

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 3
P-Z

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BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2013

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Table of Contents

VOLUME ONE

Introduction	vii
List of Contributors	ix
Transcription Tables	xiii
Articles A-F	I

VOLUME TWO

Transcription Tables	vii
Articles G-O	I

VOLUME THREE

Transcription Tables	vii
Articles P-Z	I

VOLUME FOUR

Transcription Tables	vii
Index	I

different schools of thought dealing with linguistic aspects of texts, mainly in sections such as Linguistics, the Language of Literature, and Stylistics. This quarterly stopped appearing, however, in the mid-1980's, reflecting a reduced interest in Stylistics. Nonetheless, Hebrew Language departments in Israeli universities, which had been formalistic in approach in the past, have opened their gates to text research, including literary texts, and some programs include courses on literary language. Theses and dissertations are now written on the language of literature, although they mainly employ a formalistic, rather narrow, methodology—not taking into account that text style is bound to the genre conventions and the cultural norms (social, literary, linguistic, etc.) in which the text has been produced. In general, investigations into matters of literary-linguistic style in Israel display a blurring between the general and the constant, on the one hand, and the different and deviant, on the other—that is, a blurring between the general characteristics of the language serving a given society and the uniqueness of a literary type, register, a group of writers, a single writer, or a specific text.

On the whole, the Israel academy has not managed to construct a bridge between Literature and Linguistics researchers, among other reasons due to a long tradition of formal linguistic research—a tradition that pushed aside the study of meaning in a text and which did not provide insights regarding literary language in general and the language of literary works specifically. As to the study of non-literary text types, to date there has been very little study placing the style of the text in a central place. Most registers, such as the language of the news, the language of management, the language of journalistic opinion articles, etc., have not been studied systematically in Israel.

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Subject: Biblical Hebrew

The subject of a clause is the noun or noun-substitute to which the predicate of the clause applies. If the predicate is active, then the subject performs the action of the predicate, e.g., בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים *bārā' ʾēlohīm* 'God created' (Gen. 1.1). If the predicate is passive, then the subject receives the action of the predicate, e.g., וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָרִים *way-yəššām'ū had-dəbārīm* 'the words were heard' (1 Sam. 17.31). If the predicate is stative, then the state described by the predicate applies to the subject, e.g., כְּבִדָּה הָעֲבֹדָה *kābdā' hā-ʾəbōdā'* 'the service was heavy' (Neh. 5.18). If the predicate is nominal (→ Nominal Clause), then the subject may be either equated with the predicate, e.g., וַיְהִי שַׁעַר הַשָּׁמַיִם *way-ze ša'ar haš-šāmāyīm* 'and this is the gate of heaven' (Gen. 28.17) or described by it, e.g., רַבָּה רָעַת הָאָדָם *rabbā' rā'at hā-ʾādām* 'the wickedness of man was great' (Gen. 6.5) (see Dyk and Talstra 1999:156–157 for other relationships between subject and predicate in a nominal clause).

In Hebrew, the predicate normally agrees with the subject in terms of person, gender, and number. In certain circumstances, however, the verb may differ from the subject with regards to its gender and number (for further discussion, see GKC 462–468; Slonim 1944:297–302; Waltke and O'Connor 1990:109–124; van der Merwe et al. 2002:249–251; Joüon and Muraoka 2006:519–521; Williams and Beckman 2007: 92–94; and → Agreement: Biblical Hebrew).

In addition to the grammatical subject, as defined in the preceding two paragraphs, some scholars (e.g., Hornby 1972:632–635) define the 'psychological subject' as the 'topic' or 'theme' that the clause is describing and which is presupposed in the context. In most sentences, the grammatical and psychological

subjects are the same, e.g., “Jonathan loved David”. In some sentences, however, the grammatical and psychological subjects differ. For example, consider the sentence “As for David, Michal loved him”. In that sentence, *Michal* is the grammatical subject since she is the agent of the verb *loved*, and in Hebrew the verb *loved* must agree with *Michal* in gender, number, and person. The psychological subject, however, is *David*, because *David* is presupposed in the context and because the sentence is about him.

For nominal clauses, it can sometimes be difficult to determine which noun or noun-substitute is the subject, and which is the predicate. Although there are a variety of approaches to identifying the subject (see Zewi and van der Merwe 2001 for a review of the literature), it is common to identify the subject as the one that is more definite and more presupposed in the context, and the predicate as the one that introduces new information to the context and is less definite. For example, Buth (1999:100–101; see also Dyk and Talstra 1999; Lowery 1999) argues that definiteness falls in a hierarchy of first-, second-, then third-person independent pronouns, followed by proper nouns, nouns with the article, and nouns with a pronominal suffix. He also suggests that the subject usually precedes the predicate nominative in otherwise ambiguous cases.

The subject can be explicitly stated with a noun, e.g., וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים *way-yōmer ’ēlōhīm* ‘God said’ (Gen. 1.3) or with a word that is acting as a noun, such as a nominalized adjective, e.g., יַעֲלֹזוּ חַסִּידִים *ya’lāzū ḥāšīdīm* ‘let the faithful exult’ (Ps. 149.5), a participle, e.g., יִרְדְּךָ *iraddōp* ‘may an enemy pursue me’ (Ps. 7.6), or a pronoun, e.g., וַאֲנִי אָמַרְתִּי *wa-’ānī ’āmartī* ‘and I said’ (Jon. 2.5). Hebrew has a special set of independent pronouns that are used for the subject and other nominative case functions such as a predicate nominative. These independent nominative case pronouns are distinguished from the sets of possessive (genitive) and object (accusative) pronouns, which are suffixes that are attached to nouns and verbs, respectively, as well as to particles.

