has no finite verb in it. A compound sentence, which is composed of two or more coordinated independent clauses, is treated as separate units.

On the basis of two corpora—the 5-million-word Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English (CANCODE) and a 55,000-word corpus of radio phone-in calls that comes from the Irish radio program *Liveline*, McCarthy and O'Keefe (2003:153) expand Leech's classification of the functions of free forms of address to the following types:

(i)   relational: establishing and/or maintaning social relations.
      e.g., [group of female young friends discussing eating and weight problems]
          A. You're not fat, *Jane*.
          B. I will be if I'm not careful.
(ii) topic management: launching, expanding, shifting, changing or closing the topic.
      e.g., [speakers are discussing a well-known family of traditional Irish musicians]
          A. We were in Cork, weren't we, *Jean* and we heard his brother. Which brother was it we heard?
          B. Sean, I think.
(iii) badinage: humor, irony and general banter among participants.
      e.g., [group of female students who share a house are talking]
          A. Got a light anyone?
          B. Only my eyes, *Gillian*.
          A. You always say that [laughs].
(iv) mitigators: softening a potential threat to positive or negative face.
      e.g., [A is making a request for action that could potentially be heard as an imposition]
          A. Will you put on the fish, *Nancy*, so that it'll heat, the fish now.
          B. Oh yeah.
(v)   turn management: selecting next speaker or disambiguating possible recipients in multi-party talk.
      e.g., A. I should have some change.
          B. I owe you too, don't I, *Jodie*.
          C. Yes, you do.

(vi)   call management: dealing with the exigencies of the channel, bringing callers in, controlling their talk, and dismissing them when their contribution is deemed to be sufficient.

e.g., [Introducing a caller whose son narrowly escaped death from meningitis]

A. Now to a couple that had a very, very difficult Christmas this year, however, all's well that ends well. Ah, *Austin*, good afternoon to you.

B. Good afternoon, *Marian*.

A. Your little boy went back to playschool yesterday?

B. Yesterday, that's right.

(vii)   summons: calling the recipient.

e.g., A. *Sue*! Your cup of tea is poured.

They observe that summonses are typically utterance-initial (2003, 167), whereas final and medial free forms of address tend to be associated with relational, call management, topic management, and mitigators (2003, 168, 180).

Stavrou (2014, 327) identifies three functions of free forms of address in modern Greek:

(i)   calls (e.g., *Maria*, trekse! "Maria, run!")
(ii)   maintaining contact with the addressee and expressing a whole array of feelings (e.g., To kakao su *Dimitraki*! "Your cocoa, Dimitraki!")
(iii) conveying an additional emphasis on sociolinguistic import of the lexical choice (e.g., O jatros, *pedja*, me simvulepse taksidi "The doctor, kids, advised me to travel.")

According to her (2014, 327-328), calls are most commonly utterance-initial, whereas utterance-final address forms are employed as a means of maintaining contact with the addressee. Stavrou (2014, 325, 329) claims that function (iii) may be fulfilled by free forms

of address in medial position, which may appear at the juncture of major constituents,

like parentheticals, but can never intrude into a lexical constituent (e.g., noun phrase,

adverbial phrase, etc.).

Glušac and Čolić (2017, 449-469) classify linguistic functions of free forms of

address in the Croatian language according to the six parts of the communicative

process:

(i)   Conative (e.g., *Ivane*, reci što se dogodilo. "Ivan, say what happened.")
(ii) Emotive (e.g., Ustani, *ljubljena moja*, *ljepotice moja*! "Rise, my beloved one, my beauty!")
(iii) Phatic[3] (e.g., *Vi, domine Pisarovič,...* "You, dominus Pisarovič,...")
(iv) Poetic[4] (e.g., Ah, znate, *gospodin profesor...* Jeste li ikada mislili da se vrtimo u krugu apsurda, *gospodin profesor...* "Ah, you know, Mr. Professor... Have you ever thought that we are spinning in a circle of absurd, Mr. Professor...")
(v)   Referential[5] (e.g., Štije knjigu *starče Radoslave*, knjigu štije, a suze proliva "A book readeth old man Radoslav, a book he readeth, spilling tears")
(vi) Metalinguistic (e.g., A: Ivane! "Ivan!" // B: *Ivane*? Ne zove se on Ivan nego Marko! "Ivan? His name is not Ivan, it's Marko!")[6]

---

[3] Glušac and Čolić (2017, 468) define the phatic function as establishing and maintaining communication.

[4] According to Glušac and Čolić (2017, 452), the use of nominative forms instead of the expected vocative ones can have a poetic function, i.e., can serve as a stylistic instrument contributing to the linguistic characterization of a protagonist. The example above comes from the novel *Kiklop* (*Cyclops*), which, according to them, features this practice as a means of emphasizing the German nationality of Kurt, the innkeeper.

[5] Glušac and Čolić (2017, 447) argue that the referential function of free forms of address, i.e., refer to the subject matter of the message, is confined to the subject and predicative role in the language of folk poetry.

[6] According to Glušac and Čolić (2017, 469), free forms of address with explicit "orientation to the code" in view may fulfill a metalinguistic function. In the example above, speaker A calls his/her collocutor (not speaker B) by name, and speaker B reacts to speaker A's call.

They argue that free forms of address in initial position have a more pronounced

conative function, while those in medial and final positions tend to fulfil the emotive,

poetic and/or phatic functions.

These linguists commonly recognize the pragmatic functions that initial and final

free forms of address may perform, i.e., drawing the addressee's attention and

maintaining contact with the addressee, respectively. However, none of them seems to

offer an adequate explanation as to how free forms of address in medial position

function. Leech does not discuss the function of medial free forms of address at all, while

the functions suggested by others are so broad that they are not unique to address forms

in medial position. Furthermore, free forms of address in medial position may be divided

according to different positions that they occupy within the host sentences. Thus, the

question arises whether all medially positioned address forms may be said to fulfil the

same pragmatic function regardless of their precise medial position within the host

sentences.

4.2.1.2 The Functions of Free Forms of Address in Medial Position

There have been a few attempts to answer this question from an information

structure perspective. Viewing free forms of address as a type of parenthetical

expression that may be inserted freely within a sentence, Taglicht (1984, 12-31) argues

that they may participate in information structuring. In his analysis of different sentence

types in English based on Halliday's (1967-68) Theme-Rheme structure,[7] he demonstrates

that free forms of address may function as "partitions" between a marked Theme/Rheme

and the rest of the sentence. In (5), for example, the address form "my dear" is placed

between the marked Theme "That shed" and the Operator "will" (Note that 'MTh,' 'Op,'

and 'Rh' stand for 'marked Theme,' 'Operator,' and 'Rheme'):

(5) That shed,   my dear,   will   have to be painted
    MTh   partition   Op   Rh

For Taglicht (1984, 16), the division of a declarative sentence into Theme and Rheme is

strictly based on "sequential ordering" of syntactic constituents: the first constituent of

the sentence, typically the subject, is Theme and the remainder of the sentence is Rheme

(often preceded by an auxiliary verb labelled Operator, as in (5)). The sequence of

constituents that results from purely syntactic constraints with no special pragmatic

motivation is called "unmarked sequence." Marked sequence, on the other hand, is

---

[7] Halliday (1967, 205; 2004, 64; 2014, 83) believes that in all languages a clause has the character of a "message," or "quantum of information": it takes on some form of structure by which it contributes to the flow of discourse. The structure presents the distribution of information within the clause. In English, information is allocated in two parts of the clause—"Theme" and "Rheme." The Theme is the element that serves as "the point of departure of the message" or "that which locates and orients the clause within its context." Thus, it is naturally the first constituent of the clause. The Rheme is the remainder of the clause in which the Theme is developed.

characterized by the "breaking" of one or more of the links in the corresponding

unmarked sequence and the "detachment" of one or more of the constituents from other

constituent(s) with which it is contiguous in the unmarked sequence (1984, 20). The

breaking of the link(s) may be realized either by fronting one or more of the constituents

(e.g., "That shed, John painted yesterday") or by inserting parenthetical expressions,

such as "my dear" in (5). The detached constituent(s) may be initial or final in the

marked sentence. If it is initial, like "That shed" in (5), it is a marked Theme; if it is final,

like "a warm weather" in (6), it is a marked Rheme.

According to Taglicht (1984, 25), marked sequences formed by the intrusion of

parenthetical expressions tend to involve an element of "delay." In sentences with

marked Theme, as in (5) above, the hearer is kept waiting for the predicate, while in

sentences with marked Rheme, as in (6), the hearer is kept waiting for the final part of

the predicate:

(6) They	prefer,	I think,[8]	a warm weather
Th	Rh	Partition	MRh

---

[8] Taglicht (1984, 31) notes that free forms of address before marked Rheme seem to be very rare in English and does not provide any examples.

Thus, this element of delay does not have the same effect in (5) and (6). The delayed item in (5) "will have to be painted" is textually unmarked, whereas the delayed item in (6) "a warm weather" is the marked item.

Taglicht (1984, 25-28) also notes that every marked item contains intonation focus and is assessed by the hearer as conveying "new information." Thus, it can be said that both intonation structure and information structure serve to distribute "emphasis" and to establish "cohesion" in the text. To sum up, what the marked items have in common are: detachment, terminal (i.e., initial or final) position, and intonation and information focus. All these features of the marked items may be brought by the insertion of free forms of address.

Like Taglicht, Shiina (2007, 17 -32; 2008, 29-48) argues that free forms of address in medial position may perform the "information management" function. In her study of selected English gentry comedies in the 17th and 18th centuries, Shiina follows Leech's (1999, 108) notion of the C-unit, which she divides into three parts: preface(s), body, and tag(s).[9] Prefaces and tags refer to expressions that are loosely attached to the core of the clause (i.e., body) at the beginning (e.g., *Well*, I don't like it) or at the end (e.g., It makes

---

[9] Shiina borrows the terms, preface(s), body, and tag(s), from Biber et al. (2007, 1072).

193

you wonder, you know, *all this unemployment*). Free forms of address often follow the prefaces, participating in the information management function, as in (7):

> (7) Pray, *good dear my lord*, let me beg you do now: I'll come immediately, and tell you all, will you my Lord?

As Lady Touchwood beseeches her husband to let her go, she employs the preface "pray," which functions as attracting her husband's attention to her or the following utterance. Shiina (2008, 34-35) argues that the address form "good dear my lord" collaborates with the preface, "pray," to draw attention to the following utterance and strengthen its illocutionary force, i.e., suggestion or directive.

Free forms of address may also come after fronted constituents, which Shiina (2008, 30) classifies as a type of preface. Here, their information management function can be more clearly seen, as in (8):

> (8) In the Name of Politeness, *my Lord Marquis*, don't mention your Letters again.

Shiina views fronting as an information management device, by which the fronted element gains "thematic prominence" in the immediate context. Thus, the adverbial phrase "in the Name of Politeness" is highlighted primarily by being fronted and even further by being followed by the address form "my Lord Marquis." After the address form there is a pause for the speaker to attract the addressee's attention to what follows.

Free forms of address may also occur within the body, as in (9):

(9) I shall send to you, *Mr. Serjeant*, as soon as Sir Geoffry comes to Town.

The address form "Mr. Serjeant" is inserted between main and subordinate clauses in a complex sentence. The main clause contains conclusive remark, whereas the subordinate clause provides subsidiary information with temporal condition. Shiina (2008, 37) argues that the address form inserted between the two clauses functions to adjust the flow of information by reinforcing the illocutionary force of the declarative statement in the main clause and holding the addressee's attention to the secondary information in the subordinate clause.

Parrott (2010, 220) takes a similar position, summarizing the function of medial free forms of address in Russian as follows:

> Medial direct address forms typically have a focusing function: they orient the addressee's attention to important information at the junction where they occur…, such as a preceding theme or a following rheme, or to the link between the preceding and following information. Medial direct address forms thus function like other parentheticals in that they can be interpolated at strategic points in the host utterance, like linguistic flags marking important landmarks, in order to correctly orient and maintain the addressee's attention.

Building on Taglicht's work, Slocum (2016, 106) argues that free forms of address in medial position are semantically meaningful in that they mark "the edge of the focus domain." For her, what precedes the address functions as "background information" or

"a contrastive topic," while what follows it provides "new information" or "focus."

Slocum provides the following example to illustrate her point.

> (10) *Jessica*: "I want to go home."
>   *Paul*:   a. "I, *Jessica*, want to go to a movie."
>   b. "I want to go, *Jessica*, to a movie."

Paul may respond to Jessica who expresses her desire to go home in two ways. In (10a), Paul places the address form immediately after the self-referential pronoun "I." In doing so, Paul is contrasting himself with Jessica, and thus, "I" functions as a contrastive topic and "want to go to a movie" provides new information. In (10b), however, Paul addresses Jessica between "to go" and "to a movie." Here, Paul is not contrasting himself with Jessica, but his desire to go with her desire to go. Thus, "I want to go" functions as a contrastive topic and "to a movie" provides new information.[10]

To summarize, the linguists who have sought to understand the function of medial free forms of address commonly recognize that the medial addresses participate in information structuring. They partition a sentence into two parts of information—the preface and the body or the first and second part of the body, marking the boundary between them. They have a focusing function, orienting the addressee's attention to

---

[10] Note that Slocum's terminology is different from Taglicht's. For Taglicht (1984, 28), every marked item contains new information, and thus, he would regard the marked Theme "I" in (10a) as new information. For Slocum, however, the following Rheme "want to go to a movie" contains new information.

important information. Regarding how to determine the "important" information, Taglicht's criterion of the "detachment" appears to be the most convincing. In other words, the constituent(s) detached from other constituent(s) with which it is contiguous in the unmarked sequence is the one that gets information focus.

4.2.2 Hebrew Studies

To my knowledge, there are two works that discuss the correlation between the position and the function of free forms of address in Biblical Hebrew, one by Revell (1996), the other by Miller (2010b). In his study of the prose sections of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, Revell (1996, 335) identifies five syntactic positions in the host sentence that free forms of address may occupy: (i) an utterance that consists only of a vocative; (ii) before the clause, including the address forms following אֲהָהּ *ăhah* "Alas" or עַתָּה *ʿattə* "now"; (iii) after the first word or constituent (e.g., an imperative verb, אַל *ʾal*, an interrogative particle, an asseverative expression, the subject of the clause, an extraposed pronoun, a prepositional phrase) in a clause of two or more constituents; (iv) after the clause; (v) after the subject and the head of the predicate, but followed by one or more constituents. According to him (1996, 337), 87% of the address forms in positions (ii) or (iii) are used for the addressees who are superior to the speakers, whereas only 38% of the address forms in position (iv) designate the superior addressees. Thus, Revell

197

(1996, 338) concludes that the use of free forms of address in positions (ii) or (iii) marks the superiority of the addressee, while the use of free forms of address in position (iv) marks the inferiority of the addressee.

As the statistics show, there is a certain tendency in free forms of address used for the superior addressees to occur towards the beginning of the clause. However, it is difficult to accept Revell's conclusion that the syntactic position of address forms marks the relative power/status of the addressee over the speaker, because there are a considerable number of counterexamples to that tendency (e.g., Elijah's address for his disciple Elisha by his name in 2 Kgs 2:4 occurs at the beginning of the sentence). Moreover, the correlation between the position of free forms of address and the relative power/status of the addressees over the speaker is cross-linguistically unattested. Finally, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 3, the relative power/status of the addressee over the speaker is clearly marked by the semantic types of free forms of address, i.e., personal names or descending kinship terms are used for inferior addressees, whereas titles or ascending kinship terms are used for superior addressees. All these reasons lead us to seek another way of explaining the correlation between the position and function of address forms.

In her article, "Vocative Syntax in Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry: A

Preliminary Analysis," Miller (2010b, 347-364) attempts to describe the locations in the

host clause that serve as a niche for free forms of address. Her prose corpus consists of

Genesis, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, while Psalms and the inset poems from the

prose corpus constitute her poetic corpus. As she discusses free forms of address used in

prose, Miller excludes those standing alone or those occurring at the very beginning or

at the very end of the utterance and focuses on those occurring within the utterance.

She classifies these address forms according to the positions in which they occur in the

host clause: (i) clause-initial position; (ii) clause-final position; (iii) clause-medial

position. The clause-initial addresses include those that come after interjections (e.g.,

אֲהָהּ ˀăhāh "Alas!"), oath formula (e.g., חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ ḥe nap̄šḵɔ "As you live"), interrogatives (e.g.,

לָמָה lɔmɔ "Why?"), sentential adverbs (e.g., וְעַתָּה wˁattɔ "Now therefore"), presentative

particles (e.g., הִנֵּה hinne "Look"), and negatives (e.g., לֹא loˀ "No"). Free forms of address in

clause-final position include those that occur between the matrix clause and the

dependent clause, and between the matrix clause and the noun phrase that is co-

referential with the subject of the matrix clause (1 Sam 22:16). The clause-medial

addresses appear in one of the following constructions: (a) between the independent

second-person pronoun and a verb; (b) between the predicate and the subject of a

verbless clause or vice-versa; (c) between a verb and its object; (d) between the core of

the clause and a prepositional phrase.

In terms of the function of free forms of address in clause-medial position, Miller

(2010b, 358) argues that those occurring in (a) or (b) seem to "highlight the

informational status of the initial constituent as contrastive focus," while those

occurring in (d) seem to "draw rhetorical attention" to the following prepositional

phrase.

Miller's description of the external syntax of free forms of address with respect

to the positions that they occupy in the host clause is far more refined and elaborate

than that of Revell. Also, her argument about the information-managing function of the

clause-medial addresses is quite convincing. However, she fails to discuss the function of

free forms of address that occur in many other positions in the sentence. For example,

no comment is offered on how the address forms occurring in (c) function. More

crucially, Miller's classification categories, "clause-initial" or "clause-final," can be

misleading, as they sound like they could include "clause-initial" or "clause-final"

addresses that occur at the very beginning or at the very end of the utterance, which she

in fact excludes from her discussion. From a functional perspective, her "clause-initial"

or "clause-final" addresses may not perform the same pragmatic function as those that

occur at the very beginning or at the very end of the utterance. Thus, a new classification scheme is called for to disambiguate address forms in different syntactic positions that might perform different functions. I attempt to do this in the following.

4.3 Method

In order to describe the position and function of free forms of address in Biblical Hebrew prose, a unit of analysis and the unmarked order of its constituents must be defined and determined.[11]

4.3.1 C-unit

In the following sections, I use Leech's (1999, 108) notion of the "C-unit" as the unit of analysis.[12] As discussed above, the C-unit refers to a syntactically independent or self-standing unit of speech, which has no structural connection with what precedes or follows in the conversation, except by means of coordination. The C-unit may be either a clausal unit (e.g., פָּצִיתָה אֶת־פִּיךָ אֶל־יְהוָה *poṣiṯo ʾɛṯ-pikɔ ʾɛl-yhwh* "You have opened your mouth to YHWH" [Judg 11:36]) or a non-clausal unit (e.g., לֹא *loʾ* "No!" [Gen 42:12]). A clausal C-unit may consist of a 'complex sentence,' i.e., an independent clause with one or more dependent clauses (e.g., זֹאת בְּרִיתִי אֲשֶׁר תִּשְׁמְרוּ בֵּינִי וּבֵינֵיכֶם וּבֵין זַרְעֲךָ אַחֲרֶיךָ *zoʾṯ briṯi ᵃšɛr tišmru*

---

[11] Miller (2010b, 349) follows McCawley (1998), who uses the "host sentence" as the unit of analysis for English vocatives, but she never defines the meaning of the host sentence in Biblical Hebrew.

[12] See Biber et al. (2007, 1069-1072), in which Leech further elaborates the concept of the C-unit. See also Chafe (1994), who uses the term "intonation unit" for a similar notion.

beni uḇeneḵɛm uḇen zar^{ca}ḵɔ ʾaḥ^arɛḵɔ "This is my covenant, which you shall keep, between me and you and your offspring after you" [Gen 17:10]). However, a 'compound sentence,' i.e., two or more independent clauses connected by the coordinating conjunction, such as וְ *w* "and" or כִּי *ki* "but, for," is separated into independent clauses, each of which is treated as a separate C-unit.[13]

Following Biber et al. (2007, 1072) and Shiina (2008, 29), I divide a C-unit into three parts: preface(s), body, and tag(s). Prefaces and tags, which are typical conversational features,[14] may be used by a speaker to cope with planning pressure and to convey fairly complex messages. Rather than putting all the information into the body of the C-unit, the speaker breaks up crucial pieces of information and distributes them into prefaces and tags.

---

[13] Breaking down a compound sentence into independent clauses to treat them as separate units of analysis has been commonly practiced in the study of Biblical Hebrew syntax. See, for example, Moshavi (2010, 49), who examines the word order in the Biblical Hebrew finite clause. She argues that the quest for the sentence in Biblical Hebrew is a futile exercise because almost every clause in narrative begins with the coordinating conjunction וְ.

[14] According to Biber et al. (2007, 957), prefaces and tags are almost exclusively conversational features in British English. Based on a sample of 200,000 words from the Longman Spoken and Written English Corpus: 25 texts of 2,000 words each from conversation (British English only), fiction, news, and academic prose, they note that prefaces and tags occur over 200 times per million words in conversation and occasionally in fictional dialogue, but very rarely in written prose. In Biblical Hebrew as well, prefaces and tags are typically used in conversation.

4.3.1.1 Prefaces

Prefaces are "extra-clausal constituents"[15] loosely attached to the initial edge of the body (e.g., הִנֵּה־נָא יָדַעְתִּי כִּי אִשָּׁה יְפַת־מַרְאֶה אָתְּ *hinne-nɔ yɔḏaʿti ki ʾiššɔ yp̄aṯ-marʾɛ ʾɔt* "*Look*, I know that you are a beautiful woman" [Gen 12:11]). In my corpus, prefaces may take either the form of a clausal adverb (e.g., וְעַתָּה *wʿattɔ* "now therefore," לָכֵן *lɔḵen* "therefore," אָמְנָם *ʾɔmnɔm* "truly"),[16] a "left-dislocated" constituent,[17] a preverbal adjunct clause (e.g., a conditional clause introduced by אִם *ʾim*), an authenticating element in oath formulas (e.g., חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ *ḥe nap̄šḵɔ* "by the life of your inner being"), or the presentative הִנֵּה *hinne* "Look!"[18]

---

[15] The term "extra-clausal constituents" (ECCs) was coined by Dik (1997, 380), who developed the theory of functional grammar. According to him (1997, 383), four types of ECCs can be identified according to the place they occupy in relation to the clause: (i) Absolute or free-standing ECCs; (2) Pre-clausal ECCs; (iii) Clause-internal or parenthetical ECCs; (iv) Post-clausal ECCs. He calls pre-clausal ECCs, which Biber et al. calls prefaces, *themes* (1997, 389), and a post-clausal ECCs, which Biber et al. call tags, *tails* (1997, 401). Dik argues that ECCs cannot be described in terms of "clausal-internal" rules but can only be understood in terms of "pragmatic" rules.

[16] See Moshavi (20101, 68-75) for a list of clausal adverbs in Biblical Hebrew prose.

[17] Left dislocation is traditionally known by Hebraists as *casus pendens*. It refers to a linguistic phenomenon in which a constituent stands outside the left-hand border of a clause. The left dislocated constituent is resumed by a co-referential pronoun within the clause (e.g., הָאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר נָתַתָּה עִמָּדִי הִוא נָתְנָה־לִּי מִן־הָעֵץ *hɔʾiššɔ ʾᵃšɛr nɔṯattɔ ʿimmɔḏi hiwʾ nɔṯnɔ-lli min-hɔʿeṣ* "The woman whom you gave to be with me, *she* gave to me from the tree" [Gen 3:12]). Note that "left" refers to the beginning of a clause and "right" to the end of a clause in linguistic terminology. While the term "left" may cause confusion to the readers of Semitic languages which are written from right to left, it is commonly used among those who seek to apply modern linguistic theory to the study of Biblical Hebrew today (e.g., Moshavi [2010, 81]; *BHRG²* §48).

[18] For a thorough treatment of oath formulas in Biblical Hebrew, see Conklin (2011, 13ff).

Moshavi (2010, 64-89) discusses the basic order of some of these preface elements in the prose sections of Genesis through Kings. According to her, the clausal adverb is more detached from the body than the preverbal adjunct clause or the left-dislocated constituent and hence precedes it. According to my computerized search results, the clausal adverb also precedes the authenticating element (e.g., וְאוּלָם חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי נַפְשֶׁךָ כִּי כְפֶשַׂע בֵּינִי וּבֵין הַמָּוֶת *wᵊuləm ḥay-yhwh wḥe nap̄šɛḵə ki k̄p̄ɛśaᶜ beni uḇen hamməwɛt̄ "But truly, by the life of YHWH and by the life of your inner being*, there is about one step between me and death" [1 Sam 20:3]), while the presentative הִנֵּה *hinne* "look!" almost always follows the preverbal adjunct clause or the left-dislocated constituent.[19] Although the degrees of detachedness of the preverbal adjunct clause, the left-dislocated constituent, and the authenticating element cannot be determined due to lack of data, they may be assumed to have the same degree of detachedness. Then, the order of the preface elements in the C-unit may be determined as in Figure 4-1.

---

[19] There are numerous cases, in which the presentative הִנֵּה *hinne* "look!" follows the preverbal adjunct clause or the left-dislocated constituent. Consider, for example, the following: אֲנִי הִנֵּה בְרִיתִי אִתָּךְ *ᵃni hinne ḇriṭi ʾittāḵ "I—look, my covenant is with you*" (Gen 17:4), in which the left dislocated constituent אֲנִי precedes the presentative הִנֵּה. Also, Exod 7:27 reads וְאִם־מָאֵן אַתָּה לְשַׁלֵּחַ הִנֵּה אָנֹכִי נֹגֵף אֶת־כָּל־גְּבוּלְךָ בַּצְפַרְדְּעִים *wᵊim-mᵊʾen ʾattə lšalleᶜḥ hinne ʾɔnoḵi nogep̄ ʾɛt̄-kəl-ḡḇulḵə baṣp̄ardᶜim "If you refuse to let them go, look*, I will plague all your territory with frogs." Here we see the conditional clause led by אִם *ʾim* "if" precede the presentative הִנֵּה *hinne* "look!" There are only two exceptions to this pattern in Biblical Hebrew prose, in which the presentative הִנֵּה precedes the conditional clause introduced by אִם (Judg 21:21) or the left-dislocated constituent (1 Sam 12:2). Curiously, Moshavi (2010, 77) cites one of these exceptional cases (Judg 21:21) to claim that the presentative הִנֵּה should be classified as a clausal adverb, which normally precedes the preverbal adjunct clause or the left-dislocated constituent. Holmstedt (2014, 121) is right to point out that the presentative הִנֵּה normally follows left-dislocated constituents and precedes fronted constituents.

First ---> Last

Clausal Adverb   Preverbal Adjunct Clause   Presentative הִנֵּה
                        Authenticating Element
                        Left-dislocated Constituent

Figure 4-1. Word Order of the Preface Elements in the C-unit

According to Dik (1997, 386-401), prefaces may perform a variety of pragmatic

functions, such as opening up a new conversation, introducing or shifting a topic of

conversation, setting the scene with respect to time, space, and condition, or drawing

the hearer's attention to the main information in the body. Biber et al. (2007, 1073) add

one more function to these, observing that prefaces may serve to "provide the speaker

with a planning respite, during which the rest of the [C-unit] can be prepared for

execution."

4.3.1.2 Tags

Tags refer to extra-clausal constituents loosely attached to the final edge of the

body (e.g., וּבָאתָ אֶל־הַתֵּבָה אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וּנְשֵׁי־בָנֶיךָ אִתָּךְ *uḇɔʾtɔ ʾɛl-hattɛḇɔ ʾattɔ uḇɔnɛḵɔ wʾištɔ*

unše-ḇɔnɛḵɔ ʾittɔḵ "you shall come into the ark—*you, your sons, your wife, and your sons' wives*

with you" [Gen 6:18]).[20] In our corpus, tags normally take the form of a noun phrase co-

referentially linked to a pronoun in the body.

---

[20] In general linguistics, tags are commonly described as involving "right dislocation" (Biber et al. 2007, 139), while they are called "tails" in functional grammar (Dik 1997, 401).

The discourse-pragmatic functions of tags are difficult to pin down, but tags often serve to clarify or modify the reference of a co-referent pronoun contained in the body that might otherwise be unknown or unclear (Biber et al. 2007, 1080). This clarifying function of tags can be clearly demonstrated in Gen 6:18 above, where God commands Noah to enter the ark, but then realizes that the reference of the second person pronoun embedded in the verb וּבָאתָ *uḇɔʾtə* "*you* shall come in" may be unclear. Thus, he clarifies who should enter the ark together with Noah by adding the tag: אַתָּה וּבָנֶיךָ וְאִשְׁתְּךָ וּנְשֵׁי־בָנֶיךָ אִתָּךְ *ʾattə uḇɔnɛkɔ wʾištkɔ unše-ḇɔnɛkɔ ʾittɔ̄ḵ* "(not only) *you*, (but also) *your sons, your wife, and your sons' wives with you*."

While dependent clauses that come after the matrix clause may not fit in to the definition of tags given above, they occupy the same position as tags, i.e., the final edge of the body (e.g., וָאִירָא כִּי־עֵירֹם אָנֹכִי *waʾirɔʾ ki-ʿerom ʾɔnoḵi* "I was afraid, *because I was naked*" [Gen 3:10]). Thus, they may be classified as tags on syntactic grounds. In the context of information structure, dependent clauses function to provide background information for the matrix clause (Dehé and Kavalova 2007, 12). In Gen 3:10 above, Adam provides background information for his fear by giving the reason for it in the dependent clause led by כִּי *ki* "because"—he was naked. This function is similar to the clarifying function of

tags. Therefore, the classification of dependent clauses as tags may be justified on both syntactic and functional grounds.

4.3.1.3 Body

The body of a C-unit may be divided into two parts: initial edge and core. The core consists of an independent clause, which may be verbal, verbless, or participial. As is widely recognized in Biblical Hebrew scholarship,[21] the unmarked word order in a verbal clause is verb-subject-direct object-indirect object-adverb or prepositional phrase (VSOX),[22] while that in a verbless or participial clause is subject-predicate (SP).[23]

Certain grammatical elements stand at the initial edge of the core, always or nearly always preceding the verb in verbal clauses:[24] interrogative הַ, interrogative pro-forms (e.g., מָה *mɔ* "what?", לָמָּה *ləmmɔ* "why?"), certain time adverbs (e.g., עַתָּה *ʿattɔ* "now"), the demonstrative adverb כֹּה *ko* "thus," and negative particles (e.g., לֹא *loʾ* "not,"

---

[21] For a history of research on word order in Biblical Hebrew since Malbim (1809-79) and a defense for the verb-subject-object order in verbal clauses and the subject-predicate order in verbless or participial clauses, see Moshavi (2010, 7-17).

[22] Note that some of these constituents may not always be present and that there may be additional adjuncts following adverb/prepositional phrase. For the purpose of this chapter however, it is sufficient to enumerate the five constituents above. *BHRG*[2] §46.1.3.2 provides a theoretical template that is reconstructed from the postverbal patterns in clauses with a variety of verbal lexemes: verb-subject-indirect object-prepositional object-other complement/adjunct-complement/adjunct (place)-adjunct (time).

[23] The predicate may be a noun phrase, adjective phrase, participle, or prepositional phrase.

[24] The majority of free forms of address in my corpus occur in verbal clauses. Thus, I do not discuss word order in verbless or participial clauses here. I will comment further when these clauses appear in the next section.

207

אַל ʾal "not,").[25] Thus, the preverbal position is considered the unmarked position for these forms. However, one or more non-verbal constituents that follow the verb in the unmarked clause (e.g., the subject or object) may occupy the position in front of the verb for a variety of pragmatic reasons, such as focusing or topicalization (Moshavi 2010, 104-120). This phenomenon, commonly referred to as "fronting" (*BHRG*² §46.1.2(2)) or "preposing" (Moshavi 2010, 1), forms a marked construction. Unlike the left-dislocated constituent, which is resumed by a co-referential pronoun within the core, the fronted constituent has no resumption within it (e.g., אֹתִי שָׁלַח יְהוָה לִמְשָׁחֲךָ לְמֶלֶךְ ʾoṯi šɔlaḥ yhwh limšɔḥʾkɔ lmɛlɛḵ "*Me* has YHWH sent to anoint you as king" [1 Sam 15:1]).[26]

In terms of the word order of these unmarked elements and fronted constituents standing at the initial edge of the core, the fact that all the unmarked elements, except the interrogative ה and negative particles, do not ordinarily co-occur with fronted constituents leads us to conclude that they stand in the same position as fronted constituents (Moshavi 2010, 78-80). As for the interrogative ה, it can occur with a fronted constituent, and, in these cases, the former precedes the latter (e.g., הֲשֹׁפֵט כָּל־הָאָרֶץ לֹא

---

[25] See Moshavi (2010, 76-80) for a list of these forms occurring in Biblical Hebrew prose.

