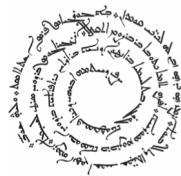


# From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries



# **Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages**

9

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*Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages* (PLAL) contains peer-reviewed essays, monographs, and reference works. It focuses on the theory and practice of ancient-language research and lexicography that is informed by modern linguistics.

# **From Ancient Manuscripts to Modern Dictionaries**

**Select Studies in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Greek**

**Edited by**

**Tarsee Li**

**Keith Dyer**

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## PREFACE

—a life's work in the agony and sweat of the human spirit,  
not for the glory and least of all for profit,  
but to create out of the materials  
of the human spirit  
something  
which did not exist before.

William Faulkner

*Perspectives on Linguistics and Ancient Languages* contains peer-reviewed essay collections, monographs, and reference works. It is a publication of the International Syriac Language Project (ISLP), an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary group which meets annually to reconsider the theory and practice of ancient-language research and of ancient-language lexicography.

The study of ancient languages is a time-honoured field of endeavour. Lexicography is an equally venerable and even more ancient tradition. Modern lexicography, the art and science of dictionary making, began about four centuries ago. But pre-scientific lexicography has ancestors in many ancient languages and stretches back four millennia. Yet as old as lexicography and ancient-language study are, on the time-line of history they were conceived only recently when compared to the emergence of human language, which may go back, say, 100,000 years: lexicography about an hour ago and modern lexicography around five minutes if we reduce the life span of language to a twenty-four hour period.

The related discipline of modern linguistics is more recent still, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century and experiencing rapid growth in the latter half of the twentieth century. Because it is the science of the study of language, it became an integral part of ancient-language inquiry and adopted the lexicography of ancient and contemporary languages as one of its sub-disciplines.

Today, lexicography, no less than ancient-language research, is a mature discipline in its own right. All three—linguistics, ancient-language study, and lexicography—therefore stand beside each other rather than one being subordinate to the other.

For ancient-language research the dictionary is a primary resource. For its part, ancient-language lexicography in its microscopic probing, quest for the larger perspective, and provision of various forms of information, must draw on all aspects of ancient-language study. In contemporary inquiry, both disciplines are inextricably linked to developments in modern linguistics. Sound lexicography requires sound linguistic theory. Linguistic theory and practice are implicit in a methodology for

ancient-language study. The aim of this series is therefore to address the disciplines of ancient-language research, lexicography, and issues of linguistics as they relate to a contemporary approach to the other two.

The aim of the ISLP to be also interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in its research is motivated by three primary factors. The first is that many linguistic disciplines meet in the investigation of ancient languages and in the making of modern lexica. The second is that developments in the study of one language, theoretical and applied, are often pertinent to another. The third is that the development of electronic ancient-language data and lexica require attention to advances in computational linguistics. Thus, our planning for a lexicon for a particular language for a new generation is not pursued in isolation, but embraces an understanding of what is taking place in the study of other ancient languages and in the wider worlds of lexicography, linguistics, and digital technologies.

Terry C. Falla



## ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	according (employed by BAG, BAGD, BDAG)
<i>act. pt. act.</i>	participle (employed by cited lexical entry)
AAT	Goodspeed, <i>The New Testament: An American Translation</i>
<i>acc. with</i>	[in] accordance with (employed by cited lexical entry)
<i>AEINT</i>	<i>Aramaic-English Interlinear New Testament</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
appar.	apparently (employed by cited lexical entry)
ASM	American Standard Version
Audo	Audo's Syriac-Syriac Lexicon
BAG	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 1957
BAGD	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 1979
BBah	Duval, ed., <i>Hassan bar Bahlul</i>
BDAG	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature</i> , 2000
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament with an appendix containing the Biblical Aramaic</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
Bover	<i>Novi Testamenti Biblia Graeca et Latina</i>
Brockelmann	<i>Lexicon Syriacum</i>
Brun	<i>Dictionarium Syriaco-Latinum</i>
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
cent.	century (employed by cited lexical entry)
<i>comp. n.m.</i>	compound noun masculine (employed in lexical entry)
Constant. Porphyrogenitus/Constantinus Porphyrog.	in lexicons refer to Constantine Porphyrogenitus
Costaz	<i>Dictionnaire syriaque-français, Syriac-English Dictionary, Qamus suryani-'arabi.</i>

