

# English Abstracts

Cyril Aslanov

## Did Joseph Kaspi's *Šaršot ha-Kesef* Influence Fabre d'Olivet's Lexicographic Treatise?

In 1815 a Hebrew grammar entitled *La langue hébraïque restituée* was published in Paris. The author of this book, which also contains a lexicographic section, was Antoine Fabre d'Olivet (1767–1825), a non-Jewish scholar of Languedocian origin, who was mostly known for his occultist doctrines. According to Fabre d'Olivet, the Hebrew language attested in the Bible is the development of a former stage of Hebrew that he wants to restore. In order to achieve this reconstruction, Fabre d'Olivet adopts a biliteral stand. This attitude is dictated by his presupposition as to the fundamental monosyllabic nature of the roots in every language. This leads Fabre d'Olivet to truncate the triliteral roots of Hebrew to a biliteral basis. Once he succeeds in reducing several triliteral roots to a common biliteral stem, Fabre d'Olivet tries to formulate the common signification implied by all its triliteral specification.

The question is whether Fabre d'Olivet's speculations rely on a Hebrew model. The first Hebrew lexicographers thought that a root could contain a variable amount of letters. Their main purpose was to distinguish between the letters that were supposed to disappear in some morphological realizations and the constant letters. This is obviously not the method followed by Kaspi, who truncates the root by dropping systematically the third letter.

Yet, there is at least one precedent to Fabre d'Olivet's method in the Hebrew lexicographic tradition. It is to be found in Joseph Kaspi's *Šaršot ha-Kesef*. In this work the Provençal rabbi tries to reduce the multiplicity of the Hebrew roots by grouping them in subsuming archi-roots consisting of two of the three letters of the root.

In this paper, I shall survey the 136 pages of Fabre d'Olivet's dictionary in order to check whether the definitions he gave to the biliteral archi-roots correspond to those of Joseph Kaspi. Sometimes, the similarity is quite striking between the two authors. Therefore, it is tempting to assume that Fabre d'Olivet knew at least indirectly Joseph Kaspi's *Šaršot ha-Kesef*.

Michal Ephratt

### “Hebrew is not Forbidden Me”: On the Morphological Mechanism Practiced by Ratosh in his Lexical Innovations

This study examines the motivation of Yonatan Ratosh (1909–1981) in coining and proposing thousands of lexical innovations and in choosing morphological mechanisms.

Ratosh takes on two semiotic principles: (1) bi-uniqueness: one-to-one correlation between *signatum* and *signans*; (2) the concept is the starting point for coinage and acquisition of terms. Concerning morphology, we show that Ratosh attempts to utilize the potential hidden in every component of the Hebrew morphological mechanism much beyond its common practice. Such is his treatment of /y/ and /w/ as consonants (rather than semi-vowels); generation of new morphemes for linear derivation and addition of consonants (rather than vocal patterns) directly to roots.

The data is drawn from lexical innovations of Ratosh attested in the many books he translated, in his original (non-poetic) writings, in newspaper columns he specifically devoted to lexical-innovations and in lists found in his legacy.

Tali Bar

### The Boundaries of the Conditional Sentence and the Status of the Protasis

A conditional sentence expresses possibility, real or not. Its singularity lies in the dependence between its two propositions, the protasis and the apodosis: the realization of the idea proposed in the apodosis depends on that presented in the protasis. However, there is not any compulsory circumstantial link between the two parts of the sentence. In Hebrew, conditional sentences contain a great variety of subtle nuances; some

constructions are obvious, in which the condition is expressed in typical patterns, and in others the conditional meaning is implied. Hence, dealing with conditions, one should distinguish between sentences, which express an explicit condition, and constructions in which a condition is implicit.

Barring two exceptional constructions, Hebrew conditionals (=protases) are not topics; the conditional expression is in fact an adverbial that refers to a whole predicative expression that is the apodosis. A conditional conjunction may present a non-conditional clause, an indirect question whose expression is nominalized – and thus it can play any nominal role (a subject, a predicate, an object, an attribute) in the utterance. Hence a conditional conjunction does not necessarily mean that its adjacent clause is conditional.

Scholars who have dealt with Hebrew conditional sentences have linked the relative (and the subject) clauses with conditionality. However, these sentences should not be considered conditional, because they do not express a clear condition – they contain an adjectival expression in which conditionality may only be considered as implied. If we were to accept such a link, it would mean that every adjective could be considered a conditional. Thus the assertion that relative clauses are conditional widens the scope of the conditional domain to too large a degree, and ascribes conditionality to structures that have other unique syntactic functions. Sentences which present assumptions and coordinate sentences should usually not be considered conditional, as they do not present possibility.

