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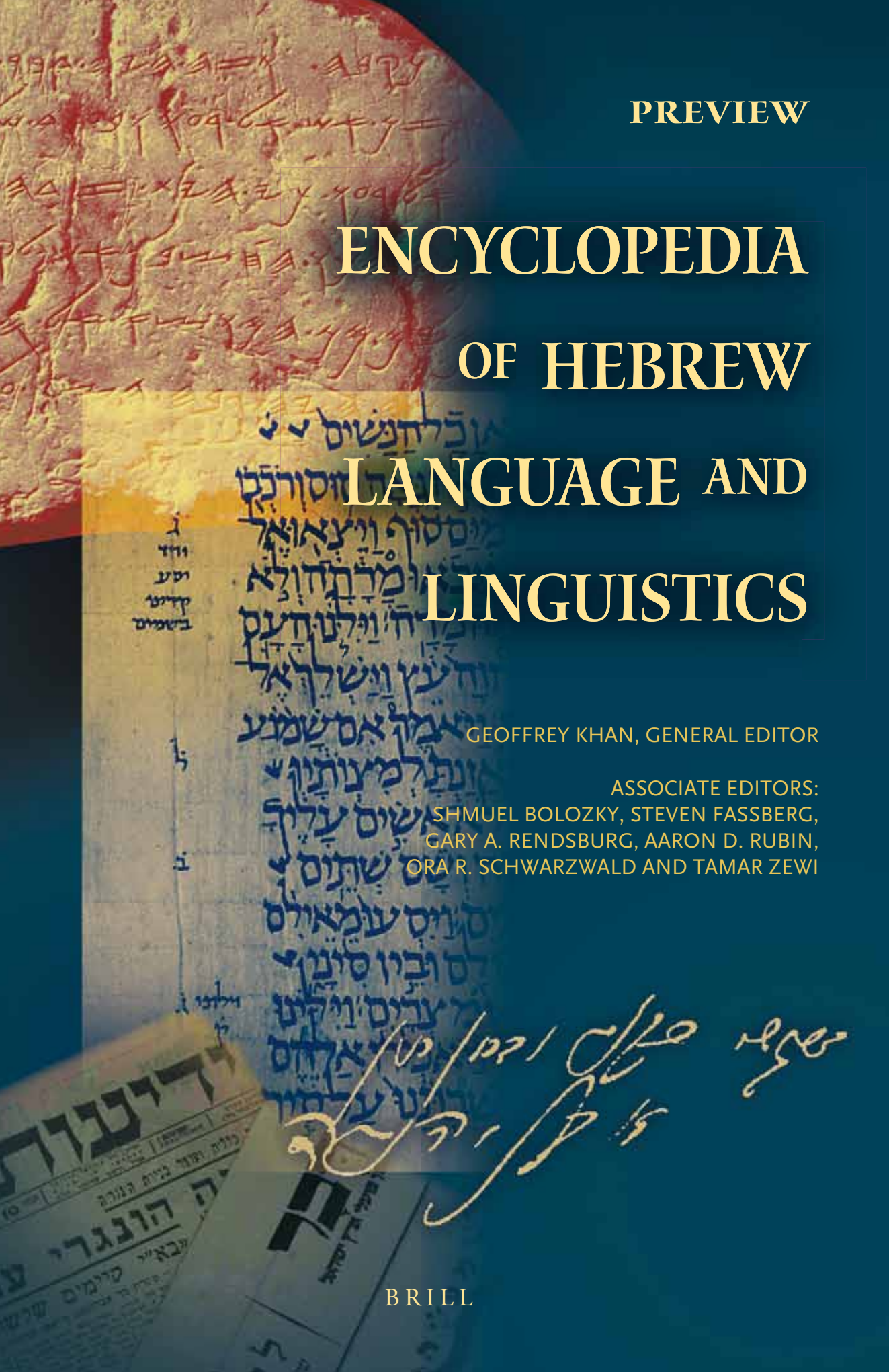

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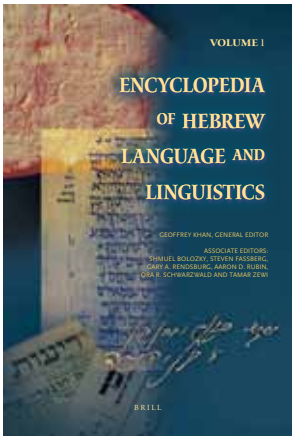

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The Hebrew language has one of the longest attested histories of any of the world's languages, with records of its use from antiquity until modern times. Although it ceased to be a spoken language by the 2nd century C.E., Hebrew continued to be used and to develop in the form of a literary and liturgical language until its revival as a vernacular in the 20th century.

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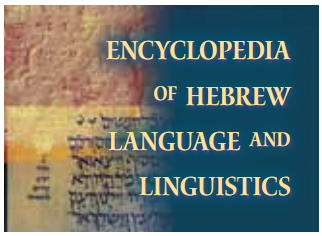

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Syntactic Archaisms in Biblical Hebrew

A linguistic feature is an archaism in Biblical Hebrew (BH) if it deviates from the standard linguistic usage in BH but is commonly used in texts belonging to the linguistic milieu out of which BH emerged (i.e., the Northwest Semitic languages of the 2nd millennium B.C.E., as exemplified by Ugaritic and by the Canaanite forms attested in the Amarna letters). A linguistic feature may also be considered archaic if, in the reconstruction of a linguistic development, said feature occupies a place one or more stages earlier than what is the standard usage in BH.

The above criteria provide a typological definition of what constitutes an archaic linguistic feature in BH. Note that this definition is chronologically neutral; in fact, a typologically archaic trait, although uncommon in BH, may have continued in use until a relatively late period in the history of BH. Indeed, this is the case with the syntactic traits in BH whose archaic origin is most clear. Below, we will present examples of the occurrence of such traits in some poetic BH texts, which are commonly considered archaic (Exod. 15; Deut. 32; Judg. 5), as well as in Deutero-Isaiah (Isa. 40–55), composed shortly after 539 B.C.E.

1. Short Prefixed Verbal Form

The use of the short prefixed verbal form (**yaqṭul*) to express a complete event in the past without the conjunction *w-* is well attested in the Amarna letters from Canaan (Rainey 1996: v. 2, 222–227). It is also commonly postulated for Ugaritic poetry (e.g., Tropper 2000:454–455, 695–701), although Greenstein (2006) has argued convincingly that the narrative form used in Ugaritic poetry is the long prefixed form **yaqṭulu*. In BH, the short prefixed verbal form is normally used to express a complete event in the past only after the conjunction *w-*, i.e., in the *wayyiqṭōl* construction. However, sometimes short prefixed verbal forms (or at least prefixed forms that *may* be analyzed as originally short) are used to express complete events in the past without the conjunction *w-*, e.g.: יְכַסְיֻמוּ *yəḵasəyūmī* 'they covered them', תִּרְעָץ *tirʿaṣ* 'she smashed' (Exod. 15.5–6), יַצֵּב *yaṣṣēḇ* 'he established' (Deut. 32.8), יִפְרֹשׂ *yiprōś* 'he spread (wings)', יְקָחֵהוּ *yiqqāḥēhū* 'he took him,' יִשָּׂאֵהוּ *yiśśāʾēhū* 'he bore him' (Deut. 32.11), יִבְחַר *yiḇḥar* 'he chose' (Judg. 5.8), יִקְרָאֵהוּ *yiqrāʾēhū* 'he called him', יִתֵּן, יִתֶּן, *yittēn* 'he gave, put, rendered', יֻרַד *yard* 'he made (them) submissive', יִרְדְּפֵם *yirdəpēm* 'he pursued them', יָבֹוא: *yāḇōʾ* 'he did (not) tread' (Isa. 41.2–3). On this syntactic feature, see Bloch (2009), and the earlier literature cited there.

2. Long Prefixed Verbal Form

Ugaritic and Amarna Canaanite use the long prefixed verbal form (**yaqṭulu*) to express the imperfective aspect, which also covers actions and situations in the present (Rainey 1996: vol. 2, 228–230; Tropper 2000:685–687). In BH, actions in the present are commonly expressed by the predicative participle (Smith 1999, and the earlier literature cited there). Yet, long prefixed verbal forms (or at least forms that *may* be analyzed as originally long) are sometimes used to express actions in the present, e.g.: תִּגְמְלוּ- *tigməlū* 'you repay' (Deut. 32.6), אָגוּר *ʾāḡūr* 'I fear' (Deut. 32.27), יָגוּר *yāḡūr* 'he fears', יִשְׁכֹּון: *yiškōn* 'he dwells' (Judg. 5.17), יָשִׁיב *yāšīḇ* 'he does (not) reflect (on the matter)', אֶצְלֶה *ʾeṣle* 'I am roasting', אֹכֵל *ʾōḵēl* 'I am eating', אֶעֱשֶׂה *ʾeʿĕśe* 'I am making,' אֶסְגְּוֹד: *ʾesgōd* '(whom) I am worshipping' (Isa. 44.19; the long prefixed forms here, as well as in verses 16–17, refer back to the idolater's activity described in verses 12–15 by perfective verbal forms and constructions and project it into the present, thus actualizing the prophet's satire against the idolaters).

3. Asyndetic Relative Clauses

Typologically, asyndetic relative clauses, that is, clauses without formal subordination to the antecedent, or forming a kind of construct chain with the antecedent functioning as *nomen regens*, appear to be more archaic than syndetic relative clauses. Asyndetic relative

clauses appear in both Ugaritic (Tropper 2000: 899–901) and Amarna Canaanite (Rainey 1996: v. 1, 175–177). Examples in BH include: מִקְדָּשׁ אֲדֹנָי כֹּו֨נְנוּ יָדֶיךָ: *miqqəḏāš ʾăḏōnāy kōnənū yāḏekā*, '(the) sanctuary, O Lord, (which) your hands established' (Exod. 15.17); אָבִיךָ קָנָּךְ *ʾābīkā qānekā*, 'your father, (who) has created you' (Deut. 32.6); אֱלֹוהַ עָשָׂהוּ *ʾĕlōah ʿāśāhū*, 'God, (who) had created him' (Deut. 32.15); תֹּועֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם: *tōʿēbā yiḇḥar bākem*, 'abomination (is the one who) chooses you' (Isa. 41.24); בְּדֶרֶךְ לֹא יָדָעוּ *bə-ḏereḵ lōʾ yāḏāʿū*, 'on a road (which) they do not know' (Isa. 42.16).

4. An Early Relative Pronoun

Given the attestation of asyndetic relative clauses, whose connection to the antecedent is construed as a kind of construct chain, we may assume that the earliest part of speech likely to have been utilized as a formal relative pronoun was the determinative pronoun, used to express a genitival relation. The situation in Ugaritic, where the pronoun *ḏ* > *d* is used both to express the genitival relation between nominal elements and to subordinate a relative clause (Tropper 2000:234–238, 898–899), supports this assumption. The BH cognate of Ugaritic *ḏ* > *d* is the base *zV*, vocalized variously as זוּ *zū*, זֶה *zɛ* and possibly also זֹו *zō* (Lipiński 1997:326). However, the standard relative pronoun in BH is אֲשֶׁר *ʾăšɛr*, originally probably a noun meaning 'place' (Ugaritic *ʾṯr*, Amarna *ašar*), which was sometimes used in the construct state to introduce a locative clause (Tropper 2000:798, 905; Rainey 1996: v. 3, 70–71). Although Akkadian texts from Emar in northern Syria (13th century B.C.E.) reflect the use of *ašar* as a relative pronoun—which may reflect the common usage in the local Northwest Semitic dialect (Faist & Vita 2008)—in the general framework of Northwest Semitic languages, the BH use of אֲשֶׁר *ʾăšɛr* as a the standard relative pronoun is typologically a later development compared to the use of זוּ *zū* (as well as זֶה *zɛ* and זֹו *zō*) for the same purpose. Examples of the use of זוּ *zū* as the relative pronoun in BH include: עַם־זֶּוּ גָּאָלְתָּ *ʿam-zū gāʾāltā*, 'the people, which you have redeemed' (Exod. 15.13), עַם־זֶּוּ קָנִיתָ *ʿam-zū qānīṯå*, 'the people, which you have created' (Exod. 15.16), יְהוָה זוּ חָטָאנוּ לֹו *YHWH zū ḥāṭānū lō*, 'YHWH, to whom we have sinned' (Isa. 42.24). On the relative pronouns זוּ *zū*, זֶה *zɛ* and זֹו *zō* in BH, see Robertson 1972:62–65.

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China, Hebrew in

There is no evidence that classical Hebrew was ever used in China as a living language. It has, however, been used as a liturgical language among Jewish communities in China. In addition, Judeo-Persian documents, written in the Hebrew script, have been found along the Silk Road, evidence of Jewish merchants travelling to China.

The earliest written sources that mention Jews in China are in Arabic (Leslie 1998:49–51). Jewish and Russian traders, the Radhânites, visited China in the 9th century C.E. Jews were among the many foreigners said to have been slaughtered in 878/879 in Khânfû (Canton, Guangzhou) (Leslie 1998:15). The earliest Chinese historical sources that refer to Jews are from the Mongol Yuan dynasty (1279–1368). The writings of Marco Polo contain the earliest references by a foreigner to Jews in China.

Jewish tombs and artifacts have been unearthed in Dunhuang, Luoyang, Beijing, Hangzhou and Quanzhou, all important commercial cities; it is highly likely that Jews were present in other commercial cities as well. However, no written Hebrew records other than tomb inscriptions and one prayer fragment (see below) have been found (cf. Leslie 1998:15).