CSD	Payne Smith, Jessie, <i>A Compendious Syriac Dictionary</i>
cstr.	Construct state act. pt. fol. by prep. ܘ pref. to n.)
Danker	<i>The Concise Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
DCH	Clines, <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i>
DEG	Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i>
DGE	Adrados, et al. <i>Diccionario griego-español</i>
EDNT	Balz and Schneider, <i>Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
et al.	(Latin <i>et alii</i> ) and others
Ferrer and Nogueras	<i>Breve Diccionario Siríaco: Siríaco-Castellano-Catalán</i>
GELS	Muraoka, Takamitsu, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i>
Goodsp.	Goodspeed = <i>AAT</i>
Goshen-Gottstein	<i>A Syriac-English Glossary with Etymological</i>
HALAT	Koehler and Baumgartner, <i>Hebräische und aramäische Lexikon zum Alten Testament</i>
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden, 1994–1999
Hdt.	Herodotus of Halicarnassus, see Hude, C., ed. <i>Herodoti Historiae</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IGL	Liddell and Scott, <i>An Intermediate Greek Lexicon</i>
IGNTP	International Greek New Testament Project
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JB	Jerusalem Bible
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament: Supplement Series
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KJB	King James Bible
KPG	Falla, <i>A Key to the Peshitta Gospels</i>
Köbert	<i>Vocabularium Syriacum</i>
KwD <sup>2</sup>	Schulthess, <i>Kalīla and Dimnah</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Legg	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece ... Marcum, and ... Matthaeum</i>

LEH	Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i>
LfgrE	Snell, Meier-Brügger, et al. <i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i>
LSJ	Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9 <sup>th</sup> ed.
LXX	Septuagint
Manna	ܡܢܢܐ ܕܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܝܢܐ / <i>Vocabulaire chaldéen-arabe</i> / دليل الراغبين في لغة الآراميين
Merk	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece et Latine</i>
Meyer	<i>Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament</i>
mid.	middle
Mlt-H	Moulton and Howard, <i>A Grammar of New Testament Greek</i>
M-M	Moulton and Milligan, <i>The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament</i>
mng.	meaning (employed by cited lexical entries)
Moffatt	James Moffatt, <i>The New Testament: A New Translation</i>
<i>n.</i>	noun
NEB	New English Bible
Newman	<i>A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIV	New International Version
NJB	New Jerusalem Bible
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
<i>objs.</i>	objects (employed in cited lexical entry)
<i>OED</i>	Simpson and Weiner. <i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989. Also, see Simpson <i>OED Online</i> .
<i>OLD</i>	Glare, et al. <i>The Oxford Latin Dictionary</i>
<i>ON</i>	Hoffman, <i>Opuscula Nestorius syriace tradidit</i>
<i>pass.</i>	passive
Pazzini	<i>Lessico Concordanziale del Nuovo Testamento Siriaco</i>
<i>perh.</i>	perhaps (employed by cited lexical entries)
Perseus	Perseus Digital Library. Editor-in-chief, Gregory R. Crane, Tufts University. <a href="http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/">http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/</a>
<i>pl.</i>	plural (employed in cited lexical entry)
<i>prob.</i>	(employed by cited lexical entry)
PsC	Budge, <i>The History of Alexander the Great</i>
<i>pt.</i>	participle (employed in cited lexical entry)

REB	Revised English Bible
ref.	reference (employed by some lexical works)
Rienecker and Rogers	<i>Linguistic Key to the Greek New Testament</i>
RPS	(used in KPG) = <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SFG	Aland, <i>Synopsis of the Four Gospels</i>
sing.	singular
SL	Sokoloff, <i>A Syriac Lexicon</i>
SQE	Aland, <i>Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum</i> , 5th revised ed.
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i> , under the word
Swanson	<i>New Testament Greek Manuscripts</i>
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i>
<i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>	Payne Smith, <i>Thesaurus Syriacus</i>
Thelly	<i>Syriac-English-Malayalam Lexicon</i>
Theophyl. Sim.	<i>Theophylactus Simocatta Epistulae</i> (employed by BDAG)
Tischendorf	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i>
<i>Tit. Bostra.</i>	Lagarde, ed., <i>Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor Syriace</i>
TLG	Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® Digital Library. Editor Maria C. Pantelia. University of California, Irvine. <a href="http://www.tlg.uci.edu">http://www.tlg.uci.edu</a>
TLL	Thesaurus Linguae Latinae. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Online (Berlin: De Gruyter) at <a href="http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tll">http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tll</a>
TLNT	<i>Theological Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
t.t.	technical term (employed by cited lexical works)
Tregelles	<i>The Greek New Testament</i>
UBS	United Bible Societies
Vg. and Vulg.	Vulgate (employed by cited lexical works)
Vogels	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece et Latina</i>
Von Soden	<i>Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments in ihrer ältesten erreichbaren Textgestalt</i> . 2 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1913.
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
w.	with (employed by cited lexical works)
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
writ.	writers, writings (employed by lexical entry in Grimm-Thayer)

