

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 3
P-Z

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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

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Much assistance and moral support (though at times also sharp criticism, due to differences in structuralist orientation) came to Rosén from Haim Blanc, who received his American structuralist education at Harvard. Under the pen-name קבלן *qablan*, Blanc popularized the structuralist view of Modern Hebrew in his column לשון בני אדם *lešon bne 'adam* 'language of human beings', published in the then-prestigious literary supplement *משא* *maša* in the early 1950s. These were later collected in Blanc 1989.

Unlike Rosén's insistence on a single standard and uniform system, Blanc, a dialectologist of Arabic, showed great interest in language variation. He claimed that even if Modern Hebrew had not yet reached a stable state, it was not unique in that: "There is no reason to think that modern linguistics is limited in its scope to 'stable' languages only" (Blanc 1953:67). Blanc's (1968) paper "The Israeli koine as an emergent national standard" sheds light on the process of the formation of an 'emergent' (rather than existing) standard, paying attention to the formation of two intermediate native standards, Ashkenazi and Middle-Eastern, both having reached internally uniform pronunciations out of the more variegated pronunciations of their immigrant parents. The two intermediate standards differed mainly in the pharyngeal pronunciation of ע *'ayin* and פ *ẖet* in the Middle-Eastern standard, as opposed to their realization as א *'alef* and כ *xaf* in the Ashkenazi standard.

Blanc was also the first linguist to collect and transcribe a corpus of naturally occurring Israeli Hebrew speech (Blanc 1957 and 1964).

In 1953, Polotsky founded the Department of Linguistics at the Hebrew University. Garbell, Rosén, and Blanc were among the teachers invited to be part of this enterprise. Polotsky himself did not conduct research on Modern Hebrew, but his scholarly inspiration and legacy, along with those of his younger collaborators, have nurtured a great deal of structural linguistic research of Modern Hebrew, too voluminous to be considered here.

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Style-Switching

Style-switching refers to the incorporation of non-Hebrew elements into a Hebrew text in order to convey foreignness in particular settings. Among the first scholars to identify style-switching in the Bible and to deal with the phenomenon in any detail were Rabin (1967), with reference to the speech of the watchman from Dumah in Isa. 21.11–12 (→ Addressee-Switching), and Kaufman (1988:54–55), with attention to the book of Job, the Balaam oracles, the Massa material in Prov. 30–31, and the aforementioned Dumah passage (but see also Baumgartner 1941:609 n. 89 [=1959:228 n. 3] and Tur-Sinai 1965:594). In the words of the latter, with special reference to the impressive number of Aramaisms in these texts "We have not to do with late language or foreign authors, but rather with the intentional stylistic representations of Trans-Jordanian speech on the part of Hebrew authors within Hebrew texts" (Kaufman 1988:54–55).

Building on these studies, Rendsburg (1991; 1996) focused on the two main environments in which style-switching is employed: a) when the scene shifts to a foreign land; and b) when a foreigner is present in the land of Israel. A third arena is also surveyed below, namely c) the use of different dialects or registers of Hebrew within inner-Hebrew contexts.

Narratives set in a foreign land are found most notably in Gen. 24 and Gen. 30–31, both of which are situated in Aram. In the first episode, Abraham's servant travels to Aram to procure a bride for Isaac. In the second, Jacob flees his native land to live with his uncle Laban in Aram for twenty years. These changes in the geographical setting of the Genesis narratives permit the author to pepper his Hebrew text with a host of Aramaic-like features. Note that the examples presented below occur not only in direct speech (where they may be more expected), but in the narrator's descriptions as well (in an effort to transport the reader totally to the land of Aram).