1. The Jewish community of Kaifeng

The largest group of Jewish immigrants to medieval China lived in Kaifeng, Henan province, since at least as early as 1163, when the first and only known synagogue in pre-modern China was built by the community. They were perhaps descendants of the Turkic Khazars who converted to Judaism in the 8th century, and migrated to central China along the northern route of the Silk Road which connected China with Byzantium (Lin 2000; Foltz 1998).

Nothing is known of the original language of the Jews of Kaifeng. Although it certainly was not Hebrew, they must have been familiar with the language. The community's Chief Rabbi in 1704–1705 could still write the names of the books in the Hebrew Bible in Hebrew square characters, apparently from memory, with minor omissions and variations (Leslie 1984:Plate XVIII).

The Chinese-Hebrew Memorial Book found in Kaifeng is a crucial piece of evidence for the use of Hebrew as a liturgical language there. In this document, Hebrew prayers precede lists of the dead members of the community from *ca.* 1400 to *ca.* 1670. Bilingual names of both men and women, mostly together with the name of the father, are arranged by lineage (the seven surnames are Ai, Gao, Jin, Li, Shi, Zhang, Zhao) (Leslie 1998:29). Only a few pages have been published so far (Leslie 1984).

An analysis of nine out of the thirteen Torah scrolls once held by the Kaifeng community (now all housed in various libraries outside of China) has shown that most were copied in the 17th century, although one may be somewhat earlier. There are minor copyist mistakes, and they generally resemble Yemenite scrolls, but a full analysis by a rabbinic scholar has yet to be made (Leslie 1998:31). One scholar has proposed that all these scrolls are forgeries made in the 1850s, copied from a Torah scroll brought to the community by two Chinese converts to Christianity (Zhou 2005:72-76). Zhou (2005:75) therefore questions the authenticity of all the Hebrew records, and in fact casts doubt on the community's Jewish identity altogether.

Separate manuscripts of sections (*parashiyyot*) of the Torah were kept in the synagogue in Kaifeng; these are now housed elsewhere, mostly in the library of Hebrew Union College. The vowel signs (*niqqud*) are reportedly accurate (Leslie 1998:31). Judeo-Persian is found in seven colophons to these manuscripts, and also in some rubrics, hymns in the *Haggadah*, and other prayers (Leslie 1998:32). Several dozen manuscripts of prayers were used mainly for synagogue services on Jewish festivals. All of these prayers are very close to Yemenite versions and to those used by Maimonides (Leslie 1998:33).

The synagogue had some Hebrew inscriptions in it, but since it was damaged by a flood in the 19th century, none of these are extant. Copies were made by visitors to the synagogue between 1721 and 1867. The inscriptions show that by the 18th century knowledge of Hebrew was poor, and its pronunciation was influenced by Chinese (Leslie 1998:34); for example, *lamed* (l) is confused with *resh* (r), and final *mem* becomes *n* (Leslie 1972:119–124).

2. A Hebrew manuscript from Dunhuang

A Hebrew *Seliḥa* prayer leaf written on a piece of paper was found in the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang in 1908. It has been dated to the 8th or 9th century C.E., and is so far the oldest and most significant Hebrew document attesting to the early presence of Jews in China (Wu 1996). The document is written in Hebrew characters similar to those used in the Judeo-Persian manuscripts found in the same western region of China (see below). It is vocalized using the Babylonian supralinear system. The manuscript uses *matres lectionis* more frequently than the Masoretic text, reflecting Mishnaic Hebrew features. The copyist does not seem to distinguish the four sibilants, *s*, *ś*, *š*, and *ṣ*., presumably due to the influence of the languages of the region where the copyist lived; in the region of Kuqa and Turpan, in Xinjiang, where the document was found, *s* and *š* are

also confused. Orthographically, it uses ‴ to represent the Tetragrammaton (YHWH). An interesting feature of its grammar is the use of the imperfect instead of the imperative, in five cases. The content is typical of medieval Hebrew poetry, demonstrating features such as alliteration, acrostic form, rhyme, and parallelism. Biblical Psalms are quoted frequently. The manuscript proves that Jews lived and traveled in China during the Tang Dynasty (618–907 C.E.) (Wu 1996:270).

3. Judeo-Persian letters from Xinjiang

A Judeo-Persian manuscript was found in Dandan Uiliq (near Khotan) by Aurel Stein in 1901. Recently, another Judeo-Persian manuscript very similar to the one found over 100 years ago was donated to the national library of China. Both letters have been dated to 802 C.E. (Zhang 2008). Although their language is not Hebrew, they deserve mention due to the fact that they were written by Jews in Hebrew characters.

4. Jews in China in modern times

The first major wave of Jewish immigrants in modern times, primarily from Baghdad and Bombay, came to Shanghai after the city was opened to foreign traders in 1842, following the Opium War. A second wave came from Russia in the decades after the Russian Revolution of 1917. A third wave of Jews moved to Shanghai from central Europe in the 1930s and during WWII. From 1933 to 1941, Shanghai alone accepted about 30,000 Jewish refugees from Europe (Pan 2004). Hebrew was used as a liturgical language among these Jewish refugees. Similar cases are to be found among Jewish refugees in other cities in China, such as Harbin and Tianjin. In some schools, classical Hebrew literature was taught in the tradition which these refugees brought from their countries of origin.

As a modern language, Hebrew is spoken in China today only by native speakers who have come from the State of Israel. Thousands of Israelis live in several of the metropolitan areas, or at least spend more time annually in China than in their homeland. Modern Hebrew is a daily vehicle of communication among them, though there is little organic growth in China. Their Hebrew absorbs loanwords from Chinese, but not nearly to the degree that it has borrowed from the English language that many of these native Hebrew speakers also use extensively. Hebrew is also used as a liturgical language among these Israeli expatriates.

There are currently several dozen Chinese college students studying the Hebrew language and literature as a major field of study, in a handful of universities in mainland China (e.g., Peking University in Beijing). This course of study became available in the mid-1980s.

As of 2009, China Radio International, a government run media entity, launched its first Hebrew language website (http://hebrew.cri.cn/), with a target audience of Modern Hebrew speakers around the world.

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Equative Clauses, Modern Hebrew

Equative constructions can be scalar or non-scalar (Glinert 1989a:101, 218, 343–348).

Scalar equative clauses in Modern Hebrew are single-marked in the positive, using a clause or phrase introduced by כמו *kmo* 'like, as' or, with a full clause, also by the more formal כפי *kfi*: הוא גבוה כמו אמו *hu gavoah kmo ʾimo* 'He's [as] tall as his mother', גבוה כמו/כפי שחשבתי *gavoah kmo/kfi še-x̱ašavti* '[as] tall as I thought'. In the negative they may be double-marked, with the determiner כל-כך *kol-kax* or כזה *kaze* 'so' in addition to כמו *kmo*: זה לא זול כל-כך כמו שחשבתי *ze lo zol kol-kax kmo še-x̱ašavti* 'It's not as cheap as I thought'. To convey 'as much, as many', double-marking is normal, using the determiner אותו *oto* 'same', e.g., אותו מספר גנים כמו *ʾoto mispar genim kmo* 'the same number of genes as'.

Non-scalar equatives have several semantic/syntactic functions (Glinert 1989b), notably to express similarity of (1) reference, (2) manner, (3) proposition. In all of these, ellipsis is much the same as above, thus: (type 1, similarity of reference) קניתי אותה שמלה כמו שרה *qaniti ʾota simla kmo Sara* 'I bought the same dress as Sara' or כמו ששרה קנתה..... *kmo še-Sara qanta* '...as Sara bought', (types 2, 3, i.e. 'in the same manner' or 'likewise'): אני נוהג כמו (ש) אשתי *ʾani noheg kmo (še)-ʾišti* 'I drive like my wife', הצילו את המעבורת כמו את אפולו *hiṣilu ʾet ha-maʿaboret kmo ʾet Apolo* 'They saved the shuttle like Apollo' or כמו שהצילו את... אפולו... *kmo še-hiṣilu ʾet Apolo* '...like they saved Apollo'.

Four related structures (Glinert 1996) are (4,5) equative clauses where כמו *kmo* or כפי *kfi* serves as a pro-sentential subject or object, a kind of equivalence of proposition: כפי שעולה ממחקרנו,... *kfi še-ʿole mi-meχqarenu,...* 'As emerges from our research,...' and כפי שאת יודעת,... *kfi še-ʾat yodaʿat,...* 'As you know,...', (6) the counterfactual equative: הוא קרא כאילו הוא משועמם *hu qara keʾilu hu mešuʿamam* 'He was reading as if he was bored' (= in the manner or just as would be the case if), and (7) role phrases, formed with כ- *ke-* or בתור *betor* 'as' rather than with equative כמו *kmo*: כמורה ותיק *ke-more vatiq* 'as a long-time teacher'. Role phrases have no full-clause paraphrase from which they can be derived.

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Dead Sea Scrolls, Hebrew of

1. Introduction

In 1947 the first fragments of more than 900 manuscripts were discovered in eleven caves behind Khirbet Qumran at the northwestern edge of the Dead Sea. Most of the manuscripts were written in Hebrew in the Jewish script (Cross 2003; the Palaeo-Hebrew script is also attested), some were written in Aramaic, and a few in Greek. Approximately 25% of the texts are biblical (including all books of the Hebrew Bible with the exception of Esther), 38% are sectarian (e.g., the 'Community Rule' [1QS], 'War Scroll' [1QM]; see Dimant 2009), 27% are non-sectarian, and the rest are unidentified. Based on paleographical and radiocarbon tests, the earliest manuscripts have been dated to about 200 B.C.E. and the latest to before the destruction of Qumran in 68 C.E. during the First Jewish Revolt. Most scholars adhere to the view, which has admittedly been often

challenged, that the manuscripts belonged to the library of an Essene community that lived at Qumran and whose scribes authored and copied many of the documents found in the caves. Whether or not a scriptorium has been found among the ruins at Qumran remains moot. For recent discussions on all aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Kister 2009a.

During the first decade of research into the Hebrew scrolls, Henoch Yalon, followed by Ze'ev Ben-Ḥayyim and Eduard Yechezkel Kutscher, demonstrated that the Hebrew of the documents was (1) considerably influenced by Aramaic, and (2) shared significant linguistic features with the contemporaneous Hebrew corpora of Late Biblical Hebrew, Samaritan Hebrew, and Tannaitic Hebrew, as well as the medieval exemplars of Ben-Sira and the Damascus Document from the Cairo Geniza. Kutscher's 1959 study, *The language and linguistic background of the Isaiah Scroll*, was an important milestone; there he analyzed the language of the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]) in light of other Hebrew and Aramaic sources, and compared the text of the Scroll with the Masoretic text and ancient versions. Since the mid-1970's Elisha Qimron has further elucidated points of grammar and lexicon; he has also corrected many erroneous readings of earlier scholars. Particularly noteworthy is his *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1986), the only published grammar of the language of the scrolls. Several international symposia have been devoted to the study of the Hebrew scrolls and related texts (Muraoka & Elwolde 1997, 1999, 2000; Joosten & Sebastian-Rey 2008, Fassberg & Bar-Asher forthcoming).

The character of the language of the scrolls has long been a subject of debate. In influential articles in 1954, Shelomo Morag and Ben-Ḥayyim both emphasized vernacular elements in the scrolls. Qimron has continued this approach and has argued forcefully that the Hebrew of the scrolls reflects a previously unknown Hebrew dialect. Many other scholars (e.g., Kutscher 1974, Blau 1997 and 2000) disagree, however, and believe that scribes attempted to write the classical Hebrew of the First Temple period, but on occasion inserted spoken forms, whether consciously or not. All agree that the texts found at Qumran contain vernacular forms; the debate is about the extent of the phenomenon (Hurvitz 2000). William Schniedewind (1999), followed by Gary Rendsburg (forthcoming), argue that the Hebrew at Qumran is an 'anti-language', i.e., a language by which the speakers at Qumran chose to distinguish themselves from their ideological opponents. Steve Weitzman (1999) believes that the Qumran sect wrote in Hebrew as a matter of principle, since it was the perceived 'language of holiness', as opposed to Aramaic, which was the language used in everyday communication.

The language of the different scrolls is not uniform. The Copper Scroll (3Q15; Lefkovits 2003) and *Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (4QMMT; Qimron and Strugnell 1994:65–108; Kister 1999a:354–359) have both been described as written in a language with similarities to Tannaitic Hebrew, though they differ from each other as well as from the other Dead Sea Scrolls. According to Morag (1988), most of the Hebrew scrolls were written in what he called 'General Qumran Hebrew', 4QMMT was written in 'Qumran Mishnaic', and the Copper Scroll was written in 'Copper Scroll Hebrew'.

In the following description of the language the examples are cited from the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa[a]) wherever possible, in order to highlight the differences between the Hebrew found in the scrolls and that of Tiberian Hebrew as reflected in the Masoretic text.

2. Orthography

The Dead Sea Scrolls are marked by the extensive use of *matres lectionis* (Kutscher 1974:126–186; Qimron 1986:17–24; Tov 2004:266–268, 337–343).