W-S	Winer, <i>Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms</i> , ed. Schmiedel, but see Winer, <i>A Grammar of the New Testament Diction</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
Zerwick & Grosvenor	<i>A Grammatical Analysis of the Greek New Testament</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

# INTERNATIONALISMS IN THE HEBREW PRESS 1860S–1910S AS A MEANS OF LANGUAGE MODERNIZATION

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The article at hand aims to demonstrate the development of international loanword adaptation in Early Modern Hebrew based on Hebrew press published in Russia during the period from the 1860s to the 1910s. In the period, various languages from both Eastern and Western Europe were enriched by internationalisms. For Hebrew, the challenge was even more complex, since in that same period Hebrew was undergoing language modernization that is referred to by various terms in scholarly use – revival, revitalization, revernacularization, relexification and others. I intend to show that most trends in the area of loanword adaptation had been formed by the 1910s in European Hebrew. The image of language change that is reflected by the sources I use contradicts both traditional and revisionist general theories on Israeli Hebrew emergence.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Apart from general tendencies of different languages to acquire international lexis at the turn of the 20th century, Hebrew itself was short of lexis in some areas of current discourse in the Russian and European press. That was a natural outcome of Hebrew modernization,<sup>1</sup> in the course of which Hebrew adherents strove to use Hebrew in new domains. New topics being articulated in traditional language discover some lexical gaps. Newspapers, with their necessity to create texts on current topics rapidly, with no opportunity to weigh linguistic decisions, are the best vehicle for language novelties; however, we do not have colloquial data for the period.

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<sup>1</sup> See Joshua A. Fishman, “The Sociolinguistic ‘Normalization’ of the Jewish People,” in *Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honour of Archibald A. Hill. Vol. 4: Linguistics and Literature/Sociolinguistic and Applied Linguistics* (ed. Mohammed A. Jazayery, Edgar C. Polomé, and Werner Winter; The Hague: Mouton, 1978), 223–231.

“Newspapers and mass media that grow out of them ... were perhaps the major force that disseminated and unified Modern Hebrew.”<sup>2</sup>

In Palestine, the idea of lack of daily lexis became a part of the more general mythology of Hebrew revival, as one of the key functions of Ben-Yehuda was creating new, urgently necessary words. This view was questioned by Glinert, who demonstrated the wide acquaintance of Eastern European Jews with daily Hebrew lexis.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, Ben-Yehuda strove not to fill lexical gaps in Hebrew, but more precisely struggled against loanwords, trying to replace them with newly created Semitic words.

The European Hebrew press faced the problem of lexical lack throughout its functioning; it solved this problem in a variety of ways and developed different language patterns to adopt foreign lexis or to compose counterparts with inner language tools. The present article is meant to describe general tendencies of adopting internationalisms in the Hebrew press issued in Russia up to the 1910s, tracing them back to the 1860s, i.e. for a period of fifty years.

In what follows, I will first present the general background of the topic, in which I will specify the place of the research among overall conceptions of Modern Hebrew origin. Next, I will describe the sources I used, giving a brief overview of Hebrew press in Russia. Third, I will analyze internationalisms in seven paragraphs: (1) general functions of loanwords; (2) first stage of introducing foreign lexis (parentheses); (3) orthography of loanwords; (4) plural forms of loan nouns; (5) gender distribution of loan nouns; (6) morphology of loanwords and grammatical adaptation; (7) derivational activity of loanwords. Finally, I will present conclusions and discuss new questions that can be posed in that regard.