Elements of style-switching in Gen. 24 include: a) אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם 'ēlohē haš-šāmayim 'God of heaven' (Gen. 24.3, 7); b) אֲשֶׁר לֹא תִקַּח 'āšer lō-tiqqah 'that you not take' (Gen. 24.3), with the negator calquing on Aramaic דלא dā-lā, instead of expected Hebrew אִם 'im used in oaths and swearings; c) the verbal root גמא g-m-³ 'give drink' (Gen. 24.17); d) the verbal root ער r-y 'pour' (Gen. 24.20); e) the verbal root שא š-²-y 'gaze, watch' (Gen. 24.21); f) אִם-לֹא 'im-lō 'but rather' (Gen. 24.38), instead of standard Hebrew כִּי 'im; g) מִגְדָּנֹת migdānōt 'choice gifts' (Gen. 24.53); and h) the noun כַּד kad 'jug, pitcher' (9x in Genesis 24) (most of these items were identified by Rofe (1990), who sees them as evidence of this chapter's late date of composition; see Rendsburg 2002:24–32 for a more proper interpretation of the data).

Elements of style-switching in Gen. 30–31 include: a) גַּד gād 'fortune' (Gen. 30.11), with reference to the naming of Gad; b) the root זב z-b-d 'give a gift' (as both noun and verb), with reference to the naming of Zebulun (Gen. 30.20); c) לֹז lūz 'almond' (Gen. 30.37), instead of standard Hebrew שָׁקֵד šāqēd; d) וַיִּהְיוּ wāy-yēhannā 'and they were in heat' (Gen. 30.38), invoking the Aramaic 3fpl form; e) the root חל h-l-p (Hiph'il) 'exchange' (Gen. 31.7, 41), with reference to wages, pay-

ment, etc.; f) מוֹנִים mōnīm 'times' (Gen. 31.7, 41); g) the root נצ n-š-l (hif'il) meaning 'take away' (Gen. 31.9, 16), whose normal Hebrew meaning is 'save, rescue'; h) וַיִּדְבֶק way-yadbēq 'and he overtook' (Gen. 31.23); i) וְלֹא נָטַשְׁתָּנִי wə-lō nātaštānī 'and you did not allow me' (Gen. 31.28), calquing on Aramaic שִׁב-ק š-b-q 'leave, forsake, abandon', but also 'allow'; and j) וַיִּגְנַבְתִּי gənuḇtī 'I was robbed' (Gen. 31.39 [2x]), an inflected participle (for these items see both Greenfield 1981:129–130 and Rendsburg 2006:166–168).

In addition to these more subtle nods to Aramaic, the author also placed an actual two-word Aramaic phrase into the mouth of Laban, namely, יַגַּר שְׂהָדוּתָא yagar šāhādūtā 'heap of testimony' (Gen. 31.47), the translational equivalent of Jacob's Hebrew term גַּלְעָד gal'ēd 'heap of witness', somewhat akin to Shakespeare's use of the single expression *et tu, Brute* in *Julius Caesar*, as a reminder that in its actual setting the entirety of the dialogue amongst the Romans took place in Classical Latin, not Elizabethan English. Some scholars would classify this last Hebrew-Aramaic illustration (along with the English-Latin one) as Code-switching, that is, with the involvement of more than one language—reserving the term style-switching for lexical and grammatical issues within a single language, even if many of the features bespeak foreignness (Aramaic mainly, in the texts canvassed herein).

The Massa material in Prov. 30–31 is not technically a story set in a foreign land—instead the reader is presented with proverbial wisdom emanating from Massa in the Syrian Desert—but the effect is similar. The clearest instances of atypical linguistic usages that color the composition as foreign are: a) בַּר bar 'son' (Prov. 31.2 [3x]) and b) מַלְאֲכִין malākīn 'kings' (Prov. 31.3). Both features reflect the Aramaic tinge, with the former replacing standard Hebrew בֶּן bēn 'son', and the latter employing the masculine plural nominal ending ין -īm instead of standard Hebrew ים -im.

The book of Job, on the other hand, is entirely situated in a foreign land, to wit, the land of Uz—in the area where the southern Syrian and northern Arabian deserts meet—and the main characters (Job and his three friends) are all associated with lands in the general region (see Job 1.1, 2.11). The result is a book replete with both Aramaic and Arabian lexical

and grammatical features—far too numerous to inventory here (see Greenstein 2003, who also discusses the poetic function of these foreign elements).