The letter ו *waw* is used frequently to represent *o* and *u* in open and closed syllables, e.g., נבונים *nbwnym* 'wise' (נְבֹנִים *nəḇōnīm* Isa. 5.21), יעקוב *yʿqwb* 'Jacob' (יַעֲקֹב *yaʿăqōḇ* Isa. 2.3), חודשיכם *ḥwdšykm* 'your months' (חָדְשֵׁיכֶם *ḥåḏšēḵem* Isa. 1.14), וינועו *wynwʿw* 'and they moved' (וַיָּנֻעוּ *way-yānūʿū* Isa. 6.4),מוכה *mwkh* 'struck' (מֻכֶּה *mukkē* Isa. 53.4). According to Kutscher, the scribes employed *waw* in certain cases of homographic words to guarantee a Hebrew as against an Aramaic realization, e.g., לוא *lwʾ* 'no' and רוש *rwš*/ראוש *rʾwš*/רואש *ruʾš* 'head' (cf. Masoretic Hebrew לֹא *lō* and רֹאשׁ *rōš* vs. Aramaic לָא *lā* and רֵאשׁ *rēš*).

The letter י *yod* as a *mater lectionis* is much less common; it represents an originally long

i (e.g., הסיר *hsyr* 'removing' [הָסֵר *hāsīr* Isa. 27.9]) more often than a short *i* (e.g., תישאום *tś'wm* 'you will carry them' [יִשָּׂאֻם *yiśśā'ūm* Isa. 15.7]). *Yod* is sometimes used as a *mater lectionis* for *ē*, e.g., מית *myt* 'dying' (מָת *mēṯ* Isa. 38.1).

Words with a silent historical א *'aleph* are variously spelled with *'aleph* (זאת *z't* 'this' [MT זֹאת *zōṯ*], ראש *r'š* 'head' [MT רֹאשׁ *rōš*]), with the suitable *mater lectionis* (זות *zwt*, רוש *rwš*), or with both (זואת *z'wt*/זואת *zw't*; ראוש *r'wš*/ רואש *rw'š*). Ben-Ḥayyim (1954) believes the spellings with *'aleph* and *waw* may reflect two-peaked syllables as in Samaritan Hebrew, while Qimron (2003b and 2004), although not ruling out this possibility, prefers to interpret the orthographies as reflecting an ultra-long vowel. Historical *'aleph* may be omitted medially and finally, e.g., רשים *ršym* 'heads' (4Q171 III 5; cf. רָאשִׁים *rāšīm* Gen. 2.10), שו *šw* 'vanity' (Hodayot XV 34; cf. שָׁוְא *šāw* Exod. 21.1).

'Aleph is sometimes appended to short words, particularly those ending in *yod*, e.g., ביא *by'* 'in me' (בִּי *bī* Isa. 45.23), כיא *ky'* 'that' (כִּי *kī* Isa. 1.2), מיא *my'* 'who' (מִי *mī* Isa. 36.5). Qimron (1975; 1986:24) points out that medial *'aleph* may occur before and after *yod* or *waw*, usually marking an *a* vowel, e.g., יאתום *y'twm* 'orphan' (יָתֹום *yāṯōm* Isa. 1.17), ויואן *wyw'n* 'and Javan' (וְיָוָן *wə-yāwān* Isa. 66.19); in these cases the *'aleph* also marks the consonantal nature of the *yod* and *waw*. Only rarely is consonantal *y* indicated by a double *yod*, e.g., היתה *hyyth* 'she was' (הָיְתָה *hāyəṯā* Isa. 1.21). *'Aleph* may also represent a medial *e* vowel, e.g., כאלין 'vessels' (Copper Scroll V 6; cf. כֵּלִים *kēlīm* Exod. 22.6).

Frequently a final long *a* is represented by *'aleph* instead of *heh* under the influence of Aramaic orthography, e.g.,וגבורא *wgbwr'* 'and valor' (וּגְבוּרָה *u-gḇūrā* Isa. 36.5).

Biblical Hebrew *sin* is usually written ש *ś*, though on occasion it is replaced by the letter *samekh* ס *s*, as elsewhere during the Second Temple period, e.g' סלמותמה their garments' (Temple Scroll XLIX 18; cf. שִׂמְלֹתָיו *śimlōṯāw* Gen. 37.34). Instances of hypercorrection are also attested, e.g., מנשה *mnśh* 'testing' (Temple Scroll LIV 12; מְנַסֶּה *mənaśśe* Deut. 13.4); Qimron (1986:29–30), however, interprets these examples with ש as reflecting the phonetic shift *s* > *š*, which is attested in Samaritan Hebrew.

3. Phonology

Especially in non-formal manuscripts, the gutturals are weakened and sometimes disappear, e.g., משריך *mšryk* 'those who lead you' (מְאַשְּׁרֶיךָ *mə'aššərekā* Isa. 3.12), ואזינו *w'zynw* 'and hear' (הַאֲזִינוּ *ha'ăzīnū* Isa. 1.10), בצחות 'in a scorched region' (בְּצַחְצָחוֹת *bə-ṣaḥṣāḥōṯ* Isa. 58.11), וישה *wyśh* 'and he shall do' (יַעֲשֶׂה *ya'ăśe* Isa. 48.14), ואתה *w'th* 'and now' (וְעַתָּה *wə-'attā* Isa. 5.5).

The diphthong *aw* contracts to *o/u*, as in the oral tradition of Samaritan Hebrew; this is reflected in the fluctuation of the orthographies *–w* and *–yw*, as compared to the Masoretic text. Thus, for example, in יתדותו *ytdwtw* 'its stakes' (יְתָדֹתָיו *yəṯēḏōṯāw* Isa. 33.20) and ומקבצו *wmqbṣw* 'they who gather it' (וּמְקַבְּצָיו *u-mqabbəṣāw* Isa. 62.9) historical (and Masoretic) *–yw* is represented by *–w*, while the converse can be seen inידיו נטויה *ydyw nṭwyh* 'his arm is outstretched' (יָדוֹ נְטוּיָה *yāḏō nəṭūyā* Isa. 5.25) and ברואשיו *brw'šyw* 'upon his head' (בְּרֹאשׁוֹ *bə-rōšō* Isa. 59.17).

Intervocalic *yod* sometimes shifts to *'aleph*, e.g., הגואים *hgw'ym* 'the nations' (הַגּוֹיִם *haggōyīm* Isa. 2.2), שפאים *šp'ym* 'bare heights' (שְׁפָיִים *šəpāyīm* Isa. 41.18), ציאה *ṣy'h* 'dry land' (צִיָּה *ṣiyyā* Isa. 41.18). According to Kutscher (1974:511–514), this shift also took place in gentilic suffixes, e.g., הכתיאים *hkty'ym* 'the *Kittim*' (Pesher Habakkuk II 12; cf.כִּתִּיִּים *kittiyyīm* Jer. 2.10); however, these are usually spelled with a double *yod*, e.g., כשדיים *kśdyym* 'Chaldeans' (כַּשְׂדִּים *kaśdīm* Isa. 13.19). Qimron (1987), on the other hand, views intervocalic *aleph* as marking the existence of two consecutive different vowels, i.e., *gōīm*, possibly with a glide between them, or in the case of *y* between identical vowels, one long vowel *ī, e.g., kittīm*.

The *plene* orthography found in certain forms that occur in context in the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls (as in the Masoretic text) has been widely interpreted as reflecting pausal forms (Kutscher 1974:330–340). See, e.g., the imperfects תעזובו *t'zwbw* 'you will leave' (תַּעֲזְבוּ *ṯa'ăzḇū* Isa. 10.3), יפולו *ypwlw* 'they will fall' (יִפְּלוּ *yippəlū* Isa. 26.18), and the imperatives חשופי...עבורי 'strip off...cross over!' (חֶשְׂפִּי...עִבְרִי *ḥiḇrī...ḥeśpī* Isa. 47.2), אמורו *'mwrw* 'say!' (אִמְרוּ *'imrū* Isa. 3.10). Kutscher believed that penultimate stress at Qumran was corroborated by Tannaitic Hebrew; Bar-Asher (1999) has demonstrated, however, that

Kutscher overestimated the extent of penultimate stress in Tannaitic Hebrew. In the light of parallel orthography in the Babylonian and Tiberian traditions, Yeivin (1971) interpreted the *waw* in the Qumran forms as reflecting a short, unstressed *o* vowel (see morphology below).

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Hebrew Loanwords in Polynesian Languages

In the past, there have been scholars who argued for a genetic relationship between the Semitic languages and the Oceanic family of languages, of which Polynesian is a sub-group (e.g., Macdonald 1907). Such a theory is quite fantastical, of course. A connection of sorts between Hebrew and Polynesian does exist, however, although it is not genetic. Indeed, few Hebraists and Semitists are aware of the fact that a significant number of Hebrew words have been borrowed into several Polynesian languages, including Samoan, Tahitian, and Hawaiian. These Hebrew words made their way to Oceania not through direct contact between speakers of Hebrew and Polynesian, but rather through the efforts of a few 19th-century missionaries.

British missionaries began branching out to the Pacific islands in the 1790s, under the auspices of the Missionary Society (known from 1818–1966 as the London Missionary Society). The first mission was established in Tahiti, and Tahitian is the first Polynesian language into which the Bible was translated. The missionary translators needed many words and concepts not found in Tahitian, and, curiously, they chose to use Hebrew and Greek as sources for these new words. This was, at least in part, because certain Hebrew and Greek words were more easily adaptable to Polynesian phonology (Williams 1837: 528), though certainly religious enthusiasm also played a role. The missionary translators in Samoa and Rarotonga used the Tahitian Bible as a model, and so many Hebrew words were incorporated into the Samoan and Rarotongan Bibles as well.

Many of the Hebrew words used in the Bible translations are terms for flora (e.g., Samoan *ʻārasi* 'cedar' < Heb. אֶרֶז *ʾɛrɛz*), fauna (e.g., Samoan *nāmeri* 'leopard' < Heb. נָמֵר *nāmēr*), precious stones (e.g., Samoan *pereketa* 'emerald' < Heb. בָּרֶקֶת *bārɛqɛṯ*), weights and measures (e.g., Samoan *sekeli* < Heb. שֶׁקֶל *šɛqɛl*), and constellations (e.g., Samoan *kīsila* 'Orion' < Heb. כְּסִיל *kəsīl*). The Polynesian biblical translations had a profound influence on the respective languages, in no small part because until well into the 20th century the Bible was the only written material to which much of the population had access in most Polynesian islands. Even so, the great majority of the borrowed Hebrew words are found only in their biblical contexts, and did not actually make their way into the spoken language. This is usually because the Hebrew words referred to foreign or outdated biblical concepts (e.g., ancient weights and measures), or flora, fauna, and other materials unknown in the Polynesian islands. In some cases, the biblical loans were simply replaced by native terms, by subsequent loans from modern languages, or by a combination of both. For example, where biblical Samoan has *takesa* 'dolphin' < Heb. תַּחַשׁ *taḥaš* (e.g., Num. 4.10), modern Samoan uses the native term *mumua*; where biblical Samoan has *kofi* 'ape, monkey' < Heb. קוֹף *qōp̄* (e.g., 1 Kgs 10.22), modern Samoan uses *manuki* (< English *monkey*); and where biblical Tahitian has *sumi* 'garlic' < Heb. שׁוּם *šūm* (Num. 11.5), modern Tahitian uses *ʻoniāni piropiro* 'stinky onion' (< English *onion* + native *piropiro*).

Some words of Hebrew origin did enter the spoken languages, however. For example, one Hebrew word that was incorporated into spoken Samoan is *limoni* or *limogi* [limoŋi] 'pomegranate' (biblical Samoan *rimoni*, e.g., Deut. 8.8) < Heb. רִמּוֹן *rimmōn*. Hebrew words fully incorporated into Tahitian include *ʻoire* 'town, city' < Heb. עִיר *ʿīr; melahi/mērahi* 'angel' < Heb. מַלְאָךְ *malʾāḵ*; *medebara* 'desert' < Heb. מִדְבָּר *miḏbār*; *ture* '(a) law, rule' < Heb. תּוֹרָה *tōrā*. (At least *ʻoire* and *ture* are also current in Rarotongan, nowadays often called Cook Islands Maori). Other loanwords are connected to religion, e.g., Samoan *(āso) sāpati* 'Sabbath', Tahitian and Rarotongan *tāpati* (biblical Tahitian/Rarotongan *sapati*) 'Sunday' < Heb. שַׁבָּת *šabbāṯ*; and Samoan *Sātani*, Tahitian *Tātane* (biblical Tahitian *Satani*) 'Satan, devil' < Heb.

שָׂטָן *śāṭān*. These religious terms might equally be considered loans from English, though their ultimate source is Hebrew (as is Samoan *rapi* 'rabbi').

An occasionally encountered folk etymology notwithstanding, the well-known Hawaiian word *kahuna* 'priest' (often met in the English expression *big kahuna*) does not derive from Heb. כֹּהֵן *kōhēn* 'priest', but rather is from a native Polynesian lexeme **tafuŋa* 'priest; craftsman, expert' (cf. Samoan *tufuga*, Rarotongan *taunga*, Tahitian *tahu'a*).

The topic of Hebrew loans in Polynesian has received only very scant scholarly attention. Cain (1986) lists about seventy-five Hebrew loanwords in Samoan (not counting names of places, ethnic groups, and biblical months), but makes no distinction between biblical and modern Samoan; nearly all the Hebrew words he lists are confined to the Bible and are unknown to most contemporary native speakers. Davies (1851) has an appendix of foreign loanwords in Tahitian, including about 215 Hebrew words, but the list is of no use in determining which words are in current use; an expanded version of the same list (about 260 words) appears in Vernier (1948:74–77). Nicole (1988) contains some discussion of the method used by translators of the Bible in Tahiti.