## 2 GENERAL BACKGROUND AND THE DATA

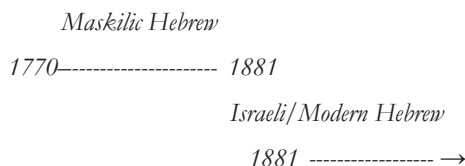
### 2.1 Periodization of Hebrew

Conventional periodization of the Hebrew language distinguishes two stages in late Hebrew language history: the maskilic period (European Hebrew from the second half of 18th century to the 1880s); and the Modern Hebrew (Israeli Hebrew from the 1880s until now).

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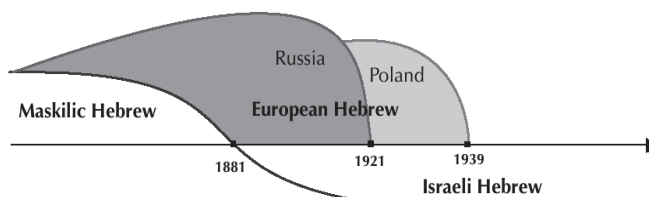
<sup>2</sup> Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 127.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis Glinert, “Hebrew-Yiddish Diglossia: Type and Stereotype Implications of the Language of Ganzfried’s *Kitzur*,” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67 (1987): 39–56.



Picture 1

The year 1881 marks the end of maskilic Hebrew, since it was the beginning of the First Aliyah – the first modern wave of Jewish migration to Palestine<sup>4</sup>. That same year Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, perceived in traditional framework as the father of Modern Hebrew, settled in Palestine. Therefore, this is the best symbolical terminus post quem, dividing two language periods. However, this periodization, deeply rooted in the minds of both the wider audience and scholars, is misleading; it implies that Hebrew language activity abruptly stopped in Europe in 1881 and immediately switched to Palestine. The actual state of things at least during the first twenty years of the 20th century was quite the opposite: in those years Hebrew activity was flourishing in Eastern Europe, mainly in Russia, while Palestine was a “remote Ottoman province.”<sup>5</sup>



Picture 2

Indeed, actual centers of Hebrew culture in the 1910s were in Moscow, Warsaw, Vilnius, Odessa and St. Petersburg. Later historical cataclysms wiped out Eastern European Hebrew culture: the Soviet system de facto prohibited any activity in Hebrew, and the Holocaust annihilated the bearers of Jewish culture. The greater part of the Hebrew producing/reading audience of Eastern Europe disappeared. Some of them left for Western Europe, the USA and Palestine. The stream of Hebrew users (as we know little about the extent to which they were Hebrew speakers), who one way or another ended up in Palestine, was vast enough to have a significant impact on the development of Hebrew there. To give an example, three editors of the Moscow Hebrew daily newspaper *Hoom* (העם) worked later in key positions in the Palestine Hebrew press: Moshe Glikson held the post of the editor of the

<sup>4</sup> See Lily Kahn, “Maskilic Hebrew”, in *Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics* (ed.: Geoffrey Khan. Brill Online, 2013).

<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Harshav, *Language in Time of Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 127.



newspaper Haaretz for 15 years (and was a member of Hebrew Language Committee); Shmuel Chernovitz was an editor in Haaretz; Benzion Katz worked as a journalist in Haaretz (he was one of the founders of the newspaper Haboker and issued a newspaper Khadashot as well). At the same time I do not know a single Hebrew journalist or writer who was born in Palestine, acquired Hebrew as the first/mother/native language and then worked with Hebrew in Eastern Europe in the period. Thus, an actual and noticeable influence of Palestine Hebrew on East European Hebrew is hard to support.

At the same time, the symbolic importance of the Holy Land both for Zionist and traditional Jewish culture put Palestinian Hebrew at the center of imagined mapping. The after-effect of Zionist ideas, together with retrospective distortion, can easily misrepresent the entire picture. That is how European Hebrew from the late 19th century until the first quarter of the 20th century finds itself beyond the scope of the scholar's attention. Notably, the lack of investigations in the area was indicated by Glinert in his preface to a volume "Hebrew in Ashkenaz: language in exile".<sup>6</sup> It should be mentioned also that a monograph by Harshav – "Language in Time of Revolution", printed first in 1993 – was the first step to improving the disregard of late European Hebrew sources.