[26] For a comparison and contrast between left-dislocation and fronting with ample examples, see Moshavi (2010, 81-83). Note also that all these unmarked and marked elements come after prefaces. For example, consider the following: וְלִבְנֹתַי מָה־אֶעֱשֶׂה לָאֵלֶּה הַיּוֹם אוֹ לִבְנֵיהֶן אֲשֶׁר יָלָדוּ *wlibnoṯay mɔ-ʾɛ°śɛ lɔʾellɛ hayyom ʾo libnehɛn ªšɛr yɔlɔḏu* "*To my daughters, what* can I do to these today or to their children whom they have borne?" (Gen 31:43). The interrogative particle מָה *mɔ* "what" occurs after the left-dislocated constituent לִבְנֹתַי *libnoṯay* "to my daughters."

208

יַעֲשֶׂה מִשְׁפָּט *hᵃšop̄eṭ kɔl-hɔʔɔreṣ loʔ yaᶜᵃśɛ mišpɔṭ* "*Shall* not *the judge of all the earth* deal justly?" [Gen 18:25]). Negative particles, however, are so tightly bound to the verb that they normally follow fronted constituents (e.g., וְתֶבֶן לֹא־יִנָּתֵן *wtɛβɛn loʔ-yinnɔṯen* "*Straw* will *not* be given" [Exod 5:18]).

Thus, the order of the body elements in the C-unit may be determined as in Figure 4-2.

First --> **Last**

	Initial Edge		Core
	Interrogative pro-forms	Negative	VSOX
	Time Adverb		
	Demonstrative Adverb כֹּה		
Interrogative ה [27]	Fronted Constituent		

Figure 4-2. Word Order of the Body Elements in the C-unit

Having established a unit of analysis and the unmarked (and marked) order of the C-unit elements, we are now prepared to describe the position and function of free forms of address in our corpus. In the following sections, I arrange free forms of address according to the position that they occupy in relation to the C-unit elements. Then, I

---

[27] I would place the negative interrogative הֲלֹא *hᵃloʔ* "Is it not?" here, as there are a number of cases in Biblical Hebrew prose, in which it follows a left-dislocated constituent (e.g., Gen 34:23; 1 Kgs 11:41; 14:29, etc.) and precedes a fronted constituent (e.g., Gen 20:5; Judg 4:14;11:17; 2 Sam 11:21, etc.). However, הֲלֹא may also occur before the presentative particle הִנֵּה *hinne* "look!" (2 Chr 25:26), a conditional clause led by אִם *ʔim* "if" (Gen 4:7; 1 Sam 15:17; 2 Kgs 20:19), or a left-dislocated constituent (Judg 11:24). Thus, Moshavi (2010, 70) classifies it as a clausal adverb. All that can be said at this stage is that הֲלֹא precedes fronted constituents. The precise unmarked location of הֲלֹא cannot be ascertained.

select one or two samples representing each group of address forms that occupy the same position to demonstrate the pragmatic function that they perform. I follow Taglicht's assumption that the markedness of an element is determined by syntactic (detachment) and/or prosodic (intonation) criteria and that every marked element contains information focus. Since no prosodic data are available in Biblical Hebrew, however, we have no choice but to rely on the syntactic criterion to determine marked elements. I will argue that the insertion of free forms of address into the C-unit makes an element preceding or following it a marked element and thus reinforces the pragmatic function that the marked element performs.

4.4 Analysis

Free forms of address in our corpus are found in one of the following positions in relation to the C-unit: stand-alone, initial, medial, and final.

4.4.1 Stand-Alone

A C-unit may be non-clausal, consisting entirely of one or more free forms of address. There are eighteen cases of such stand-alone addresses in our corpus, which accounts for 3% of total free forms of address.[28] They are primarily used as "calls" or

---

[28] Gen 22:1, 7, 11; 27:1, 18; 31:11; 46:2; Exod 3:4; 1 Sam 3:6, 10, 16; 24:9; 2 Sam 9:6; 19:5; 2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14; Isa 8:4 (2x).

"summonses" to attract the attention of the addressee at the beginning of the

conversation. Consider the following:

(11) Gen 22:7

וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֶּנִּי בְנִי

wayyoʾmɛr	*yiṣḥɔq*	*ʾɛl-ʾaḇrɔhɔm*	*ʾɔḇiw*	*wayyoʾmɛr*	*ʾɔḇi*
and=he.said	Isaac	to-Abraham	father=his	and=he.said	father=my

wayyoʾmɛr	*hinnɛnni*	*ḇni*
and=he.said	look=me	son=my

Isaac said to his father Abraham, "*My father*!" "Here I am, my son," he replied.

Isaac's address occurs as he and his father Abraham are approaching one of the

mountains in Moriah, where Abraham is to offer Isaac as a burnt offering to God. The

pragmatic function of Isaac's address as a call to catch Abraham's attention is clearly

seen in Abraham's immediate response to his call, הִנֶּנִּי בְנִי *hinnɛnni ḇni* "Here I am, my

son."[29] All the other stand-alone addresses in our corpus are followed by the addressee's

verbal or non-verbal reply, except the cases in which the addressee is dead (2 Sam 19:5)

or disappeared from the scene (2 Kgs 2:12), or the conversation is not fully recorded (Isa

8:4). Some of these stand-alone addresses consist of an address repeated in a row or

combined with another address, as in (12):

---

[29] See Schegloff (1968, 1075-1095) who explores the summons-answer sequences in telephone conversations.

(12) 1 Sam 3:10

וַיָּבֹא יְהוָה וַיִּתְיַצַּב וַיִּקְרָא כְפַעַם־בְּפַעַם שְׁמוּאֵל שְׁמוּאֵל

wayyəḇoʾ	*yhwh*	*wayyiṯyaṣṣaḇ*	*wayyiqrəʾ*	*kp̄aʿam-bp̄aʿam*
and=he.came	YWHH	and=he.stood	and=he.called	like=time-in=time

šmuʾel	*šmuʾel*
Samuel	Samuel

Then YHWH came and stood, calling as at other times, "*Samuel! Samuel!*"

This type of stand-alone address may assume additional pragmatic function, such as

expressing the speaker's emotion or urgency, as discussed in §2.2.1.5.2. Nevertheless,

there is no question about their primary function as a call to get the addressee's

attention.

Thirty-six free forms of address, which account for about 7% of the total cases,

immediately follow an interjection, such as אֲהָהּ *ʾăhāh* "Alas!",[30] אָנָּא *ʾonnə* "Oh!",[31] אָנָּה *ʾonnə*

"Oh!",[32] בִּי *bi* "Oh!",[33] and הוֹי *hoy* "Woe!"[34] Syntactically, these interjections are

independent of the following C-unit: they do not form part of it nor modify it. Thus, an

interjection followed by a free form of address may constitute a non-clausal C-unit, as in

(13):

---

[30] See Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; 11:35; 2 Kgs 6:5, 15; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:3; 21:5.

[31] See Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5, 11.

[32] See 2 Kgs 20:3; Isa 38:3; Jonah 1:14; 4:2.

[33] See Gen 43:20; 44:18; Exod 4:10, 13; Num 12:11; Josh 7:8; Judg 6:13, 15; 13:8; 1 Sam 1:26; 1 Kgs 3:17, 26.

[34] See 1 Kgs 13:30; Jer 23:1; 34:5; Ezek 34:2.

(13) Jonah 1:14

וַיִּקְרְאוּ אֶל־יְהוָה וַיֹּאמְרוּ אָנָּה יְהוָה אַל־נָא נֹאבְדָה בְּנֶפֶשׁ הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה

wayyiqrʾu	*ʾɛl-yhwh*	*wayyoʾmru*	*ʾɔnnɔ*	*yhwh*
and=they.called	to-YHWH	and=they.said	oh	YHWH

ʾal-nɔʾ	*noʾḇḏɔ*	*bnɛp̄ɛš*	*hɔʾiš*	*hazzɛ*
not-POL	we.will.die	in=life.of	the=man	the=this

They called out to YHWH, "**Oh**, *YHWH*! Don't let us die on account of this man!"

In this verse, the address form יְהוָה occurs right after the interjection אָנָּה, as the sailors are crying out to the God of Israel for help. No doubt the primary function of the interjection is to catch the attention of the addressee יְהוָה, conveying the sense of urgency of the following request. The address form that follows the interjection seems to reinforce the attention-getting function of the interjection by identifying who the addressee is in this prayer. Thus, the address form following the interjection appears to fulfill the same function as that of stand-alone addresses. On functional grounds, then, free forms of address following an interjection may be classified as stand-alone addresses.

4.4.2 C-unit Initial

Most of the C-units in our corpus are clausal units, consisting of either verbal, verbless, or participial clauses. As discussed above, a C-unit may be divided into preface, body (initial and core), and tag. 145 free forms of address, which account for about 26%

of the total addresses in our corpus, occur at the beginning of a C-unit, i.e., before any

preface elements. They occur either at the beginning of a conversation,[35] at the

beginning of a turn,[36] or at the beginning of a C-unit within a turn,[37] as in (14), (15), and

(16), respectively:

(14) Gen 16:7-8a

<div dir="rtl">

וַיִּמְצָאָהּ מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה עַל־עֵין הַמַּיִם בַּמִּדְבָּר עַל־הָעַיִן בְּדֶרֶךְ שׁוּר
וַיֹּאמַר הָגָר שִׁפְחַת שָׂרַי אֵי־מִזֶּה בָאת

</div>

wayyimṣɔʾɔh	*malʾak*	*yhwh*	*ʿal-ʿen*	*hammayim*
and=he.found=her	messenger.of	YHWH	on-spring.of	the=water

bammiḏbɔr	*ʿal-hɔʿayin*	*bdɛrek*	*šur*
in=the=wilderness	on-the=spring.of	in=way.of	Shur

wayyoʾmar	*hɔgɔr*	*šipḥaṯ*	*śɔray*	*ʾe-mizzɛ*	*bɔʾṯ*
and=he.said	Hagar	servant.of	Sarai	where-from=this	you.came

The messenger of YHWH found her (i.e., Hagar) near a spring of water in the
wilderness—the spring on the way to Shur.
He said, "*Hagar*, *servant of Sarai*, where have you come from?"

---

[35] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the beginning of a conversation, see Gen
16:8; 18:3; 20:4; 24:12, 42; 29:4; 32:10; Exod 5:22; Num 11:28; 12:13; Deut 3:24; 9:26; Josh 7:19; Judg 16:28; 1 Sam
1:8, 11; 23:10; 2 Sam 19:1; 1 Kgs 1:24; 8:23; 13:2; 17:20; 18:26, 36; 22:15; 2 Kgs 1:9, 11, 13; 2:4; 5:13; 6:17, 20; 8:5;
19:15; Isa 37:16; Jer 38:9; 51:62; Ezek 2:1; 3:17; 6:2; 8:5; 11:2; 11:15; 12:2, 9, 18, 22, 27; 13:2; 14:3; 13; 15:2; 16:2;
17:2; 20:3; 21:2, 7, 14; 22:3, 18, 24; 23:2, 36; 24:2, 16; 25:2; 26:2; 28:2, 12, 21; 29:2, 18; 30:2, 21; 31:2; 32:2, 18; 33:2,
8, 24; 34:2; 35:2; 36:1, 17; 37:3, 4; 38:2; 40:4; 43:7; 44:5; Amos 7:2, 5, 12; Zech 1:12; Ruth 3:1; Dan 8:16; 9:22;
10:11, 16; Ezra 9:6; 2 Chr 6:14; 14:10; 18:14; 20:6; 25:7; 30:6.

[36] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the beginning of a turn, see Gen 15:2, 8;
23:15; Num 16:22; Judg 11:36; 1 Sam 20:30; 2 Sam 19:27; 1 Kgs 1:17; 17:21; Ezek 2:3; 3:1, 3, 4, 10; 4:16; 8:6, 8;
37:3, 11; 43:18; Dan 12:8.

[37] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the beginning of a C-unit within a turn, see
1 Sam 23:11; 24:12; Dan 9:8, 16, 19 (3x); Ezra 9:15; 1 Chr 17:19, 20; 21:17; 29:16, 18; 2 Chr 6:42; 13:12; 14:10;
20:12; 29:11.

(15) 1 Kgs 1:16-17a

וַתִּקֹּד בַּת־שֶׁבַע וַתִּשְׁתַּחוּ לַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ מַה־לָּךְ
וַתֹּאמֶר לוֹ אֲדֹנִי אַתָּה נִשְׁבַּעְתָּ בַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ לַאֲמָתֶךָ כִּי־שְׁלֹמֹה בְנֵךְ יִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרָי

wattiqqoḏ	*baṯ-šɛḇaʿ*	*wattištaḥu*	*lammɛlɛḵ*	*wayyoʾmɛr*
and=she.bowed	Bathsheba	and=she.bowed	to=the=king	and=he.said

hammɛlɛḵ	*ma-lləḵ*
the=king	what-to=you

wattoʾmɛr	*lo*	*ˣḏoni*	*ʾattə*	*nišbaʿtə*	*bayhwh*	*ˣlohɛḵə*
and=she.said	to=him	lord=my	you	you.swore	by=YHWH	God=your

laˣməṯɛḵə	*ki-šlomo*	*ḇnek*	*yimloḵ*	*ʾaḥˤrəy*
to=servant=your	that-Solomon	son=your	he.will.rule	after=me

Bathsheba bowed and paid homage to the king. The king said, "What do you want?"
She replied to him, "*My lord*, you swore to your servant by YHWH your God, 'Solomon your son will be king after me.'"

(16) 2 Chr 29:10-11a

עַתָּה עִם־לְבָבִי לִכְרוֹת בְּרִית לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיָשֹׁב מִמֶּנּוּ חֲרוֹן אַפּוֹ
בָּנַי עַתָּה אַל־תִּשָּׁלוּ

ʿattə	*ʿim-lḇoḇi*	*liḵroṯ*	*briṯ*	*layhwh*	*ˣlohe*	*yiśrɔʾel*
now	with-heart=my	to=cut	covenant	to=YHWH	God.of	Israel

wyɔšoḇ	*mimmɛnnu*	*ḥˤron*	*ʾappo*
and=he.will.return.	from=us	burning.of	nose=his

bɔnay	*ʿattə*	*ʾal-tiššɔlu*
sons=my	now	not-you.will.be.at.ease

"Now it is in my heart to make a covenant with YHWH, the God of Israel, so that his fierce anger may turn away from us.
My sons, do not be negligent now"

In (14), the messenger of YHWH comes on the scene out of nowhere and approaches

Hagar who has fled from her mistress Sarai because she has treated her harshly. He

begins the conversation by addressing her by her name and title. It seems clear that the

intention of the messenger of YHWH in his address at the beginning of the conversation

is to get Hagar's attention before he asks her where she came from.

In (15), we see King David opening the conversation. He asks Bathsheba what she

wants after she bows down to him. Then she begins her turn by addressing David as אֲדֹנִי

ˀăḏoni "my lord." At this point, Bathsheba has no need to attract David's attention as he is

already paying attention to her (that's why he asked her what she wanted!). Rather, the

purpose of her address seems to signal the beginning of her turn and at the same time to

identify who David is in relation to her before she asks him a favor, i.e., to make her son

Solomon king over Israel. By using the deferential address form אֲדֹנִי at the beginning of

her turn, Bathsheba verbally (not just gesturally) acknowledges that David is her master

who can grant her a favor, but also prepares herself to present her case before him.

Example (16) comes from King Hezekiah's speech to the Levites prior to the

cleansing of the temple. He begins his speech by addressing the Levites in 2 Chr 29:5,

saying, שְׁמָעוּנִי הַלְוִיִּם šmo‘uni halwiyyim "Hear me, Levites!" Then he goes on to argue that

the wrath of YHWH has come on Judah and Jerusalem because of the sins that their

fathers committed. Before giving the Levites his final charge, "Do not be negligent now,"

Hezekiah addresses them as "my sons." I would argue that Hezekiah's address here

functions as a rhetorical device to grab the attention of the Levites once again right

before giving his final command. In doing so, Hezekiah highlights the significance of his

charge.

The functions of all the other addresses in a C-unit initial position in our corpus

can be explained as attracting the attention of the addressee, signaling the beginning of

a turn, and/or identifying the addressee. This result, therefore, corresponds to Leech's

(1999, 116) identification of the functions of initial address forms in British and American

English.

4.4.3 C-unit Final

212 free forms of address, which constitute about 39% of the total addresses in

our corpus, occur at the end of a C-unit. They occur either at the end of a conversation,[38]

at the end of a turn,[39] or at the end of a C-unit within a turn,[40] as in (17) and (18):

---

[38] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the end of a conversation, see Gen 22:8; 43:29; Num 16:7; Deut 26:10; Judg 16:9, 12, 14, 20; 2 Sam 15:31; 16:4; 19:1; 20:9; 1 Kgs 8:53; 9:13; 22:28; 2 Kgs 3:23; 9:5, 23; Ezek 11:4; 20:44; 33:20; Ruth 2:2; 2 Chr 18:27.

[39] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the end of a turn, see Gen 22:7; 24:18; 27:18, 20, 26, 34, 37, 38; Judg 3:19; 6:12; 1 Sam 4:16; 14:44; 17:55, 58; 22:12 (2x); 24:17; 26:14, 17 (2x); 2 Sam 2:20; 13:11; 14:4; 19:26; 1 Kgs 12:16; 18:7, 17; 19:9, 13; 21:20; 2 Kgs 2:23; 4:40; 5:25; 6:21, 26; 9:5, 22, 31; Jer 1:11; 11:5; 24:3; Ezek 47:6; Amos 7:8; 8:2; Zech 1:9; 4:4; 6:4; Ruth 3:16; 2 Chr 10:16.

[40] For examples in which free forms of address occur at the end of a C-unit within a turn, see Gen 15:1; 21:17; 23:6; 24:31; 27:13, 38; 33:9; 48:19; Num 10:35; 14:14; 16:6 (2x), 8; 20:10; Deut 6:3, 4; 9:1; 20:3; 21:8;

(17) Gen 22:7-8a

וַיֹּאמֶר יִצְחָק אֶל־אַבְרָהָם אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אָבִי
וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֶּנִּי בְנִי
וַיֹּאמֶר הִנֵּה הָאֵשׁ וְהָעֵצִים וְאַיֵּה הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה:
וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְרָהָם אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה־לֹּו הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה בְּנִי

wayyoʼmɛr	*yiṣḥəq*	*ʼɛl-ʼabrəhəm*	*ʼəbiw*	*wayyoʼmɛr*	*ʼəbi*
and=he.said	Isaac	to-Abraham	father=his	and=he.said	father=my

wayyoʼmɛr   *hinnɛnni*   *bni*
and=he.said   look=me   son=my

wayyoʼmɛr   *hinne*   *həʼeš*   *whəʽeṣim*   *wʼayye*   *haśśɛ*
and=he.said   look   the=fire   and=the=trees   and=where   the=lamb

lʽolə
for=burnt.offiring

wayyoʼmɛr   *ʼabrəhəm*   *ˣlohim*   *yirʼɛ-llo*   *haśśɛ*   *lʽolə*
and=he.said   Abraham   God   he.will.see-for=him   the=lamb   for=burnt.offering

bni
son=my

Isaac said to his father Abraham, "My father!"
"Here I am, *my son*," he replied.
He said, "Here is the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb for a burnt offering?"
Abraham said, "God will provide for himself the lamb for a burnt offering, *my son*."

27:9; Josh 7:13; Judg 4:18; 9:7; 16:28; 1 Sam 3:6, 9; 26:21, 22, 25; 2 Sam 7:18, 19 (2x), 20, 22; 13:34; 16:7, 10; 18:22; 1 Kgs 2:20; 12:16; 14:6; 17:18; 18:37; 2 Kgs 2:23; Isa 10:24; 31:6; Jer 3:14; 7:2; 10:1; 11:13; 17:20 (3x); 18:6; 19:3; 28:15; 29:20; 32:25; 34:4; 37:20; 42:15, 19; 44:24, 26; 45:2; Ezek 8:15, 17; 11:5; 18:25, 29, 30, 31; 20:4, 27, 31; 26:3; 28:22; 33:11; 36:22, 32; 37:9 (2x), 12, 13; 38:3, 14, 16; 39:1; 44:6; 45:9; Amos 5:1; Zech 3:2; 4:7; Ruth 1:11, 12; 2:8, 13; 3:10; Esth 5:3; 7:2; Dan 9:19; 10:12, 19; 12:9; Neh 3:36; 13:22; 1 Chr 17:16, 17 (2x); 28:2; 2 Chr 10:16; 13:4 (2x); 14:10; 15:2 (3x); 20:15 (3x), 17 (2x), 20 (2x); 29:5; 35:21.

(18) Gen 15:1

אַחַר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה הָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־אַבְרָם בַּמַּחֲזֶה לֵאמֹר אַל־תִּירָא אַבְרָם אָנֹכִי מָגֵן לָךְ שְׂכָרְךָ הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד

ʾaḥar	*haddḇɔrim*	*hɔʾellɛ*	*hɔyɔ*	*dḇar-yhwh*	*ʾɛl-ʾaḇrɔm*	*bammaḥᵃzɛ*
after	the=things	the=these	he.was	word.of-YHWH	to-Abram	in=vision

leʾmor	*ʾal-tirɔ*	*ʾaḇrɔm*	*ʾɔnoḵi*	*mɔgen*	*lɔḵ*	*śḵɔrḵɔ*	*harbe*	*mʾoḏ*
to=say	not-you.will.fear	Abram	I	shield	to=you	reward=your	much	very

After these things the word of YHWH came to Abram in a vision: "Fear not,
Abram! I am your shield; your reward shall be very great."

Example (17) shows a continuation of the conversation between Abraham and Isaac that began in (11). In response to Isaac's call by the stand-alone address, אָבִי *ʾɔḇi* "my father," Abraham says, הִנֶּנִּי בְנִי *hinnɛnni ḇni* "Here I am, my son." It is certain that Abraham's address בְּנִי in a turn-final position does not function as a call to catch Isaac's attention. Rather, his address seems to be used both to identify the addressee and to signal the end of his turn to give the floor to the addressee. Isaac takes his turn, asking where the lamb for a burnt offering is. In reply to his question, Abraham states, אֱלֹהִים יִרְאֶה־לּוֹ הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה בְּנִי *ʾᵉlohim yirʾɛ-llo haśśɛ lʿolɔ bni* "God will provide for himself the lamb for a burnt offering, my son." This time, his address בְּנִי occurs at the end of their conversation. Thus, it can be said that Abraham's address is used to signal the end of their dialogue as well as to identify the addressee once again.

In (18), YHWH appears to Abram in a vision and says, אַל־תִּירָא אַבְרָם *ʾal-tirɔ ʾaḇrɔm* "Fear not, Abram!" YHWH's address אַבְרָם occurs at the end of a C-unit within his turn.

Again, it does not seem to function as a call but as identifying Abram as his addressee and maintaining contact with him prior to YHWH's further statement.

Included in this group of free forms of address in a C-unit final position are those that immediately follow elliptical negatives, such as לֹא *loʾ* "no,"[41] לֹא־כֵן *loʾ- ken* "not so,"[42] אַל *ʾal* "no,"[43] אַל־נָא *ʾal-nə* "please no."[44] Consider the following:

(19) Zech 4:5

וַיַּעַן הַמַּלְאָךְ הַדֹּבֵר בִּי וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי הֲלוֹא יָדַעְתָּ מָה־הֵמָּה אֵלֶּה וָאֹמַר לֹא אֲדֹנִי

wayyaʿan   hammalʾɔk   haddoḇer   bi   wayyoʾmɛr   ʾelay
and=he.answered   the=messenger   the=speaking   with=me   and=he.said   to=me

hᵃloʾ   yəḏaʿtə   mə-hemmə   ʾellɛ   wəʾomar   loʾ   ᵃḏoni
INTER=not   you.knew   what-they   these   and=I.said   not   lord=my

Then the messenger who talked with me answered and said to me, "Do you not know what these are?" I responded, "**No**, *my lord.*"

After showing Zechariah a vision of a golden lampstand and two olive trees, the messenger asks him if he knows what they signify. So Zechariah responds with the negative particle לֹא *loʾ* "no" followed by the address אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* "my lord." Here the word לֹא expresses a denial of everything said by the messenger, standing elliptically for an entire sentence, "No, I don't know what these are."[45] Thus, Zechariah's address

---

[41] Gen 23:11; 42:10; 1 Sam 1:15; 2 Kgs 6:12; Zech 4:5, 13.
[42] Gen 48:18.
[43] Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 2:24; 2 Sam 13:12, 25; 2 Kgs 4:16; Ruth 1:13.
[44] Gen 19:18.
[45] For the use of elliptical negatives, see Zevit (1979, 505-509).

following the elliptical לֹא may be regarded as being in a C-unit final position (i.e., "No, I don't know what these are, my lord"), functioning to signal the end of his turn to give the floor to the messenger.

The functions of all the other addresses in a C-unit final position in our corpus can be explained as identifying the addressee, signaling the end of the conversation, signaling the end of a turn to give the floor to the addressee, and/or maintaining contact with the addressee. This result, therefore, corresponds to Leech's (1999, 116) identification of the functions of final address forms in British and American English.

Summary

So far, we have examined the functions that stand-alone, initial, or final addresses perform in our corpus. Their functions include attracting the attention of the addressee, identifying the addressee, signaling the beginning or the end of a turn/conversation, giving the floor to the addressee, and/or maintaining contact with the addressee. As all these functions are directly related to managing the flow of the conversation, we could perhaps place them under one overarching function, "conversation management."[46]

---

[46] The term "conversation management" is partly borrowed from Shiina (2007, 26), who places all these functions of initial and final free forms of address used in the Early Modern English under the term "conversational management."

4.4.4 C-unit Medial

About 25% of the total addresses in our corpus (139 forms) occur within a C-unit

and may come in one of the following positions: (i) between the preface and the body; (ii)

within the body; (iii) between the body and the tag. I will argue that in each of these

cases, free forms of address perform a partition function to mark the boundary between

the two parts of a C-unit and a focusing function to orient the addressee's attention to a

"marked" element, which may be determined by the criterion of the "detachment."

4.4.4.1 Between Preface and Body

There are forty-eight free forms of address that occur immediately after one of

the preface elements, such as a clausal adverb (וְעַתָּה *wᶜattə* "now therefore," לָכֵן * lāk̲en*

"therefore," אָמְנָם *ʾomnəm* "truly"),[47] a preverbal adjunct clause (a conditional clause led

by אִם *ʾim* "if"),[48] an authenticating element (חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ *ḥe nap̄šk̲ə* "by the life of your inner

being"),[49] a left-dislocated constituent (וְאַתָּה *wʾattə* "as for you [M.SG.]," וְאַתֶּם *wʾattɛm* "as

for you [M.PL.]," וְאַתֵּנָה *wʾattenə* "as for you [F.PL.]"),[50] or the presentative הִנֵּה *hinne* or הֵן

---

[47] For free forms of address occurring after וְעַתָּה, see Gen 27:8, 43; Deut 4:1; 10:12; 1 Sam 25:26; 2 Sam 7:25, 28; 13:20; 24:10; 1 Kgs 1:18; 3:7; 8:25, 26; 2 Kgs 19:19; Isa 37:20; Jonah 4:3; Ruth 3:11; Dan 9:15; 1 Chr 17:23, 26; 29:13; 2 Chr 6:16, 17. For free forms of address occurring after לָכֵן, see Ezek 16:35; 23:22; 34:7, 9; 36:4. For free forms of address occurring after אָמְנָם, see 2 Kgs 19:17; Isa 37:18.

[48] For free forms of address occurring after a conditional clause led by אִם, see: Exod 34:9; Esth 7:3.

[49] For free forms of address occurring after חֵי נַפְשְׁךָ, see 1 Sam 1:26; 17:55; 2 Sam 14:19.

[50] For free forms of address occurring after וְאַתָּה, see 1 Kgs 1:20; Ezek 3:25; 7:2; 21:30; 22:2; 24:25; 33:7, 30; 39:17. For free forms of address occurring after וְאַתֶּם, see Ezek 20:39. For free forms of address occurring after וְאַתֵּנָה, see Ezek 34:17.

נָא *hinne nnɔ* "look."[51] Almost two thirds of these address forms are directly followed by the first element of the core of the body as in (20), while one third are followed by an initial element of the body as in (21). There are only three cases in which the address occurs between two preface elements, as in (22).

(20) 2 Kgs 19:17

אָמְנָם יְהֹוָה הֶחֱרִיבוּ מַלְכֵי אַשּׁוּר אֶת־הַגּוֹיִם וְאֶת־אַרְצָם

ɔmnɔm yhwh hɛḥˤribu malke ɔaššur ɔet-haggoyim
Truly   YHWH   they.destroyed   kings.of   Assyria   ACC-the=nations

wɔɛt-ɔarṣɔm
and=ACC-land=their

Truly, *O YHWH*, the kings of Assyria have destroyed the nations and their lands.

(21) Ezek 23:22

לָכֵן אָהֳלִיבָה כֹּה־אָמַר אֲדֹנָי יְהֹוִה הִנְנִי מֵעִיר אֶת־מְאַהֲבַיִךְ עָלַיִךְ אֵת אֲשֶׁר־נָקְעָה נַפְשֵׁךְ מֵהֶם

lɔken ɔoholibɔ ko-ɔɔmar ˣɔdonɔy yhwh hinni meˤir
therefore   Oholibah   thus-he.said   Lord   YHWH   look=me   string.up

ɔɛt-mɔahˤbayik ˤɔlayik ɔet ˣɔšɛr-nɔqˤɔ
ACC-lovers=your   against=you   ACC   whom-she.was.disgusted

nap̄šek mehɛm
life=your   from=them

Therefore, *Oholibah*, thus says the Lord YHWH: "Look, I am about to stir up against you your lovers with whom you were disgusted.

---

[51] For free forms of address occurring after הִנֵּה, see Judg 20:7. For free forms of address occurring after הִנֵּה נָא, see Gen 19:2.

(22) 1 Sam 25:26

וְעַתָּה אֲדֹנִי חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי־נַפְשְׁךָ אֲשֶׁר מְנָעֲךָ יְהוָה מִבּוֹא בְדָמִים וְהוֹשֵׁעַ יָדְךָ לָךְ וְעַתָּה יִהְיוּ כְנָבָל אֹיְבֶיךָ

wᶜattə	*ˀᵃḏoni*	*ḥay-yhwh*	*wḥey-nap̄šᵊḵə*	*ˀšɛr*
and=now	lord=my	life.of-YHWH	and=life.of-life=your	that

mnəᵃḵə	*yhwh*	*mibboˀ*	*bḏəmim*	*whošeᵃᶜ*
he.restrained=you	YHWH	from=to.enter	in=blood	and=saving

yəḏḵə	*ləḵ*	*wᶜattə*	*yihyu*	*ḵnəḇəl*	*ˀoyḇɛḵə*
hand=your	for=you	and=now	they.will.be	like=Nabal	enemies=your

Now therefore, *my lord*, by the life of YHWH and by your own life, (I swear that) since YHWH prevented you from entering into bloodshed and taking matters into your own hand, now then, may your enemies be like Nabal.[52]

Example (20) is part of Hezekiah's prayer to YHWH after he received a letter full of threats from Sennacherib king of Assyria. Hezekiah's address יְהוָה *yhwh* "O YHWH!" occurs between the clausal adverb אָמְנָם *ˀəmnəm* "truly" and the verb הֶחֱרִיבוּ *hɛḥᵉriḇu* "they destroyed." In (21), the prophet Ezekiel delivers a message of YHWH against Oholibah (symbolizing Jerusalem) who continues her "whoring" with the Babylonians. His address אָהֳלִיבָה *ˀoh°liḇə* "Oholibah" comes between the clausal adverb לָכֵן *ləḵen* "therefore" and the demonstrative adverb כֹּה *ko* "thus." In (22), we see Abigail taking an oath against David's enemies who seek to do evil to him that they may die like Nabal. Her address אֲדֹנִי

ˣᵈoni "my lord" falls between the clausal adverb וְעַתָּה wᶜattə "now therefore"[53] and the

authenticating element חַי־יְהוָה וְחֵי־נַפְשְׁךָ ḥay-yhwh wḥey-napšḵə "by the life of YHWH and

by your own life."

The insertion of these addresses breaks the unmarked sequence of the C-unit,

partitioning it into a preface element and the rest of the C-unit. The preface element that

comes before the address may be considered "marked" as it is "further detached"[54] from

the following constituent(s) with which it is contiguous in the unmarked sequence. I

would argue that the marked preface element contains information focus and that its

discourse-pragmatic function is reinforced. In (20) above, the discourse-pragmatic

function of the clausal adverb אָמְנָם is to draw the attention of the addressee to and

confirm the veracity of the following proposition (i.e., the destruction of the nations by

the Assyrians).[55] In (21), the clausal adverb לָכֵן is used as a discourse marker which

orients the addressee(s) both backwards to the grounds of the following prophetic

announcements (i.e., Oholibah's "whoring" with the Babylonians) and forwards to the

---

[53] In the Hebrew Bible, וְעַתָּה (= the conjunction וְ + the time adverb עַתָּה) is predominantly used as a clausal adverb functioning as a discourse marker. For the distribution and function of וְעַתָּה as a discourse marker, see *BHRG²* §40.39.