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Hebrew of Popular Music

Hebrew secular popular music first emerged with the rise of national sentiments among Jews in the 1880s. The nation-building efforts of the Jewish national movement was accompanied by a project of transforming Hebrew into a spoken language, to be used by the emergent speech community for all its communication needs. All realms of endeavor, including popular culture, had to be catered to. The creation of songs was an integral component of this general trend.

Two main phases may be observed in the evolution of Hebrew popular music (Regev & Seroussi 2004). Between the 1880s and the 1960s the field was dominated by music which consciously reflected and supported the hegemonic Zionist ideology. This tradition, named by musicologists שירי ארץ ישראל *šire ʾEreṣ Yisraʾel* 'Songs of the Land of Israel' (henceforce SLI), is characterized by a relatively uniform language, anchored in the literary and classical registers of Hebrew. From the late 1960s popular music was transformed under the influence of foreign models, primarily rock and Oriental music. The transformation affected all aspects of songs, from melodies and performance style to content and textual organization. From a linguistic viewpoint, the poetic language of the former period was supplemented by texts reflecting the spoken language of everyday life. Since then the relative uniformity of the earlier period has been replaced by greater variability: lyrics have drawn on all linguistic layers and all stylistic varieties of Hebrew, from biblical to modern, from the poetic to the colloquial.

The linguistic study of Hebrew popular music has so far focused on the early phases of its evolution, primarily on the SLI tradition. Other varieties of songs have not yet been described.

In the first phase of the evolution of the SLI tradition, namely in the composition of non-religious Hebrew songs in general, an attempt was made to create Hebrew counterparts to the traditional folksongs in European cultures. Hebrew folksongs were deemed essential for the construction of a Jewish identity based on national rather than religious sentiments (Regev & Seroussi 2004:50–51).

Initially, songs were created by adapting known melodies from the European repertoire to available Hebrew poetic texts. The best-known example of this practice is the song התקווה *Ha-tiqva* 'the Hope', based on a poem by Naftali Hertz Imber and set to music in multiple versions, eventually to become Israel's national

anthem (Shahar 2006:37–46). The initial phase in the evolution of the SLI tradition thus had no unique characteristics of its own, but reflected the pseudo-biblical style of the *Haskalah* and *Ḥibbat Ṣiyon* poetry on which it was based (→ Maskilic Hebrew, → Meliṣa).

The pronunciation of Hebrew songs during this phase deserves some attention. In principle, the Ashkenazi penultimate stress of the period's poetry dominated SLI songs. However, melodic constraints occasionally imposed ultimate stress, primarily at the end of lines (Reshef 2004a:79–81). This occasionally resulted in peculiar stress patterns, unlike any pronunciation tradition of Hebrew. התקווה *Ha-tiqva* for instance, is accentuated differently in Imber's original poem and in the sung version (stressed syllables are indicated by underlining):

Original Ashkenazi prosody: *kol ʿod ba-levav penima*
Sung version: *kol ʿod ba-levav penima*

According to traditional Hebrew grammar *levav* has stress on the ultimate syllable (*milraʿ*) and *penima* has stress on the penultimate syllable (*milʿel*). Imber's prosody places the stress in both cases on the penultimate syllable, in conformity with the Ashkenazi pronunciation. In the sung version, only *levav* retains the penultimate stress, whereas the accentuation of *penima* is transformed by the melody, depriving it of the penultimate stress expected according to the rules of grammar and the Ashkenazi pronunciation alike. The same pattern recurs throughout the song. The sung version thus has unusual stress, with all final words receiving ultimate stress. This includes several words despite belonging to penultimate grammatical categories, namely פנימה *penima*, קדימה *qadima*, תקוותנו *tikvatenu*, אלפיים *ʾalpayim*, and ירושלים *yerušalayim*.

A new phase in the development of the SLI genre began with the gradual immigration of writers and composers to Palestine during the first half of the 20th century. Local song-writing activity took place since the onset of the century, but the golden era of the SLI tradition was between the 1920s and the1940s (Shahar 2006:79–88). In those years, writers and composers endeavored to form a canon of songs intended for communal singing that would reflect the special experience of Jewish life in Palestine. Songs were considered an important educational and ideological tool, and so the Zionist organizations were extensively involved in the creation and dissemination of songs in Palestine and abroad, orally and through printed song collections (שירונים *šironim*).

Operating now in an environment influenced by the attempts to transform Hebrew into a spoken language, the field of songwriting was freed from its former dependence on poetry, and developed textual and linguistic characteristics of its own. The revolutions that Hebrew poetry underwent in the 1890s (the Bialik-Tshernichovsky generation) and in the 1930s (the Shlonsky-Alterman generation) were only partially reflected in the field of song, and clear differences emerged between the two genres.

The linguistic character of the pre-1948 SLI tradition can be defined by three main trends: (1) An extensive reliance on biblical material, both textually and linguistically. Biblical vocabulary, phraseology and grammar were extensively exploited by writers, and biblical verses were often integrated in the texts, either by verbatim quotation or by paraphrasing. (2) An abstention from elements reflecting contemporary usage, primarily its spoken and non-normative varieties. Loan words and colloquial elements were rarely employed, and vocabulary and grammar of lyrics reflected mainly the inventory of previous linguistic layers. Consequently, lyrics bore almost no trace of the great transformation undergone by Hebrew with the rise of the speech community. (3) A preference for elevated usages over their standard, stylistically-neutral alternatives. Syntactic and morphological phenomena identified with the literary and classical layers of Hebrew abounded, and the vocabulary tended to be rich and elaborate, featuring rare lexical items and a wealth of synonyms from the literary registers of Hebrew. These trends applied to all song types—original and translated, for adults and for children—and resulted in a textual corpus characterized by a uniform, archaizing and stylistically-elevated language (Reshef 2001, 2003, 2004a, 2004b).

In the realm of prosody, songs preceded poetry in the transition from the Ashkenazi pronunciation to the grammatical stress used in speech. In fact, certain poets used songwriting

to experiment with grammatical stress prior to its introduction into poetry (Halperin 1997:17–18). Thus, when poetry started to shift to the new pronunciation system in the late 1920s, the employment of grammatical stress was already an established fact in the field of song (Reshef 2004a:84–85).

The transition to grammatical stress should be attributed to the perception of songs as an indispensable tool for the dissemination of Hebrew. In order to promote correct language use, preference was given in Palestine from an early stage for reliance on the rules of grammar rather than on former poetic habits. The contribution of composers to this shift was as central as that of lyricists, as they intentionally set lyrics to music according to the grammatical stress, regardless of a text's original prosody. Thus, for instance, all of Bialik's nursery rhymes, written according to the Ashkenazi pronunciation, were given melodic interpretations that transformed them to the grammatical stress (Reshef & Wagner 2008).

Yet, the shift to the new pronunciation system in the field of song was not complete. Many songs retained their original Ashkenazi stress, or alternated between the two pronunciation systems (Reshef 2004a:81–83). Consequently, popular music is still to this day one of the sole domains of contemporary culture that preserve some trace of the Ashkenazi pronunciation system.

A totally different type of song developed between the 1920s and the 1940s in the entertainment industry of the city of Tel Aviv. As opposed to the songs of the ideologically-laden SLI tradition, entertainment songs were created for short-term performance by professional actors and singers in commercial theaters (Regev & Seroussi 2004:71–80). Aimed at amusing a paying audience, the lyrics of these songs were not limited to the literary registers of the language, but were extensively dotted with stylistically-marked elements such as foreign words, proper names, colloquial elements, neologisms and plays on words (Reshef 2008). In these texts deviations from standard literary Hebrew fulfilled an ornamental function. The unexpected mixture of stylistically incompatible elements in the lyrics contributed to the amusing effect sought after in songs written for entertainment.

Beginning in the late 1940s the SLI tradition began to evince some openness towards colloquial elements, primarily through songs written for army song troupes before and after independence. Popular music did not follow poetry in its transition to prosaic, simple language from the mid-1950s on, but continued to be based on poetic models. Yet songs written in the 1950s and 1960s were marked by greater contact with contemporary language. A new generation of songwriters, mostly native speakers of Hebrew, substituted the archaizing linguistic style of their predecessors with more up-to-date usage. The moderate literariness of their texts differed fundamentally from the markedly elevated style, sprinkled with rare and obsolete words and forms, which had dominated the SLI tradition hitherto. The biblical component turned in their work from a central building block to a mere decorative element, and their lyrics were garnished with occasional borrowing from colloquial Hebrew as well as from well-known traditional texts (Ostrovsky 2007; Sovran 2007; Reshef 2007, 2008).

From the late 1960s on, a general transformation occurred in the field of popular music. The relative uniformity that characterized its development hitherto was replaced by a diversity of styles, and the coexistence of contrasting trends resulted in great variability. With the penetration of rock music into Israeli culture, writers began to turn to colloquial language as their main source of inspiration. Consequently, substandard forms and phenomena common in speech, but regarded as grammatically wrong by normative standards, came to occur with increasing frequency in song lyrics. At the same time, a greater reliance than before on poetry has also characterized the field. A project initiated in the 1970s by one of Israel's leading radio stations, entitled ערב שירי משוררים *ʿerev šire mešorerim* ('an evening of poets' songs'), promoted the creation of popular songs based on lyrics taken from poetry. The project's great success encouraged the continued creation of songs in this manner, and hundreds of songs based on modern and traditional poetic texts have joined the repertory of popular music since the 1970s. As a result, contemporary popular music seems to offer some representation of all layers of Hebrew. Still, the detailed mapping of the field requires further research.

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Kurdistan, Pronunciation Traditions of Hebrew

The Jewish communities of Kurdistan, who spoke dialects of Jewish Neo-Aramaic, had a variety of traditions of pronouncing Hebrew when reading Hebrew texts or when using Hebrew loanwords in their speech (unless otherwise specified, references to Hebrew pronunciation below will refer to both types of use). The pronunciation of Hebrew vowels and consonants differed, in various degrees, from place to place, as did the sounds in the Jews' Neo-Aramaic dialects. In particular, the Western Kurdistan group of dialects is to be distinguished from the Eastern Kurdistan group.

1. Western Kurdistan (Iraq-Turkey)

CONSONANTS. Some consonants were articulated identically in Hebrew and Jewish Neo-Aramaic, while others were quite different. For example, in Zakho interdental *ḏ* and *ṯ* were pronounced *z* and *s* respectively in both Hebrew and in the local Jewish New-Aramaic dialect, e.g., Hebrew *yaz* < *yaḏ* 'hand', Neo-Aramaic *ʾīza* (Interestingly enough, the distinct pronunciation of the two consonants was fully (e.g., Nerwa, Dehok) or partly (in Amidya *ḏ* > *d*) maintained in nearby Neo-Aramaic dialects). However, *ḇ* in Zakho was pronounced *v* in Hebrew but *w* in Neo-Aramaic, e.g., *ksa᷄wa* 'writing, letter' < *k-ṯ-ḇ*; similarly *ḥ* and *ʿ* were retained in Hebrew but shifted to *x* and *ʾ*, respectively, in Neo-Aramaic, e.g. *xamša* 'five', *ʾ-w-r* 'to pass', but (loanwords) *ḥammaš* 'Pentateuch' (Hebrew *ḥummáš*), *ʿave᷄ra* 'transgression' (Hebrew עֲבֵרָה *ʿăḇērā᷄*).

Some other Hebrew consonants also deserve comment:

bet was pronounced *b* or *v* according to the Hebrew rules of *bgdkpt*, but also rarely *b* instead of *v* in loanwords: *ṭabi᷄la* 'mikveh' , *ṭ-b-l* 'to dip, to bathe in a ritual bath', probably a loan from the Judeo-Arabic dialect of Baghdad (in which Hebrew *v* was pronounced b). *v* was also occasionally realized as *f* (before an unvoiced consonant): *Ṛıfqa* 'Rebeccah' (Hebrew רִבְקָה *Riḇqā᷄*).

Hebrew *gimel* was pronounced *g* (plosive) or *ġ* (fricative) according to the rules of bgdkpt, e.g., loanword *ʿaġa᷄la*, reading *haġʿāla᷄* (Hebrew הַגְעָלָה *haḡʿā᷄lā᷄*) 'purification of utensils for Passover'. The ususal reflex of fricative *gimel* in the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Zakho, however, is *ʾ* (glottal stop), e.g., *šrāʾa* < Old Aramaic *šrāġā*.

heh was often omitted in pairs: *rıššа᷄na* 'New Year' (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה *rōš haš-šā᷄nā᷄*); *yıṣrara᷄ʿ* 'the evil inclination' (יֵצֶר הָרַע *yēṣer hā᷄-raʿ*).

waw was pronounced *w*. The conjunction *w-* was often omitted in hendiadys or fixed pairs: *ʾahava-šalo᷄m* 'love and peace, good relations'; cf. Neo-Aramaic *gōra-baxta* 'husband-and-wife, married'.

ṭet was pronounced as emphatic *ṭ*.

kaf was pronounced *k* or *x* according to the *bgdkpt* rules. Loanwords exhibit occasional deviations: *xıšu᷄f* 'sorcery' (Hebrew כִּשּׁוּף *kiššūp̄*).

samekh was occasionally realized as *z* in loanwords: *ḥāzušālōm* (חָס וְשָׁלוֹם *ḥa͏̆s wə-ša͏̆lōm*) 'God forbid'; *gazrúaʿ* (גַּס רוּחַ *gas rūaḥ*) 'crude person'.

peh was pronounced *p* or *f* according to the *bgkpt* rules: *paráša* (פָּרָשָׁה *pa͏̆rša͏̆*) 'weekly portion of the Pentateuch', *hafṭára* (הַפְטָרָה *hapṭa͏̆rā͏̆*) 'weekly reading from the Prophets', with occasional exceptions in loanwords: *ḥınúfa* 'flattery' (Hebrew חֲנֻפָּה *ḥănuppā͏̆*).