## 2.2 Concepts of Israeli Hebrew Origin

Processes that Hebrew was undergoing in the period under discussion are described in different ways in Hebrew sociolinguistics. The traditional concept of Israeli Hebrew origin draws a picture of so called Hebrew "revival" as a miracle, which occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, when a "dead" language was resurrected and came to life in the Holy Land thanks to the incredible efforts of a small group of romantics headed by Eliezer Ben-Yehuda. Thus at the basis of the myth is a magical union of three components: the chosen people, the Holy land (land of the Covenant), and their national language, which enabled the miracle of language resurrection. The myth about Ben-Yehuda as a "father of Modern Hebrew" became a cornerstone in the forming of Israeli state ideology; this is why it is still so vital today. Due to the same myth researchers still have a broad grey area in Hebrew history, which requires detailed study.

Even contemporaries of Ben-Yehuda refuted the "revival myth."<sup>7</sup> Once in a while, different works appeared against the background of the "revival" that stated

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<sup>6</sup> Lewis Glinert, "Preface," in *Hebrew in Ashkenaz: A Language in Exile*, ed. Lewis Glinert (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 3.

<sup>7</sup> See Shlomo Haramati, *Ivrit ḥaya bi-merutsat ha-dorot*. (Rishon le-Tsion, 1992), 16–19.

that the Hebrew language had not been dead.<sup>8</sup> Now the concept is usually rejected by most Hebrew researchers, although it appears widely in less specialized texts.<sup>9</sup>

New concepts of Israeli Hebrew origin have emerged as opposed to the traditional view. Three authors – Wexler, Zuckermann, and Izre'el – should be mentioned. They adopt the thesis of Ben-Yehuda that Hebrew was a dead language (defining it through the notion of native speaker), but reject the concept of magic revival. The general idea of the concepts is that no language can be revived in the absence of native speakers; thus modern Israeli Hebrew is not a revived Holy tongue, but a newly created non-semitic language.<sup>10</sup> Wexler treats Israeli Hebrew as relexified Yiddish, Izre'el sees it as a creole language which emerged from the mix of Hebrew and Slavic and European languages, and Zuckermann defines it as a hybrid of both Semitic and Indo-European languages. According to these concepts language shift has occurred in Palestine, when the Hebrew language was nativized by children as their “mother tongue”, while for their parents it was not a native language. These researchers collect features of influence of Yiddish language, Slavic languages and Western European languages on Hebrew, especially in the areas of vocabulary and morphology. Hence the following issues can be raised: if the process of nativization indeed caused the emergence of a new language, then some drastic changes in language structural elements should be observed, not only on the level of language social functioning, but in the area of pure linguistics. At least Hebrew language changes in Palestine (as a result of language nativization) should be much more remarkable than those in Eastern Europe, since we have no opportunity to suspect native Hebrew speakers there. The case of internationalisms, as I will try to show below, does not sustain this thesis.

### 2.3 Primary Sources

The first Hebrew newspaper began publication in the middle of the 18th century in Germany; a century later the center of the Hebrew press moved to the Russian Empire. St. Petersburg National Library contains 79 periodicals in the Hebrew language, issued in Russia and Eastern Europe before 1918. The Hebrew daily newspaper Hoom, issued in Moscow in 1917–1918, served as a basic source for the present research. Five hundred new internationalisms found in it constituted the primary

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<sup>8</sup> Jack Fellman, *The Revival of a Classical Tongue: Eliezer ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language* (The Hague, 1974); Haramati, *Ivrit haya bi-merutsat ha-dorot*; and others.

<sup>9</sup> For example, see Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe*. (Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 309–310.

<sup>10</sup> See Paul Wexler, “The Slavonic ‘Standard’ of Modern Hebrew,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 73 (1995): 201–225; Shlomo Izre'el, “The Emergence of Spoken Israeli Hebrew,” in *The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH): Working Papers I* (2001), 85–104; Ghil'ad Zuckermann, “Language Contact and Lexical Enrichment in Israeli Hebrew,” in *Palgrave Studies in Language History and Language Change* (London – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Ghil'ad Zuckermann, “Hybridity Versus Revivability: Multiple Causation, Forms and Patterns,” *Journal of Language Contact* 2 (2009): 40–67.

corpus. By “the new internationalisms,” I mean those international loanwords that first appeared in Hebrew no earlier than the 1860s; most of them entered Hebrew press in the 1880s to 1910s. Other newspapers – Ha-Magid, Ha-Melitz, Ha-Tzifira, Ha-Yom and Ha-Zman – were used as additional sources to trace features of foreign word acquisition found in Hoom, or their counterparts in earlier Hebrew press.