The best illustration of a foreigner in the land of Canaan utilizing foreign (again, Aramaic-like) lexical and grammatical features occurs in Num. 22–24, when the prophet Balaam is summoned from Aram to curse Israel. His speech, presented in the form of poetic oracles, includes a host of linguistic elements that achieve the style-switching effect: a) the reduplicatory plural הַרְרִי *hararē* ‘mountains of’ (Num. 23.7); b) תִּתְחַשֵּׁב *yithaššāb* ‘be counted, be considered’ (Num. 23.9), with the *hitpaʿel* serving for the passive, as occurs with the T-stem in Aramaic (in Hebrew one expects the *nifʿal*, but Aramaic lacks the N-stem); c) צְרִימִים *šūrīm* ‘mountains’ (Num. 23.9), evoking the Aramaic cognate; d) רֹבַע *rōbāʿ* ‘dust-cloud’ (Num. 23.10); e) נַחֵשׁ *nahaš* ‘divination’ (Num. 23.23); f) נִטְּיָיו *nittāyū* ‘stretched out’ (Num. 24.6), preserving the root letter *yod* of a ל"י (final-*yod*) verb, as occurs in some dialects of Aramaic; g) מַלְכוּתוֹ *malkūtō* ‘his kingdom’ (Num. 24.7); and h) יִגְרֵם *yaḡārēm* ‘he devours (bones)’ (Num. 24.8), with a denominative verb based on Aramaic גְּרֵם *gerem* ‘bone’ (Rendsburg 2006:169–171; see also the extremely detailed treatment in Moyer 2009:47–192).

Young (1995) opines that certain Aramaic-like features in the book of Kings are intended to reflect the foreignness of the Aramean characters. Thus, for example, Naaman uses the Aramaic form of the infinitive construct בְּהִשְׁתַּחֲוִיתִי *ba-ḥištahāwāyātī* ‘in my prostrating myself’ (2 Kgs 5.18); while the king of Aram uses the interrogative אֵיכָּה *ʿēkō* ‘where’ when addressing his servants.

Style-switching may also occur within inner-Hebrew contexts (in which case the definition presented in the opening sentence above may require slight adaptation). For example, the presumably Judahite author of the David story incorporates Israelian (northern) Hebrew (IH) elements into the speech of the wise woman of Tekoa (to be associated with Tekoa of the Galilee, not Tekoa near Bethlehem). IH traits include: a) אֶת־הָאֶחָד *hā-ʿēḥād* ‘et-*hā-ʿēḥād* ‘the one [struck] the other’ (2 Sam. 14.6), while standard Biblical Hebrew would use the collocation אִישׁ אֶת־רֵעֵהוּ *ʾiš ʿet-rēʿehū* ‘one the other’ (lit. ‘each man his friend’), e.g., Exod.

21.18, or the similar expression אִישׁ אֶת־אָחִיו *ʾiš ʿet-ʾāḥīw* ‘one the other’ (lit. ‘each man his brother’), e.g., Exod. 32.27; and b) the particle of existence אֵשׁ *ʾiš* ‘there is, there are’ (2 Sam. 14.19), in contrast to standard Biblical Hebrew יֵשׁ *yēš* (Rendsburg 2003).