[54] As discussed above, the preface elements are considered already syntactically detached from the body.

[55] Note that the clausal adverb אָמְנָם occurs only in reported speech. For a discussion of the distribution and use of אָמְנָם, see *BHRG²* §40.13.

consequences of said grounds (i.e., the Babylonian conquest of Jerusalem).[56] The clausal

adverb וְעַתָּה in (22) also functions as a discourse marker which orients the addressee both

backwards to the speaker's explanation of the background situation (i.e., Nabal's

stupidity) and forwards to the implications of said background (i.e., the destiny of David's

enemy like Nabal). All these functions of the preface elements seem to be further

highlighted by the intrusion of the addresses, which not only detaches them from but

also "delays" the rest of the C-unit. The addressees are pointed to the parts preceding

and/or following the preface elements according to their discourse-pragmatic functions

as they are kept waiting for the rest of the C-unit. All the other addresses that

immediately follow a preface element seem to reinforce its discourse-pragmatic

function(s).

4.4.4.2 Within the Body

Free forms of address that occur within the body of the C-unit can be divided into

two groups: those that occur between the initial edge and the core of the body and those

that occur within the core of the body.

---

[56] For a detailed analysis of the clausal adverb לָכֵן, see van der Merwe (2014).

4.4.4.2.1 Between the Initial Edge and the Core

There are forty-nine free forms of address in our corpus that occur immediately

after an initial-edge constituent. Eight of them occur after an "unmarked" initial-edge

constituent, such as the negative interrogative הֲלֹא *hᵃloʾ* "is it not?" as in (23),[57] the

interrogative pro-form לָמָה *ləmə* "why?" as in (24),[58] the time adverb עַתָּה *ʿattə* "now" as in

(25),[59] and the negative אַל־נָא *ʾal-nə* "please not" as in (26):[60]

(23) 1 Chr 21:3

<div dir="rtl">הֲלֹא אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ כֻּלָּם לַאדֹנִי לַעֲבָדִים</div>

hᵃloʾ	*ˣḏoni*	*hammɛlɛk*	*kulləm*	*laʾḏoni*	*laˤᵃḇəḏim*
INTER=not	lord=my	the=king	all=their	to=lord=my	to=servants

Are not, *my lord the king*, all of them my lord's servants?

(24) Exod 32:11

<div dir="rtl">לָמָה יְהֹוָה יֶחֱרֶה אַפְּךָ בְּעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּכֹחַ גָּדוֹל וּבְיָד חֲזָקָה</div>

ləmə	*yhwh*	*yɛḥᵉrɛ*	*ʾappkə*	*bˤammɛkə*	*ˣšɛr hoṣeʾtə*
why	YHWH	he.will.burn	nose=your	in=people=your	REL you.brought.out

meʾɛrɛṣ	*miṣrayim*	*bḵoᵃḥ*	*gəḏol*	*uḇyəḏ*	*ḥᵃzəqə*
from=land.of	Egypt	with=power	great	and=with=hand	strong

Why, *O YHWH*, does your anger burn against your people, whom you have
brought out from the land of Egypt with great power and with a mighty hand?

---

[57] 1 Chr 21:3.
[58] Exod 32:11; Judg 21:3.
[59] 1 Kgs 19:4; 1 Chr 22:11; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:40.
[60] Gen 19:7.

(25) 1 Kgs 19:4

עַתָּה יְהֹוָה קַח נַפְשִׁי

ʿattə   yhwh   qaḥ   nap̄ši
now   YHWH   take   life=my

Now, *O YHWH*, take my life!

(26) Gen 19:7

אַל־נָא אַחַי תָּרֵעוּ

ʾal-nə   ʾaḥay   təreʿu
not-POL   brothers=my   you.will.act.wickedly
Do not please, *my brothers*, act wickedly!

In (23), we see Joab counseling King David as he attempts to order a census of the people

of Israel. His deferential address אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ˣḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* "my lord the king" comes

between the negative interrogative הֲלֹא *hᵃloʾ* "are not" and the subject of the verbless

clause כֻּלָּם *kulləm* "all of them." In (24), Moses is attempting to appease and entreat

YHWH as he is about to consume the people of Israel who have made a golden calf for

themselves and have worshiped it. His address יְהֹוָה *yhwh* "YHWH" occurs between the

interrogative pro-form לָמָה *ləmə* "why?" and the verb יֶחֱרֶה *yɛḥᵉrɛ* "it burns." In (25), we

see Elijah asking God to take his life as he is so afraid of and depressed with Jezebel's

threat. His address occurs between the time adverb עַתָּה *ʿttə* "now" and the imperative

verb קַח *qaḥ* "take!" In (26), Lot is attempting to prevent the men of Sodom from violating

the two guests who have come to his house. His address occurs between the negative אַל־
נָא ʾal-nɔʾ "please not" and the verb תָּרֵעוּ tɔreʿu "you act wickedly."

The intrusion of these addresses, as in the addresses that occur between the preface and the body, also breaks the unmarked sequence of the C-unit, partitioning it into an unmarked initial-edge constituent and the rest of the C-unit. The unmarked initial-edge constituent that comes before the address may now be considered "marked" as it is "detached" from the following constituent(s) with which it is contiguous in the unmarked sequence. I would argue that the marked initial-edge constituent contains information focus. In (23), therefore, the negative interrogative הֲלֹא, which introduces a negative rhetorical question, is highlighted to maximize the illocutionary force of a positive assertion, i.e., all of the Israelites are David's servants. It may be said, then, that הֲלֹא in this case is functionally and semantically equivalent to the clausal adverb "surely" or "indeed."[61] The interrogative pro-form לָמָה in (24) introduces a critical rhetorical question, which conveys Moses's criticism about YHWH's anger expressed in v. 10.[62] It receives a special focus by way of detachment, which contributes to intensify the degree

---

[61] Cf. LXX πάντες τῷ κυρίῳ μου παῖδες "all are the servants of my lord." It has long been recognized that הֲלֹא warrants an asseverative meaning in certain contexts. See GKC §150e; Steiner (1979, 149); Brongers (1981, 177-89); Moshavi (2011, 91-105); McAffee (2015, 130).

[62] For the implications and communicative functions of rhetorical "WH" questions in Biblical Hebrew prose, see Moshavi (2014, 93-108).

of criticism that the rhetorical question offers. In doing so, Moses increases the

persuasive force of his rhetorical question in order to convince YHWH that his anger

against his chosen people is improper.[63] The time adverb עַתָּה in (25) refers to "a point in

time concurrent with the speech time of an utterance, i.e., 'now'" (*BHRG²* §40.39). As it

expresses information focus, thus, a sense of immediacy is emphasized: Elijah desires to

die "immediately" as he is so exhausted and discouraged. In (26), the negative particle

followed by the particle of entreaty אַל־נָא is highlighted perhaps to convey a sense of

urgency in Lot's negative request.[64]

Forty-one free forms of address occur after a "marked" initial-edge constituent,

such as a fronted subject or prepositional phrase in a verbal clause as in (27),[65] and a

fronted predicate in a verbless clause as in (28):[66]

---

[63] Note that YHWH spoke of "your people, whom you brought up out of the land of Egypt" in v. 7, and Moses counters with "your people, whom you brought out of the land of Egypt" in v. 11.

[64] It is also possible to take אַל־נָא as elliptically standing for an entire sentence denying what was said by his or her collocutor rather than negating the following verb תָּרֵעוּ: "No, please (don't violate my guests), my brothers! You are acting wickedly." For this possibility, see my discussion in (19) above. Note that example (26) is the only case in which an address breaks a negative particle and a verb in Biblical Hebrew prose. Compare with Judg 19:23; 2 Sam 13:12, 25; and 2 Kgs 4:16, in which an address is both preceded and followed by the negative particle אַל.

[65] For the fronted subjects, see 2 Sam 7:24, 27, 29; 1Kgs 1:13; Jer 20:6; Ezek 2:6, 8; 4:1; 5:1; 23:3; 13:4, 17; 21:11, 24, 33; 27:2; 33:10, 12; 36:1, 8; 37:16; 39:1; 43:10; Jonah 1:14; Dan 12:4; Ezra 9:13; 1 Chr 17:22, 27; 28:9; 2 Chr 6:41; 20:7. For the fronted prepositional phrases, see 1 Sam 23:20; Ezek 12:25.

[66] For the fronted predicates, see 1 Sam 25:24; 2 Sam 14:9; 1 Kgs 20:4; Ruth 2:22; Dan 9:7; 1 Chr 29:11 [2x]; 2 Chr 26:18.

(27) 2 Sam 7:29

כִּי־אַתָּה אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה דִּבַּרְתָּ

ki-ʾattə   ˣḏonəy   yhwh   dibbartə
for-you   Lord   YHWH   you.spoke

For **you**, *O Lord YHWH*, have spoken...

(28) 2 Sam 14:9

עָלַי אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ הֶעָוֹן וְעַל־בֵּית אָבִי וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וְכִסְאוֹ נָקִי:

ˤolay   ˣḏoni   hammɛlɛḵ   hɛˤɔwon   wˤal-beṯ   ʾoḇi
on=me   lord=my the=king   the=guilt   and=on-house.of   father=my

whammɛlɛḵ   wḵisʾo   nɔqi
and=the=king   and=throne=his   innocent

On me, *my lord the king*, be the guilt, and on my father's house; let the king and his throne be innocent!

In (27), we see David praying to YHWH after he receives a promise of an everlasting kingdom. Here the second-person masculine singular subject pronoun אַתָּה ʾattə "you" is fronted before the verb דִּבַּרְתָּ dibbartə "you have spoken" and hence, is marked for information focus.[67] I agree with Miller (2010b, 357), who argues that the fronted pronoun is in "contrastive focus"—it is YHWH and no one else who has spoken to David about the everlasting kingdom. Now the address אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה ˣḏonəy yhwh "O Lord YHWH!" is inserted between the fronted pronoun and the verb, detaching the former from the

---

[67] For a discussion of the semantic-pragmatic functions of fronting, see *BHRG²* §47.2.1.

latter. Thus, the pronoun is "doubly" marked for information focus. I would argue that the inserted address serves to reinforce the pragmatic function of the fronted pronoun, i.e., contrastive focus.

In (28) we see the woman of Tekoa talking to King David about her son who killed his brother and is being threatened to be put to death by the entire clan. It is clear from the context that the fronted predicate עָלַי *ᶜɔlay* "on me" is in contrastive focus—the woman of Tekoa asks that the guilt be on her as opposed to David. The address אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ᵃdonɔy hammɛlɛḵ* "my lord the king" is inserted between the fronted predicate עָלַי *ᶜɔlay* "on me" and the subject הֶעָוֺן *hɛᶜɔwon* "the guilt," and thus it can be said that the predicate עָלַי is "doubly" marked for information focus. I would argue, as in (27), that the inserted address serves to reinforce the contrastive focus function of the fronted predicate.[68]

In summary, in all the other cases in which an address comes after an unmarked or marked initial-edge constituent, the address seems to highlight or reinforce the

---

[68] There are three cases in which an address intervenes between the subject and the predicate in a verbless clause: Num 14:14; 1 Kgs 18:37; 2 Kgs 19:19. Miller (2010b, 357) argues that the subject in each of these cases seems to be in contrastive focus but does not explain how it obtains that function. I would argue that the subject gains the function of contrastive focus as the insertion of the address breaks the unmarked sequence SP and marks the subject for information focus. Thus, while all these addresses occur within a dependent clause, they may be treated here due to the similar function that the constituent in the initial position performs, whether it is the subject or the predicate.

semantic-pragmatic function of the initial-edge constituent that receives information focus by the insertion of the address.

4.4.4.2.2 Within the Core

There are twenty-three free forms of address that occur between two constituents within the core of the body. Fifteen of them occur immediately before a clause-final prepositional phrase, as in (29),[69] while eight of them intervene between a verb and its object, as in (30):[70]

(29) 2 Sam 13:4

<div dir="rtl">

וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַדּוּעַ אַתָּה כָּכָה דַּל בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר

</div>

wayyoʾmɛr	*lo*	*madduᵃᶜ*	*ʾattɔ*	*kɔḵɔ*	*dal*
and=he.said	to=him	why	you	thus	poorly

bɛn-hammɛlɛḵ	*babboqɛr*	*babboqɛr*
son.of-the=king	in=the=morning	in=the=morning

He said to him, "Why do you look so poorly, *O son of the king*, **morning after morning**?

(30) 2 Kgs 19:16

<div dir="rtl">

הַטֵּה יְהוָה אָזְנְךָ וּשֲׁמָע פְּקַח יְהוָה עֵינֶיךָ וּרְאֵה

</div>

haṭṭe	*yhwh*	*ʾoznḵɔ*	*ušˢmɔᶜ*	*pqaḥ*	*yhwh*	*ʿenɛḵɔ*	*urʾe*
Incline	YHWH	ear=your	and=hear	open	YHWH	eyes=your	and=see

Incline, *YHWH*, **your ear** and hear. **Open**, *YHWH*, **your eyes** and see!

---

[69] Judg 12:4; 1 Sam 30:23; 2 Sam 13:4; 24:23; Ezek 28:16; Amos 3:1; Dan 9:17; Ezra 9:10; Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 29, 31; 1 Chr 29:10; 2 Chr 6:41.

[70] Num 10:36 (adverbial accusative); Deut 5:1; 2 Kgs 19:16 (2x); Isa 37:17 (2x); Dan 9:18; Ezra 9:6.

In (29), Jonadab, David's nephew, is talking to Amnon, David's oldest son, who is sick with love for Tamar, his half-sister. The address בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ *bɛn-hammɛlɛḵ* "O son of the king!" is placed between the adjective דַּל *dal* "poorly" and two juxtaposed prepositional phrases בַּבֹּקֶר בַּבֹּקֶר *babboqɛr babboqɛr* "morning after morning." Thus, the address breaks the unmarked sequence of the verbless clause, detaching the prepositional phrases from the core of the clause with which they are contiguous in the unmarked sequence. The detached prepositional phrases become a marked constituent, which receives information focus. It can be argued, therefore, that the address is inserted in this particular position to draw the addressee's (i.e., Amnon's) attention to the prepositional phrases, highlighting the iterative nature of Amnon's lovesickness that they describe.[71]

Example (30) is part of Hezekiah's prayer to YHWH, which comes right before example (20) which we have discussed above. We have two occurrences of the address יְהֹוָה *yhwh* "YHWH" here, both of which come between the imperative verb and its direct object. Thus, each address breaks the unmarked sequence of each imperative clause, detaching the direct object from the imperative verb with which it is contiguous in the unmarked sequence. The detached direct objects become marked constituents, which receive information focus. It can be argued, therefore, that each address functions

---

[71] The construction in which an address occurs immediately before a clause-final prepositional phrase is common in poetry (e.g., Psa 7:7, 9; 21:14, etc.). See Miller (2010b, 360).

to draw the addressee's (i.e., YHWH's) attention to each direct object, highlighting the body parts ("ear" and "eyes") that YHWH needs to incline and open to hear Hezekiah's prayer and to see his current situation.[72]

In all the other cases in which an address occurs within the core of the body, the constituent(s) immediately following the address may be considered marked for information focus. It can be said, then, that the address draws the addressee's attention to the following marked constituent(s), highlighting or reinforcing the semantic-pragmatic function that it performs.

4.4.4.3 Between Body and Tag

There are sixteen free forms of address that occur between the body and the tag of the C-unit. Fourteen of them occur between the matrix clause and the dependent

---

[72] All of the eight addresses that come between a verb and its object in our corpus occur within a prayer except one in Deut 5:1 in which Moses addresses the whole Israel. It is interesting to note that this construction is very frequently attested in poetry (e.g., Psa 24:7, 9; 25:22; 27:7; 48:10; 64:2; 66:8; 86:1 [note that the wording is exactly the same as the first part in 2 Kgs 19:16 above], etc.). The absence of this construction in dialogues between two human beings in Biblical Hebrew prose may indicate that it was not commonly used in everyday conversation in ancient Israel.

clause, as in (31),[73] while two of them intervene between the matrix clause and noun

phrases co-referentially linked to a pronoun in the matrix clause, as in (32):[74]

(31) Ruth 3:18

<div dir="rtl">וַתֹּאמֶר שְׁבִי בִתִּי עַד אֲשֶׁר תֵּדְעִין אֵיךְ יִפֹּל דָּבָר</div>

wattoʾɛr	*šḇi*	*ḇitti*	*ʿaḏ*	*ˣšɛr*	*teḏʿin*
and=she.said	sit	daughter=my	until	REL	you.will.know

ʾeḵ	*yippol*	*dɔḇɔr*
how	he.will.fall	matter

She said, "**Stay put**, *my daughter*, **until you know how the matter turns out**."

(32) 1 Sam 22:16

<div dir="rtl">וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ מוֹת תָּמוּת אֲחִימֶלֶךְ אַתָּה וְכָל־בֵּית אָבִיךְ</div>

wayyoʾmɛr	*hammɛlɛḵ*	*moṯ*	*tɔmuṯ*	*ˣḥimɛlɛḵ*	*ʾattɔ*
and=he.said	the=king	dying	you.will.die	Ahimelech	you

wḵɔl-beṯ	*ʾɔḇiḵɔ*
and=all-house.of	father=your

The king said, "**You** shall surely die, *Ahimelech*, **you and all your father's house**."

In (31), Naomi is speaking to Ruth after she heard that Boaz had given Ruth six measures

of barley. Naomi's address בִתִּי *ḇitti* "my daughter" further detaches the dependent clause

introduced with עַד אֲשֶׁר *ʿaḏ ˣšɛr* "until" (i.e., tag) from the matrix clause (i.e., body),

---

[73] For examples in which the address occurs before a dependent clause introduced with פֶּן *pɛn* "lest", see 1 Sam 4:9; with כִּי *ki* "that, because", see 2 Sam 19:23; Dan 8:17; 1 Chr 29:17; with ה *ha* "whether", see Gen 27:21; with אֲשֶׁר *ˣšɛr* "which, that", see Exod 32:4, 8; 2 Sam 14:22; 1 Kgs 12:28; Ezek 8:12; with עַד אֲשֶׁר *ʿaḏ ˣšɛr* "until", see Ruth 3:18. For examples in which the address occurs before a dependent infinitival clause, see 2 Sam 23:17; 1 Kgs 8:28; 2 Chr 6:19.

[74] For examples in which the address occurs before the right-dislocated noun phrase, see 1 Sam 22:16; Jer 22:2.

marking the former for information focus. Thus, it can be said that the address draws the addressee's (Ruth's) attention to the following dependent clause, highlighting its discourse-pragmatic function—qualifying the matrix clause by providing the temporal limit of Naomi's command.

In (32), King Saul is pronouncing a death sentence upon Ahimelech the priest and all his father's house immediately after Ahimelech has begged him not to attribute guilt to him or all his father's household. Saul's address אֲחִימֶלֶךְ *ʾ͎ḥimɛlɛḵ* "Ahimelech" further detaches the right-dislocated noun phrase אַתָּה וְכָל־בֵּית אָבִיךְ *ʾattə wḵəl-beṯ ʾ͎ḇiḵə* "you and all your father's house" (i.e., tag) from the matrix clause (i.e., body), marking the former for information focus. Thus, it may be argued that the address draws the addressee's (Saul's) attention to the following noun-phrase, highlighting its discourse-pragmatic function—clarifying the reference of a co-referent subject pronoun of the matrix clause תָּמוּת *təmuṯ* "**you** shall surely die."

In all the other cases in which an address intervenes between the body and the tag, the tag may be considered marked for information focus. It can be said, then, that the address draws the addressee's attention to the tag, highlighting or reinforcing the discourse-pragmatic function that it performs.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to describe the correlation between the position and function of free forms of address in Biblical Hebrew prose. Nearly three quarters of the addresses occur at the beginning (including the stand-alone addresses) or at the end of the C-unit. It appears that their primary functions have to do with conversation management, such as attracting the attention of the addressee, identifying the addressee, signaling the beginning or the end of a turn/conversation, giving the floor to the addressee, and/or maintaining contact with the addressee. The rest of the addresses occur within the C-unit, occupying one of the following positions: (i) between the preface and the body; (ii) between an initial-edge element and the core; (iii) within the core; (iv) between the body and the tag. I have argued that these addresses typically have a partitioning and focusing function, drawing the addressee's attention to important information at the junction where they occur. Thus, the addresses placed in position (i) or (ii) mark for information focus the element *preceding* them by detaching it from the rest of the C-unit, highlighting or reinforcing its discourse-pragmatic function. The addresses placed in position (iii) or (iv), however, mark information focus the element *following* them by detaching it from what precedes them, highlighting or reinforcing its discourse-pragmatic function.

CHAPTER FIVE

BOUND FORMS OF ADDRESS

5.1 Introduction

In previous chapters, I have focused on addresses that are syntactically "free"

forms, i.e., forms "outside" the sentence structure; preceding, following, inserted into a

sentence, or occurring without any immediate linguistic context. In this chapter, I turn

to addresses that are syntactically "bound" forms, i.e., forms integrated into the syntax

of a sentence.[1] According to Braun (1988, 7-11), pronouns, nominals, and verb forms that

are syntactic constituents (or parts of constituents) of the sentence, can refer to the

addressee, as in (1) through (3):

    (1) Would *you* like something to drink?
    (2) May I ask *your majesty* to consider our petition?
    (3) Mihin *menet*? "Where do *you* go?"

In languages where subject pronouns are optional, such as Finnish, verbs can be the only

bearer of addressee reference. Thus, in (3), the verb *mene-t* constitutes a form of address,

as the inflectional suffix *-t* (second person singular) is the only element expressing

reference to the addressee.

---

[1] It is Braun (1988, 11) who coins the term "free" and "bound" forms of address according to the syntactic criterion.

Following Braun's definition of bound forms of address, then, second-person

pronouns and pronominal suffixes in BH and EH may be used as bound forms of address,

as in (4):

(4) Gen 4:11

וְעַתָּה אָרוּר אָ֑תָּה מִן־הָאֲדָמָה אֲשֶׁר פָּצְתָה אֶת־פִּיהָ לָקַחַת אֶת־דְּמֵי אָחִיךָ מִיָּדֶךָ

wᶜattə	*ʾərur*	*ʾottə*	*min-hᵃ͏ᵘdəmə*	*ᵃšɛr*	*pəṣtə*
and=now	cursed	you	from-the=ground	REL	she.opened

ʾɛt-pihə	*ləqaḥaṯ*	*ʾɛt-dme*	*ʾəḥikə*	*miyyədɛkə*
ACC-mouth=her	to=take	ACC-blood.of	brother=your	from=hand=your

Now therefore, *you* are cursed from the ground, which has opened its mouth to
receive *your* brother's blood from *your* hand.

Second-person verbs containing inflectional morphemes that mark the second-person

subject "you" can function as bound forms of address, as in (5):

(5) 1 Sam 3:6

וַיָּקָם שְׁמוּאֵל וַיֵּלֶךְ אֶל־עֵלִי וַיֹּאמֶר הִנְנִי כִּי קָרָאתָ לִי

wayyəqəm	*šmuʾel*	*wayyelɛk*	*ʾɛl-ᶜeli*	*wayyoʾmɛr*	*hinni*	*ki*	*qərəʾtə*	*li*
and=he.arose	Samuel	and=he.went	to-Eli	and=he.said	look	for	you.called	to=me

Samuel arose and went to Eli and said, "Here I am, for *you* called me."

Nominal forms may be used as bound forms of address, as in (6):

(6) 1 Sam 26:19

<div dir="rtl">

וְעַתָּ֗ה יִֽשְׁמַֽע־נָ֛א אֲדֹנִ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ אֵ֣ת דִּבְרֵ֣י עַבְדּ֑וֹ
</div>

wᶜattɔ	yišmaᶜ-nɔʾ	ˣḏoni	hammɛlɛk	ʾɛṯ	diḇre	ᶜaḇdo
and=now	he.will.hear-POL	lord=my	the=king	ACC	words.of	servant=his

Now therefore let *my lord the king* hear the words of his servant.

Svennung (1958, 451) refers to the first two types of bound forms of address in (4) and (5) as "direct" address, whereas he calls the third type of the bound forms of address in (6) "indirect" address.[2] Direct addresses in BH and EH can be used to any addressee regardless of his or her social status. It can be used by an inferior to a superior, as in (7):

(7) 1 Sam 24:12

<div dir="rtl">

וְאָבִ֣י רְאֵ֔ה גַּ֗ם רְאֵ֛ה אֶת־כְּנַ֥ף מְעִילְךָ֖ בְּיָדִ֑י כִּ֣י בְּכָרְתִ֞י אֶת־כְּנַ֤ף מְעִֽילְךָ֙ וְלֹ֣א הֲרַגְתִּ֔יךָ דַּ֤ע וּרְאֵה֙ כִּ֣י אֵ֤ין בְּיָדִי֙ רָעָ֣ה וָפֶ֔שַׁע וְלֹא־חָטָ֣אתִי לָ֔ךְ וְאַתָּ֛ה צֹדֶ֥ה אֶת־נַפְשִׁ֖י לְקַחְתָּֽהּ
</div>

wʾɔḇi	rʾe	gam	rʾe	ʾɛṯ-knap̄	mᶜilkɔ	byɔḏi	ki
and=father=my	see	also	see	ACC-corner.of	robe=your	in=hand=my	that

bkɔrṯi	ʾɛṯ-knap̄	mᶜilkɔ	wloʾ	hᵃragṯikɔ	daᶜ
in=cutting=my	ACC-corner.of	robe=your	and=not	I.killed=you	know

urʾe	ki	ʾen	byɔḏi	rɔᶜɔ	wɔp̄ešaᶜ	wloʾ-ḥɔṭɔʾṯi
and=see	that	there.is.not	in=hand=my	evil	and=treason	and=not-I.sinned

lɔk	wʾattɔ	ṣoḏɛ	ʾɛṯ-nap̄ši	lqaḥtɔh
to=you	and=you	lying.in.wait	ACC-life=my	to=take=her

---

[2] Note that Revell (1996, 267) uses the term "third person address" instead of indirect address.

Look, my father, see the corner of *your* (i.e., Saul) robe in my (i.e., David) hand! When I cut off the corner of *your* robe, I did not kill *you.* So realize and understand that there is no evil or treason in my hands. I have not sinned against *you*, though *you* are waiting in ambush to my life.

It can be used by a superior to an inferior, as in (8):

(8) 1 Sam 24:18

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־דָּוִד צַדִּיק אַתָּה מִמֶּנִּי כִּי אַתָּה גְּמַלְתַּנִי הַטּוֹבָה וַאֲנִי גְּמַלְתִּיךָ הָרָעָה

wayyoʾmɛr	*ʾɛl-dɔwiḏ*	*ṣaddiq*	*ʾattɔ*	*gmaltani*	*haṭṭobɔ*	*waˣ ni*
and=he.said	to-David	righteous	you	you.treated=me	the=good	and=I

gmaltiḵɔ	*hɔrɔ ʿɔ*
I.treated=you	the=evil

He (i.e., Saul) said to David, "*You* are more righteous than I, for *you* have treated me well, even though I have treated *you* poorly."

It can be used among equals, as in (9) and (10):

(9) 1 Sam 17:43

וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל־דָּוִד הֲכֶלֶב אָנֹכִי כִּי־אַתָּה בָא־אֵלַי בַּמַּקְלוֹת

wayyoʾmɛr	*happlišti*	*ʾɛl-dɔwiḏ*	*hᵃḵɛlɛḇ*	*ʾɔnoḵi*	*ki-ʾattɔ*
and=he.said	the=Philistine	to-David	the=dog	I	that-you

ḇɔ-ʾelay	*bammaqloṯ*
coming-to=me	in=sticks

The Philistine said to David, "Am I a dog, that *you* are coming to me with sticks?"

(10)   1 Sam 17:45

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אַתָּה בָּא אֵלַי בְּחֶרֶב וּבַחֲנִית וּבְכִידוֹן וְאָנֹכִי בָא־אֵלֶיךָ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת

wayyoʾmɛr   dɔwiḏ   ʾɛl-happlišti   ʾattɔ   bɔ-ʾelay   bḥɛrɛḇ
and=he.said David   to-the=Philistine you   coming-to=me   with=sword

uḇaḥᵃniṯ   uḇkiḏon   wʾɔnoḵi bɔ-ʾelɛḵɔ   bšem
and=with=spear   and=with=javelin   and=I   coming-to=you   in=name.of

yhwh   ṣḇɔʾoṯ
YHWH.of   hosts

Then David said to the Philistine, "*You* are coming to me with sword and spear and javelin, but I am coming to *you* in the name of Yahweh of hosts."

Thus, it can be said that direct addresses in BH and EH carry no social information in themselves, except their relatively "direct" referentiality to the addressee(s).[3] The primary focus of this chapter, therefore, will be on the third type of bound forms of address, i.e., indirect address. Also, my discussion will be limited to indirect addresses used to humans (241 forms), since those used to non-human entities are relatively few in number (39 forms). This chapter consists of three main parts. First, I examine the internal structure of indirect forms of address in BH and EH, comparing it with that of free forms of address. Second, I discuss the external syntax of indirect forms of address. Finally, I attempt to describe their social dynamics by elucidating the motivations behind

---

[3] Revell (1996, 309) argues that the second-person pronoun may function as a marker of "immediacy" in contexts in which deferential reference to the addressee would be appropriate.

and the effects of their use, and identifying possible cases of "expressive shift," in which

address rules are strategically violated to communicate the speaker's temporary feelings

and attitudes.

5.2 Internal Structure of Indirect Forms of Address

There are 288 indirect forms of address in the prose sections of the Hebrew Bible

and Epigraphic Hebrew letters, which account for less than half of the number of free

forms of address (682 forms).[4] About 84% of them (241 forms) are used for humans, while

the rest of them are used for divine beings. Unlike free forms of address, there are no

examples of indirect addresses used for inanimate entities in our corpus. Just as I have

done in Chapter 2, I have assigned semantic types to each indirect address. Table 5-1

shows the frequency distribution and examples of indirect addresses used to humans:

---

[4] Seventeen address forms used in address formulae in the Arad letters (1:1; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:1; 8:1; 10:1; 11:1; 12:1; 14:1; 17:1; 18:1-2; 24:1-2) and the Lachish letters (2:1; 6:1) are excluded from our discussion in this chapter, because, even though they may be considered syntactically "bound" forms following the preposition אל "to," they are functionally direct addresses.

Table 5-1. Indirect Addresses to Humans[5]

Structure		#	Examples
Honorific T		84	אֲדֹנִי *ᵃḏoni* "my lord"; אֲדֹנֵנוּ *ᵃḏonenu* "our lord"
	+ Occupational T	41	אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* "my lord the king"
	+ Occupational T + PN	2	אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד *ᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ dɔwiḏ* "my lord the king David"
	+ PN	2	אדני יאוש *ᵃdny yᵒwš* "my lord Yaush"
Occupational T		78	הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* "the king"
	+ Honorific T	1	הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדֹנִי *hammɛlɛḵ ᵃḏoni* "the king my lord"
	+ PN	3	הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה *hammɛlɛḵ šlomo* "King Solomon"
Other T		15	פַּרְעֹה *parᶜo* "Pharaoh";[6] מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה *mši͡ᵃḥ yhwh* "anointed of Yahweh"
PN		13	יָרָבְעָם *yɔrɔḇᶜɔm* "Jeroboam"
	+ Patronymic	1	גדליהו [בן] אליאר *gdlyhw [bn] ᵓlyᵓr* "Gedalyahu [son of] Elyair"
KT		1	אָבִי *ᵓɔḇi* "my father"

What immediately stands out from this table is that the absolute majority of the indirect addresses to humans are composed of T ± the following element(s) (94%). In contrast, there are only a small number of indirect addresses consisting of PN ± the following element(s) or KT. This uneven distribution is in stark contrast to the distribution of free

---

[5] See Appendix D for a full list of indirect addresses used for humans.

[6] The term פַּרְעֹה *parᶜo* "Pharaoh" is a loanword from Egyptian *Pr-ᶜ₃*, which literally means "Great House" (Lambdin 1953, 153). It was used as a designation of the royal palace in the early third millennium BCE. However, during the Eighteenth Dynasty, sometime prior to the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BCE), the term "Great House" began to be applied to the reigning king by metonymy and was widely used as a polite circumlocution for him by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (1077 BCE; see Redford [1992, 288-289]). While the term occurred alone without juxtaposed personal name until the tenth century BCE, the name of the king was generally added on in subsequent periods. As Hoffmeier (1996, 87) points out, this Egyptian practice seems to conform to the practice found in the Hebrew Bible; while the term פַּרְעֹה *parᶜo* "Pharaoh" occurs alone in the period covered from Abraham to Solomon, after Shishak (ca. 925 B.C.), it appears together with a name (e.g., Pharaoh Necho [2 Kgs 23:33]). According to Revell (1996, 149), its use in combination with a name makes it unlikely that "Pharaoh" was regarded as a name (contra Higginbotham [2009, 483], who views "Pharaoh" as a name due to the fact that it never takes the definite article in BH). Following Revell, therefore, I take "Pharaoh" as a title.

forms of address to humans in which those composed of PN ± the following element(s) or KT ± the following element(s) occur as frequently as those composed of T ± the following element(s) (79, 66, and 71 forms, respectively).