### 3 THE FUNCTIONS OF LOANWORDS

The following three main semantic functions can be proposed to analyse the causes of borrowings found in the newspaper Hoom. The first function is **nomination of objects of practical actuality**. In its pure form, this function is realised in transmitting proper nouns, mostly toponyms and andronyms, which were required prolifically by the genre of the political newspaper, especially during WWI, the Civil War and the Russian Revolution, when reports from the front line introduced new toponyms every day. Already inside the language derivative nouns of various kinds were being formed out of them: ethnonyms, ethnicons and others. Proper nouns, being the most legitimate borrowings, entered Hebrew easily and numerous, thus opening the gates for a wider range of foreign words: names of political parties and movements, new administrative institutions and positions, military ranks and different elements of armed forces and the like.

The second function is **nomination of abstract notions** such as *romanticism*, *irony*, *illusion*, *aesthetics*, and *ideal* that actually denote important concepts of European culture. The large number of loanwords of this type that appeared in Hoom reflects the dynamic acquisition of those ideas by Jewish/Hebrew culture, as well as the general focus of the Hebrew language of that period on European culture and openness to its influence.

The third group of loanwords consists of doublets that have denotational equivalents in Hebrew, such that their usage is not motivated by the objective necessity to fill a lexical gap. Both words – the loanword and its equivalent – were used in the same contexts, so even slight stylistic difference is hard to detect. To give an example, the words **אהוזים** and **פרוצנטים** both mean percents. In those cases the appearance of the loanword has the purely **symbolic function of reference to European culture** or, as Haspelmath determines, “speakers adopt such new words in order to be associated with the prestige of the donor language.”<sup>11</sup>

### 4 FIRST STAGE OF BORROWING: FOREIGN WORDS IN PARENTHESES

In the 1860s, loanwords were rarely used in the main text body. New concepts were transferred descriptively by Hebrew expressions, while foreign word (frequently in German, rarely in Eastern European and Western European languages) appeared in parentheses as an explanation.

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<sup>11</sup> Martin Haspelmath, “Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues”, in *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook* (Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, 2009), 48.

#### 4.1 Explanations in parentheses by means of foreign words in source-language script:

##### 1 European word in Latin script:

(1)

ומלבד אלה יצאו בכל שנה באניות מחוף ראסטאווע שערור, עלי קיטור (טאבאק), קרבי דגים (Caviar), עורות, תופינים (Zwieback), לביבות ישבות (Makoron), קמח ...

And besides that every year on ship from the bank of Rostov were standing out barley, smoke leaves (tobacco), fish innards (caviar), leather, pastry (pasta), cracker (rusks), flower ...<sup>12</sup>

##### 2 Russian word in Cyrillic script:

(2)

... ויוציאו משם את הילד להצפינו (Полиц. Служ.) פחד פחדנו פן ישחדו היהודים את עבדי בית השוטרים

... we were very scared, that Jews would bribe workers of the policemen's house (Police) and take the child out of there to hide him.<sup>13</sup>

(3)

היום שמענו כי יחפצו להעמיס את משא החטא הזה על הכהן ראש (Протоирей) אשר ...

And in the day we heard, that they wanted to put the burden of that guilt to the head priest (Protoiereus), which ...<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.2 Explanations in Parentheses by Means of Foreign Words in Hebrew Script:

It should be mentioned, that among these four alternatives, the third one was the most commonly used, although the others were not infrequent.

##### 3 European word in Hebrew script:

(4)

... גם נתן רשיון ליסד בית החולים (האספיטאל) ליהודים בעיר קיעוו

... he also gave a permission to establish a house of sick (hospital) for Jews in Kiev city.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 16 Jan 1862, p. 224.