Conditional constructions designate time and cause as well. The rationale for this usage is stylistic: it is a rhetorical use which adds an aspect of emphasis or irony, etc., to the message conveyed. Such a usage is especially typical of past conditions, which are not open to realization anymore. A thorough scrutiny of Hebrew examples shows that such utterances should be considered real conditions at the time of the utterance; whether or not it was realized is not known and the conditional is not convertible by any other adverbial. Since the boundaries of the conditional expression are not rigid, proper linguistic analysis calls for separating true conditional structures from other constructions, in which conditionality may be considered implied.

Francisco Javier del Barco del Barco

## Classification and Analysis of the Biblical Verb with the Aid of the Computer: Examples from the Book of Amos

This article presents an analysis of the function of the Biblical verb from a textlinguistic (Discourse Grammar) approach: the verb forms in the book of Amos have been classified and analyzed taking into account not the function of the verb in a clause or in a sentence, but its textual function in a particular discourse type. The different verb forms and clause structures have been divided in two groups – narration and discourse – depending on the kind of text in which they occur.

From a methodological point of view, an important characteristic of the work carried out for this analysis is the creation of a linguistic data base with most of the morphosyntactic information of the text object of study, the book of Amos. This computerized data base and the software used for its analysis are a useful tool for the treatment of a great amount of information and provide rapid and reliable results.

The aim of this article is to introduce the most important results of a M.A. dissertation presented in 1998 in the Complutensian University of Madrid, entitled “Verbal Syntax in the Book of Amos.” This kind of work, based on a textlinguistic approach and using computerized data bases as the main tool of analysis, has also been developed in my Ph.D. thesis, “Verbal Syntax in Pre-exilic Minor Prophets,” which includes new elements of research and studies the verb forms in all of the pre-exilic minor prophets.

Brakha Dalmatzky-Fischler

## Identical Repetition in Agnon's Style

This paper examines sentences such as *לא במזיד עבר על החוק, בשוגג עבר על החוק*, *לא במזיד עבר על החוק, בשוגג עבר על החוק, מתוך הסחת הדעת עבר על החוק* in which we normally delete the second and third occurrences of the repetition. We can find this syntactic

phenomenon in ancient Hebrew, whereas in modern Hebrew literature the influence of European esthetics predominates. This stylistic marker has linguistic and psychological aspects, and it represents a kind of criticism of European taste which sees the repetition of identical words as superfluous and dull, and prefers variations when repetition can not be avoided. The paper compares Agnon to some other modern writers, from Mapu to Hazaz, and classifies the examples according to linguistic and stylistic criteria.

Ephraim Bezalel Halivni

### Accents That Disagree with the Syntax: Two Examples

The system of accent signs of the Bible generally accords with the syntax. However, scholars have noted that there are verses whose accents are based on considerations other than syntax. The author points out two verses whose accents are not based on syntax. The accents of the first of these verses are influenced by the accents of a parallel verse. The accents of the second are based on a midrashic interpretation of the verse.

Rivka Halevy

### Prototype Model in Linguistic Categorization: Evidence from Contemporary Hebrew

Since the publication of Kleiber's monograph (1990) 'La sémantique du prototype', prototype categorization has gained much attention in linguistic literature, known usually as 'cognitive linguistics.'

This article has two objectives:

a) to introduce the principles and assumptions of prototype categorization as opposed to the classical, namely Aristotelian, approach to categorization, which is greatly responsible for the notion of autonomy of language in structuralism as well as in the Chomskian paradigm.

b) to examine the application of prototype concept to grammatical categorization of some morphological and syntactical categories in Hebrew.

One example from morphology is the function of the classical adjectival participle forms קוּטֵל/קוּטֵל, קוּטֵל, קוּטֵל/קוּטֵל, קוּטֵל as opposed to the much more modern adjectival forms מְקוּטֵל and מוּקְטָל.

The article deals with the category of word and its fuzzy boundaries with affixes on one side and phrases on the other side. As an illustration of prototype structure in syntactic construction the article examines the category of transitivity in Hebrew and brings some cross-linguistic evidence from English and German. The extension of the prototype possessive construction of יש לי is presented to illustrate construction frames which are the result of metaphorical extension.