All the combinations of semantic types in Table 5-1 are also attested as free forms of address, except Honorific T + Occupational T + PN, Occupational T + Honorific T,[7] and PN + Patronymic. The cases with these exceptional combinations are very few in number (4 cases). On the contrary, not all the semantic types used for free forms of address occur in indirect addresses. For example, group addresses, geographical names, or gentilics are never used for indirect addresses.

Almost all the examples in Table 5-1 are also used as free forms of address. Two notable exceptions are פַּרְעֹה *parʿo* "Pharaoh" and מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה *mšiᵃḥ yhwh* "anointed of Yahweh." The term פַּרְעֹה occurs thirteen times as an indirect address (Gen 41:10, 16, 25 [2x], 28 [2x], 32, 33, 34, 35; Exod 8:25 [2x]; 11:5), while it is never used as a free form of address. The title מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה is used twice as an indirect address—once for Saul (1 Sam

---

[7] The only example consisting of Occupational T + Honorific T is הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדֹנִי *hammɛlɛḵ ᵃḏoni* "the king my lord" (2 Sam 14:15), which is never attested as a free form of address in our corpus. Its reverse form, אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* "my lord the king," however, occurs thirty-nine times as an indirect address and eighteen times as a free form of address. Thus, it is clear that the biblical writers had a strong preference for אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ. This is in stark contrast to the almost exclusive use of 'O king my lord!' in ancient Near Eastern writings during the second and first millennium BCE. See my discussion in §2.2.2.1.1.2.

26:23) and the other for David (2 Sam 19:22)—but it never occurs as a free form of address.

5.3 External Syntax of Indirect Forms of Address

Indirect addresses refer to nominal forms used as bound forms of address. They are syntactically integrated into the sentence and function within the sentence as sentence constituents (or parts of constituents). In our corpus, indirect addresses may occur in six syntactic positions.[8] They are presented here in descending order of frequency in each position.

5.3.1 Syntactic Positions of Indirect Forms of Address

First, an indirect address may be used as the object of a preposition, as in (11):[9]

(11)   2 Sam 14:9-15

וַתֹּאמֶר הָאִשָּׁה הַתְּקוֹעִית אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ...
וְעַתָּה אֲשֶׁר־בָּאתִי לְדַבֵּר אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדֹנִי אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה

watto'mɛr   hɔ'iššɔ   hatqoʿiṯ   'ɛl-hammɛlɛḵ...
and=she.said the=woman the=Tekoite to-the=king

wᶜattɔ   ᵃšɛr bɔ'ṯi   lḏabber   'ɛl-hammɛlɛḵ ᵃḏoni
and=now   REL I.came   to=speak   to-the=king   lord=my

---

[8] Note that there are seven cases in which the syntactic positions of indirect addresses cannot be determined: Arad 26:4; Lach 6:8; 8:7; 12:1, 6; 17:2, 3.

[9] There are eighty-two cases in which an indirect address is used as the object of a preposition: Gen 32:6, 19; 33:14; 41:25, 28, 32, 35; 44:9, 16 (2x), 20, 22, 33; 47:18 (3x); Exod 8:25 (2x); 1 Sam 20:12; 25:26, 27, 28, 30, 31 (2x); 26:23; 29:8; 2 Sam 1:10; 3:21; 14:12, 15; 17:16; 18:28; 19:28, 29 (2x), 35, 36, 37, 38; 24:23; 1 Kgs 1:2 (3x), 27, 37; 14:10, 11; 16:3; 18:13; 21:21, 24; 2 Kgs 4:28; Esth 1:16, 19 (3x); 2:2; 3:8, 9; 5:4, 8; 7:3, 9; 8:5 (2x); 9:13; Neh 2:5, 7, 8; 1 Chr 21:3; Arad 16:2; 21:1-2, 4; 26:2; 40:3, 6, 10; Lach 3:2, 21; 5:7; KAjr 19A.9-10.

| *ʾɛṯ-haddɔḇɔr* | *hazzɛ* |
| ACC-the=matter | the=this |

The Tekoite woman said to the king (i.e., David),...
"Now I have come to say this to *the king my lord*."

Second, an indirect address may be used as the subject of a finite verb, as in (12):[10]

(12)   1 Sam 19:4

וַיְדַבֵּר יְהוֹנָתָן בְּדָוִד טוֹב אֶל־שָׁאוּל אָבִיו וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַל־יֶחֱטָא הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּעַבְדּוֹ בְדָוִד כִּי לוֹא חָטָא לָךְ

| *wayḏabber* | *yhonɔṯɔn* | *bḏɔwiḏ* | *ṭoḇ* | *ʾɛl-šɔʾul* | *ʾɔḇiw* | *wayyoʾmɛr* |
| and=he.spoke | Jonathan | in=David | good | to-Saul | father=his | and=he.said |

| *ʾɛlɔyw* | *ʾal-yɛḥˤṭɔʾ* | *hammɛlɛḵ* | *bˤaḇdo* | *bḏɔwiḏ* | *ki* | *loʾ* |
| To=him | not-he.will.sin | the=king | in=servant=his | in=David | for | not |

| *ḥɔṭɔʾ* | *lɔḵ* |
| he.sinned | to=you |

Jonathan spoke well of David to Saul his father and said to him, "Let not *the king* sin against his servant David, because he has not sinned against you."

Third, an indirect address may be used as the *nomen rectum* in a construct chain, as in

(13):[11]

---

[10] There are seventy-six cases in which an indirect address is used as the subject of a finite verb: Gen 27:31; 33:13, 14; 41:10, 33, 34; 44:7, 19; Num 32:25, 27; 36:2; 1 Sam 10:24; 16:16; 19:4; 22:15; 24:15; 25:25, 28; 26:18, 19, 20; 2 Sam 6:20; 9:11; 13:24, 32, 33; 14:9, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22; 15:15, 21; 16:16 (2x); 18:31; 19:20 (2x), 28, 31, 37; 24:3, 21, 22; 1 Kgs 1:31; 2:38; 22:8; 2 Kgs 2:19; 8:12; 11:12; Esth 2:3; 5:4, 8; 6:7, 8 (2x), 9; Neh 2:3; 1 Chr 21:3, 23; 2 Chr 2:14; 18:7; 23:11; MHsh 1; Arad 21:3; Lach 2:4; 3:6, 8; 4:2, 4-5, 12; 6:3; 18:2; Mous 2.2.

[11] There are fifty-five cases in which an indirect address is used as the *nomen rectum* in a construct chain: Gen 31:35; 33:8, 15; 41:16, 25; 44:18, 24; 47:25; Exod 11:5; 32:22; 1 Sam 20:15; 22:14; 23:20; 25:25, 27, 29, 41; 2 Sam 11:11, 24; 13:30, 32, 33, 35; 15:21; 16:2; 18:29, 32, 42; 24:3; 1 Kgs 1:19, 20, 25, 27, 36, 37; 14:10 (2x); 16:4; 22:6, 12, 15; Esth 1:16, 18, 20; 2:3, 4; 3:8, 9; 5:8 (2x); 6:9; 7:4; 8:5; 2 Chr 18:5, 11.

(13)   Gen 41:16

<div dir="rtl">וַיַּעַן יוֹסֵף אֶת־פַּרְעֹה לֵאמֹר בִּלְעָדָי אֱלֹהִים יַעֲנֶה אֶת־שְׁלוֹם פַּרְעֹה</div>

wayyaʿan	*yosep̄*	*ʾɛṯ-parʿo*	*leʾmor*	*bilʿɔḏɔy*	*ʾˣlohim*
and=he.answered	Joseph	ACC-Pharaoh	to=say	without=me	God

yaˤᵃnɛ	*ʾɛṯ-šlom*	*parʿo*
he.will.answer	ACC-welfare.of	Pharaoh

Joseph answered Pharaoh, "It is not in me; God will give *Pharaoh* a favorable answer" (lit. God will answer the welfare of *Pharaoh*").

Fourth, an indirect address may be used as the object of a finite verb, as in (14):[12]

(14)   1 Sam 26:22-23

<div dir="rtl">וַיַּעַן דָּוִד וַיֹּאמֶר...</div>
<div dir="rtl">וַיהוָה יָשִׁיב לָאִישׁ אֶת־צִדְקָתוֹ וְאֶת־אֱמֻנָתוֹ אֲשֶׁר נְתָנְךָ יְהוָה הַיּוֹם בְּיָד וְלֹא אָבִיתִי לִשְׁלֹחַ יָדִי בִּמְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה</div>

wayyaʿan	*dɔwiḏ*	*wayyoʾmɛr...*
and=he.answered	David	and=he.said

wayhwh	*yɔšiḇ*	*lɔʾiš*	*ʾɛṯ-ṣiḏqɔṯo*
and=YHWH	he.will.reward	to=the=man	ACC-righteousness=his

wʾɛṯ-ˣmunɔṯo	*ˣšɛr*	*nṯɔnḵɔ*	*yhwh*	*hayyom*	*byɔḏ*
and=ACC-faithfulness=his	REL	he.gave=you	YHWH	the=day	in=hand

wloʾ	*ʾɔḇiṯi*	*lišloˤḥ*	*yɔḏi*	*bimšiˤḥ*	*yhwh*
and=not	I.was.willing	to=extend	hand=my	against=anointed.of	YWHH

David answered and said (to Saul),...
"Yahweh rewards each man for his righteousness and his faithfulness. Yahweh delivered you into my hand today, but I was not willing to extend my hand against *the anointed of Yahweh*."

---

[12] There are fifteen cases in which an indirect address is used as the object of a finite verb: Gen 41:28; Num 36:2; 2 Sam 4:8; 16:9; 19:22, 42; 1 Kgs 1:51; Lach 2:2, 5-6; 3:3; 4:1; 5:1; 6:2; 8:1; 9:1-2.

Fifth, an indirect address may be used as the subject of the infinitive, as in (15):[13]

(15)   1 Sam 25:24-31

וַתִּפֹּל עַל־רַגְלָיו וַתֹּאמֶר...

וְלֹא תִהְיֶה זֹאת לְךָ לְפוּקָה וּלְמִכְשׁוֹל לֵב לַאדֹנִי וְלִשְׁפָּךְ־דָּם חִנָּם וּלְהוֹשִׁיעַ אֲדֹנִי לוֹ

wayttippol   ʿal-ragləyw   wattoʾmɛr...
and=she.fell on-feet.his and=she.said

wloʾ   ṭihyɛ   zoʾṭ lkə   lp̄uqə   ulmikšol   leḇ
and=not   she.will.be this to=you to=staggering and=to=stumbling.of heart

laʾḏoni   wlišp̄əḵ-dəm   ḥinnəm   ulhošⁱ^ᶜ   ^ˣḏoni   lo
to=lord=my and=to-pour.out-blood for.nothing and=to-save lord=my for=him

She (i.e., Abigail) fell at his (i.e., David) feet and said,...
"My lord shall have no cause of grief or pangs of conscience for having shed blood without cause or for *my lord* having avenged himself."

Finally, an indirect address may be used as the object of the infinitive, as in (16):[14]

(16)   2 Sam 19:20-21

וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ...

וְהִנֵּה־בָאתִי הַיּוֹם רִאשׁוֹן לְכָל־בֵּית יוֹסֵף לָרֶדֶת לִקְרַאת אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ

wayyoʾmɛr   ʾɛl-hammɛlɛḵ...
and=he.said to-the=king

whine   bəʾṭi   hayyom riʾšon lkəl-beṭ   yosep̄ lərɛḏɛṭ   liqraʾṭ
and=look I.came the=day first to=all-house.of Joseph to=come.down to=meet

^ˣḏoni   hammɛlɛḵ
lord=my the=king

---

[13] There are five cases in which an indirect address is used as the subject of the infinitive: 1 Sam 25:31; 2 Sam 14:13 (2x); 19:20; 1 Kgs 1:21.

[14] There is only one case in which an indirect address is used as the object of the infinitive.

He (i.e., Shimei the son of Gera) said to the king (i.e., David),...
"Look, I have come today as the first of all the house of Joseph to come down to meet *my lord the king*."

5.3.2 Rule of Concord

In general, an indirect address is treated as third person within the clause in which it occurs, while the pronoun(s) coreferential with the indirect address may appear in the second[15] or third person[16] outside that clause. Thus, in (12) above, the indirect address הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛk* "the king" is the subject of the main clause, which is preceded by the third-person singular verb יֶחֱטָא *yɛḥᵉṭə* "let him sin" and is followed by the anaphoric third-person possessive pronoun "his" in בְּעַבְדּוֹ *bᵊʿabdo* "against his servant." However, in the following dependent clause introduced by the conjunction כִּי *ki* "because," the pronoun coreferential with the preceding indirect address is in the second person (לָךְ *lək* "against you").

This rule of concord is not without exception. Consider the following example.

(17) 2 Sam 14:11

<div dir="rtl">

וַתֹּאמֶר יִזְכָּר־נָא הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
</div>

wattoʾmɛr	*yizkər-nə*	*hammɛlɛk*	*ʾɛt-yhwh*	*ᵉlohɛkə*
and=she.said	he.will.remember-POL	the=king	ACC-YHWH	God=your

---

[15] See Gen 31:35; 32:6; 33:14; 41:10; 44:18, 19; Exod 8:25; 11:5; 32:22; 1 Sam 20:12; 22:15; 24:15; 25:25; 25:28, 31; 26:18, 19; 2 Sam 3:21; 9:11; 11:24; 13:35; 14:9, 13, 17, 19, 22; 18:31; 19:20, 28, 29, 38, 42; 24:23; 1 Kgs 1:19, 20, 21, 27; 2:38; 16:3; Esth 2:3; Neh 2:5; 1 Chr 21:23; Lach 2:2-3.

[16] See 1 Kgs 16:4; Esth 1:19; 8:5 (cf. Neh 2:5).

She (i.e., the Tekoite woman) said (to David), "Please let *the king* invoke Yahweh *your* God."

As the Tekoite woman is talking to Kind David, she refers to him twice, once by the indirect address הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛ<u>k</u>* "the king" and once by the pronoun ךָ *k<u>ɔ</u>* "your." While the indirect address and the pronoun coreferential with it occur in the same clause, the pronoun appears in the second person, rather than in the expected third person.[17] No definitive explanation for this seeming mismatch of the grammatical person can be offered. However, the fact that there is one more case in our corpus in which the phrase "your God" occurs with the indirect address "the king" in the same clause (1 Sam 25:29) and the fact that the third-person possessive pronoun in the phrase "his God" always refers to its antecedent, not the addressee (fifty-seven times in the Hebrew Bible), seem to suggest the possibility that the second-person possessive pronoun "your" was always used with the word "God" to refer to the addressee.[18]

In the following example, however, there seems to be a clear reason for the use of the second-person possessive pronoun in the clause containing an indirect form of address.

---

[17] See also 1 Sam 16:16; 25:29; 2 Sam 18:32; Arad 16:2; 21:1-2; Lach 3:6; Mous 2:2.

[18] Note that LXX reads θεὸν αὐτοῦ "his God" in 2 Sam 14:11 and reads τῷ θεῷ "God" without any possessive pronouns in 1 Sam 25:29, both of which seem to reflect the attempt to ensure grammatical person agreement with the preceding indirect address.

(18)   2 Sam 13:24

<div dir="rtl">

וַיָּבֹא אַבְשָׁלוֹם אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר... יֵלֶךְ־נָא הַמֶּלֶךְ וַעֲבָדָיו עִם־עַבְדֶּךָ

</div>

wayyɔḇoʾ   ʾaḇšɔlom   ʾɛl-hammɛlɛḵ   wayyoʾmɛr ...
and=he.came   Absalom   to-the=king   and=he.said

yelɛḵ-nɔʾ   hammɛlɛḵ   waˤaḇɔḏɔyw   ˤim-ˤaḇdɛkɔ
he.will.go-POL   the=king   and=servants=his   with-servant=your

Absalom came to the king (i.e., David) and said,... "Please let *the king* and *his* servants go with *your* servant."

In his invitation for David to accompany him to a sheep shearing festival, Absalom addresses him three times. He does so first by the indirect address הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* "the king" and then by using the third-person possessive pronoun in עֲבָדָיו *ˤaḇɔḏɔyw* "his servants" to agree with the grammatical person of its antecedent הַמֶּלֶךְ. When Absalom addresses David the third time in the same clause, however, he uses the second-person possessive pronoun ךָ *kɔ* "your," rather than the third-person possessive pronoun וֹ *o* "his." The use of the second-person possessive pronoun seems to be an attempt to avoid ambiguity since the phrase with the third-person possessive pronoun "his servant" could potentially refer to someone other than the speaker, i.e., Absalom. Note that the

deferential phrase "your servant" is almost exclusively used to refer to the speaker in

conversations in our corpus.[19]

5.4 Social Dynamics of Indirect Forms of Address

The examination of the internal structure and external syntax of indirect

addresses in BH and EH yields an important insight into their particular function, i.e.,

they can be a means of expressing two social variables, power and distance.

5.4.1 Two Social Variables: Power and Distance

On the one hand, just as in the case of free forms of address (Chapter 3), the

relative power of a speaker over an addressee can be signaled by the semantic type of the

first element of the indirect addresses. As will be seen in §5.4.5, with almost no

exceptions in our corpus, indirect addresses beginning with a T or an ascending KT are

used for social superiors, whereas those beginning with a PN are used for social inferiors.

On the other hand, indirect addresses by which a speaker refers to an addressee

in the third person may express a greater social distance between them than a second-

person form of address would do. The social distancing expressed through third person

addresses is a well-known, though rarely researched, phenomenon in many languages

(Head 1978, 167). As Listen (1999, 62-68) shows, functional differences between second

---

[19] For a linguistic description of the use of the "addressee-based" deferential form, "your servant," see Miller (2003, 271-281).

254

and third person addresses have their conceptual basis in the metaphorical mapping

from physical proximity/distance onto the domain of social relations.[20] In other words,

physical proximity/distance in personal interactions can be metaphorically related with

social intimacy/aloofness between speech participants. Thus, an intimate friendship may

be described as close, while aloofness may be expressed as distant. The metaphorical

analogy between physical and social relations can be readily represented symbolically

through grammatical marking of person: second person addresses may mark intimacy,

directness, and/or informality, whereas third person addresses may mark aloofness,

indirectness, and/or formality (Head 1978, 194-195; Listen 1999, 39).

5.4.2 Motivations behind Indirect Forms of Address

As we have seen in Chapter 3, Brown and Levinson (1987, 178) view a speaker's

use of nominal address forms beginning with a T or an ascending KT as a (negative)

politeness strategy to give deference to his addressee who is of higher power than

himself. Moreover, a speaker's use of third person address may be interpreted as an

attempt to distance himself from his addressee by avoiding direct address through

second person pronouns or verbs. Again, according to Brown and Levinson (1987, 203),

the avoidance of the direct address "you" can be viewed as a (negative) politeness

---

[20] For studies that seek to describe conceptual background behind forms of address in terms of metaphorical mappings, see Keown (2004) and Domonkosi (2018, 129-141).

strategy by which the speaker attempts to avoid an undue closeness and ensure the

addressee's desire for unimpeded freedom of action. Thus, third person addresses

beginning with a T or an ascending KT can be a unique linguistic tool for a speaker to

express politeness towards his addressee by acknowledging the addressee's power over

himself and distancing himself from the addressee at the same time.

5.4.3 Effects of Indirect Forms of Address

As we have seen in Table 5-1, the absolute majority of indirect addresses to

humans in our corpus begin with a T or an ascending KT (94%). Also, as will be seen in

§5.4.5, almost all of them are used for social superiors. It can be said, therefore, that the

primary effect of indirect addresses in BH and EH is to convey deference to social

superiors.

As Listen (1999, 66-68) points out, however, indirect addresses may not

necessarily entail deference. Rather, a variety of pragmatic effects other than giving

deference to social superiors can be produced by manipulating the power and/or

distance variables. In our corpus, for example, there are a few cases in which indirect

forms of address begin with a PN. In such cases, the sense of deference can hardly be

expected, since the use of PN as the first element of an address form almost exclusively

marks the inferiority of the addressee (see Chapter 3 and §5.4.6). If those addresses are

used by a superior, they may be interpreted as his attempt to distance himself from the addressee who is inferior to him. Thus, a sense of anger, contempt, rejection, and/or formality could be conveyed. If those addresses are used by an inferior, a sense of insult and/or formality could be evoked. The precise effect of each of these addresses, however, should ultimately be determined by the context in which they occur. I classify in §5.4.6 all the addresses made by the manipulation of the power and/or distance variables as the cases of what Brown and Gilman (1960, 270-273) call "expressive shift," that is, strategic violation of address rules to communicate the speaker's temporary feelings and attitudes.

5.4.4 Previous Studies on Social Dynamics of Indirect Addresses in BH and EH

Revell (1996) and Miller (2003) deal with indirect addresses in BH and EH in some detail. Both of them, however, discuss them under the heading of "deferential language," which not only covers deferential free and bound forms of address but also deferential-self reference, such as עַבְדְּךָ ʿaḇdkə "your servant," אֲמָתֶךָ ʾᵃmɔṯɛḵə "your maidservant," or שִׁפְחָתֶךָ šip̄ḥɔṯkə "your maidservant." Since their primary focus is on the use of these deferential terms, other socio-pragmatic effects that indirect addresses may produce are either largely ignored (Miller) or only partially treated in different places throughout the book (Revell). The analysis in the following sections intends to fill this gap.

5.4.5 Giving Deference

Table 5-1 above shows that about 94% of indirect addresses used for humans in our corpus begin with a T or an ascending KT, while only 6% of them begin with a PN. In Chapter 3, we have seen that the first element within a free form of address, whether in a simple or compound address, functions as an indicator of the power relation between the speaker and the addressee. Thus, T or ascending KT used as the first element marks the superiority of the addressee, while PN or descending KT used as the first element marks the inferiority of or equality with the addressee. This address rule for free forms of address also applies to indirect addresses. Except for one case ("Pharaoh" in Exod 11:5), all indirect forms of address beginning with a T or an ascending KT come from the inferior-superior dyads (i>s), as can be seen in Table 5-2.[21]

Table 5-2. Indirect Forms of Address Beginning with T or Ascending KT

Form (Frequency)	Power Relation	Form	Power Relation
My lord (83x)	i>s	King Ahasuerus (2x)	i>s
Our lord (1x)	i>s	King Solomon (1x)	i>s
My lord the king (39x)	i>s	King my lord (1x)	i>s
My lord the king David (2x)	i>s	King of Israel (3x)	i>s
My lord the official (2x)	i>s	Pharaoh (13x)	i>s; s>i
My lord Esau (1x)	i>s	The anointed of Yahweh (2x)	i>s
My lord Yaush (1x)	i>s	My father (1x)	i>s
The king (75x)	i>s[22]		

---

[21] See §3.3 for my discussion on the method by which the power relation between the speaker and the addressee can be determined.

[22] This includes two cases in which Jehoshaphat King of Judah addresses Ahab King of Israel by the indirect address הַמֶּלֶךְ *hammɛlɛḵ* "the king" in 1 Kgs 22:8 (= 2 Chr 18:7): אַל־יֹאמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ כֵּן *ʾal-yoʾmar hammɛlɛḵ ken* "Let not *the king* say so." Here Jehoshaphat is making a negative request of Ahab to abandon what he just said: "I hate him (i.e., Micaiah)." Jehoshaphat and Ahab may be considered equal as both of them are

Indirect addresses beginning with a T or an ascending KT are most frequently used for

kings (139x), while other types of social superiors, such as high officials, military officers,

prophets, and fathers, also receive them. More than half of them are used in the context

of requesting favors, while other contexts in which the rest of them occur include

informing and responding. It can be concluded, then, that indirect addresses in BH and

EH primarily function as a (negative) politeness strategy by which an inferior gives

deference to a superior and keeps distance from him, especially when there is a great

power differential between them.

The only case in which an inferior receives an indirect form of address beginning

with a T comes from Exod 11:5, where God, who is considered superior to all human

beings in the HB, addresses a king of Egypt by the title פַּרְעֹה *parꜥo* "Pharaoh." This

---

kings. Thus, Jehoshaphat's use of the deferential title "the king" may simply be viewed as expressing politeness towards his equal partner. However, the problem is that if they were truly equal, mutual respect is to be expected. But Ahab never employs a deferential term to address Jehoshaphat throughout their conversation, nor uses any identifiable politeness strategy for Jehoshaphat.

Note that when the title "the king" is used as indirect address elsewhere, it is always used by the king's subjects. In other words, the use of the indirect address 'the king' is a common technique for the subjects to give deference to their king. Perhaps Jehoshaphat's use of this deferential form might be a little piece of evidence for northern Israel's political supremacy over southern Judah around the 8th century BCE (see Miller and Hayes [2006:304] who view southern Judah as a vassal state subservient to the Omrides around 8th century BCE). Note also that Jehoshaphat uses a variety of politeness strategies when he speaks with Ahab. In v. 4, he offers a promise to Ahab to go to war with him against Ramoth Gilead. In v. 5, he uses the so-called particle of entreaty, נָא *naꜣ* "please." All these might imply the unequal power existing between Ahab and Jehoshaphat.

exceptional case can be classified as a case of expressive shift. A possible reason for the use of the title in this superior-inferior dyad will be offered in §5.4.6.1.

5.4.6. Expressive Shift

All the indirect addresses beginning with a PN in our corpus may conveniently be classified as cases of "expressive shift," i.e., strategic violation of address rules to communicate the speaker's temporary feelings and attitudes. Also, there are a few other cases, including one exceptional case above, in which the use of indirect addresses beginning with a T seems to be inadequate. I demonstrate below that these rule-breaking indirect addresses result from the manipulation of the power and/or distance variables. These addresses produce special effects other than giving deference to social superiors, which would be of not only social and emotive significance but also of exegetical importance. The following sections are arranged according to the discourse-pragmatic effects caused by the expressive shifts.

5.4.6.1 Rejection

There are some cases in which the speaker's rejection of his addressee seems to be conveyed by the use of indirect address. First, God uses indirect addresses composed of PN when he announces the punishment of three kings of Israel: Jeroboam (1 Kgs 14:10-

11), Baasha (1 Kgs 16:3-4), and Ahab (1Kgs 21:21-24). These are the only occasions in our

corpus in which God uses a PN as an indirect address. Consider the following passage.

(19)   1 Kgs 14:10-11a

לָכֵן הִנְנִי מֵבִיא רָעָה אֶל־בֵּית יָרׇבְעָם וְהִכְרַתִּי לְיָרׇבְעָם מַשְׁתִּין בְּקִיר עָצוּר וְעָזוּב בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּבִעַרְתִּי אַחֲרֵי בֵית־יָרׇבְעָם
כַּאֲשֶׁר יְבַעֵר הַגָּלָל עַד־תֻּמּוֹ הַמֵּת לְיָרׇבְעָם בָּעִיר יֹאכְלוּ הַכְּלָבִים

ləken	*hinni*	*mebi*	*el-bet*	*yərəbʕəm*	*whikratti*
therefore	look=I	bringing	to-house.of	Jeroboam	and=I.will.cut.off

lyərəbʕəm	*maštin*	*bqir*	*ʕəṣur*	*wʕozub*	*byiśrəʾel*	*ubiʕarti*
to=Jeroboam	urinating	in=wall	bound	and=free	in=Israel	and=I.will.burn

ʾaḥᵃre	*beṯ-yərəbʕəm*	*kaˣšɛr*	*yḇaʕer*	*haggələl*	*ʕaḏ-tummo*
after	house.of-Jeroboam	as=REL	he.will.burn	the=dung	until-be.complete=his

hammeṯ	*lyərəbʕəm*	*bəʕir*	*yoʾḵlu*	*hakkləḇim*
the=dying	to=Jeroboam	in=the=city	they.will.eat	the=dogs

Therefore, I will bring harm upon the house of *Jeroboam* and will cut off from *Jeroboam* every male,[23] both bond and free in Israel, and will burn up the house of *Jeroboam*, as one burns up dung until it is completely consumed. Dogs will eat anyone belonging to *Jeroboam* who dies in the city.

The announcement of God's punishment against King Jeroboam is introduced with the

clausal adverb לָכֵן *ləken* "therefore." Throughout this dire message, God addresses

Jeroboam by PN four times. His use of PN itself may pose no problem, since he is superior

to all human beings. However, God's addressing of Jeroboam in the third person is

"expressive," since Jeroboam is inferior to him. God's use of third person address may

---

[23] Lit. he who urinates against a wall (see also 1 Sam 25:22, 34; 1 Kgs 16:11; 21:21; 2 Kgs 9:8).

imply "distancing" himself from Jeroboam through which his message of rejection of Jeroboam as king of Israel can be conveyed.

The passage in (19) is immediately preceded by the passage in (20) in which God states the reasons for his punishment against Jeroboam.

(20)   1 Kgs 14:7-9

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יַעַן אֲשֶׁר הֲרִימֹתִיךָ מִתּוֹךְ הָעָם וָאֶתֶּנְךָ נָגִיד עַל עַמִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל
וָאֶקְרַע אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִבֵּית דָּוִד וָאֶתְּנֶהָ לָךְ וְלֹא־הָיִיתָ כְּעַבְדִּי דָוִד אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצְוֹתַי וַאֲשֶׁר־הָלַךְ אַחֲרַי בְּכָל־לְבָבוֹ
לַעֲשׂוֹת רַק הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינָי
וַתָּרַע לַעֲשׂוֹת מִכֹּל אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ לְפָנֶיךָ וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתַּעֲשֶׂה־לְךָ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים וּמַסֵּכוֹת לְהַכְעִיסֵנִי וְאֹתִי הִשְׁלַכְתָּ אַחֲרֵי גַוֶּךָ

ko-ʾɔmar   yhwh   ˣlohe   yiśrəʾel   yaʿan   ˣšɛr   hᵃrimotika
thus-he.said   YHWH   God.of   Israel   because   REL   I.exalted=you

mittok   hɔʿm   wəʾettɛnkə   nɔḡid ʿal   ʿammi   yiśrəʾel
from=midst.of   the=people   and=I.made.you   ruler   over   people=my   Israel

wəʾɛqraʿ   ʾɛt-hammamlɔkə   mibbet   dɔwiḏ   wəʾettnɛhə
and=I.tore   ACC-the=kingdom   from=house.of   David   and=I.gave=it

lɔk   wlɔʾ-hɔyitə   kʿaḇdi   dɔwiḏ   ˣšɛr   šɔmar
to=you   and=not=you.were   like=servant=my   David   REL   he.kept

miṣwotay   waˣšɛr-hɔlak   ʾaḥᵃray   bkɔl -lḇɔḇo   laᶜᵃśot
commandments=my   and=REL-he.walked   after   with=all-heart=his   to=do

raq   hayyəšɔr   bʿenɔy   wattɔraʿ   laᶜᵃśot mikkol   ˣšɛr-hɔyu
only   the=upright   in=eyes=my   and=you.did.evil   to=do   from=all   REL-they.were

lp̄ɔnɛkə   wattelɛk   wattaᶜᵃśɛ-llkə   ˣlohim   ˣḥerim
before=you   and=you.went   and=you.made-for=you   gods   other

umassekot   lhakᶜiseni   wʾoti   hišlaktə   ʾaḥᵃre   gawwɛkə
and=metal.images   to=vex=me   and=ACC=me   you.cast   after   back=your

262

"Thus says Yahweh, God of Israel: "Given the fact that I exalted *you* from among the people and made *you* ruler over my people Israel

and tore the kingdom away from the house of David and gave it to *you*, and yet *you* have not been like my servant David, who kept my commandments and followed me with all his heart, doing only what was right in my eyes,

but *you* have done evil more than all who came before *you* and (*you*) have gone and (*you*) made for *yourself* other gods and metal images, provoking me to anger, and (*you*) have cast me behind *your* back, (continued in [19] therefore, I will bring harm upon the house of *Jeroboam* and will cut off from *Jeroboam* every male...)"

What is striking in this passage is that God is consistently addressing Jeroboam in the second person (11x). This is in stark contrast to the following announcement of the punishment in which he is addressing that same person in the third person. The switch from second person address to third person address functions as a literary device to separate God's punishment from his accusation, signaling that these two are qualitatively different. While Jeroboam is treated directly and perhaps personally in the accusation section, he is now placed outside the speech event in the punishment section (Domonkosi 2018, 131). As contrasted with the accusation section, thus, God's rejection of Jeroboam is further highlighted in the punishment section.

The other two passages that contain the message of God's punishment against Baasha and Ahab (1 Kgs 16:3-4; 21:21-24) are almost identical to the passages we have

seen above. Third person addresses used in those passages seem to achieve the same effect: God's rejection of Baasha and Ahab.[24]

Second, Michal addresses her husband, King David, by the indirect address composed of T, מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל *mɛlɛḵ yiśrɔʾel* "the king of Israel," as he comes to bless his household.