ṣade was pronounced as emphatic *ṣ*. Occasionally it was de-emphaticized: *haʿés* '(blessing over the fruit of) a tree'.

In the Neo-Aramaic dialect of Zakho consonant gemination has disappeared in some old nominal formations, e.g. *qaṭála* 'killer' (Old Aramaic *qaṭṭālā*), but some new geminations have arisen as well, e.g. *šımma* 'name' (Old Aramaic *šəmā*). In Hebrew reading and loanwords consonant gemination is usually retained: *šammáš* 'synagogue caretaker', *ḥammáš* 'Pentateuch, book', *gabbáy* 'synagogue treasurer'; there is some innovative gemination as well, mostly in loanwords: *ḥızzáq u-bárux* (Hebrew חֲזַק וּבָרוּךְ *ḥăzaq ʾu-ḇa͏̆rūḵ*) '(be) strong, bravo!'; *šáṭṭar* (Hebrew רָטַשׁ *šaṭa͏̆r*) 'document'; *kúmmar* (Hebrew כּוֹמֶר *kōmɛr*, כּוּמּוֹ *kūma͏̆ʷ*) 'Christian priest'; *šatti-ʿérev* (Hebrew שְׁתֵי וְעֵרֶב *šəṯē wə-ʿēreḇ*) 'cross' (cryptic use). The consonant *r* is sometimes geminated: *mışurrāʿ* 'leper; evil, angry person' (מְצוֹרָע *məṣōrā͏̆ʿ*).

In the Zakho dialect some Hebrew loanwords lost their final consonant: *ṣíṣi* (Hebrew צִיצִית *ṣīṣīṯ*) 'prayer shawl'; *ḥēn-u-ḥēs(ed)* (Hebrew חֵן וְחֶסֶד *ḥēn wə͏̆-ḥesḏ*) 'graceful act, charisma'. Other Hebrew loanwords were emphaticized to differentiate them from native homonyms: *ṭōṛa* 'torah' vs. plain *tōra* 'bull'; *g-z-ṛ* 'to decree (against Jews)' vs. *g-z-r* 'to circumcise'. Occasionally metathesis is found: *xāḥām* (Hebrew חָכָם *ḥa͏̆ḵa͏̆m*) 'sage, rabbi'.

VOWELS. The pronunciation of the vowels was quite similar to the so-called Sephardic pronunciation: Both *ṣere* and *seghol* were pronounced *e*; *ḥolem* (*o*) and *shureq* (*u*) were at times almost identical, as is also the case in Jewish Neo-Aramaic vocalized texts, where *ḥolem* and *shureq* are often used interchangeably. *Qameṣ* was pronounced *a* like *pataḥ* (and *ḥaṭeph pataḥ*). *Ḥaṭeph qameṣ* was pronounced *o: qodašīm* (Hebrew קֳדָשִׁים *qo͏̆ḏa͏̆šīm*) 'holy things'. *Qameṣ* preceding a guttural with *ḥaṭeph qameṣ* was pronounced *a*: *ṣahorāyim* (צָהֳרַיִם *ṣa͏̆hŏrayim*) 'noon'. *Shewa* was often *a*, but at times *ı*: *Šalomo* (שְׁלֹמֹה *Šəlōmō*) 'Solomon', *Šamuʾēl* (שְׁמוּאֵל *Šəmuʾēl* 'Samuel'), *našáma/ nišama* (נְשָׁמָה *nəša͏̆mā͏̆*) 'soul'. In the Nerwa Texts (17th century) there are spellings that reflect a shift *a* > *o*: קרבון, אסחוק, פנחוס i.e. *qorbon* (קָרְבָּן *qårba͏̆n*) 'sacrifice', *Pınḥos* (פִּנְחָס *Pinḥa͏̆s*) 'Phineas', and *ʾIsḥoq* (יִצְחָק *Yiṣḥa͏̆q*) 'Isaac', respectively. Other exceptional cases were *ʾevaddón* (אֲבַדּוֹן *ʾăḇaddōn*) 'hell', *gehınnám* (גֵּיהִנֹּם *gēhinnōm*) 'hell'; *ʾımúna/ʾamúna* (אֱמוּנָה *ʾĕmūnā͏̆*) 'faith, trust"; *ḥámmaš* (< חֻמָּשׁ *ḥummā͏̆š*) '(any Jewish) book'; *ḥáṣi* (חֲצִי *ḥăṣī*) 'half' (cryptic); *mıbbúl mıššamáyim* (מַבּוּל מִשָּׁמַיִם *mabbūl miš-ša͏̆mayim*) 'flood from heaven, torrential rain'.

An important difference between the pronunciation when reading Hebrew texts and that of Hebrew loanwords in Neo-Aramaic was the position of the stress. Normally, final stress was retained in Hebrew reading, but became penultimate in loanwords (most of which ended in–*a*), and Hebrew proper names, e.g. *tašúva* (תְּשׁוּבָה *təšūḇā͏̆*) 'repentence' (loanword) versus *tašūvá* (reading); *Ṣára* (שָׂרָה *śa͏̆rā͏̆*) 'Sarah' (name in use) versus *Sārá* (reading); *Šálom* (שָׁלוֹם *ša͏̆lōm*) 'Shalom' (name) versus *šālóm* 'peace' in reading; *Náḥum* (נָחוּם *Na͏̆ḥūm*) 'Naḥum'. Other examples of loanwords with penultimate stress are *bárux xábba* (בָּרוּךְ הַבָּא *ba͏̆rūḵ habba͏̆*) 'welcome!', *bárux ʾátta* (בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה *ba͏̆rūḵ ʾatta͏̆*) 'Thank you! Be blessed you too!' However, plural forms and some singulars ending with a consonant had final stress also in loawords: *ḥaxamím* (חֲכָמִים *ḥăḵa͏̆mīm*) 'rabbis, sages', *ʿawonós* (עֲוֹנוֹת *ʿăwōnōṯ*) 'iniquities'.

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Lexicon of Modern Hebrew

The lexicon of Modern Hebrew is composed of native Hebrew words from all language periods and of loanwords. In the first part of this entry the lexical components of Hebrew will be described. This is followed by a discussion of

the linguistic principles used in the most recent Modern Hebrew lexicons.

1. The Hebrew component

The Hebrew words listed in Even-Shoshan's Modern Hebrew dictionary show the following distribution with respect to their initial appearance in the language: 22% of the words are first attested in Biblical Hebrew, 21% in Rabbinical Hebrew, 17% in Medieval Hebrew), and approximately 40% in Modern Hebrew (Even-Shoshan 1970:3062). However, in Modern Hebrew texts the distribution of word occurrences according to their initial attestation is different: 65% are from Biblical Hebrew, 16% from Rabbinic Hebrew, 5% from Medieval Hebrew and only about 14% are Modern Hebrew words (Sivan 1980:27).

Sarfatti (1990) also examined various Modern Hebrew texts to determine how many of the words originated in which historical era. His analysis took three components of each lexical item into consideration: root, orthography and meaning. The examples which he gives are סבלות *sabalut* 'porterage/moving' and טלוויזיה *ṭelevízya* 'television'; both of these are considered Modern Hebrew words, but whereas the word *sabalut* is derived from the biblical root *s-b-l* and pattern $CaC_iC_iåC$ (*sabbăl* 'porter; mover') with the new addition of *-ut*, the abstract noun suffix, *ṭelevízya* is a Modern Hebrew loanword. After reviewing the words in three texts (a story, a newspaper article and a philosophical essay), he also found that all three components in the majority of words in all genres are derived from the classical language, predominately Biblical Hebrew. The number of words in which at least one of the components has been innovated in Modern Hebrew ranges from 7% in the newspaper article to 22% in the philosophical essay.

The prevalence of Biblical Hebrew words and roots in Modern Hebrew texts is due to a number of factors: 1. Many of the lexical items in Biblical Hebrew are basic Hebrew words that remained in use in all the language periods that followed, items such as copulas, basic verbs and nouns and adverbs, as well as numbers, prepositions, pronouns, and other conjunctives. 2. Due to religious practice, Jews have been familiar with substantial portions of the Bible. They read portions of the Pentateuch and chapters of the Prophets every week, and the five biblical scrolls on holidays. Furthermore, they also knew some parts of the Mishna and the classical literature (including prayers) through routine reading. Words originating in that era prevailed in their speech during the revival of the language in Israel and continue to be used today. 3. Biblical Hebrew and Rabbinic Hebrew served as classical models during the revival of the language for both ideological and normative reasons. 4. Because Modern Hebrew arose from a rather fossilized literary language, the classical words did not undergo the substantial number of changes in form and meaning that would have been expected at the normal pace that languages generally change over such an extended period.

Here are a few examples of words from each language period:

> (1) Biblical Hebrew: הָיָה *hăyă* 'be', עָשָׂה *ʿăśă* 'do', נָתַן *năṯan* 'give', הָלַךְ *hălaḵ* 'go', עָמַד *ʿămaḏ* 'stand', הִבִּיט *hibbīṭ* 'look', עָזַב *ʿăzaḇ* 'leave'; אִישׁ *ʾīš* 'man', יֶלֶד *yeleḏ* 'boy', בֵּן *ben* 'son', יָד *yāḏ* 'hand', בַּיִת *báyiṯ* 'house, home', אִשָּׁה *ʾiššā* 'woman', חַלּוֹן *ḥallōn* 'window'; פֹּה *pō* 'here', אֶתְמוֹל *ʾeṯmōl* 'yesterday', אוּלַי *ʾūlay* 'maybe'; אֶחָד *ʾeḥāḏ* 'one'; -הַ *ha-* 'the', -וְ *wə-* 'and', אֶת *ʾeṯ* 'ACC marker', -בְּ *bə-* 'at', מִן *min* 'from', etc.
>
> (2) Rabbinic Hebrew: התחיל *hitḥil* 'begin', סיכן *sikken* 'endanger', אבא *ʾabba* 'father', אמא *ʾimma* 'mother'; לקוח *laqoaḥ* 'client, buyer', קרון *qaron* 'wagon', של *šel* 'of', צריך *ṣarix* 'need to'.
>
> (3) Medieval Hebrew: אקלים *ʾaqlim* 'climate', הנדסה *handasa* 'geometry', קוטר *qóṭer* 'diameter', תשר *tešer* 'gift, tip', etc.
>
> (4) Modern Hebrew: רכבת *rakévet* 'train', צפר *ṣafar* 'whistle', תחנה *taχana* 'station', רציף *reṣif* 'platform', עיתון *ʿiton* 'newspaper', מילון *milon* 'dictionary', שעון *šaʿon* 'watch, clock' (from עת *ʿet* 'time', מילה *mila* 'word', and שעה *šaʿa* 'hour', respectively), עגבנייה *ʿagvaniya* 'tomato', עיפרון *ʿiparon* 'pencil', קטר *qaṭar* 'steam engine', מסעדה *misʿada* 'restaurant', מטבח *miṭbaχ* 'kitchen', כביש *kviš* 'paved road', מדרכה *midraxa* 'sidewalk', בובה *buba* 'doll', פרפר *parpar* 'butterfly'.

Modern Hebrew has been greatly enriched by many Hebrew words innovated in different linguistic periods. In Rabbinic and Medieval

Hebrew some common words differ from their counterparts in Biblical Hebrew, providing Modern Hebrew with a potential inventory of many pairs of synonymous words. The following are examples of such synonyms, the first from Biblical and the second from Rabbinic Hebrew: שמש חמה—*šémeš—xama* 'sun', לבנה ירח—*yaréax—levana* 'moon', —אילן עץ *ʿeṣ—ʾilan* 'tree', תכשיט עדי—*ʿadi—taxšiṭ* 'jewel', כיצד איך—*ʾex—ke(y)ṣad* 'how', —תינוק ילד *yéled—tinoq* 'boy', כך כה—*ko—kax* 'so', כרס בטן—*béṭen—kéres* 'belly', etc. (Bendavid (1967:3)). In some of the pairs a semantic differentiation exists in Modern Hebrew; thus, e.g. *tinoq* is a baby (derived from the root *ynq* with the basic meaning 'suckle') vs. *yéled* 'child', and *béṭen* is the neutral name for belly, whereas *kéres* is the derogative potbelly. Members of other pairs are distinguished by register; thus *šémeš*, *yaréax*, *ʿeṣ*, *taxšiṭ*, *ʾex* and *kax* are used in the common, all-purpose registers, whereas *xama*, *levana*, *ʾilan*, *ʿadi*, *ke(y)ṣad* and *ko* are more literary and formal.

The word גשם *géšem* meaning 'body' (coined through Arabic influence) in Medieval Hebrew replaced the word גוף *guf* of Rabbinic Hebrew. In Biblical Hebrew *géšem* meant 'rain', and this is the meaning used in Modern Hebrew. But the medieval adjectival derivative גשמי *gašmi* 'tangible, palpable', from *géšem*, has prevailed in Modern Hebrew, in a sense which is distinct from גופני *gufani* 'physical', derived from *guf*. From the basic Medieval Hebrew meaning other words were derived from the same root, such as הגשים *higšim* 'implemented' and הגשמה *hagšama* 'fulfillment'. The Biblical Hebrew word מטר *maṭar* 'rain', synonymous with Biblical Hebrew גשם *géšem*, is only used in high registers in Modern Hebrew. The words *ʾaqlim, handasa*, *qóṭer* (in 3) and others were also coined in Medieval Hebrew as loan adaptations from Arabic, and are used in Modern Hebrew.

