פתח דבר

בגיליון זה מתפרסמים תשעה מאמרים העוסקים בפניה המגוונים של השפה העברית למן ראשיתה ועד העת החדשה. מיתקה גולוב-רצהב, אפרים הלבני ואהד כהן עוסקים בעברית של תקופת המקרא. אריאל גבאי ורבקה שמש-ריסקין בוחנים קווים אחדים של לשון חז"ל. אילן אלדר, מירי בר-זיו, עינן גונן וחוה פרסטיי מעמידים תיאור של פרקים אחדים של העברית החדשה. בכרך זה מיוצגים הן חוקרים מתחילים הן חוקרים בכירים של הקהילה המחקרית בארץ.

ידידי פרופ' יוחנן ברויאר מצטרף בכרך זה למערכת מחקרים בלשון ואני מאחל לו הצלחה וסיפוק רב בעבודתנו המשותפת. בהזדמנות זו אני נאלץ להיפרד מידיד ותיק, פרופ' אהרן ממן, הפורש מן העריכה, ומודה לו מקרב לב על שיתוף הפעולה הפורה וההמהנה בעריכת מחקרים בלשון שנתקיים במשך ארבע עשרה שנה, החל בכרך ח (תשע"א).

תודת המערכת נתונה למר אברהם בן-אמתי על מלאכת עריכת הלשון וההתקנה לדפוס, לגב' אירית נחום שהתקינה את הסדר, ולהוצאת מאגנס, שהוציאה מתחת ידה מלאכה מתוקנת.

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the root of the verb though it does not add any lexical information to the verb; the attribute, on the other hand, provides most of the information.

This paper deals with the inner object in Tannaitic Hebrew in the light of syntax, semantics, and context, and it seeks to examine if the inner object in this stratum resembles the inner object of Biblical Hebrew.

The features of the inner object are presented in the third part of the paper, i.e., the nouns that serve as heads of the inner object, the verbs that accompany it and their semantic groups, the form of the inner object and its components, its distribution in the different compilations of Tannaitic literature, its appearance in certain contexts and the types of contexts, and the form of the inner object and its components. Furthermore, the structure of the inner object is compared with an alternative structure in Tannaitic Hebrew, that of the adverbial of manner, in order to investigate the use of the inner object and the factors that led to its preference over the latter structure.

the suffix ø. The second claims that there remains a functional syntactic difference between the two suffixes in Biblical Hebrew. By formulating a new analytical framework, the author builds on the second hypothesis. Aside from prevalent uses of the final *nun* in dependent clauses marked by a subordinating conjunction, this suffix appears in a wide array of clauses in which it marks the verb as a non-innovative element of the message. In this paper, the nexus between these two usages is bolstered theoretically by a typological comparison of the various fields that host different subjunctive categories in Semitic languages.

Chava Farstey

"Reverse Calques" and Languages in Contact

One prominent phenomenon of languages in contact are loan translations, also known as calques. Kutscher discussed calques (*Hebrew and Aramaic Studies*, 394-406) and noted the "reverse calque," in which the speakers of one language avoid words viewed as belonging to the second language, even if those words originate in the first. In the present article I discuss several such reverse calques involving translations from Yiddish into Hebrew, where translators avoided using Hebrew words found in Yiddish, prefering to substitute them with Hebrew synonyms. The reverse calque is most prominent when the author of the original text also translated his own text, as in the works of Aharon Reuveni and Mendele Mokher Sefarim.

Rivka Shemesh-Raiskin

From Biblical Hebrew to Mishnaic Hebrew: The Use of an Inner Object

The inner object is a part of a sentence whose form is similar to that of the direct object but functions semantically as an adverbial of manner. Usually it is made up of a verbal noun and an attribute, and the noun is derived from

realization of the rule. I show that normative rules of vowel reduction have never fully been accepted in Israeli Hebrew and the variations found today are linked to the way the forms were accepted in the early days of the modern language. Moreover, examining the reasons for this "acceptance" shows the linkage between the Hebrew Bible and the morphology of the new language: I found that nouns that appear inflected in the Bible were more likely to assume their normative inflection today than nouns whose inflection is undocumented in the Bible. I suggest that this important factor influenced the formation of Modern Hebrew in its early stage as well as today's grammar.

Ephraim Bezalel Halivni

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar in Light of the Aleppo and Leningrad Codices

Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar is replete with quotations from the Bible, as expected in a book devoted to biblical grammar. At times the text of the Bible as quoted in the book differs from the text as it appears in the reliable Tiberian manuscripts, primarily the Aleppo Codex, the Leningrad Codex, and *Miqra'ot Gedolot* (Venice 1525). This article notes these places and presents the changes in the grammatical rules that stem from the different readings of these manuscripts.