(21)   2 Sam 6:20
וַתֹּאמֶר מַה־נִּכְבַּד הַיּוֹם מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר נִגְלָה הַיּוֹם לְעֵינֵי אַמְהוֹת עֲבָדָיו כְּהִגָּלוֹת נִגְלוֹת אַחַד הָרֵקִים

wattoʾmɛr	*ma-nniḵbaḏ*	*hayyom*	*mɛlɛḵ*	*yiśrɔʾel*	*ˣšɛr*
and=she.said	how-he.distinguished.himself	the=day	king.of	Israel	REL

niḡlɔ	*hayyom*	*lˤene*	*ʾamhoṯ*	*ᶜᵃḇoḏɔyw*
he.exposed.himself	the=day	to=eyes.of	slave.girls.of	servants=his

khiggɔloṯ	*niḡloṯ*	*ʾaḥaḏ*	*hɔreqim*
as=uncover	uncovering	one.of	the=worthless.ones

She (i.e., Michal) said, "How *the king of Israel* has distinguished himself today! He exposed himself today before his servants' slave girls as one of the vulgar fellows would!"

---

[24] As in the cases of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab, the only case in which an inferior receives an indirect form of address beginning with T (§5.4.5) occurs in the context of God's punishment. In Exod 11:5, God addresses a king of Egypt by the title פַּרְעֹה "Pharaoh": "Every firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of *Pharaoh* who sits on his throne, to the firstborn of the slave girl who is behind the hand mill, and all the firstborn of the cattle." God's use of the title "Pharaoh" does not seem to convey deference in this context, as in the other cases in which the title is used by pharaoh's subjects (Gen 41:10, 16, 25 [2x], 28 [2x], 32, 33, 34, 35; Exod 8:25 [2x]). Thus, God's indirect address by the title could be viewed as a case of expressive shift, conveying his rejection of Pharaoh by distancing from him. Benno (1992, 289), however, suggests that the choice of the expression "the firstborn of Pharoah" rather than "*your* firstborn," which seems to be expected in this superior-inferior dyad, results from the narrator's attempt to indicate that God's punishment affects everyone in Egypt by the repetition of the expression "the firstborn of X."

Miller (2003, 274) thinks that Michal's use of the indirect address "the king of Israel" creates the effects of rebuking and ridiculing, saying:

> David's wife mocks him by addressing him as 'the king of Israel', his political position. Throughout the quotation, third-person pronouns are used to refer to the addressee. In this way, the speaker rebukes her husband by distancing herself from the person she addresses (and his behavior). Michal's subversion of the deferential language of the court to ridicule her husband is particularly stinging.

Miller seems to argue that the senses of rebuke and ridicule can be detected on two grounds: (1) the use of David's political title as an address term and (2) the use of third-person pronouns by which Michal distances herself from David. However, the use of third-person pronouns by king's wives for their husbands is normal (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:20-21; Esth 5:4). Thus, it cannot be said that the use of third-person pronouns itself creates the senses of rebuke and ridicule. Also, the question arises of how else Michal should have addressed David other than by his political title, since kings' wives typically address their husbands by their political titles (e.g., 1 Kgs 1:20-21; Esth 5:4). Miller's explanation, thus, seems to be inadequate, if not wrong.

Revell (1996, 17) makes an interesting point on Michal's use of the indirect address, saying:

> Where a subject addresses or refers to King David or either of the other kings of the divided monarchy, using the title alone as a designation, the form is 'the king' (המלך)... The title in the form 'king of Israel' (מלך ישראל) is used for these kings in speech, but it is typically used by foreigners.

In other words, Michal's scornful attitude towards David can be seen by her use of the "wrong" form of address for her situation. For her, his conduct in dancing before the ark (2 Sam 6:14) is unworthy of a king ("she despised him in her heart" [2 Sam 6:16]). Thus, by using the title typically used by foreigners to refer to the kings of Israel (1 Sam 29:3; 2 Kgs 5:5; 6:11-12; 7:6; 2 Chr 18:30-31), she distances herself from David, presenting herself as one for whom David is not king. In effect, she rejects him as her king. Michal's use of the indirect address, then, can be a good example of "expressive shift," in which distancing is achieved by manipulating the address form itself, not just by third person reference.

There are two more cases in which the title "the king of Israel" is used by a subject to address his king. Both of them come from David's confrontation with King Saul (1 Sam 24:15; 26:20), in which David criticizes Saul for seeking his life. Just as in the case of Michal, David's use of the title "the king of Israel" can be viewed as cases of expressive shift, in which David is distancing himself from Saul, rejecting him as his king.

5.4.6.2 Insult

There is one case in our corpus in which the speaker's insult of his addressee seems to be expressed by the use of indirect address. Consider the following.

(22)   2 Sam 19:42

וְהִנֵּה כָּל־אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּאִים אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ מַדּוּעַ גְּנָבוּךָ אַחֵינוּ אִישׁ יְהוּדָה וַיַּעֲבִרוּ אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ אֶת־הַיַּרְדֵּן וְכָל־אַנְשֵׁי דָוִד עִמּוֹ:

whine   kɔl-ʾiš   yiśrɔʾel bɔʾim   ʾɛl-hammɛlɛḵ   wayyoʾmru   ʾɛl-hammɛlɛḵ
and=look all-men.of Israel   coming   to-the=king   and=they.said to-the=king

madduⁿ gnɔḇuḵɔ   ʾaḥenu   ʾiš   yhuḏɔ wayyaʿḇiru
why   they.stole=you brothers=our   men.of Judah and=they.brought.over

ʾɛṯ-hammɛlɛḵ   wʾɛṯ-beṯo   ʾɛṯ-hayyarden   wḵɔl-ʾanše   ḏɔwiḏ
ACC-the=king   and=ACC-house=his   ACC-the=Jordan   and=all-men.of   David

ʿimmo
with=him

Then all the men of Israel came to the king (i.e., David) and said to the king, "Why have our brothers the men of Judah stolen *you* away and brought *the king* and his household over the Jordan, and all *David*'s men with him?"

This conversation breaks out as King David returns to Jerusalem from across the Jordan river. The northern tribes felt excluded in welcoming David. Thus, they bring the case before him, accusing the men of Judah of taking the exclusive right to honor him. As they present the case, they refer to David by a series of different forms of indirect address: second-person pronoun "you", the title "the king," and his name "David." While the first two seem to be acceptable forms of address for King David, the use of David's name seems to be improper as inferiors do not normally use PN to address superiors. Possibly, therefore, the use of David's name by the men of Israel is "expressive," signaling their insults to David who has granted the men of Judah permission to escort

him. The shift of address forms in the speech of the men of Israel contrasts markedly

with the consistent reference to David by the title "the king" in the speech of the men of

Judah (2 Sam 19:43 [2x]). This seems to imply that there is a difference in attitude

towards David between the northern and southern tribes.

5.4.6.3 Formality

There are some cases in which a sense of formality appears to be conveyed by the

use of indirect address. First, when Jonathan takes an oath with David, he addresses

David by his PN.

(23) 1 Sam 20:12, 15
וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹנָתָן אֶל־דָּוִד יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־אֶחְקֹר אֶת־אָבִי כָּעֵת מָחָר הַשְּׁלִשִׁית וְהִנֵּה־טוֹב אֶל־דָּוִד וְלֹא־אָז אֶשְׁלַח אֵלֶיךָ וְגָלִיתִי אֶת־אָזְנֶךָ...
וְלֹא־תַכְרִת אֶת־חַסְדְּךָ מֵעִם בֵּיתִי עַד־עוֹלָם וְלֹא בְּהַכְרִת יְהוָה אֶת־אֹיְבֵי דָוִד אִישׁ מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה

wayyoʾmɛr	*yhonəṭən*	*ʾɛl-dəwiḏ*	*yhwh*	*ˣlohe*	*yiśrəʾel*	*ki-ʾɛḥqor*
and=he.said	Jonathan	to-David	YHWH	God.of	Israel	that-I.will.check

ʾɛt-ʾɔḇi	*kəʿɛṯ*	*məḥər*	*haššlišiṯ*	*whine-ṭoḇ*	*ʾɛl-dəwiḏ*
ACC-father=my	about=time	tomorrow	the=third	and=look-good	to-David

wloʾ-ʾɔz	*ʾɛšlaḥ*	*ʾelɛkə*	*wḡəliṯi*	*ʾɛt-ʾɔznɛkə...*
and=not-then	I.will.send	to=you	and=I.will.disclose	ACC-ear=your

wloʾ-ṯaḵriṯ	*ʾɛt-ḥasdkə*	*meʿim*	*beṯi*	*ʿaḏ-ʿoləm*
and=not-you.will.cut	ACC-loyalty=your	from=with	house=my	unto-eternity

wloʾ	*bhaḵriṯ*	*yhwh*	*ʾɛt- ʾoyḇe*	*dəwiḏ*	*ʾiš*	*meʿal*	*pne*
and=not	in=cut	YHWH	ACC-enemies.of	David	every	from=upon	face.of

hɑˣḏɔmɑ
the=ground

Jonathan said to David, "(By) Yahweh, God of Israel, (I swear)[25] that I will check
with my father about this time tomorrow or the third day. If he is favorably
inclined toward *David*, will I not then send word to you and let you know?...
Do not cut off your loyalty from my house forever, when Yahweh has cut off
every one of the enemies of *David* from the face of the earth."

It is certain that Jonathan is superior to David at this stage, since David refers to himself

as his servant (1 Sam 20:7-8). Thus, Jonathan's use of PN itself is an expected one.

However, his addressing of David in the third person rather than in the second person is

"expressive," since David is inferior to him. The indirect form of address occurs in a

friendly environment. Thus, it cannot be viewed as a sign of Jonathan's rejection or

insult of David, as in the cases of Jeroboam, Baasha, and Ahab. Rather, as Revell (1996,

356) observes, the air of formality seems to be induced by the use of David's name. The

taste of formality can also be detected in Jonathan's use of his own name in 1 Sam 20:13.

In his oath, Jonathan undertakes to side with David against Saul, his father and king.

Jonathan's use of PN as indirect address and self-reference, thus, seems to be intended to

ensure that this extraordinary undertaking carries conviction. While his oath is taken in

a friendly environment, it is a solemn and serious one.

---

[25] For a thorough treatment of oath formulas in Biblical Hebrew, see Conklin (2011).

Second, in three Hebrew letters, the sender refers to the recipient by an indirect

address beginning with PN.

(24)　　Arad 16:1-3

<div dir="rtl">

אחכ·חנניהו·שלח לשׁל

מ·אלישב·ולשלמׄ ביתכ בר

כתכ ליהוה

</div>

ʾḥk·ḥnnyhw·šlḥ lšl
m·ʾlyšb·wlšlm·bytk·br
ktk lyhwh

Your brother Hananyahu (hereby) sends greetings
to *Elyashib* and to your household. I bless
you to Yahweh.

(25)　　Arad 21:1-3

<div dir="rtl">

בנכ·יהוכל·שלח·לשלמ·<u>גדליהו</u> [בנ]

אליאר·ולשלמ·ביתכ·ברכתכ ל·[יהו]

ה

</div>

bnk·yhwkl·šlḥ·lšlm·gdlyhw·[bn]
ʾlyʾr·wlšlm·bytk·brktk·l[yhw]
h

Your son Yehukal (hereby) sends greetings to *Gedalyahu [son of]*
Elyair and to your household. I bless you to [Yahwe]h.

(26)　　Arad 40:1-3

<div dir="rtl">

בנכמ·גמר[·יהו] ונח

מיהו·שלח[ו לשׁלמׄ]

מלכיהו ברכת[כ ליהו]ה

</div>

bnkm·gmr[yhw] wnḥ
myhw·šlḥ[w lšlm]
mlkyhw brkt[k lyhw]h

> Your son Gemar[yahu], as well as Nehemyahu,
> (hereby) sen[d greetings to]
> *Malkiyahu*. I bless [you to Yahwe]h.

In (24), the sender and the recipient appear to be equal in status, as can be seen in the sender's self-reference with the horizontal KT "your brother." Thus, the use of PN "Elyashib" for the recipient may pose no problem. However, in (25) and (26), both senders appear to be inferior to their recipients, as can be seen in each sender's self-reference with the descending KT "your son." Thus, the use of PN for the recipients seems to be problematic.

According to Pardee et al. (1982, 49-50), however, only these three letters in all the Northwest Semitic letters contain the same form of the *praescriptio* consisting of the conflate address/greeting formula *PN šlḥ lšlm PN* and the greeting formula *brk l.* Taking all the KTs used in these letters as literal designations of kinship, they interpret the *praescriptio* as "a caritative address/greeting + greeting formula used between family members." If this is correct, the use of PN is purely formulaic and/or formal, and thus, the use of PN for social superiors can be justified.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the internal structure, external syntax, and social dynamics of indirect addresses used to humans in BH and EH. The analysis of their

internal structure and external syntax informs us that they can be a means of expressing

the power and distance variables. Indirect addresses in BH and EH primarily function as a

politeness strategy by which an inferior gives deference to a superior while keeping

distance from him, especially when there is a great power differential between them.

However, a variety of pragmatic effects other than giving deference can be produced by

manipulating the power and/or distance variables, such as rejection, insult, or formality.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this dissertation was to examine forms of address used in the prose sections

of the Hebrew Bible and the epigraphic Hebrew letters. Applying the theories and

methodologies of modern sociolinguistics, especially the theory of address proposed by

Brown and Gilman (1960) then Brown and Ford (1961) and the theory of politeness

proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987), I have investigated the distribution and usage

patterns of forms of address in BH and EH with the purpose of discovering underlying

rules governing address usage and identifying rule-breaking cases. Such a combination

of sociolinguistics and Hebrew studies makes two contributions: (1) it sheds light on

Hebrew social structure and demonstrates the exegetical significance of address

variations, and (2) it benefits sociolinguists by making it possible to test certain

assumptions that have been made and conclusions which have been drawn from the

analysis of modern languages.

Previous attempts at describing the use of address forms in BH and EH are few in

number and treat the subject only partially. Moreover, the definition and categories of

forms of address developed in sociolinguistic studies have not been adequately applied

to BH and EH. This dissertation intended to remedy these problems.

After dividing Hebrew forms of address into *free* forms (i.e., forms occurring

"outside" the sentence structure; preceding, following, inserted into a sentence, or

occurring without any immediate linguistic context) and *bound* forms (i.e., forms

integrated into the syntax of a sentence) according to the syntactic criterion, I examined

their internal structure, social dynamics, and external syntax in Chapters two to five. In

Chapter two, I analyzed the internal structure of free forms of address in BH, which were

grouped into *simple* (consisting of a single word), *complex* (made up of two or more

words), and *compound* (combining simple address(es) and/or complex address(es))

addresses according to the number of constituents in the address form. Having assigned

grammatical and semantic types to each constituent in the address form, I observed the

following meaningful patterns.

- Out of 682 free forms of address in our corpus, nearly 75% of them are simple addresses. Complex addresses in general do not occur in dialogues between two humans, but only in special circumstances, such as in prayer.
- Both simple and complex addresses are to be construed as definite. The occasional absence of the definite article in common noun address forms may be explained in various ways, such as the employment of poetic features and the result of a scribal interpolation.
- A compound address in BH may be formed by way of apposition, repetition, or coordination of co-referential simple address(es) and/or complex address(es). Almost 90% of the compound addresses are formed by placing simple and complex addresses in apposition.
- When a simple or complex address is used alone, the two most frequently occurring semantic types are personal names and kinship terms. This

corresponds to the cross-linguistic phenomenon that personal names and kinship terms comprise the core lexical domain for free forms of address.

- Honorific T always occupies the first slot in a free form of compound address.
- The biblical writers show a strong preference for the word order אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ *ᵃḏoni hammɛlɛḵ* "my lord the king," which is in stark contrast to the almost exclusive use of its reverse order "O king my lord" in other ancient Near Eastern writings during the second and first millennia BCE.
- Unlike addresses to human(s), kinship terms are never used to address God in our corpus, perhaps for polemical reasons.
- Apostrophe, in which inanimate objects are addressed and hence personified, is typical in prophetic literature. Common-noun address forms may function as quasi-proper nouns.

In Chapter three, I discussed social dynamics of free forms of address in BH primarily within the context of Brown, Gilman, and Ford's sociolinguistic theory of address, focusing on the three most frequently appearing address terms in our corpus: personal names, titles, and kinship terms. When these semantic types are used between two human beings, they may be used alone as a simple address (termed "APN," "AT," and "AKT," respectively) or as the head constituent of a compound address (termed "HPN," "HT," and "HKT," respectively). I have shown that the head constituent in an address, whether in a simple or a compound address, functions as an indicator of the power relation between the speaker and the addressee. When personal names are used as the head constituent, they seem to mark the superiority of the speaker. Thus, APNs and HPNs are almost exclusively used "downward," i.e., in the superior-inferior dyads, while there are a couple of cases in which APNs are used between close equals. In contrast,

when titles are used as the head constituent, they seem to mark the superiority of the addressee. Thus, ATs and HTs are normally used "upward," i.e., in the inferior-superior dyads, while there is no case in which ATs or HTs are used between equals. Therefore, APNs and HPNs seem to function as the *T* in Brown, Gilman, and Ford's *T/V* system, whereas ATs and HTs seem to function as the *V*. As far as personal names and titles are concerned, they seem to partially confirm Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal," that is, the linkage in personal address of intimacy and condescension, distance and deference. However, when kinship terms are used as the head constituent, they can convey all types of power relations. Ascending AKTs and HKTs are used "upward," horizontal AKTs and HKTs are used "horizontally," and descending AKTs and HKTs are used "downward." When kinship terms are used in an extended sense, the majority of them, if not all, may be viewed as politeness strategies. Therefore, the address usages of kinship terms in BH do not support Brown and Ford's "linguistic universal" (see Figure 6-1 below). The use of APNs or HPNs in the seemingly inferior-superior dyads may be viewed as what Brown and Levinson call "expressive shifts," in which the speaker (or narrator) strategically violates the rules of address above to show that he is in authority over the addressee (e.g., 1 Sam 26:14; Jer. 34:4; 2 Chr 15:2). The use of ATs in the seemingly superior-inferior dyads may be also viewed as "expressive shifts," to convey

his feelings of respect (e.g., 2 Chr 35:21) or contempt (e.g., Amos 7:12). These shifts

produce powerful pragmatic and literary effects which the readers should take into

account in order properly to understand the text.
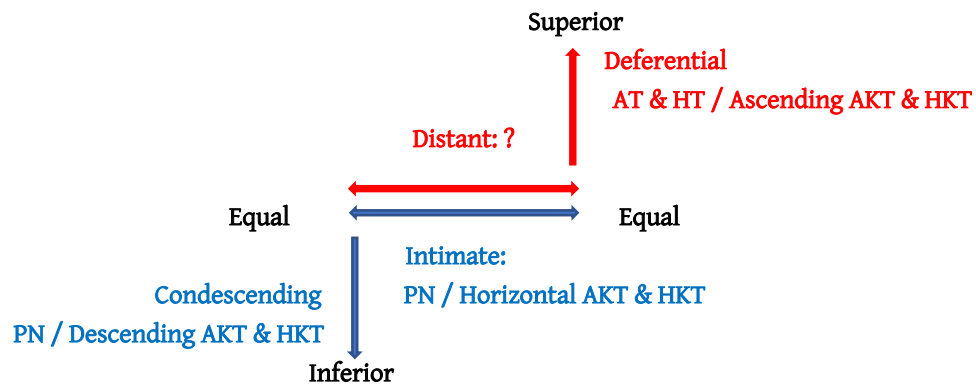
Figure 6-1. The Social Dynamics of Free Forms of Address in Biblical Hebrew

In Chapter four, I attempted to describe the external syntax of free forms of

address in BH by examining the correlation between their syntactic position and

function, using the methods proposed by Taglicht and Leech. Nearly 75% of the

addresses occur at the beginning (including the stand-alone addresses) or at the end of

the C(i.e., communicative)-unit. It appears that their primary functions have to do with

conversation management, such as attracting the attention of the addressee, identifying

the addressee, signaling the beginning or the end of a turn/conversation, giving the floor

to the addressee, and/or maintaining contact with the addressee. The rest of the

addresses occur within the C-unit, occupying one of the following positions: (i) between

the preface and the body; (ii) between an initial-edge element and the core; (iii) within the core; (iv) between the body and the tag. These addresses typically have a partitioning and focusing function, drawing the addressee's attention to important information at the junction where they occur. Thus, the addresses placed in position (i) or (ii) mark the element *preceding* them for information focus by detaching it from the rest of the C-unit, highlighting or reinforcing its discourse-pragmatic function. The addresses placed in position (iii) or (iv), however, mark the element *following* them for information focus by detaching it from what precedes them, highlighting or reinforcing its discourse-pragmatic function.

In Chapter five, I examined the internal structure, external syntax, and social dynamics of indirect addresses to humans in BH and EH. In terms of the internal structure, the absolute majority of the indirect addresses to humans are composed of title with or without the following element(s) (94%). In contrast, there are only a few indirect addresses consisting of personal name with or without the following element(s), or consisting of kinship term. With respect to the external syntax, an indirect address is treated as third person within the clause in which it occurs, while the pronoun(s) coreferential with the indirect address may appear in the second or third person outside that clause. The analysis of the internal structure and external syntax of indirect

addresses informs us that they can be a means of expressing the variables of power and distance. Indirect addresses in BH and EH primarily function as what Brown and Levinson call a negative politeness strategy in which an inferior gives deference to a superior while keeping distance from him, especially when there is a great power differential between them. However, a variety of pragmatic effects other than expressing deference can be produced by manipulating the power and/or distance variables, such as rejection (2 Sam 6:20), insult (2 Sam, 19:42), or formality (1 Sam 20:12, 15; Arad 16:1-3; 21:1-3; 40:1-3).

I see my dissertation project as the starting point for future research, which expands the scope of address studies beyond the prose sections of the Hebrew Bible and the epigraphic Hebrew letters. I propose as a first step to do a comprehensive analysis of address systems in letters written in other Semitic languages, such as Ugaritic, old Aramaic, with some selections, yet to be defined, from the vast corpus of Akkadian letters. Previous attempts to elucidate address systems in these Semitic languages are incomplete and simplistic. The ways in which forms of address are used in each of these languages and the ways in which Hebrew forms of address are used can be compared and contrasted.

Second, a sociolinguistic analysis of forms of address in the poetic sections of the Hebrew Bible and in Ugaritic narrative poetry also needs to be carried out. Address usage in poetry can be compared and contrasted with that of the prose sections of the Hebrew Bible and letters written in other Semitic languages. To my knowledge, there are only two works on address terms in Hebrew poetry: Rosenbaum (1997) and Miller (2010). Both works focus on the syntax of address terms rather than their sociolinguistic significance. Their corpora are limited, as Rosenbaum focuses on Isaiah 40-55 and Miller focuses on the Book of Psalms. A more comprehensive work that focuses on the sociolinguistic significance of address terms remains to be done.

Third, my dissertation and the studies proposed above open the door for further analysis of terms of reference in the Hebrew Bible. Reference terms can be divided into two groups: self-reference pointing to the speaker and reference pointing to a third person in dialogue. It is important to understand the speaker's self-reference, because that will reflect not only his self-view but also his perception of the addressee. The presence or absence of a third person may completely change how the speaker refers to him. Also, some words are used only referentially and not as terms of address, such as 'physician' in English. In the prose sections of the Hebrew Bible, for example, כַּלָּה *kallə* "daughter-in-law, bride" occurs exclusively as a term of reference while בַּת *baṯ*

"daughter" takes its place as the corresponding address term (Ruth 1:8, 11). The comparison of address and reference terms would be an interesting area of study that might shed light on the way in which the speaker's self-view, view of an addressee, and/or a third person who may or may not be present at the time of the recorded conversation.

Text and Translation (1 Kings 22:1-28)

Verse	Translation	Text
1	וַיֵּשְׁבוּ שָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנִים אֵין מִלְחָמָה בֵּין אֲרָם וּבֵין יִשְׂרָאֵל:	There was no war between Aram and Israel for three years.
2	וַיְהִי בַּשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁלִישִׁית וַיֵּרֶד יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:	In the third year Jehoshaphat the king of Judah came down to the king of Israel.
3	וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־עֲבָדָיו הַיְדַעְתֶּם כִּי־לָנוּ רָמֹת גִּלְעָד וַאֲנַחְנוּ מַחְשִׁים מִקַּחַת אֹתָהּ מִיַּד מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם:	The king of Israel said to his servants, "Do you know that Ramoth Gilead is ours, and we keep quiet and do not take it out of the hand of the king of Aram?"
4	וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁפָט הֲתֵלֵךְ אִתִּי לַמִּלְחָמָה רָמֹת גִּלְעָד וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁפָט אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל כָּמוֹנִי כָמוֹךָ כְּעַמִּי כְעַמֶּךָ כְּסוּסַי כְּסוּסֶיךָ:	Then he said to Jehoshaphat, "Will you go with me to battle at Ramoth Gilead?" Jehoshaphat replied to the king of Israel, "I am as you are, my people as your people, my horses as your horses."
5	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁפָט אֶל־מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל דְּרָשׁ־נָא כַיּוֹם אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה:	Jehoshaphat said to the king of Israel, "Please seek first the word of Yahweh."
6	וַיִּקְבֹּץ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־הַנְּבִיאִים כְּאַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אִישׁ וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם הַאֵלֵךְ עַל־רָמֹת גִּלְעָד לַמִּלְחָמָה אִם־אֶחְדָּל וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲלֵה וְיִתֵּן אֲדֹנָי בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ:	So the king of Israel assembled the prophets, about four hundred men, and said to them, "Shall I go to battle against Ramoth Gilead, or shall I refrain?" They said, "Go up so that the Lord may give (it) into the hand of the king."
7	וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁפָט הַאֵין פֹּה נָבִיא לַיהוָה עוֹד וְנִדְרְשָׁה מֵאוֹתוֹ:	But Jehoshaphat said, "Is there not here still a prophet of Yahweh of whom we may ask?"
8	וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁפָט עוֹד אִישׁ־אֶחָד לִדְרֹשׁ אֶת־יְהֹוָה מֵאֹתוֹ וַאֲנִי שְׂנֵאתִיו כִּי לֹא־יִתְנַבֵּא עָלַי טוֹב כִּי אִם־רָע מִיכָיְהוּ בֶּן־יִמְלָה וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹשָׁפָט אַל־יֹאמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ כֵּן:	The king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "There is yet one man by whom we may inquire of Yahweh. But I hate him because he does not prophesy good concerning me, but evil. His name is Micaiah the son of Imlah." Jehoshaphat said, "Let not the king say so."

9	וַיִּקְרָא מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל־סָרִיס אֶחָד וַיֹּאמֶר מַהֲרָה מִיכָיְהוּ בֶן־יִמְלָה:	Then the king of Israel summoned an officer and said, "Bring quickly Micaiah the son of Imlah."
10	וּמֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה יֹשְׁבִים אִישׁ עַל־כִּסְאוֹ מְלֻבָּשִׁים בְּגָדִים בְּגֹרֶן פֶּתַח שַׁעַר שֹׁמְרוֹן וְכָל־הַנְּבִיאִים מִתְנַבְּאִים לִפְנֵיהֶם:	Now the king of Israel and Jehoshaphat the king of Judah were sitting on their thrones, dressed in their robes, at the threshing floor at the entrance of the gate of Samaria. All the prophets were prophesying before them.
11	וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ צִדְקִיָּה בֶן־כְּנַעֲנָה קַרְנֵי בַרְזֶל וַיֹּאמֶר כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה בְּאֵלֶּה תְּנַגַּח אֶת־אֲרָם עַד־כַּלֹּתָם:	Zedekiah the son of Kenaanah made for himself iron horns and said, "Thus Yahweh says, 'With these you shall push Aram until they are destroyed.'"
12	וְכָל־הַנְּבִאִים נִבְּאִים כֵּן לֵאמֹר עֲלֵה רָמֹת גִּלְעָד וְהַצְלַח וְנָתַן יְהוָה בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ:	All the prophets were prophesying the same, saying, "Go up to Ramoth Gilead and triumph; Yahweh will give it into the hand of the king."
13	וְהַמַּלְאָךְ אֲשֶׁר־הָלַךְ לִקְרֹא מִיכָיְהוּ דִּבֶּר אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה־נָא דִּבְרֵי הַנְּבִיאִים פֶּה־אֶחָד טוֹב אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהִי־נָא דְבָרֶיךָ [דְבָרְךָ] כִּדְבַר אַחַד מֵהֶם וְדִבַּרְתָּ טּוֹב:	Now the messenger who went to summon Micaiah said to him, "Look, the words of the prophets are unanimously good for the king. Let your word, please, be like the word of one of them, and speak favorably."
14	וַיֹּאמֶר מִיכָיְהוּ חַי־יְהוָה כִּי אֶת־אֲשֶׁר יֹאמַר יְהוָה אֵלַי אֹתוֹ אֲדַבֵּר:	But Micaiah said, "By the life of Yahweh, I will say what Yahweh says to me."
15	וַיָּבוֹא אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֵלָיו מִיכָיְהוּ הֲנֵלֵךְ אֶל־רָמֹת גִּלְעָד לַמִּלְחָמָה אִם־נֶחְדָּל וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו עֲלֵה וְהַצְלַח וְנָתַן יְהוָה בְּיַד הַמֶּלֶךְ:	When he came to the king, the king said to him, "Micaiah, shall we go up to Ramoth Gilead to battle or shall we refrain?" He answered him, "Go up and triumph; Yahweh will give (it) into the hand of the king."
16	וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו הַמֶּלֶךְ עַד־כַּמֶּה פְעָמִים אֲנִי מַשְׁבִּעֶךָ אֲשֶׁר לֹא־תְדַבֵּר אֵלַי רַק־אֱמֶת בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה:	The king said to him, "How many times shall I make you swear that you speak to me nothing but the truth in the name of Yahweh?"

17	וַיֹּ֗אמֶר רָאִ֤יתִי אֶת־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל֙ נְפֹצִ֣ים אֶל־הֶֽהָרִ֔ים כַּצֹּ֕אן אֲשֶׁ֥ר אֵין־לָהֶ֖ם רֹעֶ֑ה וַיֹּ֤אמֶר יְהֹוָה֙ לֹֽא־אֲדֹנִ֣ים לָאֵ֔לֶּה יָשׁ֥וּבוּ אִישׁ־לְבֵית֖וֹ בְּשָׁלֽוֹם׃	He said, "I saw all Israel scattered on the mountains like sheep that have no shepherd. Then Yahweh said, 'These have no master; let each return to his home in peace.'"
18	וַיֹּ֥אמֶר מֶֽלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל אֶל־יְהוֹשָׁפָ֑ט הֲלוֹא֙ אָמַ֣רְתִּי אֵלֶ֔יךָ לֽוֹא־יִתְנַבֵּ֥א עָלַ֛י ט֖וֹב כִּ֥י אִם־רָֽע׃	The king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "Didn't I tell you that he would not prophesy good concerning me, but evil?"
19	וַיֹּ֕אמֶר לָכֵ֖ן שְׁמַ֣ע דְּבַר־יְהֹוָ֑ה רָאִ֤יתִי אֶת־יְהֹוָה֙ יֹשֵׁ֣ב עַל־כִּסְא֔וֹ וְכָל־צְבָ֤א הַשָּׁמַ֙יִם֙ עֹמֵ֣ד עָלָ֔יו מִֽימִינ֖וֹ וּמִשְּׂמֹאלֽוֹ׃	Micaiah said, "Therefore hear the word of Yahweh: I saw Yahweh sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing beside him on his right and on his left.
20	וַיֹּ֣אמֶר יְהֹוָ֗ה מִ֤י יְפַתֶּה֙ אֶת־אַחְאָ֔ב וְיַ֕עַל וְיִפֹּ֖ל בְּרָמֹ֣ת גִּלְעָ֑ד וַיֹּ֤אמֶר זֶה֙ בְּכֹ֔ה וְזֶ֥ה אֹמֵ֖ר בְּכֹֽה׃	Yahweh said, 'Who will deceive Ahab so that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead?' One said one thing, and another said another.
21	וַיֵּצֵ֣א הָר֗וּחַ וַֽיַּעֲמֹד֙ לִפְנֵ֣י יְהֹוָ֔ה וַיֹּ֖אמֶר אֲנִ֣י אֲפַתֶּ֑נּוּ וַיֹּ֧אמֶר יְהֹוָ֛ה אֵלָ֖יו בַּמָּֽה׃	Then a spirit came forward and stood before Yahweh. He said, 'I will deceive him.' Yahweh said to him, 'How?'
22	וַיֹּ֗אמֶר אֵצֵא֙ וְהָיִ֙יתִי֙ ר֣וּחַ שֶׁ֔קֶר בְּפִ֖י כָּל־נְבִיאָ֑יו וַיֹּ֗אמֶר תְּפַתֶּה֙ וְגַם־תּוּכָ֔ל צֵ֖א וַעֲשֵׂה־כֵֽן׃	He said, 'I will go out, and will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets.' He said, 'You will deceive, and you will succeed; go out and do so.'
23	וְעַתָּ֗ה הִנֵּ֨ה נָתַ֤ן יְהֹוָה֙ ר֣וּחַ שֶׁ֔קֶר בְּפִ֖י כָּל־נְבִיאֶ֣יךָ אֵ֑לֶּה וַֽיהֹוָ֔ה דִּבֶּ֥ר עָלֶ֖יךָ רָעָֽה׃	So now, look, Yahweh has put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these your prophets; but Yahweh has declared disaster for you."
24	וַיִּגַּשׁ֙ צִדְקִיָּ֣הוּ בֶֽן־כְּנַעֲנָ֔ה וַיַּכֶּ֥ה אֶת־מִיכָ֖יְהוּ עַל־הַלֶּ֑חִי וַיֹּ֕אמֶר אֵי־זֶ֨ה עָבַ֧ר רֽוּחַ־יְהֹוָ֛ה מֵאִתִּ֖י לְדַבֵּ֥ר אוֹתָֽךְ׃	Then Zedekiah the son of Kenaanah approached and hit Micaiah on the cheek and said, "Which way did the Yahweh's spirit go from me to speak to you?"
25	וַיֹּ֣אמֶר מִיכָ֔יְהוּ הִנְּךָ֥ רֹאֶ֖ה בַּיּ֣וֹם הַה֑וּא אֲשֶׁ֥ר תָּבֹ֛א חֶ֥דֶר בְּחֶ֖דֶר לְהֵֽחָבֵֽה׃	Micaiah said, "Look, you will see on that day when you go into an inner chamber to hide yourself."