If the predicate is a finite verb and the subject would be a pronoun, then the subject pronoun may be omitted from the sentence (→ Pro-Drop) and must be deduced based on verbal mor-

phology and the context, e.g., לֹא-אָכַל לֶחֶם *lō-’ākal lehem* ‘(he) had not eaten bread’ (1 Sam. 30.12). A pronoun that is the subject of a finite verb may, nonetheless, be written in order to change subjects or otherwise disambiguate the subject, e.g., יֵצֵא בְּגַפוֹ וְהוּא *wā-hū yēšē bē-gappō* ‘he will go out alone’ (Exod. 21.4), to contrast the subject with someone else, e.g., הוּא יִלְוֶנֶנִּי וְאַתָּה לֹא תִלְוֶנֶנִּי *hū yalwākā wā-’attā lō talwennū* ‘he will lend to you, but you will not lend to him’ (Deut. 28.44), or to draw attention to the importance of the subject, e.g., הוּא בְּעַלְתָּ בַעַל *wā-hī bā’ūlat bā’al* ‘she is a man’s wife’ (Gen. 20.3) (for further discussion see Muraoka 1985:47–66; Joüon and Muraoka 2006:505–506; and Williams and Beckman 2007:46). Sometimes the omission of the subject of a verb indicates that the subject is indefinite, meaning that it specifies no one in particular, e.g., מִן-הַבְּאֵר הַזֶּה יִשְׁקוּ הַעֲדָרִים *min-hab-bā’er ha-hī yašqū hā-’ādārīm* ‘from that well [they] would water the flocks’ (Gen. 29.2), where the reference is to an unspecified group of people (for further discussion of indefinite subjects see GKC 459–461; Joüon and Muraoka 2006:543; and Williams and Beckman 2007:66).

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Subject: Modern Hebrew

In defining the notion of 'subject', a distinction must be made between the grammatical and the logical or psychological level (see, for instance, Jespersen 1924:145–154; Lyons 1968:334–343).

The grammatical subject of a verbal clause is defined as the element (nominal or pronominal) with which the verb form agrees in person, gender, and number. This does not necessarily coincide with the logical subject, or topic, defined as the element that is given and on which something new (the logical predicate, or comment) is asserted. Thus in שרה צחקה *šara šaxaqa* 'Sarah laughed', 'Sarah' is the grammatical subject, but on the logical level may be either subject ('what did Sarah do?') or predicate ('who laughed?').

Although traditionally associated with the semantic role of agent in active and patient in passive clauses (→ Voice), the grammatical subject in verbal clauses may in fact appear in any of a variety of semantic roles (see Van Valin 2006:686): experiencer in היא סובלת משפעת *hi sovelet mi-šapa'at* 'she suffers from the flu', instrument in המיץ הכתים את החולצה שלי *ha-miš bixtim 'et ha-xulša šeli* 'the juice stained my shirt' (as opposed to הילד הזה הכתים את החולצה שלי במיץ *ha-yeled ha-ze bixtim 'et ha-xulša šeli be-miš* 'this boy stained my shirt with juice'), etc.

In verbless clauses (→ Nominal Clause), subjects and predicates can be distinguished at the logical level only. The criteria are mainly pragmatic, although element order and definiteness provide some more formal indications (e.g., Zewi 1994).

In Hebrew as in other Semitic languages, the nominative forms of the personal pronouns—

appearing mostly in subject position, although they may also serve as predicates in verbless clauses—are independent morphemes (Table 1), distinct from the suffixed forms used in the accusative and genitive. The second and third persons are inflected for gender and number; however, the feminine plural forms אתן *'aten* 'you' and הן *hen* 'they' are often discarded in colloquial use, in favor of their masculine counterparts אתם *'atem* and הם *hem*, respectively. In the spoken language the prevalent form for the first person singular pronoun is אני *'ani*, as in Late Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, while the form אנוכי *'anoxi* of the earlier biblical texts is restricted to literary style. Conversely, the earlier, biblical form אנחנו *'anaxnu* is usually preferred over the Rabbinic אנו *'anu* for the first person plural.

Table 1. Independent personal pronouns in Modern Hebrew

	sg.		pl.
1 c.	אני/אנוכי <i>'ani/'anoxi</i>	אנו/אנחנו <i>'anaxnu/'anu</i>	
2 m.	אתה <i>'ata</i>	אתם <i>'atem</i>	
f.	את <i>'at</i>	אתן <i>'aten</i>	
3 m.	הוא <i>hu</i>	הם <i>hem</i>	
f.	היא <i>hi</i>	הן <i>hen</i>	

In clauses containing finite (conjugated) verb forms, however, first- and second-person pronouns often remain implicit, the subject being sufficiently identified by the verb: סיפרת לה? *siparta la(h)?* 'told (2ms) her?' = 'did you tell her?' An overt pronoun in such a sentence may express contrast, in which case it takes nuclear stress, e.g., אתה סיפרת לה? *'ata siparta la(h)?* 'you told her?', 'was it you who told her?', but it may also function as topic, e.g., (how about you), did you tell her?' (Bar 2007:258–268). In the 'present' tense, i.e., with participial forms, and with verbs conjugated in the third person, an overt (pronominal or nominal) subject is obligatory; although the written language allows the ellipsis of a third-person independent subject whose identity is evident from the context (anaphora or cataphora), this practice is rarer in Modern than in Biblical or Rabbinic Hebrew (Bar 2007:268–274).

One notable exception to the requirement of an explicit third-person subject is the impersonal construction with third-person masculine