The largest number of non-biblical words was invented in Modern Hebrew, as the figures in the lexicon show (40%).

The following are some of the principles and ways according to which new words are created:

1. The classical sources are searched for suitable words; thus, e.g., חשמל *xašmal*, אקדח *ʾeqdax* and תותח *totax* are *hapax legomena* in Biblical Hebrew and their meanings are uncertain; they have been adopted into Modern Hebrew with the meanings 'electricity', 'pistol' and 'cannon', respectively. The word תשר *téšer*, used in Medieval Hebrew for 'gift', today denotes 'tip'.

2. There are two dominant derivational techniques: combining a consonantal (mostly biblical) root with a pattern, and linear affixation. The words *rakévet*, *ṣafar, taxana, reṣif, ʿiparon, qaṭar, misʿada, ʿagvaniya, mitbax, kviš* and *midraxa* in (4) were formed by root and pattern combinations, whereas *ʿiton*, *milon*, *šaʿon* as well as *ʿagvaniya* were formed by linear affixation (→ Derivation, Word Formation).

3. Other Semitic languages, particularly Arabic and Aramaic, may provide roots or words; thus, e.g., רשמי 'formal' was formed based on Arabic *rásmi*; אבא *ʾába* 'father', אמא *ʾima* 'mother' in (2) and סבא *sába* 'grandfather' are loanwords from Aramaic.

4. In some loanwords the syllabic structure of Hebrew is maintained as much as possible, e.g. בובה *buba* (like סוכה *suka* 'tabernacle', cf. French *poupée*), מכונה *mexona* 'machine' (a Biblical Hebrew word, cf. Spanish *máquina*).

5. Compound constructions are avoided as much as possible; hence Maskilic neologisms such as תעודת מסע *teʿudat masa(ʿ)* (lit: certificate of travel), איש צבא *ʾiš ṣava* (lit: man of army), and בית נזירים *be(y)t nezirim* (lit: house of monks) were rejected and replaced by דרכון *darkon* 'passport', חייל *xayal* 'soldier', and מנזר *minzar* 'monastery', respectively.

These principles guide the Hebrew Language Academy (Bahat 1987; Bar Asher 1996; Ornan 1996) as well as non-official inventors of new words (many new words have been coined by ordinary people). For example, the word מהפך *mahpax* 'upheaval' (from the root *hpx* 'change' with pattern *miCCaC*~ *maGCaC*), for instance, was coined by a television broadcaster on Election Day in 1977, when the Labor party failed to gain a majority in the Knesset. The word תובנה *tovana* 'insight' (root *byn* 'understand', on the pattern of תוצאה *toṣaʾa* 'result', from the root *ycʾ*) was coined by professionals in the social sciences.

In Hebrew's long history words underwent semantic changes, as happens in any language. In Rabbinic Hebrew the word סנדלר *sandlar* was merely a proper name, while in Modern Hebrew it means a shoemaker, related to סנדל *sandal*. Biblical Hebrew אסר *ʾasar* 'tie' meant 'forbid' in Rabbinic Hebrew; in Modern Hebrew it has retained both previous meanings, and also means 'imprison'. Biblical Hebrew מגילה *megila* 'scroll' changed its meaning to 'the book of Esther (scroll)' in Rabbinic Hebrew; in Modern Hebrew the Biblical Hebrew meaning persists, but in colloquial usage the word has also taken on the meaning of 'a long and boring document'. The words חזון *xazon* and נבואה *nevuʾa* both mean 'prophecy' in Biblical Hebrew, while Modern Hebrew makes a distinction between *xazon* 'vision, foresight', a word with more positive connotations, and *nevuʾa* 'prophecy'. In Rabbinic Hebrew מלאכה *melaxa* meant 'labor' and עבודה *ʿavoda* meant '(divine) worship'. In Modern Hebrew both words refer to work: *melaxa* is 'craft, labor, something done physically', whereas *ʿavoda* is 'any kind of work, a job'. כנופיה *knufiya* in Rabbinic Hebrew meant 'a group of men'; in Modern Hebrew it means 'a gang, people joined for a sinister undertaking'. These are but a few examples (see Sarfatti 1978).

The Israeli army serves as a living laboratory for the study of lexical innovation. Army life has generated a special vocabulary typified by numerous acronyms, slang words and many lexical-semantic changes from the standard language. Here are a few examples: דפ"ר *dapar* is an acronym for דירוג פסיכוטכני ראשוני *derug psixoṭéxni rišoni* 'primary psychotechnical grading', a number given to every recruit; however, in slang usage it is a derogative noun meaning 'a person with a very low grading, idiot, imbecile'. ביזיונר *bizyoner* means someone who caused a ביזיון *bizayon* 'disgrace' in a military operation; חייל שוקולד *xayal šókolad* 'chocolate soldier' refers to a spoiled, weak soldier, who cannot fight; חמים וטעים *xamim ve-ṭaʿim* 'warm and tasty' is the Hebrew title of the American movie 'Some Like It Hot'. In military slang, it is a contemptuous expression for military food that is neither warm nor very tasty. The military lexicon, which has been described by a number of dictionaries (e.g. Ahiasaf et al. 1993; Eldar 1994), changes at a very rapid rate; however, its lexical formation rules and the semantic changes it undergoes are in keeping with the general standard lexicon of Modern Hebrew.

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Paradigm in Medieval Hebrew Grammatical Tradition

A paradigm is a systematically arranged example of the inflection of a noun, verb or other inflected part of speech. Paradigms were extensively used in the Greek, Syriac and Latin linguistic traditions but do not appear in Arabic grammatical writings before the 13th century C.E. The earliest known Hebrew paradigm was composed in the first half of the 10th century.

1. Verbal paradigms used by Rabbanite grammarians

The first Hebrew verbal paradigm is found in Saʿadya Gaon's grammar *Kitāb faṣīḥ luġat al-ʿibrāniyyīn*. Saʿadya presented a full paradigm of the root שמע *šmʿ* in *qal* and *hiphʿil* and provided each Hebrew form with an Arabic translation in the root סמע *smʿ*. The III-guttural root שמע *šmʿ* is a problematic choice for the presentation of a paradigm, since some of its forms differ from those of strong verbs. Yet spellings such as ms imperative הַשְׁמֵיעַ *hašmēaʿ*, with a strong verb pattern instead of the expected הַשְׁמַע *hašmaʿ*, demonstrate that Saʿadya's intention was to illustrate the inflection not specifically of III-guttural verbs but rather of the Hebrew verb in general, and perhaps of the Arabic verb as well. The root שמע *šmʿ* was apparently chosen because it is attested in the Bible in a very wide range of inflections, reducing the need to recover forms by analogy. Only the root שלח *šlḥ* is attested in a greater number of forms but, unlike שמע *šmʿ*, its Arabic translation does not correspond to it in form.

The forms in the paradigm are arranged in the order 1s, 1pl, 2ms, 2fs, 2mpl, 2fpl, 3ms, 3fs, 3mpl, 3fpl. For each person Saʿadya provided the past and the future form. In the second person the inventory of forms includes the imperative, which is inserted between the past

and the future. The list of uninflected forms (Judeo-Arabic בסאיט *basāʾiṭ* 'simple forms') is supplemented by a series of tables on combinations of every simple form with object suffixes (Judeo-Arabic מרכבאת *murakkabāt* 'compound forms'). The tables, as well as the pronominal suffixes, follow the above-given order of persons.

In the following centuries Rabbanite philologists in Spain were not interested in the paradigmatic aspect of verbal conjugation. It was only with the Kimḥis (second half of the 12th-beginning of the 13th century) that paradigms began to reappear in grammatical works. Verbal paradigms are the main content of *Mahalaḵ šeḇile had-daʿat* by Moše Kimḥi. Kimḥi introduced the use of the root פקד *pqd* in verbal paradigms, a practice followed for the next 600 years. According to his younger brother David Kimḥi, פקד *pqd* is the only verb attested in the Bible in all verbal stems excluding *poʿel*. In *Mahalaḵ*, Moše Kimḥi provided paradigms of strong verbs in all verbal stems. In each stem paradigms are given for the past, the active participle, the passive participle, the imperative, the infinitive, and the future. In the past the forms follow the order 3ms, 2ms, 1s, 3pl, 2mpl, 1pl, 3fs, 2fs, 2fpl. In the active participle, the passive participle and the imperative the arrangement is ms, mpl, fs, fpl. In the future the forms are given in the order of the prefixes איתן: 1s, 3ms, 2ms, 1pl, 3mpl, 2mpl, 3fs, 2fs, 2 and 3fpl (one form). Alternatives are provided to accommodate for variations in attested forms, e.g. ms imperative *qal* פְּקוֹד *pəqōḏ* or פְּקַד *pəqaḏ*, 3mpl past *niphʿal* נִפְקְדוּ *niḵpəḏū* or נִפְקָדוּ *niḵpāḏū*, 3ms past *piʿel* פִּקֵּד *piqqēḏ* or פִּקַּד *piqqaḏ*. Kimḥi also comments on phonetic changes in guttural verbs and I-sibilant roots in *hitpaʿel*. The strong paradigm is followed by paradigms of weak roots in affected stems. The part on the verbal conjugation ends with *qal* forms of פקד *pqd* with object suffixes which, according to the author's own words, are illustrative of similar formations in other stems. The forms are arranged as in the uninflected paradigm and the suffixes follow the order 3ms, 2ms, 1s, 3mpl, 2mpl, 1pl, 3fs, 2fs, 3fpl, 2fpl.

David Kimḥi continued his brother's practice of using the root פקד *pqd* in verbal paradigms. In his grammar book *Miḵlol* the material on verbal conjugation is arranged as follows. First comes the past paradigm of פקד *pqd* in *qal*. This is followed by the past, the active and passive participles, the infinitive absolute and the verbal noun of פקד *pqd*, with pronominal suffixes. Then comes the imperative, followed by the forms of the prefix conjugation. Lastly, the imperative and the forms of the prefix conjugation are listed in combination with pronominal suffixes. In all verbal categories the inventory and the order of forms correspond to those in *Mahalaḵ*. However, the forms are not simply listed as in the latter grammar, but are commented upon and exemplified by attested verbs. The *qal* paradigm is followed by a report on other verbal stems. In each stem the paradigm is preceded by a lengthy discussion of forms with multiple examples of attested verbs. In most stems paradigms are formulated for the relevant forms of the root פקד *pqd*. In *poʿel* שׁוֹפֵט *šōp̄ēṭ* is used, since forms of פּוֹקֵד *pōqēḏ* are not attested in the Bible. The paradigms follow the order of forms in the *qal* paradigm, i.e. past, active participle, passive participle, infinitive, verbal noun, and future, the latter comprising (a) the imperative and (b) the prefix conjugation forms. In the paradigms David Kimḥi mentions phonetic changes in guttural and pausal verb forms, but does not supply alternative verb forms, as these variations are treated in the initial discussion of a stem. In addition to paradigms of strong verbs, *Miḵlol* also contains a section on weak and geminated verbs where paradigms of various root types in relevant stems are provided and supplemented by lists of structurally identical roots. For some weak verb types, forms with pronominal suffixes are also given. The part on verbal conjugation is concluded with abridged paradigms of quadriliteral verbs.

A different paradigm root, פעל *pʿl*, is employed in a 13th century grammatical work of uncertain authorship, *Petaḥ Deḇaray*. This grammar contains paradigms using the root פעל *pʿl* in eight verbal stems, including the so-called quadriliteral *poʿel* (Hebrew פּוֹעֵל מְרוּבָּע *pōʿēl merubbaʿ*) which, in modern terms, subsumes quadriliteral, geminated and middle weak verbs in *piʿel*. Paradigms are given for the following categories: the past, the active participle, the passive participle, the imperative, the infinitive, and the future. The order of persons in all categories corresponds to that in Kimḥian grammars. Although alternative verb forms are given in some categories (e.g. ms imperative פְּעַל *pəʿal* and פְּעוֹל *pəʿōl*), showing that the

paradigms are intended to represent the inflection of different verbs, the guttural consonant in the paradigm root influenced the vocalization of some forms in *piʿel* and *hitpaʿel*, e.g. ms active participle מְפַעֵל (*məpāʿēl*), ms imperative פַּעֵל (*pāʿēl*), and 3ms past הִתְפַּעֵל (*hitpāʿēl*). The paradigms in each verbal stem are followed by explanatory remarks on the nature of the stem and its forms as well as examples of attested verbs. Then paradigms of weak verbs are provided. A special chapter in *Petaḥ Deḇaray* is dedicated to verbs with pronominal suffixes in the stems *qal*, *piʿel* and *hiphʿil*. The suffixes attached to the relevant forms of פעל *pʿl* follow the order described for *Mahalaḵ*.

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Phonology of Israeli Hebrew

1. Introduction

Phonology is the study of significantly distinct sounds (phonemes) in a language, their organization, and how they affect each other in context. Phonological analysis is based on phonetic data (articulatory as well as acoustic), and in turn serves as a basis for studying morphology, syntax, semantics/pragmatics, and of course orthography.