26	וַיֹּ֙אמֶר֙ מֶ֣לֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵ֔ל קַ֖ח אֶת־מִיכָ֑יְהוּ וַהֲשִׁיבֵ֙הוּ֙ אֶל־אָמ֣וֹן שַׂר־הָעִ֔יר וְאֶל־יוֹאָ֖שׁ בֶּן־הַמֶּֽלֶךְ׃	The king of Israel said, "Seize Micaiah, and take him back to Amon the city official and to Joash the king's son,
27	וְאָמַרְתָּ֗ כֹּ֚ה אָמַ֣ר הַמֶּ֔לֶךְ שִׂ֥ימוּ אֶת־זֶ֖ה בֵּ֣ית הַכֶּ֑לֶא וְהַאֲכִלֻ֜הוּ לֶ֤חֶם לַ֙חַץ֙ וּמַ֣יִם לַ֔חַץ עַ֖ד בֹּאִ֥י בְשָׁלֽוֹם׃	and say, 'Thus says the king, "Put this man in prison and give him only a little bread and water until I safely return."'"
28	וַיֹּ֣אמֶר מִיכָ֔יְהוּ אִם־שׁ֤וֹב תָּשׁוּב֙ בְּשָׁל֔וֹם לֹֽא־דִבֶּ֥ר יְהֹוָ֖ה בִּ֑י וַיֹּ֕אמֶר שִׁמְע֖וּ עַמִּ֥ים כֻּלָּֽם׃	Micaiah said, "If you safely return, Yahweh has not spoken through me." Then he added, "Hear, all you peoples!"

APPENDIX B
Free Forms of Address in BH According to Grammatical Categories

1. SIMPLE ADDRESSES (473x)

1.1 *Definite* (461x)

1.1.1 *Proper Nouns Including Common Nouns Functioning as Proper Nouns* (217x)

Heb	Verses	Heb	Verses
אַבְנֵר	1 Sam 17:55; 26:14	יְהוּדָה	Jer 11:13; 2 Chr 20:17; 2 Chr 20:20
אַבְרָהָם	Gen 22:1, 11 (2x)	יְהוָה	Gen 15:2, 8; 24:12, 42; Exod 32:11; Num 10:35, 36; 14:14 (2x); Deut 3:24; 9:26; 21:8; 26:10; Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; 16:28; 21:3; 1 Sam 3:9; 23:10, 11; 2 Sam 7:18, 19 (2x), 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29; 15:31; 23:17; 24:10; 1 Kgs 3:7; 8:23, 25, 28, 53; 17:20, 21; 18:36, 37 (2x), 19:4; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; 19:15, 16 (2x), 17, 19 (2x); 20:3; Isa 37:17 (2x), 18, 20; 38:3; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 11:5; 14:13; 32:17, 25; 51:62; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5; 37:3; Amos 7:2, 5; Jonah 1:14 (2x); 4:2, 3; Dan 9:8; Ezra 9:15; Neh 1:5; 1 Chr 17:16, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27; 21:17; 29:10, 11 (2x), 16, 18; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:14, 16, 17, 19, 41 (2x), 42; 14:10 (3x); 20:6
אַבְרָם	Gen 15:1		
אַבְשָׁלוֹם	2 Sam 19:1 (3x), 5 (2x)		
אֲדֹנָי	Dan 9:4, 15		
אָהֳלִיבָה	Ezek 23:22		
אֲחַזְיָה	2 Kgs 9:23		
אֲחִימֶלֶךְ	1 Sam 22:16		
אֵל	Num 12:13; 16:22		
אֱלֹהִים	2 Sam 7:25; 1 Chr 17:16, 17 (2x); 2 Chr 1:9; 6:41 (2x), 42		
הָאֱלֹהִים	Judg 16:28		
אֵלִיָּהוּ	1 Kgs 18:7; 19:9, 13		
אֱלִישָׁע	2 Kgs 2:4		
אָסָא	2 Chr 15:2		
אֶסְתֵּר	Esth 5:3; 7:2		
הַבַּעַל	1 Kgs 18:26		
בָּרוּךְ	Jer 45:2		
גַּבְרִיאֵל	Dan 8:16	יְהוֹשָׁפָט	2 Chr 20:15
גּוֹג	Ezek 38:3, 16; 39:1	יוֹנָתָן	1 Sam 14:44
גֵּחֲזִי	2 Kgs 5:25	יַעֲקֹב	Gen 31:11; Gen 46:2 (2x)
גִּלְעָד	Judg 12:4	יָרָבְעָם	2 Chr 13:4
דָּוִד	1 Sam 24:17; 26:17, 21, 25; 1 Kgs 12:16; 2 Chr 10:16	יְרוּשָׁלַם	2 Chr 20:17
		יִרְמְיָהוּ	Jer 1:11; 24:3
דָּנִיֵּאל	Dan 9:22; 10:11, 12; 12:4, 9	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Exod 32:4, 8; Deut 4:1; 5:1; 6:3, 4; 9:1; 10:12; 20:3; 27:9; Josh 7:13; 1 Kgs 12:16, 28; Ezek 13:4; 2 Chr 10:16
הָגָר	Gen 16:8; 21:17		
חֲנַנְיָה	Jer 28:15		
יֵהוּא	2 Kgs 9:22		

מוֹאָב	2 Kgs 3:23	צִדְקִיָּהוּ	Jer 34:4
מִיכָה	2 Chr 18:14	צִידוֹן	Ezek 28:22
מִיכָיְהוּ	1 Kgs 22:15	צֹר	Ezek 26:3
מְפִיבֹשֶׁת	2 Sam 9:6; 19:26	קֹרַח	Num 16:6
מֹשֶׁה	Exod 3:4 (2x); Num 11:28	הַשָּׂטָן	Zech 3:2
עֻזִּיָּהוּ	2 Chr 26:18	שְׁלֹמֹה	1 Chr 28:9
עָמוֹס	Amos 7:8; 8:2	שְׁמוּאֵל	1 Sam 3:6, 10 (2x), 16
עֲשָׂהאֵל	2 Sam 2:20	שִׁמְשׁוֹן	Judg 16:9, 12, 14, 20
פַּשְׁחוּר	Jer 20:6		

1.1.2 *Common Nouns with a Pronominal Suffix* (207x)

אָבִי	Gen 22:7; 27:18, 34, 38 (2x); 48:18; Judg 11:36; 1 Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 2:12 (2x); 5:13; 6:21; 13:14 (2x); Isa 8:4	אֲחוֹתִי	2 Sam 13:11, 20
		אָחִי	Gen 33:9; 2 Sam 13:12; 20:9; 1 Kgs 9:13; 13:30
אֲדֹנִי	Gen 23:6, 11, 15; 24:18; 42:10, 20; 44:18; Num 11:28; 12:11; Judg 4:18; 6:13; 1 Sam 1:15, 26 (2x); 22:12; 24:9; 25:24, 26; 26:17; 2 Sam 14:9, 19, 22;16:4; 19:27; 1 Kgs 1:13, 17, 18, 20, 24; 3:17, 26; 18:7; 20:4; 2 Kgs 4:16; 6:5, 12, 15, 26; 8:5; Jer 37:20; 38:9; Zech 1:9; 4:4, 5, 13; 6:4; Ruth 2:13; Dan 10:16; 12:8; 1 Chr 21:3	אַחַי	Gen 19:7; 29:4; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 30:23; 1 Chr 28:2
		אֹיְבִי	1 Kgs 21:20
		אֱלֹהַי	1 Kgs 3:7; 8:28; 17:20, 21; Dan 9:18, 19; Ezra 9:6 (2x); Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 22, 29, 31; 1 Chr 21:17; 29:17; 2 Chr 6:19, 40
		אֱלֹהֵינוּ	2 Kgs 19:19; Isa 37:20; Dan 9:17; Ezra 9:10, 13; Neh 3:36; 1 Chr 29:13, 16; 2 Chr 14:10; 20:7, 12
אֲדֹנַי	Gen 19:2, 18	אִמִּי	1 Kgs 2:20; Isa 8:4
אֲדֹנָי	Gen 15:2, 8; 18:3; 20:4; Exod 4:10, 13; 5:22; 34:9; Deut 3:24; 9:26; Josh 7:7, 8; Judg 6:15, 22; 13:8; 16:28; 2 Sam 7:18, 19 (2x), 20, 22, 28, 29; 1 Kgs 8:53; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17, 25; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5; 37:3; Amos 7:2, 5; Dan 9:7, 16, 19 (3x); Neh 1:11	בְּנִי	Gen 22:7, 8; 27:1, 8, 13, 18, 20, 21, 26, 37, 43; 43:29; 48:19; Josh 7:19; 1 Sam 3:6, 16; 4:16; 24:17; 26:17, 21, 25; 2 Sam 13:25; 18:22; 19:1 (5x); 2 Sam 19:5 (3x); 1 Chr 22:11; 28:9
		בָּנַי	1 Sam 2:24; 2 Chr 29:11
		בְּנֹתַי	Ruth 1:11, 12, 13
		בִּתִּי	Judg 11:35; Ruth 2:2, 8, 22; 3:1, 10, 11, 16, 18

287

כֻּלְכֶם	Judg 20:7	עַמִּי	Ezek 37:12, 13; 1 Chr 28:2
כֻּלָּם	1 Kgs 22:28; 2 Chr 18:27	צֹאנִי	Ezek 34:17

1.1.3 *Common Nouns/Adjectives/Participles Prefixed with the Definite Article* (37x)

הַמֶּלֶךְ	Judg 3:19; 1 Sam 17:55, 58; 23:20; 24:9; 26:17, 22; 2 Sam 14:4, 9, 19, 22; 15:34; 16:4; 19:27; 24:23; 1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20, 24; 20:4; 2 Kgs 6:12, 26; 8:5; Jer 37:20; 38:9; Esth 7:3; 1 Chr 21:3; 2 Chr 20:15; 25:7	הַמַּלְכָּה	Esth 5:3; 7:2
		הַמֹּרִים	Num 20:10
		הַלְוִיִּם	2 Chr 29:5
		הָרוּחַ	Ezek 37:9
		הָרֹעִים	Ezek 34:9
		הַשָּׁר	2 Kgs 9:5 (2x)

1.2 *Common Nouns/Adjectives/Participles without the Definite Article* (12x)

אָדוֹן	Jer 34:5	פְּלִשְׁתִּים	1 Sam 4:9
זוֹנָה	Ezek 16:35	קֵרֵחַ	2 Kgs 2:23 (2x)
חֹזֶה	Amos 7:12	רֹעִים	Ezek 34:7
מִזְבֵּחַ	1 Kgs 13:2 (2x)	רָשָׁע	Ezek 33:8
עַמִּים	1 Kgs 22:28; 2 Chr 18:27		

2. COMPLEX ADDRESSES (209x)

2.1. *Construct Phrases* (177x)

2.1.1 *Definite Construct Phrases* (82x)

2.1.1.1 *Common Noun + Proper Noun* (54 Times)

אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 21:3; 1 Sam 23:10, 11; 2 Sam 7:27; 1 Kgs 8:23, 25, 26; Ezra 9:15; 2 Chr 6:14, 16, 17	בַּעֲלֵי שְׁכֶם	Judg 9:7
		הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ezek 36:1, 4, 8
		כָּל־יְהוּדָה	2 Chr 20:15
אֵשֶׁת יָרָבְעָם	1 Kgs 14:6	כָּל־יְהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן	2 Chr 15:2 (2x)[1]
בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	Jer 10:1; 18:6 (2x); Ezek 11:5; 18:25, 29, 30, 31; 20:31, 39, 44; 33:11, 20; 36:22, 32; 44:6; Amos 3:1; 5:1	כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	2 Chr 13:4
		מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה	Jer 34:4; 2 Chr 35:21
		מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה	Jer 19:3
בֶּן־אֲחִיטוּב	1 Sam 22:12	נְשִׂיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ezek 45:9
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 20:7; Isa 31:6; 2 Chr 13:12; 30:6	שְׁאֵרִית יְהוּדָה	Jer 42:15, 19
בְּנֵי לֵוִי	Num 16:7, 8	שִׁפְחַת שָׂרַי	Gen 16:8
בְּנֵי צְרוּיָה	2 Sam 16:10; 19:23		

2.1.1.2 *Common Noun + Common Noun with a Pronominal Suffix* (2x)

כָּל־עֲדָתוֹ	Num 16:6	אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ	2 Chr 20:6

2.1.1.3 *Common Noun + Common Noun with the Definite Article* (11x)

אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 1:9, 11, 13; 4:16, 40	אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם	Neh 1:5
		בֵּית הַמֶּרִי	Ezek 12:25
אִישׁ הַבְּלִיַּעַל	2 Sam 16:7	בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ	2 Sam 13:4
אִישׁ הַדָּמִים	2 Sam 16:7		

---

[1] Note that a construct chain *k̥ol-yhuḏǝ uḇinyǝmin* 'all Judah and (all) Benjamin' in 2 Chr 15:2 is counted as two addresses, as Judah and Benjamin are two different addressees. The construct noun *k̥ol* 'all' governs two conjoined nouns, *yhuḏǝ uḇinyǝmin* 'Judah and Benjamin' (*IBHS* §9.3b; *BHRG²* §25.3.1b).

2.1.1.4 *Adjective + Common Noun with the Definite Article* (1x)

גִּבּוֹר הֶחָיִל	Judg 6:12

2.1.1.5 *Participle + Proper Noun* (5x)

בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה	Gen 24:31	יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלָם	Jer 19:3; 2 Chr 20:15, 20
עֹכֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 18:17		

2.1.1.6 *Participle + Common Noun with a Pronominal Suffix* (1x)

הֹרֵג אֲדֹנָיו	2 Kgs 9:31

2.1.1.7 *Proper Noun + Common Noun* (4x)

יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	1 Sam 1:11; 2 Sam 7:27; Isa 37:16; Zech 1:12

2.1.1.8 *Common Noun + Participle + Common Noun with the Definite Article* (1x)

בֶּן־נַעֲוַת הַמַּרְדּוּת	1 Sam 20:30

2.1.1.9 *Common Noun + Proper Noun + Proper Noun + waw + Proper Noun* (1x)

אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 18:36

2.1.1.10 *Common Noun + Common Noun + Proper Noun + waw + Proper Noun* (2x)

נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל	Ezek 38:3; 39:1[2]

---

[2] Note that אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל *ʾₑlohe ʾaḇrəhəm yiṣḥəq wyiśrɔʾel* 'God of Abraham, Isaac, and Israel' in 1 Kgs 18:36 has three coordinated absolute forms, while נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל *nśiʾ roʾš mɛšɛ̱k wṭuḇɔl* 'chief prince of Meshech and Tubal' in Ezek 38:3 (=39:1) has two.

2.1.2 Construct Phrases with an Anarthrous Nomen Rectum (95x)

אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת	Dan 10:11, 19	בֶּן־אָדָם	Ezek 2:1, 3, 6, 8; 3:1, 3, 4, 10, 17, 25; 4:1, 16; 5:1; 6:2; 7:2; 8:5, 6, 8, 12, 15, 17; 11:2, 4, 15; 12:2, 3, 9, 18, 22, 27;
חֲלַל רָשָׁע	Ezek 21:30[3]		13:2, 17; 14:3, 13; 15:2; 16:2; 17:2; 20:3, 4, 27; 21:2, 7, 11, 14, 24, 33; 22:2, 18, 24; 23:2, 36; 24:2, 16, 25; 25:2; 26:2; 27:2; 28:2, 12, 21; 29:2, 18; 30:2, 21; 31:2; 32:2, 18; 33:2, 7, 10, 12, 24, 30; 34:2; 35:2; 36:1, 17; 37:3, 9, 11, 16; 38:2, 14; 39:1, 17; 40:4; 43:7, 10, 18; 44:5; 47:6; Dan 8:17

2.2. Definite Construct Phrase + waw + Definite Noun Phrase (2x)

רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו	2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14

2.3. Definite Construct Phrase + Definite Noun Phrase Appositional to the Nomen Rectum (6x)

אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אַבְרָהָם	Gen 32:10	אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם	Gen 24:12, 42
אלֹהֵי אָבִי יִצְחָק	Gen 32:10	אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ	1 Chr 29:10
אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבֹתֵינוּ	1 Chr 29:18		

2.4 NP + Modifier (24x)

2.4.1 Definite NP + Modifier (20x)

2.4.1.1 Construct Phrase + Relative Clause (in the order of אֲשֶׁר, ־ה, zero-relative): (12x)

כָּל־הַגּוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר־שִׁלַּחְתִּי מִירוּשָׁלַ͏ִם בָּבֶלָה	Jer 29:20
כָּל־יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Jer 44:24
נְשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־בָּא יוֹמוֹ בְּעֵת עֲוֹן קֵץ	Ezek 21:30
רֹעֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ רֹעִים אוֹתָם	Ezek 34:2
כָּל־יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֺת לַיהוָה	Jer 7:2

---

[3] I view this expression as a construct phrase, following BHS's repointing *ḥᵃlal rɛšaʿ*. This may be supported by the fact that two adjectives in apposition are rare in BH and that there is a corresponding plural construct phrase *ḥalle rᵊšᵃʿim* in Ezek 21:34.

מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה (הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה)	Jer 17:20[4]
כָּל־יְהוּדָה (הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה)	Jer 17:20
כֹּל יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה	Jer 17:20
מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד	Jer 22:2
כָּל־יְהוּדָה הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Jer 44:26
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים	2 Kgs 19:15; Isa 37:16

2.4.1.2 Construct Phrase + Prepositional Phrase (1x)

אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחֹת לְכָל־בָּשָׂר	Num 16:22

2.4.1.3 Common Noun + Relative Clause (in the order of אֲשֶׁר- and zero-relative): (4x)

אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וַתַּעַשׂ־לְךָ שֵׁם כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה	Dan 9:15
עַמִּי יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן	Isa 10:24
הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו	Dan 9:4; Neh 1:5

2.4.1.4 Common Noun + Adjective (2x)

הַר־הַגָּדוֹל	Zech 4:7[5]
הָעֲצָמוֹת הַיְבֵשׁוֹת	Ezek 37:4

2.4.1.5 Proper Noun + Relative Clause (1x)

יְהוָה הָאֹמֵר אֵלַי שׁוּב לְאַרְצְךָ וּלְמוֹלַדְתְּךָ וְאֵיטִיבָה עִמָּךְ	Gen 32:10

---

[4] Note that Jer 17:20 contains three conjoined address forms referring to three different addressees. The first two address forms are modified by a ה-relative clause which comes after the third address form. Thus, the ה-relative clause that modifies the first two address forms is put in parenthesis.

[5] I follow BHS' repointing *ʾattə həhər-haggəḏol* to fix the problem of mismatch in definiteness between *hər* and *haggəḏol*.

2.4.2 Anarthrous NP + Modifier (4x)

2.4.2.1 Common Noun + Relative Clause (in the order of אֲשֶׁר-, -ה, and zero-relative): (3x)

כְּרוּב הַסֹּכֵךְ	Ezek 28:16
עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת דָּם בְּתוֹכָהּ לָבוֹא עִתָּהּ וְעָשְׂתָה גִלּוּלִים עָלֶיהָ לְטָמְאָה	Ezek 22:3
רֹעִים מְאַבְּדִים וּמְפִצִים אֶת־צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי	Jer 23:1[6]

2.4.2.2 Common Noun + Adjective: (1x)

בָּנִים שׁוֹבָבִים	Jer 3:14

---

[6] For a defense of viewing what follows after הוֹי *hoy* 'woe' as a form of address in Jer 23:1, see Hillers (1983, 185-188).

3. COMPOUND ADDRESSES (119x)
3.1 Apposition (106x)
3.1.1 *Simple + Simple* (75x)[7]

אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה	Esth 5:3; 7:2
יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי	1 Kgs 3:7; 8:28; 17:20, 21; 1 Chr 21:17; 2 Chr 6:19
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים	2 Sam 7:25; 1 Chr 17:16, 17; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:41 (2x), 42
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ	2 Kgs 19:19; Isa 37:20; 1 Chr 29:16; 2 Chr 14:10
שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי	1 Chr 28:9
שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנִי	1 Sam 3:16
אֲדֹנִי אֵלִיָּהוּ	1 Kgs 18:7
אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	1 Sam 24:9; 26:17; 2 Sam 14:9, 19, 22; 16:4; 19:27; 1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20, 24; 20:4; 2 Kgs 6:12, 26; 8:5; Jer 37:20; 38:9; 1 Chr 21:3
אֲדֹנָי יֱהוִה	Gen 15:2, 8
אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה	Deut 3:24; 9:26; Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; 16:28; 2 Sam 7:18, 19 (2x), 20, 22, 28, 29; 1 Kgs 8:53; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17, 25; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5; 37:3; Amos 7:2, 5
אֲדֹנִי מֹשֶׁה	Num 11:28
בְּנִי דָוִד	1 Sam 24:17; 26:17, 21, 25
הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹשָׁפָט	2 Chr 20:15
עַמִּים כֻּלָּם	1 Kgs 22:28; 2 Chr 18:27

3.1.2 *Simple + Complex* (27x)[8]

אֵל אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחֹת לְכָל־בָּשָׂר	Num 16:22
גּוֹג נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל	Ezek 38:3; 39:1
דָּנִיֵּאל אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת	Dan 10:11
הָגָר שִׁפְחַת שָׂרַי	Gen 16:8
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 18:36
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבֹתֵינוּ	1 Chr 29:18
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ	2 Chr 20:6

---

[7] Arranged according to what comes as the head: proper noun, common noun with a pronominal suffix, and common noun.

[8] Arranged according to what comes as the head: proper noun and common noun with a pronominal suffix.

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם	Gen 24:12, 42
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 21:3; 1 Sam 23:10,11; 1 Kgs 8:23, 25; Ezra 9:15; 2 Chr 6:14, 16, 17
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ	1 Chr 29:10
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים	2 Kgs 19:15
זִמְרִי הֹרֵג אֲדֹנָיו	2 Kgs 9:31
צִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה	Jer 34:4
אֲדֹנִי אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	2 Kgs 4:16
אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וַתַּעַשׂ־לְךָ שֵׁם כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה	Dan 9:15
אֲדֹנָי הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֺתָיו	Dan 9:4
כֻּלְּכֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 20:7

3.1.3 *Complex + Complex* (3x)[9]

יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	2 Sam 7:27
יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים	Isa 37:16
חָלָל רָשָׁע נְשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־בָּא יוֹמוֹ בְּעֵת עֲוֺן קֵץ	Ezek 21:30

3.1.4 *Simple + Complex + Complex* (1x)

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וָחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֺתָיו	Neh 1:5

3.2 Repetition (10x)

3.2.1 *Simple + Simple* (5x)[10]

אַבְרָהָם אַבְרָהָם	Gen 22:11		שְׁמוּאֵל שְׁמוּאֵל	1 Sam 3:10
יַעֲקֹב יַעֲקֹב	Gen 46:2		מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ	1 Kgs 13:2
מֹשֶׁה מֹשֶׁה	Exod 3:4			

---

[9] Arranged according to what comes as the head: proper noun, common noun, and adjective.

[10] Arranged according to what comes as the head: proper noun and common noun.

3.2.2 *Simple + Simple + Simple + Simple + Simple* (2x)

בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְּנִי	2 Sam 19:5	בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם	2 Sam 19:1

3.2.3 *Simple + Simple + Simple/Complex* (3x)

אָבִי אָבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו	2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14	אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי	2 Sam 19:1

3.3 Coordination (3x)

3.3.1 *Simple/Complex + w + Simple/Complex* (2x)

אִישׁ הַדָּמִים וְאִישׁ הַבְּלִיָּעַל	2 Sam 16:7	אַחַי וְעַמִּי	1 Chr 28:2[11]

3.3.2 *Complex + w + Complex + Simple* (1x)

אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אַבְרָהָם וֵאלֹהֵי אָבִי יִצְחָק יְהוָה הָאֹמֵר אֵלַי שׁוּב לְאַרְצְךָ וּלְמוֹלַדְתְּךָ וְאֵיטִיבָה עִמָּךְ	Gen 32:10

---

[11] It is my view that both *ʾaḥay* 'my brothers' and *ʿammi* 'my people' in 1 Chr 28:2 refer to *kol-śɔre yiśrɔʾel* 'all the officials of Israel' who gathered before David in Jerusalem in 1 Chr 28:1.

APPENDIX C

Free Forms of Address in BH According to Semantic Categories

1. ADDRESSES TO ANIMATE BEINGS

1.1 *Humans* (381x)

1.1.1 *Simple/Complex Addresses Alone* (330x)

1.1.1.1 *PN* (64x)[12]

אַבְנֵר	1 Sam 17:55; 26:14	יוֹנָתָן	1 Sam 14:44
אַבְרָם	Gen 15:1	יַעֲקֹב	Gen 31:11
אַבְרָהָם	Gen 22:1	יָרָבְעָם	2 Chr 13:4
אָהֳלִיבָה	Ezek 23:22	יִרְמְיָהוּ	Jer 1:11; 24:3
אֲחַזְיָה	2 Kgs 9:23	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Exod 32:4, 8; Deut 4:1; 5:1; 6:3, 4;
אֲחִימֶלֶךְ	1 Sam 22:16		9:1; 10:12; 20:3; 27:9; Josh 7:13; 1
אֵלִיָּהוּ	1 Kgs 19:9, 13		Kgs 12:16, 28; Ezek 13:4; 2 Chr
אֱלִישָׁע	2 Kgs 2:4		10:16
אָסָא	2 Chr 15:2	מוֹאָב	2 Kgs 3:23
בָּרוּךְ	Jer 45:2	מִיכָה	2 Chr 18:14
גּוֹג	Ezek 38:16	מִיכָיְהוּ	1 Kgs 22:15
גֵּחֲזִי	2 Kgs 5:25	מְפִיבֹשֶׁת	2 Sam 9:6
גִּלְעָד	Judg 12:4	מְפִיבֹשֶׁת	2 Sam 19:26
דָּוִד	1 Kgs 12:16; 2 Chr 10:16	עֻזִּיָּהוּ	2 Chr 26:18
דָּנִיֵּאל	Dan 9:22; 10:12; 12:4, 9	עָמוֹס	Amos 7:8; 8:2
הָגָר	Gen 21:17	עֲשָׂהאֵל	2 Sam 2:20
חַנָּה	1 Sam 1:8	פַּשְׁחוּר	Jer 20:6
חֲנַנְיָה	Jer 28:15	קֹרַח	Num 16:6
יֵהוּא	2 Kgs 9:22	שְׁמוּאֵל	1 Sam 3:6
יְהוּדָה	Jer 11:13; 2 Chr 20:17, 20	שִׁמְשׁוֹן	Judg 16:9, 12, 14, 20

---

[12] Abbreviations used in this appendix include the following: PN = personal name; KT = kinship term; T = title; GA = group address; ET = evaluative term; GN = geographical name.