Ohad Cohen

The Syntactic Status of Verbal Forms Ending with Final *Nun* in First Temple Prose

The present article investigates the syntactic role of Biblical Hebrew verb forms with an inflected prefix and the suffix *nun*. There are two schools of thought concerning this phenomenon. The first believes that the final *nun* underwent a process of erosion which led to its becoming a free variant with

geographical and therefore only names from archaeological excavations were used. The names were collected from inscriptions, ostraca, seals, bullae, and impressions on jars. The theophoric names were sorted into seven subgroups comprising the five theophoric elements *yhw, yh, yw, bʿl,* and *ʾl*, divine appellatives, and divine names other than *YHWH*. The data are presented in a series of maps showing the geographical distribution of name types and its evolution over time. This study shows that a name is an important element in the ethnic identity. *Yhw* and *yh* are unique Judean elements. Furthermore, names from major Judean sites show a characteristic mixture of theophoric elements that is substantially unchanged across all Judean sites studied but different from that found in Samaria. Additionally, *yw* is unique to Israel, but the *bʿl* element is also found there. *ʾl* is a dominant but not unique Ammonite element. The use of divine names other than YHWH is very limited. This study also shows an increase in Yahwistic theophoric names from the early to the later centuries, which may indicate the spreading of Yahwism.

Einat Gonen

Grammatical Variation in Israeli Hebrew in the Light of the Formation of Early Modern Hebrew

Unlike most living languages, Modern Hebrew is not a natural continuation of the previous stage of the language. This paper analyzes grammatical variations in Israeli Hebrew in relation to its unique history. The "acceptance" approach proposed in this paper seeks to examine grammatical variations found in Israeli Hebrew in relation to the manner in which these forms were adopted in the early days of Israeli Hebrew. I illustrate the use of this approach by discussing the realization of the rule of vowel reduction in spoken Hebrew. The first part of the article presents the results of a quantitative study I have conducted, which assesses the degree to which the rule of vowel reduction is realized in the spoken Hebrew used in Israel today.

These results serve as a basis for the second part of the article, which uses the "acceptance" approach to examine linguistic variations in the

Though cinema was not a national institute, filmmakers, struggling to produce their films without a local cinematic infrastructure, seem to have had strong affinity with the Zionist project and believed in the significance of Hebrew as the national language. Their films apparently played a didactic role of demonstrating how Hebrew ought to be spoken ideally rather than reflecting contemporaneous Hebrew speech.

Ariel Gabbay

פּוֹעֶלֶת or פּוֹעֶלֶת? **Feminine Participle Forms in Pausal Inflection in the 1644 Constantinople Edition of the *Mishna***

This article describes a prominent and at the same time exceptional phenomenon in the morphology of the verb in the language of the *Mishna*, according to its first vocalized edition. This edition is replete with feminine participles with the vocalization that appears in the Bible only in pause such as עוֹמֶדֶת, מַפְסֶקֶת, מְבַשֶּׁלֶת, חוֹשֶׁשֶׁת.

The investigation examines the relevant forms in two orders of the *Mishna* — *Moed* and *Ṭaharot* — and reveals that pausal forms (מַפְעֶלֶת) comprise approximately 85% of all the forms in the *Hifʿil* stem, whereas pausal forms (פּוֹעֶלֶת) make up 11% of all the forms in the *Qal* stem. A few pausal forms were also found in other stems. Many of these forms appear in contextual position.

Mitka Ratzaby Golub

Ethnic Characteristics in Theophoric Personal Names Found in Archaeological Excavations in the Land of Israel during the First Temple Period

This study examines theophoric personal names in the Land of Israel and Transjordan during the First Temple period (ca. 10th century B.C.E. to 586 B.C.E.). In contrast with previous onomastic studies, the emphasis here is

Ilan Eldar

Language Nationalism, Language Revival, and Language Planning

The renewal of Hebrew as a spoken language in Palestine in the light of modern secular Jewish nationalism was related to European nationalist thinking and the European romanticism of the 19th century. The crystallization and spread of language nationalism in Europe enables one to speak of conscious language policy in the process of nation building, whose principal task was to develop a common national language.

In this article I seek to point out sources of European influence that may have shaped, directly or indirectly, the national language ideology of Eliezer Ben Yehuda. An acquaintance with attempts at different revivals of European languages can contribute to a fuller and better understanding of different aspects of the revival of Hebrew as a spoken language,

Miri Bar-Ziv Levy

The Cinematic Representation of Hebrew Speech in the 1930s

As a starting point to a broader study on the development of the representation of Hebrew speech in Israeli cinema, this paper examines the way Hebrew speech is represented in the first two full-length Israeli feature films, produced in 1932, one of them a silent film and the other with synchronized sound. Modern Hebrew, which had been re-vernacularized only a few decades before, was still far from linguistic stability at that time, though it was already a spoken language, with notable differences from Classical Hebrew. Cinema was a new medium which, unlike written media, could represent spontaneous spoken Hebrew in recorded sound. One would expect that the new Hebrew-language films would provide a reliable representation of the new Hebrew speech; yet this expectation is not borne out, as this paper shows. In fact, the language presented in these films was influenced to a large extent by the normative approach which strongly preferred the "correct" use of the language over the existing usage.

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