Thus, in describing the phonology of Israeli Hebrew, we first need to look at its phonemic inventory of consonants and vowels. Some speakers of 'Arabicized' Hebrew (see Blanc 1964 and elsewhere) still maintain the pharyngeal phonemes, and some subgroups preserve the dento-alveolar roll or flap. These are the main features of what is referred to as Mizraχi pronunciation. It is characteristic of the older generation, and is manifest mostly in the preservation of the pharyngeals *ḥ* and *ʿ*, and—rarely—the alveolar *r*. Very few speakers distinguish the uvular stop *q* from *k*. Younger native Mizraχi speakers who still maintain some of these features do not do so consistently. Regardless, it will be shown below that even though most speakers do not articulate *ḥet* or *ʿayin* as pharyngeals, these still have a residual effect on neighboring vowels. Generally speaking, Mizraχi and standard Ashkenazi pronunciations do not differ significantly.

2. Consonants

The consonant system of standard Israeli Hebrew is a 'compromise' of sorts between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi traditions of pronunciations of Hebrew. It is considerably simpler than that of Classical (Biblical or Mishnaic) Hebrew, since some of its consonantal phonemes (see Bolozky 1997; Schwarzwald 2001) represent more than one Classical Hebrew phoneme. Segments between angled brackets are only found in the phonemic inventory of relatively small segments of the Hebrew-speaking population; segments between round brackets occur only in loan words. Comments on mergers, changes and distribution are listed below the table.

Consonant inventory of Israeli Hebrew, ordered by place and manner of articulation:

Place/ Manner	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	*p b*		*t d*			*k g*			*ʾ*
Affricate			*t s*		*(č) (ǧ)*				
Fricative		*f v*	*s z*	*š (ž)*			*x* <ʁ>	<*ḥ*> <ʿ>	*h*
Nasal Stop	*m*		*n*						
Lateral			*l*						
Trill			<*r*>				<*R*>		
Approximant	*(w)*		<ɹ>		*y*		ʁ		

dento-alveolar fricative *s̟* (צ *tsadi*) is replaced by the corresponding non-emphatic affricate *ts*, and the lateral dento-alveolar fricative *ś* (שׂ *sin*) merges with is non-lateral counterpart *s*. Except for the Mizraχi subgroups that still maintain the pharyngeals, the voiceless pharyngeal fricative *ḥ* (ח *ḥet*) merges with the voiceless uvular fricative *χ*, the post-vocalic allophone of *k* (כ *kaf rafa*); its voiced counterpart *ʿ* (ע *ʿayin*) merges with *ʾ*, and is ultimately realized as zero, like *ʾ*. Classical *r* is realized in a variety of ways (→ Resh in Modern Hebrew). Its commonest manifestation in Israeli Hebrew is as a uvular approximant, *ʁ*, but some speakers pronounce it as a uvular fricative; others (especially Mizraχi, but not only) articulate a dento-alveolar trill *r* or approximant *ɹ*, or even a uvular trill *R* (see Laufer 2008; Schwarzwald 2001). For convenience, it will be represented throughout as *r*. *w* (ו *waw=vav*) merges with *v*, the post-vocalic allophone of *b* (ב *bet rafa*). It should also be noted that the geminates of Classical Hebrew have been degeminated (i.e., are no longer long). The phonotactics of Israeli Hebrew are discussed in Cohen-Gross's entry on the syllable (→ Syllabic Structure of Modern Hebrew). See also Rosén (1957), Laufer (1991), Cohen-Gross (1997), Schwarzwald (2001, 2004).

3. Vowels

The seven Tiberian Hebrew vowel phonemes (plus *šəwa* allophones), which were probably distinguished by quality rather than quantity, have been reduced to a simpler system in Israeli Hebrew: *e* (*ṣere*), *ɛ* (*seghol*), *shewa* and *ɛ̆* (*χataf seghol*) all merge with *ɛ* (which for convenience will be represented as *e*); *a* (*pataχ*), *ɔ* (*ā*) (*qamaṣ*) and *ă* (*χataf pataχ*) merge into *a*; and *χataf qamaṣ* and the so-called *qamaṣ qatan* are realized as *o*. The *o* of Israeli Hebrew is close to *ɔ*, though articulated higher. The result is a five vowel phoneme system—*i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, *u*—which combines the Ashkenazi and Sephardi traditions. But unlike the situation with the consonants, where the less complex Ashkenazi inventory generally took over (with the notable exception of the pronunciation *t* for ת *tav rafa*, and not *s*), with the vowels the simpler Sephardi system prevailed on the whole—the main exception being the loss of the *shewa mobile* in certain environments.

Diphthongs: When two consecutive vowels occur without an intervening consonant, there is often no clear boundary between them in connected speech. If they belong to a single syllable, the sequence is referred to as a diphthong: די *dáil/day* 'enough', גוי *góil/goy* 'gentile'. Diphthongs have been claimed to constitute separate phonemes (Rosén 1957:171–174; Schwarzwald 2001:8-9); Laufer (2008:205–213) feels that Hebrew has no true diphthongs. The subject is treated in detail in a separate entry (cross reference).

4. Stress

Israeli Hebrew stress is also discussed in a separate entry (cross reference). Briefly, in native (and nativized) Hebrew words, stress is normally word-final; when a suffix is appended, stress usually shifts to it: חלון *χalón* ~ חלונות *χalonót* 'windows'. Several well-defined groups of native words have penultimate stress, such as the large group of segolate nouns (כלב *kélev* 'dog', תזמורת *tizmóret* 'orchestra'); for detailed lists see Bolozky (1997), Schwarzwald (1990, 2002 Ch. 7). Penultimate stress also appears in some words with inflectional suffixes, whose uninflected forms have final stress which does not shift to the suffix, which suggests that stress is fixed/stable (see Rosén 1957; Podolsky 1981, 1991; Melčuk and Podolsky 1996; Bat-El 1993). This applies to some sub-classes of verb forms (as in ישב *yašáv* 'he sat' ~ ישבתי *yašávti* 'I sat'), loan words (בנק *bánq* ~ בנקים *bánqim*), acronyms (מנכ"ל *mankál* 'general manager' ~ מנכ"לים *mankálim*), game words (*qláfim* קלפים 'card game' versus *qlafím* 'cards'), some gentilic terms and residents of geographical locations (שוודיה *švédya* 'Sweden' ~ שוודי *švédi* 'Swedish', תל-אביב *tel'avív* 'Tel Aviv' ~ תל-אביבי *tel'avívi* 'resident of Tel Aviv'), etc.

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Shibboleth

The English word *shibboleth* has its origins in an episode narrated in Judg. 12.1–6. The story there revolves around the Hebrew word שִׁבֹּלֶת *šibbōleṯ*, meaning both 'ear of grain' and 'flow,

stream, torrent' (15× and 4×, respectively, in the Bible). In Judg. 12.6 the form סִבֹּלֶת *sibbōleṯ* occurs as well, alongside the standard form of the noun. The use of both forms in this verse is prime evidence for the existence of regional dialects in ancient Hebrew, at least in the realm of phonology (in this case, a dialectal difference between Ephraimites and Gileadites), even if scholars do not agree on the details.

The story in Judg. 12.1–6 describes a battle between the tribe of Ephraim in Cisjordan and the people of Gilead in Transjordan. The latter seized control of the fords of the Jordan River, and whenever an Ephraimite attempted to cross the river in order to retreat homeward, the men of Gilead asked him to pronounce the word שִׁבֹּלֶת *šibbōleṯ*. Typically he was unable to do so and instead said סִבֹּלֶת *sibbōleṯ*, thus revealing his Ephraimite identity.

A number of theories have been advanced to explain the phonological issue at hand (see Rendsburg 1992 for a summary). The present entry follows the lead of Speiser (1942) and Swiggers (1981), who argue that the Gileadites retained the proto-Semitic phoneme /ṯ/ [θ]. Swiggers adds that the meaning 'ear of grain' derives from the root *šbl* (as shown by Semitic cognates), while 'flow, stream, torrent' derives from the root *ṯbl* (though unfortunately there are no Semitic etyma to confirm this). He notes that in the context of Judg. 12.6 the meaning of the word must be 'stream', since in parallel folktales the password used in such incidents is related to the narrative framework. The Ephraimites were crossing the Jordan at this point, and so 'stream' is more germane than 'ear of grain'.

In Transjordanian Hebrew the word was apparently pronounced [θibbolɛt]; when a Cisjordanian was asked to utter this word he was unable to articulate the voiceless interdental fricative and said [sibbolɛt]. This is a well-known linguistic phenomenon: speakers who lack the voiceless interdental fricative /θ/ in their phonetic inventory approximate the sound as [s] (for example, Germans when speaking English, or non-Arab Muslims who learn or recite Arabic).

Support for the Speiser-Swiggers approach emerged when Rendsburg (1988a; 1988b) demonstrated that Ammonite (a neighboring dialect of Gileadite) preserved the phoneme /ṯ/, but that Cisjordanians pronounced the sound as [s]. The evidence consists of the Ammonite royal name בעלישע *bʿlyšʿ* (the root of the second element in this name is *yṯʿ* 'save'), which has been preserved on a seal found at Tell el-ʿUmeiri, and which appears in Jer. 40.14 as בַּעֲלִיס *baʿălīs* 'Baalis'. That is to say, two neighboring Transjordanian dialects, Gileadite and Ammonite, share the isogloss of retention of proto-Semitic /ṯ/ [θ], in contrast to Cisjordanian (and other Canaanite?) dialects, in which /ṯ/ [θ] merged with /š/ [ʃ].

Swiggers and Rendsburg's explanation, however, has not won universal acceptance. The main objection to the theory outlined above is the lack of any cognates within Semitic to the proposed *ṯibbōlɛt* 'flow, stream, torrent'. Thus, for example, Faber (1992), Hendel (1996), and Woodhouse (2003) have all proposed different articulations of the underlying sibilant phonemes, especially /š/, in order to explain the statement recorded in Judg. 12.6.

The word *shibboleth* passed into English beginning in the mid-17th century (cf. *The Oxford English Dictionary*), most likely through the influence of the King James Bible (1611), with the meaning of "a peculiarity of pronunciation, behavior, mode of dress, etc., that distinguishes a particular class or set of persons; slogan, catchword" (*American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*).

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Syntax, Biblical Hebrew

1. Introduction

In the following survey the syntactic structure of Biblical Hebrew is primarily presented through a description of the realization of the three basic grammatical relations, the attributive, the predicative, and the objective. These syntactic relations are clearly reflected in the Semitic case system, which marks the different syntactic status of attributes, subjects/predicates, and objects/adverbials by three distinct vowels: i, u, and a, respectively (Goldenberg 1998b). From this case system only vestiges have survived in Biblical Hebrew. Phrases like חַיְתוֹ-אֶרֶץ *ḥayṯō ʾereṣ* 'beasts of the earth' (Gen. 1.24), הַהֹפְכִי הַצּוּר *ha-hōp̄əḵī haṣ-ṣūr* 'who turns the rock', לְמַעְיְנוֹ־מָיִם *lə-maʿyənō mǎyim* 'into a pool of water' (Ps. 114.8) display superfluous final vowels attached to the first noun, which are widely recognized as remnants of an earlier case system (for example, *GKC* 1910:248–254; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:127–128; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:259–262; Williams 2007:10).

The division into three basic syntactic relations is also reflected in the Semitic pronominal system, including Biblical Hebrew, which has three distinct paradigms: independent pronouns (אֲנִי/אָנֹכִי *ʾănī/ʾǎnōḵī* 'I' c. sg., אַתָּה *ʾattǎ* 'you' masc. sg., אַתְּ *ʾatt* 'you' fem. sg., הוּא *hū* 'he' masc. sg., הִוא/הִיא *hī* 'she' fem. sg., נַחְנוּ/אֲנַחְנוּ *ʾănaḥnū/naḥnū* 'we' c. pl., אַתֶּם *ʾattɛm* 'you' masc. pl, אַתֶּן/אַתֵּנָה *ʾattēn/ʾattēnǎ* 'you' fem. pl., הֵמָּה/הֵם *hēmmǎ/hēm* 'they' masc. pl., הֵנָּה *hēnnǎ* 'they' fem. pl.) for subjects/predicates; possessive suffixes (בִּגְדִי *biḡḏī* 'my garment', בִּגְדּוֹ *biḡḏō* 'his garment', etc.) for attributes; and object suffixes (יִשְׁמְרֵנִי, שְׁמָרֵנִי *šəmǎranī, yišmərēnī* 'He watched/watches/will watch me,' יִשְׁמְרֵנּוּ/שְׁמָרֵהוּ *šəmǎrō, yišmərēhū/yišmərɛnnū* 'He watched/watches/will watch him,' etc.), distinct from the former only in first person singular, for objects (see, for example, van der Merwe et al. 1999:191).

Bible translations are according to the RSV with minor changes where necessary.

2. The attributive relation

The attributive relation exists between a head and its attribute. It is primarily implicit in a participle (→ Participle) or an adjective (→ Adjective), which semantically consist of a personal pronoun, reflected in the agreement markers, an attributive lexeme, which holds the form's semantic content, and an attributive relation, bonding these two features into a single morphological form (Goldenberg 1995). When the head is explicit, the attribute can be a single word, a phrase or a clause. In Biblical Hebrew heads and attributes are joined in two main ways. In one the two elements are placed side by side, e.g., הַמָּאוֹר הַגָּדֹל *ham-mǎʾōr haggǎḏōl* 'the greater light' (Gen. 1.16). In such phrases the head and its attribute are usually both definite, as in the example above, or indefinite, e.g., פָּרוֹת אֲחֵרוֹת *pǎrōṯ ʾǎḥērōṯ* 'other cows' (Gen. 41.3).

There are exceptions to this rule, especially in connection with the days of the week, e.g., יוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי *yōm haš-šiššī* 'The sixth day' (Gen. 1.31), in which the head is indefinite and the attribute definite.