1.1.1.2 *KT* (57x)

אָבִי	Gen 22:7; 27:18, 34, 38 (2x); 48:18; Judg 11:36; 1 Sam 24:12; 2 Kgs 5:13; 6:21; Isa 8:4	בְּנִי	Gen 22:7, 8; 27:1, 8, 13, 18, 20, 21, 26, 37, 43; 43:29; 48:19; Josh 7:19; 1 Sam 3:6; 4:16; 2 Sam 13:25; 18:22; 1 Chr 22:11
אֲחוֹתִי	2 Sam 13:11, 20	בְּנַי	1 Sam 2:24; 2 Chr 29:11
אָחִי	Gen 33:9; 2 Sam 13:12; 20:9; 1 Kgs 9:13; 13:30	בְּנֹתַי	Ruth 1:11, 12, 13
אַחַי	Gen 19:7; 29:4; Judg 19:23; 1 Sam 30:23	בִּתִּי	Judg 11:35; Ruth 2:2, 8, 22; Ruth 3:1, 10, 11, 16, 18
אִמִּי	1 Kgs 2:20; Isa 8:4		

1.1.1.3 *T* (49x)

אֲדֹנִי	Gen 23:6, 11, 15, 18; 42:10; 43:20; 44:18; Num 12:11; Judg 4:18; 1 Sam 1:15, 26 (2x); 22:12; 25:24, 26; 1 Kgs 1:17; 3:17, 26; 2 Kgs 6:5, 15; Ruth 2:13	מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה (הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה)	Jer 17:20
		הַמֶּלֶךְ	Judg 3:19; 1 Sam 17:55; 23:20; 26:22; 2 Sam 14:4; 15:34; 24:23; Esth 7:3; 2 Chr 25:7
אָדוֹן	Jer 34:5	נְשִׂיאֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ezek 45:9
אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	1 Kgs 17:18; 2 Kgs 1:9, 11, 13; 4:40	רֹעֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ רֹעִים אוֹתָם	Ezek 34:2
בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ	2 Sam 13:4	רֹעִים	Ezek 34:7
חֹזֶה	Amos 7:12	רֹעִים מְאַבְּדִים וּמְפִצִים אֶת־צֹאן מַרְעִיתִי	Jer 23:1
מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה	2 Chr 35:21		
מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה הַיֹּשֵׁב עַל־כִּסֵּא דָוִד	Jer 22:2		
		הָרֹעִים	Ezek 34:9
מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה	Jer 19:3	הַשָּׂר	2 Kgs 9:5 (2x)

1.1.1.4 *GA* (39x)

בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל	Jer 10:1; Ezek 11:5; 18:25, 29, 30, 31; 20:31, 39, 44; 33:11, 20; 36:22, 32; 44:6; Amos 3:1; 5:1	כָּל־יְהוּדָה (הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה)	Jer 17:20
		כָּל־יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Jer 44:24
		כָּל־יְהוּדָה הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם	Jer 44:26
		כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל	2 Chr 13:4
בִּנְיָמִן	2 Chr 15:2	כֹל יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה	Jer 17:20
בַּעֲלֵי שְׁכֶם	Judg 9:7		
יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלַם	Jer 19:3; 2 Chr 20:15, 20	כָּל־עֲדָתוֹ	Num 16:6
כָּל־הַגּוֹלָה אֲשֶׁר־שִׁלַּחְתִּי מִירוּשָׁלַם בָּבֶלָה	Jer 29:20	עַמִּי	Ezek 37:12, 13
		עַמִּי יֹשֵׁב צִיּוֹן	Isa 10:24
כָּל־יְהוּדָה	2 Chr 15:2; 20:15	צֹאנִי	Ezek 34:17
כָּל־יְהוּדָה הַבָּאִים בַּשְּׁעָרִים הָאֵלֶּה לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לַיהוָה	Jer 7:2; 18:6 (2x)	שְׁאֵרִית יְהוּדָה	Jer 42:15, 19

1.1.1.5 *ET* (13x)

אֹיְבִי	1 Kgs 21:20	גִּבּוֹר הֶחָיִל	Judg 6:12
אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת	Dan 10:19	זוֹנָה	Ezek 16:35
בֵּית הַמֶּרִי	Ezek 12:25	הַמֹּרִים	Num 20:10
בָּנִים שׁוֹבָבִים	Jer 3:14	עֹכֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 18:17
בֶּן־נַעֲוַת הַמַּרְדּוּת	1 Sam 20:30	קֵרֵחַ	2 Kgs 2:23 (2x)
בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה	Gen 24:31	רָשָׁע	Ezek 33:8

1.1.1.6 P/Matro/Andronymic (101x)

אֵשֶׁת יָרׇבְעׇם	1 Kgs 14:6	בֶּן־אָדָם	Ezek 2:1, 3, 6, 8; 3:1, 3, 4, 10, 17, 25; 4:1, 16; 5:1; 6:2; 7:2; 8:5, 6, 8, 12, 15, 17; 11:2, 4, 15; 12:2, 3, 9, 18, 22, 27; 13:2, 17; 14:3, 13; 15:2; 16:2; 17:2; 20:3, 4, 27; 21:2, 7, 11, 14, 24, 33; 22:2, 18, 24; 23:2, 36; 24:2, 16, 25; 25:2; 26:2; 27:2; 28:2, 12, 21; 29:2, 18; 30:2, 21; 31:2; 32:2, 18; 33:2, 7, 10, 12, 24, 30; 34:2; 35:2; 36:1, 17; 37:3, 9, 11, 16; 38:2, 14; 39:1, 17; 40:4; 43:7, 10, 18; 44:5; 47:6; Dan 8:17
בֶּן־אֲחִיטוּב	1 Sam 22:12		
בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Isa 31:6; 2 Chr 13:12; 30:6		
בְּנֵי לֵוִי	Num 16:7, 8		
בְּנֵי צְרֻיָה	2 Sam 16:10; 19:23		

1.1.1.7 GN (3x)

יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם	2 Chr 20:17	צֹר	Ezek 26:3	צִידוֹן	Ezek 28:22

1.1.1.8 Gentilic (2x)

פְּלִשְׁתִּים	1 Sam 4:9	הַלְוִיִּם	2 Chr 29:5

1.1.1.9 Other (2x)

הַנַּעַר	1 Sam 17:58	כְּרוּב הַסֹּכֵךְ	Ezek 28:16

1.1.2 Compound Addresses (51x)
1.1.2.1 Honorific T + Occupational T (19x)

אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	1 Sam 24:9; 26:17; 2 Sam 14:9, 19, 22; 16:4; 19:27; 1 Kgs 1:13, 18, 20, 24; 20:4; 2 Kgs 6:12, 26; 8:5; Jer 37:20; 38:9; 1 Chr 21:3	אֲדֹנִי אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים	2 Kgs 4:16

1.1.2.2 Honorific T + PN (2x)

אֲדֹנִי מֹשֶׁה	Num 11:28	אֲדֹנִי אֵלִיָּהוּ	1 Kgs 18:7

1.1.2.3 *Occupational T + PN* (1x)

הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹשָׁפָט	2 Chr 20:15

1.1.2.4 *PN + Occupational T* (6x)

אֶסְתֵּר הַמַּלְכָּה	Esth 5:3; 7:2	הָגָר שִׁפְחַת שָׂרַי	Gen 16:8
גּוֹג נְשִׂיא רֹאשׁ מֶשֶׁךְ וְתֻבָל	Ezek 38:3; 39:1	צִדְקִיָּהוּ מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה	Jer 34:4

1.1.2.5 *PN + PN* (4x)

אַבְרָהָם אַבְרָהָם	Gen 22:11	מֹשֶׁה מֹשֶׁה	Exod 3:4
יַעֲקֹב יַעֲקֹב	Gen 46:2	שְׁמוּאֵל שְׁמוּאֵל	1 Sam 3:10

1.1.2.6 *PN + KT* (2x)

שְׁלֹמֹה־בְנִי	1 Chr 28:9	שְׁמוּאֵל בְּנִי	1 Sam 3:16

1.1.2.7 *PN + ET* (2x)

דָּנִיֵּאל אִישׁ־חֲמֻדוֹת	Dan 10:11	זִמְרִי הֹרֵג אֲדֹנָיו	2 Kgs 9:31

1.1.2.8 *PN + KT + KT* (1x)

אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי	2 Sam 19:1

1.1.2.9 *KT + PN* (4x)

בְּנִי דָוִד	1 Sam 24:17; 26:17, 21, 25

1.1.2.10 *KT + KT + Other T* (2x)

אָבִי אָבִי רֶכֶב יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפָרָשָׁיו	2 Kgs 2:12; 13:14

1.1.2.11 *KT + GA* (1x)

אַחַי וְעַמִּי	1 Chr 28:2

1.1.2.12 *KT + PN + KT + KT + PN* (1x)

בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם	2 Sam 19:1

1.1.2.13 *KT + PN + KT + KT + PN* (1x)

בְּנִי אַבְשָׁלוֹם אַבְשָׁלוֹם בְּנִי בְנִי	2 Sam 19:5

1.1.2.14 *ET + ET* (1x)

אִישׁ הַדָּמִים וְאִישׁ הַבְּלִיָּעַל	2 Sam 16:7

1.1.2.15 *ET + Occupational T* (1x)

חָלָל רָשָׁע נְשִׂיא יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־בָּא יוֹמוֹ בְּעֵת עֲוֹן קֵץ	Ezek 21:30

1.1.2.16 *GA + GA* (2x)

עַמִּים כֻּלָּם	1 Kgs 22:28; 2 Chr 18:27

1.1.2.17 *GA + Patronymic* (1x)

כֻּלְכֶם בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 20:7

<h1 style="text-align:center">1.2 Divine Beings (163x)</h1>

1.2.1 *Simple/Complex Addresses Alone* (96x)
1.2.1.1 *Personal Names* (51x)
1.2.1.1.1 *God* (48x)

אֵל	Num 12:13[13]	הָאֱלֹהִים	Judg 16:28
אֱלֹהִים	1 Chr 17:17	יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת	1 Sam 1:11; Zech 1:12
יְהוָה	Exod 32:11; Num 10:35, 36; 14:14 (2x); Deut 21:8; 26:10; 1 Sam 3:9; 2 Sam 7:24; 15:31; 23:17; 24:10; 1 Kgs 18:37 (2x); 19:4; 2 Kgs 6:17, 20; 19:16 (2x), 17, 19; 20:3; Isa 37:17 (2x), 18; 38:3; Jer 11:5; Jer 51:62; Jonah 1:14 (2x); 4:2, 3; Dan 9:8; 1 Chr 17:19, 20, 22, 23, 26, 27; 29:11 (2x); 2 Chr 14:10 (2x)		

1.2.1.1.2 *Messenger of God* (1x)

גַּבְרִיאֵל	Dan 8:16

1.2.1.1.3 *Baal* (1x)

הַבַּעַל	1 Kgs 18:26

1.2.1.1.4 *Satan* (1x)

הַשָּׂטָן	Zech 3:2

1.2.1.2 *Titles* (45x)
1.2.1.2.1 *Divine T* (20x)

אֱלֹהַי	Dan 9:18, 19; Ezra 9:6 (2x); Neh 5:19; 6:14; 13:14, 22, 29, 31; 1 Chr 29:17; 2 Chr 6:40	אֱלֹהֵינוּ	Dan 9:17; Ezra 9:10, 13; Neh 3:36; 1 Chr 29:13; 2 Chr 20:7, 12
אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 8:26		

---

[13] Note that the reading ʾel in this verse is uncertain. The BHS editors suggest the vocalization ʾal 'not' instead.

1.2.1.2.2 *Honorific T (God):* (17x)

אֲדֹנָי	Gen 18:3; 20:4; Exod 4:10, 13; 5:22; 34:9; Josh 7:8; Judg 6:15; 13:8; Dan 9:7, 16, 19 (3x); Neh 1:11
אֲדֹנִי	Dan 10:16; 12:8

1.2.1.2.3 *Honorific T (Messenger[s] of God):* (8x)

אֲדֹנָי	Gen 19:2, 18	אֲדֹנִי	Judg 6:13; Zech 1:9; 4:4, 5, 13; 6:4

1.2.2 *Compound Addresses* (67x)
1.2.2.1 *PN + Divine T* (31x)

אֲדֹנָי אֱלֹהֵינוּ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ אֶת־עַמְּךָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּיָד חֲזָקָה וַתַּעֲשׂ־לְךָ שֵׁם כַּיּוֹם הַזֶּה	Dan 9:15
אֲדֹנָי הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וְהַחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו	Dan 9:4
אֵל אֱלֹהֵי הָרוּחֹת לְכָל־בָּשָׂר	Num 16:22
יְהוָה אֱלֹהָי	1 Kgs 3:7; 8:28; 17:20, 21; 1 Chr 21:17; 2 Chr 6:19
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל	1 Kgs 18:36
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אַבְרָהָם יִצְחָק וְיִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבֹתֵינוּ	1 Chr 29:18
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתֵינוּ	2 Chr 20:6
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲדֹנִי אַבְרָהָם	Gen 24:12, 42
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Judg 21:3; 1 Sam 23:10, 11; 1 Kgs 8:23, 25; Ezra 9:15; 2 Chr 6:14, 16, 17
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אָבִינוּ	1 Chr 29:10
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים	2 Kgs 19:15
יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ	2 Kgs 19:19; Isa 37:20; 1 Chr 29:16; 2 Chr 14:10
יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	2 Sam 7:27
יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרֻבִים	Isa 37:16

1.2.2.2 *PN + PN* (7x)

יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים	2 Sam 7:25; 1 Chr 17:16, 17; 2 Chr 1:9; 6:41 (2x), 42

1.2.2.3 *PN + Divine T + Divine T* (1x)

יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם הָאֵל הַגָּדוֹל וְהַנּוֹרָא שֹׁמֵר הַבְּרִית וָחֶסֶד לְאֹהֲבָיו וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתָיו	Neh 1:5

1.2.2.4 *Honorific T + PN* (27x)

אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה	Gen 15:2, 8; Deut 3:24; 9:26; Josh 7:7; Judg 6:22; 16:28; 2 Sam 7:18, 19 (2x), 20, 22, 28, 29; 1 Kgs 8:53; Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32:17, 25; Ezek 4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5; 37:3; Amos 7:2, 5

1.2.2.5 *Divine T + Divine T + PN* (1x)

אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי אַבְרָהָם וֵאלֹהֵי אָבִי יִצְחָק יְהוָה הָאֹמֵר אֵלַי שׁוּב לְאַרְצְךָ וּלְמוֹלַדְתְּךָ וְאֵיטִיבָה עִמָּךְ	Gen 32:10

2. ADDRESSES TO INANIMATE OBJECTS

2.1. *Simple/Complex Addresses Alone* (7x)

הַר־הַגָּדוֹל	Zech 4:7
הָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ezek 36:1, 4, 8
עִיר שֹׁפֶכֶת דָּם בְּתוֹכָהּ לָבוֹא עִתָּהּ וְעָשְׂתָה גִלּוּלִים עָלֶיהָ לְטָמְאָה	Ezek 22:3
הָעֲצָמוֹת הַיְבֵשׁוֹת	Ezek 37:4
הָרוּחַ	Ezek 37:9

2.2 *Compound Addresses* (1x)

מִזְבֵּחַ מִזְבֵּחַ	1 Kgs 13:2

APPENDIX D

Indirect Addresses in BH and EH According to Semantic Categories (241x)

1. *Honorific T* (84x)

אֲדֹנִי	Gen 31:35; 32:6; 33:8, 13, 14 (2x), 15; 44:7, 9, 16 (2x), 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 33; 47:18 (3x), 25; Exod 32:22; Num 32:25, 27; Num 36:2 (2x); 1 Sam 16:16; 25:25 (2x), 26, 27 (2x), 28 (2x), 29, 30, 31 (3x), 41; 26:18; 2 Sam 1:10; 11:11; 13:32; 14:20; 19:20; 1 Kgs 18:13; 2 Kgs 2:19; 4:28; 8:12; 1 Chr 21:3 (2x); 2 Chr 2:14; Arad 21:3, 4; 26:2; 26:4; 40:6, 10; Lach 2:2, 4, 5-6; 3:3, 6, 8, 21; 4:1, 2, 4-5, 12; 5:1, 7; 6:2, 3, 8; 8:1, 7; 9:1-2; 12:1, 6; 17:2, 3; 18:2; KAjr 19A.9-10

2. *Honorific T + Occupational T* (41x)

אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ	1 Sam 26:19; 29:8; 2 Sam 3:21; 4:8; 9:11; 13:33; 14:12, 17, 18, 19; 15:15, 21 (2x); 16:9; 18:28, 31, 32; 19:20, 21, 28 (2x); 29, 31, 36, 38; 24:3 (2x); 21, 22; 1 Kgs 1:2 (2x); 20, 21, 27 (2x), 36, 37; 2:38; 1 Chr 21:23
אדני השר	MHsh 1; Mous 2:2

3. *Honorific T + Occupational T + PN* (2x)

אֲדֹנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד	1 Kgs 1:31, 37

4. *Honorific T + PN* (2x)

לַאדֹנִי לְעֵשָׂו	Gen 32:19
אֹדֹנִי יֹאֹש	Lach 3:2

5. *Occupational T* (78x)

הַמֶּלֶךְ	1 Sam 10:24; 19:4; 22:14, 15; 23:20; 24:15; 26:20; 2 Sam 6:20; 11:24; 13:24, 30, 32, 33, 35; 14:9, 11, 13 (2x), 22; 16:2, 16 (3x); 18:29; 19:20, 29, 35, 37 (2x), 42; 24:23; 1 Kgs 1:2, 19, 25; 22:6, 8, 12, 15; 2 Kgs 11:12; Esth 1:16, 18, 19 (2x), 20; 2:2, 3 (2x), 4; 3:8 (2x), 9 (2x); 5:4 (2x), 8 (4x); 6:7, 8 (2x); 9 (2x); 7:3, 4, 9; 8:5 (3x); 9:13; Neh 2:3, 5, 7, 8; 2 Chr 18:5, 7, 11; 23:11

6. *Occupational T + Honorific T* (1x)

הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדֹנִי	2 Sam 14:15

7. *Occupational T + PN* (3x)

הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה	1 Kgs 1:51
הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ	Esth 1:16, 19

8. *Other T* (15x)

פַּרְעֹה	Gen 41:10, 16, 25 (2x), 28 (2x), 32, 33, 34, 35; Exod 8:25 (2x); 11:5
מְשִׁיחַ יְהוָה	1 Sam 26:23; 2 Sam 19:22

9. *PN* (13x)

דָּוִד	1 Sam 20:12, 15; 2 Sam 19:42
יָרָבְעָם	1 Kgs 14:10 (3x), 11
בַּעְשָׁא	1 Kgs 16:3, 4
אַחְאָב	1 Kgs 21:21, 24
אלישב	Arad 16:2
מלכיהו	Arad 40:3

10. *PN + Patronymic* (1x)

גדליהו [בנ] אליאר	Arad 21:1-2

11. *KT* (1x)

אָבִי	Gen 27:31

Bibliography

Abba, R. 1962. "Name." In *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 3:501–8. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon.

Abbott, E. A. 1870. *A Shakespearian Grammar: An Attempt to Illustrate Some of the Differences Between Elizabethan and Modern English, for the Use of Schools.* London: Macmillan.

Agha, A. 2007. *Language and Social Relations.* Studies in the Social and Cultural Foundations of Language 24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Alford, R. D. 1988. *Naming and Identity: A Cross-Cultural Study of Personal Naming Practices.* New Haven: HRAF Press.

Aliakbari, M., and A. Toni. 2008. "The Realization of Address Terms in Modern Persian in Iran: A Sociolinguistic Study." *Linguistik Online* 35 (3): 3–12.

Alp, S. 1991. *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln Aus Maşat-Höyük.* Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, VI/34. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Alter, R. 1978. "Biblical Type-Scenes and the Uses of Convention." *Critical Inquiry* 5 (2): 355–68.

———. 1981. *The Art of Biblical Narrative.* New York: Basic Books.

———. 2013. *Ancient Israel: The Former Prophets: Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company.

Andersen, F. I. 1969. "Israelite Kinship Terminology and Social Structure." *The Bible Translator* 20 (1): 29–39.

Andersen, F. I., and A. D. Forbes. 1983. "'Prose Particle' Counts of the Hebrew Bible." In *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, 165–82. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Andersen, F. I., and D. N. Freedman. 1989. *Amos: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible 24A. New York: Doubleday.

Anderson, A. A. 1989. *2 Samuel.* Word Biblical Commentary 11. Dallas: Word Books.

Anderson, J. M. 2004. "On the Grammatical Status of Names." *Language* 80 (3): 435–74.

Avigad, N. 1975. "The Priest of Dor." *Israel Exploration Journal* 25 (2/3): 101–5.

———. 1978. "Baruch the Scribe and Jerahmeel the King's Son." *Israel Exploration Journal* 28 (1/2): 52–56.

———. 1986. *Hebrew Bullae from the Time of Jeremiah: Remnants of a Burnt Archive*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Avishur, Y., and M. Heltzer. 2000. *Studies on the Royal Administration in Ancient Israel in the Light of Epigraphic Sources*. Tel Aviv-Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publication.

Avrahami, Y. 2011. "Name Giving to the Newborn in the Hebrew Bible." In *These Are The Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, edited by Aaron Demsky, V:15–53. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University.

Baden, J. S. 2008. "The Wəyiqtol and the Volitive Sequence." *Vetus Testamentum* 58 (2): 147–58.

Bakos, F. 1955. "Contributions à l'étude Des Formules de Politesse En Ancien Français I." *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5: 295–367.

Baldick, C. 2008. *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford.

Bar-Efrat, S. 1989. *Narrative Art in the Bible*. Sheffield: Almond.

Barkay, G. 1993. "A Bulla of Ishmael, the King's Son." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 290/291 (May-Aug): 109–14.

Barr, J. 1989. "'Determination' and the Definite Article in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 34 (2): 307–35.

Barrick, W. B. 2001. "Shaking of Jehoshaphat's Family Tree: Jehoram and Ahaziah Once Again." *Vetus Testamentum* 51 (1): 9–25.

Başoğlu, S. 1987. *Anrede in Türkischer Gegenwartsliteratur: Eine Sprachvergleichende Untersuchung Türkischer Romane, Erzählungen Und Filme Und Ihrer Deutschen Übersetzungen.* Frankfurt am Main: Y. Landeck.

Bates, E., and L. Benigni. 1975. "Rules of Address in Italy: A Sociological Survey." *Language in Society* 4: 271–88.

Baudissin, W. W. G. 1929. *Kyrios Als Gottesname Im Judentum Und Seine Stelle in Der Religionsgeschichte.* 4 vols. Giessen: A. Töpelmann.

Bauer, H., and P. Leander. 1962. *Historische Grammatik Der Hebräischen Sprache Des Alten Testamentes.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms.

Bean, S. S. 1978. *Symbolic and Pragmatic Semantics: A Kannada System of Address.* Chicago: Universit of Chicago Press.

Bergey, R. L. 1983. "The Book of Esther - Its Place in the Linguistic Milieu of Post-Exilic Biblical Hebrew Prose: A Study in Late Biblical Hebrew." Ph.D. dissertation, Philadelphia: The Dropsie College.

Berlin, A. 1983. *Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative.* Sheffield: Almond.

Biber, D., and E. Finegan, eds. 1994. *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Register.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Biber, D., S. Johansson, G. Leech, S. Conrad, and E. Finegan. 2007. *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English.* Pearson Education.

Blau, J. 2010. *Phonology and Morphology of Biblical Hebrew: An Introduction.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Block, D. I. 1997. *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 1-24.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

———. 1999. *Judges, Ruth.* The New American Commentary 6. Nashville, Tennessee: B&H.

Blum-Kulka, S. 1987. "Indirectness and Politeness in Requests: Same or Different?" *Journal of Pragmatics* 11: 131–46.

———. 1990. "You Don't Touch Lettuce with Your Fingers: Parental Politeness in Family Discourse." *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 259–88.

Blyth, C. 2014. "When Raymond Met Delilah." *Relegere: Studies in Religion and Reception* 4 (1): 41–63.

Bordreuil, P., and D. Pardee. 2009. *A Manual of Ugaritic.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 3. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Bramwell, E. S. 2016. "Personal Names and Anthropology." In *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, edited by C. Hough. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Braun, F. 1988. *Terms of Address: Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures.* New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

———. 1998. "Terms of Address." In *Handbook of Pragmatics: 1998 Installment*, 4:1–18. Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Braun, F., A. Kohz, and K. Schubert. 1986. *Anredeforschung: Kommentierte Bibliographie Zur Soziolinguistik Der Anrede.* Tübingen: Narr.

Brayer, M. M. 1986. *The Jewish Woman in Rabbinic Literature: A Psychological Perspective.* Ktav.

Brettler, M. Z. 1989. *God Is King: Understanding an Israelite Metaphor.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 76. Sheffield: JSOT.

Brichto, H. C. 1998. *The Names of God.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Bridge, E. J. 2012. "Female Slave vs Female Slave: אָמָה and שִׁפְחָה in the HB." *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 12 (2): 1–21.

———. 2010a. "Polite Language in the Lachish Letters." *Vetus Testamentum* 60: 518–34.

———. 2010b. "The Use of Slave Terms in Deference and in Relation to God in the Hebrew Bible." Ph.D. dissertation, Sydney: Macquarie University.

Brin, G. 1969. "The Title בן (ה)מלך and Its Parallels: The Significance and Evaluation of an Official Title." *Annali (Istituto Orientale Di Napoli)* 29: 433–65.

Brongers, H. 1981. "Some Remarks on the Biblical Particle Halōʾ." In *Remembering All the Way: A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap in Nederland*, 177–89. Oudtestamentische Studiën 21. Leiden: Brill.

Brown, D. E. 1991. *Human Universals*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Brown, P., and S. C. Levinson. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brown, R. 1965. *Social Psychology*. New York: Free Press.

Brown, R., and M. Ford. 1961. "Address in American English." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 62 (2): 375–85.

Brown, R., and A. Gilman. 1960. "The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity." In *Style in Language*, edited by T. A. Sebeok, 253–76. Cambridge: M.I.T.

———. 1989. "Politeness Theory and Shakespeare's Four Major Tragedies." *Language in Society* 18: 159–212.

Brueggemann, W. 2000. *1 & 2 Kings*. Edited by R. S. Nash. Smyth & Helwys Bible Commentary. Macon, Georgia: Smyth & Helwys.

Buss, M. J. 1988. "Potential and Actual Interactions between Speech Act Theory and Biblical Studies." *Semeia* 41: 125–34.

Busse, B. 2006. *Vocative Constructions in the Language of Shakespeare.* Pragmatics & Beyond 150. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Busse, U. 2002. *Linguistic Variation in the Shakespeare Corpus: Morpho-Syntactic Variability of Second Person Pronouns.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

———. 2003. "The Co-Occurrence of Nominal and Pronominal Address Forms in Shakespearean English: Who Says Thou or You to Whom?" In *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, edited by I. Taavitsainen and A. H. Jucker. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Buth, R. J. 1987. "Word Order in Aramaic from the Perspectives of Functional Grammar and Discourse Analysis." Ph.D. dissertation, Los Angeles: UCLA.

Byrne, Sister St. Geraldine. 1936. "Shakespeare's Use of the Pronoun of Address: Its Significance in Characterization and Motivation." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.

Chafe, W. 1994. *Discourse, Consciousness, and Time: The Flow and Displacement of Conscious Experience in Speaking and Writing.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Chambers, J. K. 2003. *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic Variation and Its Social Significance.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Chambers, J. K., and N. Schilling, eds. 2013. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Chambers, J. K., and P. Trudgill. 2004. *Dialectology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax.* Cambridge, MA: M.I.T.

Christiansen, B. 2009. "A Linguistic Analysis of the Biblical Hebrew Particle Nā': A Test Case." *Vetus Testamentum* 59: 379–93.

Clermont-Ganneau, C. 1888. "Le sceau de Obadyahou, fonctionnaire royal israélite." *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* 1: 33–36.

Clines, D. J. A. 1972. "X, X Ben Y, Ben Y: Personal Names in Hebrew Narrative Style." *Vetus Testamentum* 22 (3): 266--287.

Coats, G. W. 1970. "Self-Abasement and Insult Formulas." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 89: 14–26.

Coetzee, J. H. 2002. "Politeness Strategies in the So-Called 'Enemy Psalms': An Inquiry into Israelite Prayer Rhetoric." In *Rhetorical Criticism and the Bible*, edited by S. E. Porter and D. L. Stamps. New York: Sheffield Academic.

Cohen, S. 1961. "Amos Was a Navi." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 32: 175–78.

Cole, G. A. 2013. *The God Who Became Human: A Biblical Theology of Incarnation.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity.

Conklin, B. 2011. *Oath Formulas in Biblical Hebrew.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 5. Eisenbrauns.

Contini, R. 1995. "Epistolary Evidence of Address Phenomena in Official and Biblical Aramaic." In *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*, 57–67. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Cotterell, P., and M. Turner. 1989. *Linguistics & Biblical Interpretation.* Downers Grove: InterVarsity.

Coulmas, F., ed. 1997. *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics.* Blackwell Handbooks in Linguistics 4. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2005. *Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speaker's Choice.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Craig, M. 2013. "Courtesy Expressions: Biblical Hebrew." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online*. Leiden: Brill.

Crenshaw, J. L. 1971. *Prophetic Conflict: Its Effect upon Israelite Religion*. 124. New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Currie, H. 1980. "On the Proposal of Sociolinguistics as a Discipline of Research." *Language in Society* 9 (3): 407–11.

Dallaire, H. 2014. *The Syntax of Volitives in Biblical Hebrew and Amarna Canaanite Prose*. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 9. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Dalman, G. 1889. *Studien Zur Biblischen Theologie: Der Gottesname Adonaj Und Seine Geschichte*. Berlin: H. Reuther.

Daniel, M., and A. Spencer. 2009. "The Vocative - An Outlier Case." In *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, edited by A. Malchukov and A. Spencer, 626–34. Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Davidson, A. B. 1942. *Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Hebrew Syntax*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Dehé, N., and Y. Kavalova, eds. 2007a. *Parentheticals*. Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 106. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

———. 2007b. "Parentheticals: An Introduction." In *Parentheticals*, 1–22. Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 106. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Demsky, A. 1997. "Names and No-Names in the Book of Ruth." In *These Are the Names: Studies in Jewish Onomastics*, 27–37. Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University.

Di Giulio, M. 2008. "Mitigating Devices in Biblical Hebrew." *Kusatu* 8.9: 33–62.

Dickey, E. 1995. "Forms of Address and Conversational Language in Aristophanes and Menander." *Menemosyne* 48: 257–71.

———. 1996. *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian*. Oxford: Clarendon.

———. 1997a. "Forms of Address and Terms of Reference." *Journal of Linguistics* 33: 255–74.

———. 1997b. "The Ancient Greek Address System and Some Proposed Sociolinguistic Universals." *Language in Society* 26: 1–13.

———. 2001. "ΚΥΡΙΕ, ΔΕΣΡΟΤΑ, DOMINE: Greek Politeness in the Roman Empire." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 121: 1–11.

———. 2002. *Latin Forms of Address.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———. 2004a. "Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri." *Mnemosyne* 57 (2): 131–76.

———. 2004b. "The Greek Address System of the Roman Period and Its Relationship to Latin." *Classical Quarterly* 54 (2): 494–527.

Dik, S. C. 1997. *The Theory of Functional Grammar: Part 2 Complex and Derived Constructions.* Edited by K. Hengeveld. Vol. 1. 2 vols. Functional Grammar Series 21. Mouton de Gruyter.

Diringer, D. 1934. *Le iscrizioni antico-ebraiche palestinesi.* Firenze: F. Le Monnier.

Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W., J. J. M. Roberts, C. L. Seow, and R. E. Whitaker. 2005. *Hebrew Inscriptions: Text Form the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Domonkosi, Á. 2018. "Metaphorical and Metonymic Motivations behind Hungarian Forms of Address." In *Polsko-Węgierskie Badania Hungarologiczne*, edited by G. Bubak, 129–41. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego.

Donner, H. 1961. "Der 'Freund des Königs.'" *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 73 (3): 269–77.

Driver, S. R. 1897. *The Books of Joel and Amos.* The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dunkling, L. 1990. *A Dictionary of Epithets and Terms of Address.* London: Routledge.

Durkheim, É. 1912. *Les Formes Élémentaires de La Vie Religieuse.* Paris: F. Alcan.

Eichrodt, W. 1970. *Ezekiel: A Commentary.* The Old Testament Library. Westminster.

Eissfeldt, O. 1974. "אָדוֹן ʾādhôn." In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, edited by G. J. Botterweck and H. Ringgren, 1:59–72. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

El Guindi, F. 2012. "Milk and Blood: Kinship among Muslim Arabs in Qatar." *Anthropos* 107 (2): 545–55.

Emerton, J. A. 1982. "New Light on Isrealite Religion: The Implications of the Inscriptions from Kuntillet ʾAjrud." *Zeitschrift Für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 94 (1): 2–20.

Ervin-Tripp, S. M. 1972. "On Sociolinguistic Rules: Alternation and Co-Occurrence." In *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*, 213–50. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Esposito, R. 2009. "Kinship Terms as Forms of Address in Biblical Hebrew: Fictive and Literal Use." *Annali Dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale Di Napoli* 69: 127–40.

Estelle, B. 2001. "Know Before Whom You Stand: The Language of Deference in Some Ancient Aramaic and Hebrew Documents." Ph.D., Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.

———. 2006. "The Use of Deferential Language in the Arsames Correspondence and Biblical Aramaic Compared." *Maarav* 13 (1): 43–74.

———. 2012. "Esther's Strategies of Becoming עבד משכיל." *Hebrew Studies* 53: 61–88.

Etz, D. V. 1996. "The Genealogical Relationships of Jehoram and Ahaziah, and of Ahaz and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 21 (71): 39–53.

Ewald, H. 1866. *Geschichte Des Volkes Israel.* Vol. 3. 8 vols. Göttingen.

Exum, J. C. 2000. "Delilah." In *Women in Scripture: A Dictionary of Named and Unnamed Women in the Hebrew Bible, the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books, and the New Testament*, edited by Meyers, 68–69. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Fairclough, N. 1989. *Language and Power.* New York: Longman.

Falk, A. 1996. *A Psychoanalytic History of the Jews.* Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University.

Fasold, R. 1990. *Sociolinguistics of Language.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Fehribach, Adeline. 1992. "Between Text and Context: Scripture, Society and the Role of Women in Formative Judaism." In *Recovering the Role of the Women: Power and Authority in Rabbinic Jewish Society*, edited by P. J. Haas, 39–60. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 59. Atlanta: Scholars.

Fewell. 1992. "Judges." In *The Women's Bible Commentary: Expanded Edition with Apocrypha*, edited by C. A. Newsom and S. H. Ringe, 73–83. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Firth, R., J. Hubert, and A. Forge. 1969. *Families and Their Relatives: Kinship in a Middle-Class Sector of London.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Fitch, K. L. 1991. "The Interplay of Linguistic Universals and Cultural Knowledge in Personal Address: Colombian Madre Terms." *Communication Monographs* 58: 254–72.

———. 1998. *Speaking Relationally.* New York: Guilford.

Fleming, L., and J. Slotta. 2015. "Named Relations: A Universal in the Pragmatics of Reference within the Kin Group." *Proceedings of Chicago Linguistic Society* 51: 165–79.

Fowler, J. D. 1988. *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Compartive Study.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 49. Sheffield: JSOT.

Fox, M. V. 2000. *Proverbs 1-9.* The Anchor Bible 18A. New York: Doubleday.

Fox, N. S. 2000. *In the Service of the King.* Monographs of the Hebrew Union College 23. Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College.

Franz, W. 1900. *Shakespeare-Grammatik.* Halle: Max Niemeyer.

Freedman, D. N. 1977. "Pottery, Poetry, and Prophecy: An Essay on Biblical Poetry." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96 (1): 5–26.

———. 1985. "Prose Particles in the Poetry of the Primary History." In *Biblical And Related Studies Presented to Samuel Iwry*, 49–62. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Friedrich, P. 1966. "Structural Implications of Russian Pronominal Usage." In *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*, edited by W. Bright. The Hague: Mouton.

Frost, S. B. 1968. "The Death of Josiah: A Conspiracy of Silence." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 87 (4): 369–82.

Garr, W. R. 1985. *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine: 1000-586 B.C.E.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Garrett, D. A. 2008. *Amos: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.* Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Text. Waco: Baylor University.

Garsiel, M. 1991. *Biblical Names: A Literary Study of Midrashic Derivations and Puns.* Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University.

Gesenius, W. 1960. *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon.

Gianto, A. 1996. "Variations in Biblical Hebrew." *Biblica* 77 (4): 493–508.

Gibson, J. C. L. 1971. *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions: Volume I Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Gilman, A., and R. Brown. 1958. "Who Says 'Tu' to Whom." *ETC: A Review of General Semantics* 15 (3): 169–74.

Glušac, M., and A. M. Čolič. 2017. "Linguistic Functions of the Vocative as a Morphological, Syntactic and Pragmatic-Semantic Category." *Jezikoslovlje* 18 (3): 447–72.