On a related, though slightly different tack, the author of Ruth may have attempted to portray the language of Boaz and Naomi, representing the older generation in the narrative, with more archaic features, especially in contrast to the diction of Ruth, representing the younger generation (Campbell 1975:25). Thus one finds: a) vestigial dual forms, e.g., עִמָּכֶם *immākem* ‘with you’ (Ruth 1.8), עָשִׂיתֶם *ʿāsītem* ‘you did’ (Ruth 1.8), לָכֶם *lākem* ‘to you’ (Ruth 1.9); b) an older historical vocalization in the word תִּעְבוּרִי *taʿābūrī* ‘you shall [not] pass’ (Ruth 2.8); c) paragogic *nun* forms, e.g., תִּדְבַּקִּין *tidbāqīn* ‘you shall cling’ (Ruth 2.8), יִקְצְרוּן *yiqṣōrūn* ‘they harvest’ (Ruth 2.9), יִשְׁאַבוּן *yišʾābūn* ‘they draw (water)’ (Ruth 2.9), תִּעֲשִׂין *taʿāšīn* ‘you shall do’ (Ruth 3.4); and d) archaic 2fs suffix-conjugation forms, e.g., וַיִּרְדְּתִי *w-yrḏty* ‘you shall go down’ (Ruth 3.3 *ketiv*), וַיִּשְׁכַּבְתִּי *w-škbty* ‘you shall lie down’ (Ruth 3.4 *ketiv*)—all in the speech of the two older characters (for further discussion, see Holmstedt 2010:47–49, though the conclusion there is slightly different than the one presented here).

A different approach to much of the same material is taken by Bar-Asher (2008), who believes that the aforementioned dual verbs and pronouns, along with other forms in Ruth, reflect a phonological (and not a morphological) phenomenon, namely, the coalescing of /m/ and /n/ in the speech of the female characters (Naomi especially), as a way to represent women’s speech.

These illustrations demonstrate the extent to which the ancient Israelite literati would manipulate language in their literary constructions. The portrayal of foreignness, along with different dialects and registers within the Hebrew realm, was accomplished by means of style-switching in a variety of different literary-linguistic contexts.

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Stylistic Alternation in Modern Hebrew

1. INTRODUCTION

According to one definition, style is the consequence of a choice between alternative expressions available in a language which convey

(more or less) the same meaning. Freedom in making such choices is limited by the rules of the language (Enkvist 1964:1–56).

2. TYPES OF ALTERNATIVE EXPRESSIONS

Stylistic alternatives exist at different levels of linguistic structure. Thus, for example, at the *morphological level* one has a choice, in Modern Hebrew, between the regular genitival construction (בית המלך *bet ha-melex* 'the king's house'), use of the possessive particle של *šel* 'of' (בית המלך של המלך *ha-bayit šel ha-melex* literally 'the house of the king'), or an amalgam of both (ביתו של המלך *betu šel ha-melex* literally 'his house of the king'). Similarly, one has a choice between independent and suffixed pronouns, for example המשפחה שלי *ha-mišpaḥa šeli* versus משפחתי *mišpaḥti* 'my family' (possessive pronoun); אותה אהבתי *'ahavti 'ota* / אהבתי *'ahavtiha* 'I loved her' (object pronoun).

In *syntax*, too, there are choices. For example, one can choose between nominal and verbal clauses, e.g., תביעת ההסתדרות היא הקמת *tvī'at ha-histadrut hi haqamat 'igud miqso'i* 'The demand of the Histadrut is the establishment of a trade union' versus תביעת ההסתדרות תובעת להקים איגוד מקצועי *ha-histadrut tova'at lehaqim 'igud miqso'i* 'The Histadrut demands that a trade union be established'. Another syntactic choice is between an active and a passive sentence, e.g., המזכיר המכתב את כתבה *ha-mazkira katva 'et ha-mixtav* 'The secretary wrote the letter' versus המזכיר על ידי המכתב *ha-mixtav nixtav 'al yede ha-mazkira* 'The letter was written by the secretary'. Other syntactic choices include that between a predicate and a predicate clause (משה הביא את המכתב *moše bevi 'et ha-mixtav* 'Moshe brought the letter') versus משה הוא *moše hu še-bevi 'et ha-mixtav* 'Moshe is the one who brought the letter'; that between an adverb and an expanded predicate (הוא צחק הרבה *hu šaxaq harbe* versus הוא *hu hirba lišxoq* 'He laughed a lot'); that between an adverb and an inner object (נשם עמוק *našam 'amuqot* 'He breathed deeply' versus נשם עמוק *našam nešima 'amuqa* 'He took a deep breath'; for a detailed discussion see section 3 below); between a simple sentence and one with an element fronted for focus (הילד אכל את התפוח בהפסקה *ha-yeled*