The structure of the first way is generally apposition, and the head is in fact also implicit in the following attribute (→ Apposition). The attribute of this pattern is frequently an adjective or a participle, e.g., הָאֲדָמָה הַטּוֹבָה *hǎ-ʾǎḏǎmǎ haṭ-ṭōḇǎ* 'the good land' (Josh. 23.15), and can also be a noun, e.g., לָשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה *lǎšōn rəmiyyǎ* 'deceitful tongue' (Ps. 120.3), a personal or demonstrative pronoun, e.g., הַמַּעַל הַזֶּה *ham-maʿal haz-zɛ* 'this treachery' (Josh. 22.31), a prepositional phrase, e.g., הַשֶּׂה לְעֹלָה *haś-śɛ lə-ʿōlǎ* 'the lamb for a burnt offering' (Gen. 22.7), a numeral, e.g., קוֹל אֶחָד *qōl ʾeḥǎḏ* 'one voice' (Exod. 24.3), and rarely even an adverb, e.g., פֹּה *pō* in אֲנַחְנוּ פֹּה בִּיהוּדָה יְרֵאִים *ʾănaḥnū pō bī-hūḏǎ yərēʾīm* 'We here in Judah are afraid' (1 Sam. 23.3) (*GKC* 1910:408, 427–429; Blau 1993:94–95; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:255–260; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:383–389, 448–452). The second way is annexation (→ Annexation), that is, two elements in a genitive construction in which the first, in the construct state, governs the second, e.g., כּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם *ḵōḵḇē haš-šǎmayim* 'the stars of heaven' (Gen. 22.17). In this pattern the first noun cannot be prefixed by a definite article while the second can, and the latter's definiteness status determines whether the phrase as a whole is definite or indefinite. This pattern commonly expresses possession, e.g., כּוֹכְבֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם *ḵōḵḇē*

haš-šāmayim 'the stars of heaven' (Gen. 22.17). However, for the expression of possession of an indefinite noun by a person, a different pattern, an apposition involving a prepositional phrase with a לְ *lə* 'of', is required, e.g., מִזְמ֗וֹר לְאָ֫סָ֥ף *mizmōr lə-ʾĀsāp̄* 'A Psalm of Asaph' (Ps. 79.1).

Annexation can express not only possession but also the material, e.g., כְּלֵ֥י כֶ֙סֶף֙ וּכְלֵ֣י זָהָ֔ב *kəlē kɛsɛp̄ ū-kəlē zāhāḇ* 'articles of silver and gold' (1 Kgs. 10.25), quality, e.g., מַלְכֵ֥י חֶ֖סֶד *malkē ḥɛsɛḏ* 'merciful kings' (1 Kgs. 20.31), content, e.g., צַפַּ֥חַת מָֽיִם *ṣappaḥaṯ māyim* 'a jar of water' (1 Kgs. 19.6), and more (*GKC* 1910:410–420; Blau 1993:95–98; Goldenberg 1995; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:138–154; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:434–441). Another type of annexation is constructed by a governing adjective and a noun, e.g., יְפ֥וֹת מַרְאֶ֖ה *yəpōṯ marʾɛ* 'sleek' (Gen. 41.2). Arab grammarians considered a very similar pattern in Arabic an 'improper annexation', since the attribute is in fact the governing and not the governed noun, as expected (*GKC* 1910:419; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:438–439).

An attribute can also be substituted by a relative clause (→ Relative Clauses). Relative clauses in Biblical Hebrew are mostly syndetic, displaying a relative particle, but can also be asyndetic, lacking a relative particle, irrespective of the definiteness of their head (in contrast to Arabic), e.g., אֶת־הַדֶּ֙רֶךְ֙ יֵ֣לְכוּ בָ֔הּ וְאֶת־הַמַּעֲשֶׂ֖ה אֲשֶׁ֥ר יַעֲשֽׂוּן *ʾeṯ had-dɛrɛḵ yēləḵū ḇāh wə-ʾɛṯ ham-maʿăśɛ ʾăšɛr yaʿăśūn* 'the way in which they must walk and what they must do' (Exod. 18.20): here the first clause is asyndetic and the second syndetic. In Classical Biblical Hebrew the common relative particle is אֲשֶׁר *ʾăšɛr*, while in Late Biblical Hebrew the particle שֶׁ *šɛ* + *dagesh forte* in the next word regularly appears together with אֲשֶׁר *ʾăšɛr*. A relative clause usually stands in apposition to its head, as in the examples above, and rarely, usually in connection with time and place expressions, can also be governed by its head. This is an annexation construction, e.g., מְק֗וֹם אֲשֶׁר־ אסורי אֲסִירֵ֥י הַמֶּ֖לֶךְ אֲסוּרִ֑ים *məqōm ʾăšɛr ʾăsīrē ham-mɛlɛḵ ʾăsūrīm* 'the place where the king's prisoners were confined' (Gen. 39.20), and קִרְיַ֖ת חָנָ֣ה דָוִ֑ד *qiryaṯ ḥānā Dāwiḏ* 'the city where David encamped' (Isa. 29.1), in which the heads are in the construct state (*GKC* 1910:421–422, 444–445, 485–489; Blau 1993:111–112; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:155–156; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:442–443). Another type, independent (also 'substantivized') relative clauses, which are clauses lacking a head, function not only as attributes but in various other syntactic roles, e.g., וְלֹ֤א הִגִּיד֙ לְאָבִ֣יו וּלְאִמּ֔וֹ אֵ֖ת אֲשֶׁ֥ר עָשָֽׂה *wə-lō higgīḏ lə-ʾāḇīw ūl-ʾimmō ʾēṯ ʾăšɛr ʿāśā* 'But he did not tell his father or his mother what he had done' (Judg. 14.6), in which the independent relative clause fills the role of an object (*GKC* 1910:445–446; Blau 1993:12; Waltke & O'Connor 1990:334–335; Joüon & Muraoka 2006:562–563). A retrospective pronoun, e.g., the word בּ֑וֹ *bō* in כָּל־מָק֗וֹם אֲשֶׁ֨ר תִּדְרֹ֧ךְ כַּף־רַגְלְכֶ֛ם בּ֖וֹ *kål māqōm ʾăšɛr tiḏrōḵ kap̄ raḡləḵɛm bō* 'Every place that the sole of your foot will tread upon' (Josh. 1.3), does not always appear in relative clauses, and can also occasionally be replaced by a locative adverb where this is possible, e.g., הַמִּטָּ֞ה אֲשֶׁר־עָלִ֣יתָ שָּׁ֔ם *ham-miṭṭā ʾăšɛr ʿālīṯā ššām* 'the bed to which you have gone' (2 Kgs. 1.4) (Blau 1993:111–112, Joüon & Muraoka 2006:562). The following table presents the syntactic status of each pattern of attributive relation (read the Hebrew words from right to left).

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[This article has been shortened for the EHLL preview.]

Tiberian Reading Tradition

1. Introduction

The Tiberian reading tradition is the oral recitation of the Hebrew Bible that the Tiberian vocalization and accent signs were created to represent. These vocalization and accent signs are the ones that appear in all modern printed editions of the Bible. They were developed in Tiberias by scholars known as Masoretes in the last quarter of the first millennium C.E. Although the system of signs was created in the Middle Ages, the oral tradition of reading which it was designed to represent had its roots in a much earlier period. There is evidence that this reading tradition originated in the Second Temple period (Khan 2001:83–92).

After the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. the Hebrew Bible was transmitted in one written form, the so-called 'consonantal

text', with minimal variations. There were, however, several different forms of oral reading traditions, which were recorded in the Middle Ages by various written sign systems. The reading traditions consisted of the two components of pronunciation and musical cantillation, which were represented in the written notation systems by vocalization and accent signs, respectively. The medieval sign systems that are extant in manuscripts include the Babylonian, the Palestinian and the Tiberian. The Tiberian reading tradition and the Tiberian sign system that was developed to represent it were considered in the Middle Ages to be the most authoritative. This is reflected not only by explicit statements in the medieval sources but also by the fact that the Tiberian sign system underwent a standardization process and eventually replaced the other sign systems. This process aimed at the creation of a uniform standard system of signs and the application of the system to the entire text of the Bible. By contrast the other sign systems, which did not undergo such standardization, exhibit a considerable lack of uniformity across the manuscripts, and in many manuscripts are applied only sporadically to isolated words. The medieval grammarians of Hebrew, moreover, based their descriptions only on the standard Tiberian tradition and not on the other, non-stardardized traditions.

By the 10th century, when the activities of the Tiberian Masoretes came to an end, a high degree of uniformity had been achieved, but there still were various streams of tradition within the Tiberian school that differed from one another in small details. These different streams were associated with the names of individual Masoretes. The differences that we know the most about were between Aharon ben Asher and Moshe ben Naphtali, who belonged to the last generation of Masoretes in the 10th century. The points of disagreement between these two Masoretes are recorded in lists at the end of many of the early Tiberian Bible manuscripts. They were collected by Misha'el ben ʿUzzi'el in an Arabic treatise known as *Kitāb al-Khilaf* 'The Book of Differences' (ed. Lipshütz 1965). The existence of these lists of differences reflects the process standardization. We know from other sources about a number of differences among Masoretes of the preceding generations in the 9th century (Yeivin 1981). By the close of the Masoretic period, after the generation of Aharon ben Asher, the Tiberian tradition had not fixed on the school of one particular Masorete. A source from the 11th century refers to the possibility of following either the Ben Asher or the Ben Naphtali school, without any evaluation (Eldar 1980b) and manuscripts from the Masoretic period exhibit features associated with both schools. The Ben Asher school achieved complete dominance only after it was espoused by the influential Jewish scholar Moses Maimonides (1135–1204). When he was resident in Egypt, Maimonides examined a manuscript with vocalization and accents written by the hand of Aharon ben Asher and pronounced it to be the model that should be followed.

In many places the reading tradition (*qere*) reflected by the Tiberian vocalization does not correspond to the consonantal text (*ketiḇ*). In other words, some elements of the consonantal text are regularly read in a way that does not correspond to what is written. This applies to the reading of some elements of morphology, such as the pronominal suffixes. Thus the 2nd masculine singular pronominal suffix, for example, is written ךָ—, reflecting a form without a final vowel, but read ךָ— *-ḵā*, with a final vowel. Likewise, the verbal inflectional suffix of the 2nd masculine singular is written תָ— without a final vowel letter, but is read תָ— *-tā* with a final vowel. The 3rd masculine singular pronominal suffix on plural nouns is written יו-—with a medial *yod*, presumably reflecting a pronunciation such as *-ew*, but is read יוֹ— *-āw* without the medial *yod*. The most satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon is that the reading was a separate layer of tradition that was closely related to, but nevertheless independent from, the tradition of the consonantal text. The morphological differences between the Tiberian *qere* and *ketiḇ* can be regarded as reflecting Hebrew dialectal differences between the two streams of tradition, both of which are likely to have their roots in antiquity. Indeed, the morphological forms reflected by the *qere* are in evidence already in some Qumran manuscripts of the Second Temple period, e.g. the 2nd masculine singular suffixes כה—*-kh*, תה- *-th*, and the 3rd masculine singular suffix on plural nouns ו—without *yod* in manuscripts exhibiting full orthography.

In the later Middle Ages the Tiberian Masoretic tradition, consisting of the consonantal

text combined with the Tiberian vocalization and accent signs, became the standard written form of the Hebrew Masoretic Bible. By contrast, the oral component of the Tiberian tradition, i.e. the Tiberian reading tradition, was soon forgotten. This resulted in the fact that Jewish communities read the Tiberian Masoretic text with a pronunciation tradition that differed from the one that the Tiberian sign system was originally created to represent. Even when the Tiberian reading tradition was alive in an earlier period, it was the preserve of only a small number of scholars who had received special training. In fact, after the creation of the vocalization system readers still required instruction, since the system did not represent all aspects of pronunciation, in particular the articulation of the consonants. It appears that the Tiberian pronunciation was not fully known even to the medieval grammarians of Spain, from whose works much of our modern grammatical tradition of Hebrew derives. The Spanish grammarian Ibn Janāḥ (11th century C.E.), for example, expressed regret that in Spain there were no traditional readers and teachers (*ruwāt wa-ʾaṣḥāb al-talqīn*) with first-hand knowledge of the Tiberian reading (*Kitāb al-lumaʿ*, ed. J. Derenbourg, 1886:322–333). Although the Tiberian pronunciation was regarded as authoritative, the Palestinian and Babylonian pronunciation traditions were far more widely used. We know from al-Qirqisānī, writing in the 10th century, that the Babylonian reading tradition was used over a wide area by Eastern Jewish communities in Iraq, Iran, Byzantium and Arabia (*Kitāb al-ʾanwār*, ed. L. Nemoy, 1939, 2:17). The Palestinian type of pronunciation was used not only in Palestine but also in North Africa, Spain, Italy and even in Ashkenaz before the 14th century (Eldar 1978:106–107).

The Tiberian pronunciation of Hebrew can be reconstructed on the basis of a variety of medieval sources, the most important of which are (i) early Tiberian Masoretic manuscripts, (ii) Masoretic and Eastern grammatical texts, especially the work *Hidāyat al-qārīʾ* 'Guide for the reader' by the 11th-century Karaite grammarian ʾAbu al-Faraj Hārūn (Eldar 1994), (iii) transcriptions of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic script by Karaite scribes (Khan 1990), and (iv) Judeo-Arabic texts with Tiberian vocalization (Khan 1992a; Khan 2010). The following description of the Tiberian pronunciation relies on these sources. For a description of the Tiberian system of accents → Biblical Accents.

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