Goffman, E. 1967. *Interaction Ritual: Essays in Face-to-Face Behavior.* Chicago: Aldine.

———. 1981. *Forms of Talk.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Gogel, S. L. 1998. *A Grammar of Epigraphic Hebrew.* Atlanta: Scholars.

Goldsmith, D. J. 2007. "Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory." In *Explaining Communication*, edited by B. B. Whaley and W. Samter, 219–36. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Golub, M. R. 2017. "Israelite and Judean Theophoric Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible in the Light of the Archaeological Evidence." *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 54: 35–46.

Gottlieb, H. 1971. "The Hebrew Particle Nâ." *Acta Orientalia* 33: 47–54.

Gray, J. 1963. *I & II Kings: Commentary.* Philadelphia: Westminster.

Grayson, A. K. 1975. *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.* Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5. Locust Valley, N. Y.: J. J. Augustin.

Greenstein, E. L. 1992. "Wordplay, Hebrew." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Vol. 6. New York: Doubleday.

Grice, H. P. 1975. "Logic and Conversation." In *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, edited by P. Cole and J. Morgan, 41–58. New York: Academic Press.

Gumperz, J. J., and D. Hymes, eds. 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguistics.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Guttmacher, A. 1903. "Friendship (ידידות, אהוה, רעות, אהוה)." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 5:520–21. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Gzella, H. 2006. "Die Entstehung Des Artikels Im Semitischen: Eine 'phönizische' Perspektive." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 51: 1–18.

Haas, P. J., ed. 1992. *Recovering the Role of the Women: Power and Authority in Rabbinic Jewish Society*. South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 59. Atlanta: Scholars.

Haddad, Y. A. 2020. "Vocatives as Parenthetical Adjuncts: Evidence from Arabic." *Glossa*, 2003, 5 (1): 1–37.

Halliday, M. A. K. 1967a. "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 1." *Journal of Linguistics* 3 (1): 37–81.

———. 1967b. "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 2." *Journal of Linguistics* 3 (2): 199–244.

———. 1968. "Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English: Part 3." *Journal of Linguistics* 4 (2): 179–215.

———. 2004. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd ed. New York: Arnold.

———. 2014. *Halliday's Introduction to Functional Grammar*. Routledge.

Hamilton, V. P. 1990. *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1-17*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

———. 1995. *The Book of Genesis: 18-50*. New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

———. 2002. *A Brief History of Ancient Israel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Harari, R. 1989. "Abraham's Nephew Lot: A Biblical Portrait." *Tradition:A Journal of Orthodox Jewish Thought* 25 (1): 31–41.

Harper, W. R. 1929. *Amos and Hosea.* The International Critical Commentary. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Hartley, J. E. 2000. *Genesis.* New International Biblical Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Haspelmath, M. 2009. "Terminology of Case." In *The Oxford Handbook of Case*, edited by A. Malchukov and A. Spencer, 505–17. Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hawley, R. 2003. "Studies in Ugaritic Epistolography." Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Hayes, J. H. 1988. *Amos, the Eighth-Century Prophet: His Times & His Preaching.* Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon.

Hayes, J. H., and P. K. Hooker. 1988. *A New Chronology for the Kings of Israel and Judah and Its Implications for Biblical History and Literature.* Atlanta: John Knox Press.

Head, B. F. 1978. "Respect Degrees in Pronominal Reference." In *Universals of Human Language*, edited by J. H. Greenberg, 3:151–211. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Hernández-Cmapoy, J. M., and J. C. Conde-Silvestre, eds. 2012. *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hess, R. S. 1996. "Non-Israelite Personal Names in the Book of Joshua." *The Catholic Biblical Association* 58 (2): 205–14.

———. 2013. "Names of People: Biblical Hebrew." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics*, edited by G. Khan. Leiden: Brill. http://dx.doi.org.proxy.uchicago.edu/10.1163/2212-4241_ehll_EHLL_COM_00000229.

———. 2015. "Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible with Second-Millennium B.C. Antecedents." *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 25 (1): 5–12.

Higginbotham, C. 2009. "Pharaoh." In *The New Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by K. D. Sakenfeld. Vol. 4. Nashville: Abingdon.

Hijirida, K., and H. Sohn. 1983. "Commonality and Relativity in Address-Reference Term Usages." *Language Research* 19 (2): 139–68.

Hillers, D. 1983. "Hôy and Hôy-Oracles: A Neglected Syntactic Aspect." In *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, 185–88. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Hobbs, T. R. 1985. *2 Kings.* Word Biblical Commentary 13. Waco: Word Books.

———. 1989. *Word Biblical Themes: 1, 2 Kings.* Dallas: Word.

Hodson, T. C. 1939. "Socio-Linguistics in India." *Man in India* 19 (2 & 3): 94–98.

Hoffmeier, J. K. 1996. *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition.* New York.

Hoffner, H. A. 2009. *Letters from the Hittite Kingdom.* Edited by G. M. Beckman. Soceity of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Holmstedt, R. D. 2002. "The Relative Clause in Biblical Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis." Madison: University of Wisconsin.

———. 2010. *Ruth: A Handbook on the Hebrew Text.* Edited by W. D. Tucker. Baylor Handbook on the Hebrew Text. Waco: Baylor University.

———. 2014. "Critical at the Margins: Edge Constituents in Biblical Hebrew." *Kleine Untersuchungen Zur Sprache Des Alten Testaments Und Seiner Umwelt* 17: 109–56.

Holmstedt, R. D., and A. R. Jones. 2017. "Apposition in Biblical Hebrew: Structure and Function." *Kleine Untersuchungen Zur Sprache Des Alten Testaments Und Seiner Umwelt* 22: 21–51.

Holtgraves, T. M. 2001. *Language as Social Action: Social Psychology and Language Use.* Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Huang, Y. 2014. *Pragmatics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huehnergard, J. 2012. *An Introduction to Ugaritic.* Peabody: Hendrickson.

Hwang, J. 1975. "Role of Sociolinguistics in Foreign Language Education with Reference to Korean and English Terms of Address and Levels of Deference." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, Austin.

Hwang, S. J. 1991. "Terms of Address in Korean and American Cultures." *Intercultural Communication Studies* I (2): 117–33.

Hymes, D. 1966. "Two Types of Linguistic Relativity." In *Sociolinguistics*, edited by W. Bright. Janua Linguarum 20. The Hague: Mouton.

———. 1974. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Jacob, B. 1992. *The Second Book of the Bible: Exodus.* Hoboken: Ktav.

Jaffe, A., ed. 2009. *Stance: Sociolinguistic Perspectives.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jakobson, R. 1960. "Linguistics and Poetics." In *Style in Language*, edited by T. A. Sebeok. New York: The Technology Press of Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Janzen, W. 1972. *Mourning Cry and Woe Oracle.* Beiheft Zur Zeitschrift Für Die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 125. New York: Walter de Gruyter.

Jeremias, J. 1997. "נָבִיא Nābîʾ." In *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*, edited by E. Jenni and C. Westermann, translated by M. E. Biddle, 2:697–710. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Johnson, Robert. 1993. "The Words in Their Mouths: A Linguistic and Literary Analysis of the Dialogues in the Book of Ruth." Ph.D. dissertation, Nashville, Tennessee: Vanderbilt University.

Joo, Samantha. 2011. "'Abraham! Abraham!': Re-Analysis of Gen. 22:11." *Korea Presbyterian Journal of Theology* 42: 65–79.

Jucker, A. H., ed. 1995. *Historical Pragmatics.* Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 35. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kambylis, A. 1964. "Anredeformen Bei Pindar." In *Charis*, edited by A. Anastassiou and A. Kambylis, 95–199. Athēnai.

Katriel, T. 2013. "Courtesy Expressions: Modern Hebrew." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online.* Leiden: Brill.

Kaufman, S. A. 1991. "An Emphatic Plea for Please." *Maarav* 7: 195–98.

Keown, A. S. 2004. "Metaphorical Motivations for Politeness Strategies: Linguistic Evidence from Russian, Polish, and Czech." Ph.D. dissertation, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Keshavarz, M. H. 1988. "Forms of Address in Post-Revolutionary Iranian Persian: A Sociolinguistic Analysis." *Language in Society* 17 (4): 565–75.

Kiełkiewicz-Janowiak, A. 1992. *A Socio-Historical Study in Address: Polish and English.* New York: Peter Lang.

Kim, D. 2013. *Early Biblical Hebrew, Late Biblial Hebrew, and Linguistic Variability: A Sociolinguistic Evaluation of the Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 156. Boston: Brill.

Kim, Yoo-ki. 2015. "Deferential Self-Reference in the Book of Samuel." *Vetus Testamentum* 65 (4): 588–605.

Kimḥi, D. 2007. *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimhi to Chronicles: A Translation with Introduction and Supercommentary.* Translated by Y. Berger. Providence: Brown University.

Kopytko, R. 1995. "Linguistic Politeness Strategies in Shakespeare's Plays." In *Historical Pragmatics*, edited by A. H. Jucker, 515–40. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Krašovec, J. 2010. *The Transformation of Biblical Proper Names*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 418. New York: T&T Clark.

Kroger, R. O. 1982. "Explorations in Ethnogeny: With Special Reference to the Rules of Address." *American Psychologist* 37 (7): 810–20.

———. 1984. "Are the Rules of Address Universal? III: Comparison of Chinese, Greek, and Korean Usage." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 15: 273–84.

Kroger, R. O., K. Cheng, and I. Leong. 1979. "Are the Rules of Address Universal?: A Test of Chinese Language." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 10 (4): 395–414.

Kroger, R. O., and L. A. Wood. 1992. "Are the Rules of Address Universal? IV: Comparison of Chinese, Korean, Greek, and German Usage." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 23 (2): 148–62.

Kroger, R. O., L. A. Wood, and T. Beam. 1984. "Are the Rules of Address Universal? II: Greek Usage." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 15: 259–72.

Kugel, J. L. 2007. *How to Read the Bible*. New York: Free Press.

Kuglin, J. 1977. "Einige Bemerkungen Zur Anrede Im Deutschen Und Türkischen." In *Korrespondenzen Festschrift Für Dietrich Gerhardt Aus Anlass Des 65*, 261–78. Giessen: W. Schmitz.

Labov, W. 1972. "Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology." *Language in Society* 1 (1): 97–120.

———. 1994. *Principles of Linguistic Change*. 3 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.

———. 2006. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lambdin, T. O. 1971. *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew.* London: Darton, Longman and Todd.

———. 1953. "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73 (3): 145–55.

Lambert, W. E., and G. R. Tucker. 1976. *Tu, Vous, Usted: A Social-Psychological Study of Address Patterns.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Lande, I. 1949. *Formelhafte Wendungen Der Umgangssprache Im Alten Testament.* Leiden: Brill.

Landy, F. 1987. "Vision and Poetic Speech in Amos." *Hebrew Annual Review* 11: 223–46.

Lawson, E. D. 2016. "Personal Naming Systems." In *The Oxford Handbook of Names and Naming*, edited by C. Hough. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lawton, R. 1984. "Israelite Personal Names on Pre-Exilic Hebrew Inscriptions." *Biblica* 65: 330–46.

Layton, S. C. 1990. *Archaic Features of Canaanite Personal Names in the Hebrew Bible.* Harvard Semitic Monographs 47. Atlanta: Scholars.

Leeb, C. S. 2000. *Away from the Father's House: The Social Location of Naʿar and Naʿarah in Ancient Israel.* Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 301. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

Leech, G. 1999. "The Distribution and Function of Vocatives in American and British English Conversation." In *Out of Corpora: Studies in Honour of Stig Johansson*, edited by H. Hasselgård and S. Okselfjell, 107–18. Language and Computers: Studies in Practical Linguistics 26. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Leithart, P. J. 2006. *1 & 2 Kings.* Grand Rapids: Baker.

Lemaire, A. 1979. "Note Sur Le Titre Bn Hmlk Dans l'ancien Israël." *Semitica* 29: 59–65.

Lemos, T. M. 2015. "Were Israelite Women Chattel?: Shedding New Light on an Old Question." In *Worship, Women, and War: Essays in Honor of Susan Niditch*, edited by J. J. Collins, T. M. Lemos, and S. M. Olyan. Brown Judaic Studies 357. Providence: Brown University.

Levinson, S. C. 1983. *Pragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. 1966. *The Savage Mind*. Chicago: Universit of Chicago Press.

Liss, H., and M. Oeming, eds. 2010. *Literary Construction of Identity*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Listen, P. 1999. *The Emergence of German Polite Sie*. Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 32. New York: Peter Lang.

Longacre, R. E. 2003. *Joseph: A Story of Divine Providence*. 2nd ed. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Lyons, J. 1983. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mabie, F. J. 2010. *The Expositor's Bible Commentary*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

MacDonald, J. 1976. "The Status and Role of the Naꜥar in Israelite Society." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35 (3): 147–70.

Macgowan, J. 1912. *Men and Manners of Modern China*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

Malchukov, A., and A. Spencer, eds. 2009. *The Oxford Handbook of Case*. Oxford Handbooks in Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Marks, H. 1995. "Biblical Naming and Poetic Etymology." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 114 (1): 21–42.

Mays, J. L. 1969. *Amos: A Commentary*. The Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Mazzon, G. 2003. "Pronouns and Nominal Address in Shakespearean English: A Socio-Affective Marking System in Transition." In *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, edited by I. Taavitsainen and A. H. Jucker. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

McCarthy, M. J., and A. O'Keeffe. 2003. "'What's in a Name?': Vocatives in Casual Conversations and Radio Phone-in Calls." *Language and Computers* 46: 153–85.

McCawley, J. D. 1998. *The Syntactic Phenomena of English.* Chicago: University of Chicago.

McClenney-Sadler, M.G. 2007. *Recovering the Daughter's Nakedness: A Formal Analysis of Israelite Kinship Terminology and the Internal Logic of Leviticus 18.* Edited by C. V. Camp and A. Mein. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 476. New York: T&T Clark.

McFall, L. 2010. "The Chronology of Saul and David." *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 53 (3): 475–533.

McGivney, J. 1993. "'Is She a Wife or a Mother?' Social Order, Respect, and Address in Mijikenda." *Language in Society* 22 (1): 19–33.

Meier, S. A. 1992. *Speaking of Speaking: Marking Direct Discourse in the Hebrew Bible.* Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 46. New York: Brill.

Merwe, C. H. J. van der. 2014. "The Challenge of Better Understanding Discourse Particles: The Case of לָכֵן." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 40 (2): 127–75.

Merwe, C. H. J. van der, J. A. Naudé, and J. H. Kroeze. 1999. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar.* 1st ed. Biblical Languages: Hebrew 3. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic.

———. 2017. *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar.* 2nd ed. New York: Bloomsbury T&T Clark.

Mesthrie, R., ed. 2001. *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics.* New York: Elsevier.

———, ed. 2011. *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mettinger, T. N. D. 1971. *Solomonic State Officials: A Study of the Civil Government Officials of the Israelite Monarchy.* Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 5. Lund: Gleerup.

Meyer, C. F. 2009. *Apposition in Contemporary English.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Millard, A. R. 1976. "Assyrian Royal Names in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 21 (1 & 2): 1–14.

Miller, C. L. 1992. "Reported Speech in Biblical and Epigraphic Hebrew: A Linguistic Analysis." Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago: University of Chicago.

———. 2003. *The Representation of Speech in Biblical Narrative: A Linguistic Analysis.* Harvard Semitic Monographs 55. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

———. 2010a. "Definiteness and the Vocative in Biblical Hebrew." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 36 (1): 43–64.

———. 2010b. "Vocative Syntax in Biblical Hebrew Prose and Poetry: A Preliminary Analysis." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 55 (2): 347–64.

Miller, J. M., and J. H. Hayes. 2006. *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah.* Louisville: Westminster John Knox.

Miller-Naudé, C. L. 2014. "Mismatches of Definiteness in Appositional Phrases." *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 40 (2): 97–111.

Milroy, L. 1987. *Observing and Analysing Natural Language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method.* New York: Blackwell.

Morgan, L. H. 1871. *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family.* Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge 218. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Moshavi, A. 2008. "Rhetorical Question or Assertion?: The Pragmatics of הֲלֹא in Biblical Hebrew." *The Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 32 (1): 91–105.

———. 2010. *Word Order in the Biblical Hebrew Finite Clause.* Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

———. 2014. "What Can I Say? Implications and Communicative Functions of Rhetorical 'WH' Questions in Classical Biblical Hebrew Prose." *Vetus Testamentum* 64 (1): 93–108.

Mühleisen, S. 2005. "Forms of Address in English-Lexicon Creoles: The Presentation of Selves and Others in the Caribbean Context." In *Politeness and Face in Caribbean Creoles*, edited by S. Mühleisen and B. Migge. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Mühlhäusler, P., and R. Harré. 1990. *Pronouns and People: The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Müller, H.-P. 1974. "נָבִיא Nābî'." In *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, edited by G. J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, and H.-J. Fabry, 9:129–50. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Murdock, G. P. 1945. "The Common Denominator of Cultures." In *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by R. Linton, 123–42. New York: Columbia University Press.

———. 1947. "Bifurcate Merging, a Test of Five Theories." *American Anthropologist* 49 (1): 56–69.

Nathan, N. 1959. "Pronouns of Address in the 'Canterbury Tales.'" *Mediaeval Studies* 21: 193–201.

Naudé, J. A. 1997a. "חָזָה." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, 2:56–61. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

———. 1997b. "רָאָה." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, 3:1004–12. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Nevala, M. 2004. *Address in Early English Correspondence: Its Forms and Socio-Pragmatic Functions.* Mémoires de La Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 64. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

Nida, E. A. 1949. *Morphology: The Descriptive Analysis of Words.* Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Noble, P. R. 1998. "Amos and Amaziah in Context: Synchronic and Diachronic Approaches to Amos 7-8." *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 60 (3): 423–39.

Noth, M. 1928. *Die Israelitischen Personennamen Im Rahmen Der Gemeinsemitischen Namengebung.* Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

Nurmi, A., M. Nevala, and M. Palander-Collin, eds. 2009. *The Language of Daily Life in England (1400-1800).* Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 183. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

O'Connor, M. 2002. "Discourse Linguistics and the Study of Biblical Hebrew." In *Congress Volume Basel 2001*, edited by A. Lemaire, 17–42. Boston: Brill.

Oswalt, J. N. 1986. *The Book of Isaiah: Chapter 1-39.* The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Oyetade, S. O. 1995. "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Address Forms in Yoruba." *Language in Society* 24 (4): 515–35.

Pardee, D. 1988. "An Evaluation of the Proper Names from Ebla from a West Semitic Perspective: Pantheon Distribution According to Genre." In *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving*, edited by A. Archi. Roma: Missione archeologica italiana in Siria.

———. 2003. Review of *Ugaritische Grammatik*, by J. Tropper. *Archiv Für Orientforschung* 50: 1–404.

———. 2012. "The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in a Nutshell." In *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by R. Hasselbach and N. Pat-El, 285–317. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67. Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

———. 2013. "Epistolary Formulae: Biblical Period." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online*. Leiden: Brill.

Pardee, D., D. Sperling, D. Whitehead, and P. Dion. 1982. *Handbook of Ancient Hebrew Letters: A Study Edition*. SBL Sources for Biblical Study 15. Chico: Scholars.

Parker, S. B. 1978. "Jezebel's Reception of Jehu." *Maarav* 1 (1): 67–78.

Parkinson, D. B. 1982. "Terms of Address in Egyptian Arabic." Ph.D. dissertation, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan.

———. 1985. *Constructing the Social Context of Communication: Terms of Address in Egyptian Arabic*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language 41. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Parpola, S., ed. 1987. *The Correspondence of Sargon II: Part I Letters from Assyria and the West*. State Archives of Assyria 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University.

Parrot, A., and G. Dossin. 1950ff. *Archives Royales de Mari*. 31 vols. Paris: Impr. nationale.

Parrott, L. A. 2010. "Vocatives and Other Direct Address Forms: A Contrastive Study." In *Russian in Contrast*, edited by A. Grønn and I. Marijanovic, 211–29. Oslo Studies in Language, 2(1).

Paul, S. M. 1991. *Amos: A Commentary on the Book of Amos*. Hermeneia 30. Minneapolis: Fortress.

Person, R. F. 2007. "Linguistic Variation Emphasized, Linguistic Variation Denied." In *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the "Other" in Antiquity: Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*, edited by D. R. Edwards and C. T. McCollough, 119–25. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Petersen, D. L. 1981. *The Roles of Israel's Prophets*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 17. Sheffield: JSOT.

Philipsen, G., and M. Huspek. 1985. "A Bibliography of Sociolinguistic Studies of Personal Address." *Anthropological Linguistics* 27: 94–101.

Pickett, J. P., ed. 2000. *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language.* 4th ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Polak, F. H. 1998. "The Oral and the Written: Syntax, Stylistics and the Development of Biblical Prose Narrative." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 26: 59–105.

———. 2001. "The Style of the Dialogue in Biblical Prose Narrative." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 28: 53–95.

———. 2003. "Style Is More than the Person: Sociolinguistics, Literary Culture and the Distinction between Written and Oral Narrative." In *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, edited by I. Young, 38–103. London: T.&T. Clark.

———. 2006. "Sociolinguistics: A Key to the Typology and the Social Background of Biblical Hebrew." *Hebrew Studies* 47: 115–62.

———. 2010. "Forms of Talk in Hebrew Biblical Narrative: Negotiations, Interaction, and Sociocultural Context." In *Literary Construction of Identity in the Ancient World*, edited by H. Liss and M. Oeming, 167–98. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Polzin, R. 1976. *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose.* Harvard Semitic Monographs 12. Missoula: Scholars.

Porten, B. 1982. "Name, Personal Names in Israel." In *Encyclopedia Biblica*, 8:33–51. Jerusalem.

Portner, P. 2004. "Vocatives, Topics, and Imperatives." Talk delivered at the IMS workshop on Information Structure. Bad Teinach. https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.578.426&rep=rep1&type=pdf.

Provan, I. W. 1995. *1 and 2 Kings.* New International Biblical Commentary. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Qin, X. 2008. "Choices in Terms of Address: A Sociolinguistic Study of Chinese and American English Practices." In *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics.* Columbus: Ohio State University.

Quirk, R., S. Greenbaum, G. Leech, and J. Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language.* New York: Longman.

Rabinowitz, L. I. 2007. "Apikoros." In *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, edited by M. Berenbaum and F. Skolnik, 2nd ed. Vol. 2. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.

Radday, Y. T., and H. Shore. 1976. "The Definite Article: A Type- and/or Author-Specifying Discriminant in the Hebrew Bible." *Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing Bulletin* 4: 23–31.

Rainey, A. F. 1975. "The Prince and the Pauper." *Ugarit-Forschungen* 7: 427–32.

Raumolin-Brunberg, H. 2005. "The Diffusion of Subject You: A Case Study in Historical Sociolinguistics." *Language Variation and Change* 17: 55–73.

Redford, D. B. 1992. "Pharaoh." In *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by D. N. Freedman, 5:288–89. New York: Doubleday.

Rendsburg, G. A. 1990. *Diglossia in Ancient Hebrew.* New Haven: American Oriental Society.

Replogle, C. 1973. "Shakespeare's Salutations: A Study in Linguistics Etiquette." *Studies in Philology* 70: 172–86.

Reshef, Y. 2013. "Honorific Terms of Address." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online.* Vol. 4. Leiden: Brill.

Revell, E. J. 1996. *The Designation of the Individual: Expressive Usage in Biblical Narrative.* Kampen: Kok Pharos.

———. 2013. "Address, Forms Of." In *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics Online.* Leiden: Brill.

Romaine, S. 1982. *Socio-Historical Linguistics: Its Status and Methodology.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2000. *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rudolph, W. 1955. *Chronikbücher.* Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr.

———. 1971. *Joel-Amos-Obadja-Jona.* Vol. 13.2. 18 vols. Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn.

Sarna, N. M. 2001. *Genesis.* Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Saville-Troike, M. 2003. *The Ethnography of Communication.* Malden: Blackwell.

Savran, G. 1985. "The Character as Narrator in Biblical Narrative." *Prooftexts* 5 (1): 1–17.

Schaden, G. 2010. "Vocatives: A Note on Addressee-Management." *University of Pennsylvania Working Papers in Linguistics* 16 (1): 176–85.

Schegloff, E. A. 1968. "Sequencing in Conversational Openings." *American Anthropologist* 70 (6).

Schipper, B. U. 2010. "Egypt and the Kingdom of Judah under Josiah and Jehoiakim." *Tel Aviv* 37: 200–226.

Schneider, D. M., and G. C. Homans. 1955. "Kinship Terminology and the American Kinship System." *American Anthropologist* 57 (6).

Schniedewind, W. M. 1999. "Qumran Hebrew as an Antilanguage." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 118: 235–52.

———. 2000a. "Linguistic Ideology in Qumran Hebrew." In *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira,* edited by T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde. Boston: Brill.

———. 2000b. "Sociolinguistic Reflections on the Letter of a 'Literate' Soldier (Lachish 3)." *Zeitschrift Für Althebraistik* 13: 157–67.

———. 2004. "Prolegomena for the Sociolinguistics of Classical Hebrew." *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 5. http://www.jhsonline.org/Articles/article_36.pdf.

Schniedewind, W. M., and D. Sivan. 1997. "The Elijah-Elisha Narratives: A Test Case for the Northern Dialect of Hebrew." *Jewish Quarterly Review* LXXXVII (3–4): 303–37.

Schubert, K. 1984. *Tilltal Och Amhällsstruktur*. Uppsala: Institutionen för nordiska språk vid Uppsala universitet.

Selms, A. van. 1957. "The Origin of the Title 'The King's Friend.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16 (2): 118–23.

Seymour, T. P. 1983. "Personal Names and Name Giving in the Ancient Near East." *UCLA Historical Journal* 4 (0). https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3dg0m1cj.

Shiina, M. 2007. "Positioning and Functioning of Vocatives: Casework in Historical Pragmatics (1)." *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters* 55: 17–32.

———. 2008. "Positioning and Functioning of Vocatives: A Case Study in Historical Pragmatics (2)." *Bulletin of Faculty of Letters* 56.

Shulman, A. 1999. "The Particle נָא in Biblical Prose." *Hebrew Studies* 40: 57–82.

Siloni, T. 1995. "On Participial Relatives and Complementizer D0: A Case Study in Hebrew and French." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13: 445–87.

Silverstein, M. 2003. "Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Sociolinguistic Life." *Language & Communication* 23: 193–229.

Singerman, R. 2001. *Jewish Given Names and Family Names: A New Bibliography*. Edited by D. L. Gold. Boston: Brill.

Slobin, D. I. 1963. "Some Aspects of the Use of Pronouns of Address in Yiddish." *Word* 19 (2): 193–202.

Slobin, D. I., S. H. Miller, and L. W. Porter. 1968. "Forms of Address and Social Relations in a Business Organization." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 8: 289–93.

Slocum, P. 2016. "The Syntax of Address." Ph.D. dissertation, Stony Brook, NY: Stony Brook University.

Smith, A. H. 1894. *Chinese Characteristics.* New York: Fleming H. Revell.

Spencer-Oatey, H. 1996. "Reconsidering Power and Distance." *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 1–24.

Spieckermann, H. 2014. "The 'Father' of the Old Testament and Its History." In *The Divine Father: Religious and Philosophical Concepts of Divine Parenthood in Antiquity*, 73–84. Themes in Biblical Narrative Jewish and Christian Traditions 18. Brill.

Stager, L. E. 1985a. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (Autumn): 1–35.

———. 1985b. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 260 (Autumn): 1–35.

Stähli, H. P. 1978. *Knabe-Jüngling-Knecht: Untersuchungen Zum Begriff* נער *Im Alten Testament.* Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Stavrou, M. 2014. "About the Vocative." In *The Nominal Structure in Slavic and Beyond*, edited by L. Schürcks, A. Giannakidou, and U. Etxeberria, 299–342. Studies in Generative Grammar 116. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Stein, D. 2003. "Pronominal Usage in Shakespeare." In *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems*, edited by I. Taavitsainen and A. H. Jucker. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Steiner, R. C. 1979. "Review of 'An Adverbial Construction in Hebrew and Arabic: Sentence Adverbials in Frontal Position Separated from the Rest of the Sentence', by Joshua Blau." *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 6 (4): 147–52.

———. 2003. *Stockmen from Tekoa, Sycomores from Sheba: A Study of Amos' Occupations.* Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series 36. Catholic Biblical Association of America.

Stockwell, P. 2007. *Sociolinguistics.* London: Routledge.

Stuart, D. 1987. *Hosea-Jonah.* Word Biblical Commentary 31. Waco: Word Books.

Svennung, J. 1958. *Anredeformen: Vergleichende Forschungen Zur Indirekten Anrede in Der Dritten Person Und Zum Nominativ Für Den Vokativ.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Taavitsainen, I., and A. H. Jucker, eds. 2003. *Diachronic Perspectives on Address Term Systems.* Pragmatics & Beyond New Series 107. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Taglicht, J. 1984. *Message and Emphasis: On Focus and Scope in English.* New York: Longman.

Thomas, B. 2009. "The Language of Politeness in Ancient Hebrew Letters." *Hebrew Studies* 50: 17–39.

Thomas, D.W. 1953. "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew." *Vetus Testamentum* 3 (3): 209–24.

Thompson, G. 2004. *Introducing Functional Grammar.* New York: Arnold.

Thompson, J. A. 1980. *The Book of Jeremiah.* The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Torczyner, H. 1938. *The Lachish Letters: Lachish I.* London: Oxford University Press.

vanGemeren, W. A. 1988. "ʾABBĀ ʾ IN THE OLD TESTAMENT?" *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 31 (4): 385–98.

Vaux, R. de. 1965. *Ancient Israel: Social Institutions 1.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Verhoef, P. A. 1997. "Prophecy." In *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, edited by W. A. vanGemeren, 4:1065–76. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Wales, K. M. 1983. "Thou and You in Early Modern English: Brown and Gilman Re-Appraised." *Studia Linguistica* 37 (2): 107–25.

Waltke, B. K., and M. O'Connor. 1990. *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax.* Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Walton, J. H., V. H. Matthews, and M. W. Chavalas. 2000. *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: Old Testament.* Downers Grove: IVP Academic.

Wardhaugh, R. 2006. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* Malden: Blackwell.

Warren-Rothlin, A. 2007. "Politeness Strategies in Biblical Hebrew and West African Languages." *Journal of Translation* 3 (1): 55–71.

Waterhouse, R. 1982. "Modes of Address in Aelfric's Lives of the Saints Homilies." *Studia Neophilologica* 54: 3–24.

Watts, R. J. 2003. *Politeness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webb, B. G. 2012. *The Book of Judges.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Wegner, J. R. 1988. *Chattel or Person?* New York: Oxford University Press.

Weiss, N. 2002. *The Origin of Jewish Family Names: Morphology and History.* New York: Peter Lang.

Wendel, T. 1929. *Die Gesprächsanrede Im Griechischen Epos Und Drama Der Blütezeit.* Tübinger Beiträge Zur Altertumswissenschaft Heft, VI. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.

Wente, E. 1990. *Letters from Ancient Egypt.* Edited by E. S. Meltzer. Soceity of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World. Atlanta: Scholars.

Williams, J. G. 1966. "The Prophetic 'Father': A Brief Explanation of the Term 'Sons of the Prophets.'" *Journal of Biblical Literature* 85 (3): 344–48.

Wilt, T. 1996. "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of NĀ'." *Vetus Testamentum* 46 (2): 237–55.

———. 1998. "Markedness and References to Characters in Biblical Hebrew Narratives." In *Codes and Consequences: Choosing Linguistic Varieties*, edited by C. Myers-Scotton, 89–100. New York: Oxford University Press.

Witherington, B. 1999. *Jesus the Seer: The Progress of Prophecy*. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Wolff, H. W. 1977. *Joel and Amos: A Commentary on the Books of the Prophets Joel and Amos*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress.

Wolfson, N. 1976. "Speech Events and Natural Speech: Some Implications for Sociolinguistic Methodology." *Language in Society* 5 (2): 189–209.

Yeivin, S. 1965. "בן המלך." In *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, edited by M.D. Cassuto. Vol. 2. Jerusalem: Bialik.

Young, I. 1993. *Diversity in Preexilic Hebrew*. Forschungen Zum Alten Testament 5. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

———, ed. 2003. *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series. London: T&T Clark.

Young, I., R. Rezetko, and M. Ehrensvärd. 2008. *Linguistic Dating of Biblical Texts*. 2 vols. London: Equinox.

Zevit, Z. 1979. "Expressing Denial in Biblical Hebrew and Mishnaic Hebrew, and in Amos." *Vetus Testamentum* 29 (4): 505–9.

———. 1983. "A Chapter in the History of Israelite Personal Names." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 250: 1–16.

Zimmermann, F. 1966. "Folk Etymology of Biblical Names." In *Volume Du Congrès: Genève 1965*, 311–26. Supplements to Vetus Testamentum 15. Leiden: Brill.

Zwicky, A. 1974. "Hey, Whatsyourname!" *Chicago Linguistic Society* 10: 787–801.