Moshe Florentin

### The Prayer of Ab Isdā: A Samaritan Composition Based on Jewish Sources

The Hebrew prayer of the Samaritan sage Ab Isdā (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> C.E.) is published here for the first time in its full version, alongside its (late) Arabic translation. The text is actually divided into six parts, each of which is a separate prayer intended to be said on each day of the week. The whole prayer is no longer a vivid part of the Samaritan service. Therefore it lacks a reliable tradition of pronunciation, a fact that hinders our ability to trace the phonology and morphology of its language. However, a comprehensive examination shows the uniqueness of its vocabulary, phraseology and style. It seems that the author – very famous in other domains of Samaritan literature – tried here, as he did while compiling his Arabic translation of the Pentateuch, to use Jewish sources. This appears to have been done in order to enrich his Hebrew, which at that time (prior to the crystallization of Hybrid Samaritan Hebrew) was almost totally based on the narrow text of the Pentateuch, and therefore seemed to be not broad or deep enough for writing poetry. We thus find in this unique composition, whose language is sometimes very obscure, many words and locutions which, on the one hand, are not found in other

Samaritan compositions, and, on the other hand, are attested (in the very same phrasing) in Jewish sources, such as the non-Pentateuchal parts of the Bible (i.e., the Prophets and Hagiography) the Mishna and especially the Siddur. Noteworthy are the prominent parallels to the prayer book of Rav Sə'adia Ga'on, whose influence upon Samaritan writers, and particularly on Ab Isdā, is already well known. It is questionable whether the Samaritan sages perceived the non-Samaritan nature of the prayer's style and whether that was the reason why they did not include it in the organic part of the daily liturgy.

Michael Ryzhik

### מאנין That Are מינין or מינין That Are מאנין

The word מינין in the sense 'heretics' was replaced by the form מאנין (מאנין when vocalized) beginning with the end of the 16th century and up to the first half of the 18th in the different books which were printed in Italy and in the printing editions which were influenced by the Italian ones. The contemporary Jewish commentators explained this word (and the normal form מינין) as designating the dualistic heretics who believed in שתי רשויות (two principles) and as derived from the name of Mani, the founder of Manichaeism. The relatively wide use of the form מאנין seems to be an attempt to get around the censors' ban on the use of the word מינין. It seems that evidence for the form מנין instead of מינין can be found also in early medieval sources.

Gary A. Rendsburg

### The Particle of Existence יִזְ

Thirty years ago, J. Blau noted that Hebrew (and Semitic in general) attests to two distinct particles of existence, the common form *yēz* and the much rarer form *yiz*. The latter is attested in three places in the Bible: 2 Sam 14:19, Mic 6:10, Prov 18:24 (written *plene*). Its cognates are Ugaritic



ʿit and Aramaic ʿitay. This combination of facts points to the conclusions that Hebrew ʿiṣ is a northern Hebrew form. The cognates occur in languages spoken to the north of Israel and the three attestations in the Bible have northern affinities. Proverbs is a book replete with northern Hebrew forms; Micah 6–7 is a section of northern prophecy (*pace* H. L. Ginsberg *et al.*); and apparently the Wise Woman of Tekoa in 2 Sam 14:19 hails from Galilean Tekoa, not Judahite Tekoa. A discussion of the personal name ʿešbaʿal, with specific reference to the first element ʿeš-, is also included.

Rivka Shemesh

### About Hiding and Verbs of Hiding in Biblical Hebrew: Semantic and Syntactic Analysis

The act of hiding is a complex act of change of location, which is composed of two causations: the causation of change in location of the theme and the causation of lack of knowledge of the experiencer about the location. The verbs of hiding in biblical Hebrew are derived from four roots: צפ"ן, טמ"ן, חב"א/י, סת"ר. Part Two of the article describes the different circumstances of the act of hiding (such as hiding of inanimate, hiding of person, and hiding of abstract) and presents the verbs which most commonly express them, e.g., hiding of inanimate is expressed mostly by טמ"ן, hiding of person by חב"א/י, and hiding of abstract by צפ"ן. סת"ר is the most common root for expressing all kinds of acts of hiding, including the act of hiding God's face, i.e., the suspension of Providence, which is expressed by the verb phrase הסתיר פנים. The article characterizes the main usages of each verb and deals also with the syntactic frame of the verbs of hiding, which tends to realize the location of the theme rather than the experiencer of the hiding. Part Four concentrates upon two exegetical aspects: first – the commentary of the Malbim (מאיר ליבוש בן יחיאל מיכל, i.e., מלבי"ם) on the semantic differences between the verbs of hiding; and second – commentary difficulties which arise from verses that show a special frame as opposed to the regular semantic and syntactic frame of the verbs of hiding.