<sup>13</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 27 Nov 1862, p. 68.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

(5)

... כלם באי כח עם ענגלאנד יושבים בבית המחוקקים (פארלאמענט)

... all of them were representatives of people of England [that] sit in the house of lawmakers (parliament).<sup>16</sup>

#### 4 Russian word in Hebrew script:

(6)

... "משגח" (סמאטריטעל) על בית הספר הנוסד מטעם הממשלה בעיר ווילייקע

... supervisor (caretaker) over the school that was established on behalf of the government in Vileyke town.<sup>17</sup>

Those numerous cases, when foreign words were used to elucidate Hebrew circumlocution, clearly indicate the general sociolinguistic situation among Jews of Eastern Europe as multilingualism<sup>18</sup>, which is usually a fertile ground for borrowings.

When we compare to Hebrew press of the 1910s, we can hardly find therein any lexical explanations in parentheses. One clear reason is that the system of designation had been formed: either adapted loanwords, or new words (or expressions) constructed in Hebrew were used. A second reason is not so obvious: the mode of absorbing foreign lexis itself has changed, and the way, which foreign word should go through, shortened. Those foreign words that entered Hebrew in the 1910s skip the first stage of parentheses. Two words – מנשביק “Menshevik” and בולשביק “Bolshevik” – seem to be the best examples, as we know for sure the year when they become topical in Russian – 1917. At the same moment, those words appeared in the Hebrew newspaper Hoom, but not once in parentheses, and not once with any clarifications in parentheses.

## 5 ORTHOGRAPHY OF LOANWORDS

Step by step, foreign words were coming out of parentheses and entering the main text body, preserving the orthography of maskilic spelling, so called taytsh, that goes back to Mendelssohn's monumental translation of the Pentateuch into the German language and in Hebrew characters, formally titled ספר נתיבות השלום and known as הביאור.<sup>19</sup> The orthography system is close to that which was used for Yiddish, but

<sup>15</sup> *Ha-Zfira*, 26 Feb 1862, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 17 Jan 1877, p. 24.

<sup>17</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 25 Dec 1862, p. 132.

<sup>18</sup> See Joshua Fishman, “Epilogue: Contributions of The Sociology of Yiddish to the General Sociology of Language”, in *Never Say Die!: A Thousand Years of Yiddish in Jewish Life and Letters* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 747.

<sup>19</sup> See Mendelssohn, Moses, *Netivot hashalom* (Wiene, 1846).

has some specific features.<sup>20</sup> *Alef* was used to signify the vowels *a* and *o* (sometimes *alef kometz*), *ayin* represented *e*, the consonant combinations טש and זש represented the sounds *č* and *ž*, double consonants were usually reflected in orthography. However, it would be wrong to state that Hebrew used Yiddish orthography for loanwords. Instead, we can determine that for Hebrew lexis traditional Hebrew orthography (mainly *ktiv haser*) was used, while for European lexis they used *taytsh* orthography. And that was relevant both for Hebrew and Yiddish texts. Indeed, till the 1890s the same orthography was used for Yiddish (except for *hebraisms*) and for loanwords in Hebrew with no strict standardized rules, but with two strong tendencies: (1) phoneticization (for example, they frequently used *zayn* for the European letter *s*, when it was pronounced as *z*, such as גימנאזיום from German Gymnasium); and (2) Germanization,<sup>21</sup> that can be seen in expressing double consonants (פראפעסטאר “professor”), in the designation of silent *h* by the letter *hey*, and so on.

Gradually, from the 1900s, the orthography of Yiddish and of loanwords in Hebrew increasingly diverged. In Hoon we can hardly find any traces of Germanized orthography: neither double consonants, nor silent *hey* or others. *ayin* is scarcely used to signify the vowel *e*; instead *yud* was used or even nothing: ריבולוציה or רבולוציה “revolution.” *Alef* could signify the vowel *a*, as in the previous period, but in the 1910s in many cases it was omitted, in such words as אנרכיה “anarchy.” And what is even more important, *alef* with few exceptions ceased to signify the vowel *o* in favour of *vav*, which as in Israeli Hebrew has been used both for *o* and *u* in loanwords. This orthographic change discovers a curious situation: the letter *vav*, pronounced in Ashkenazic Hebrew as *oy* or *ey* (or *u*) began to signify *o* in loanwords, which means that loanwords started to be read with special rules not relevant for other words. This phenomenon can be considered as the first and unconscious step to future pronunciation shift that occurred later in Palestine, when new Israeli pronunciation norms developed.

The described changes in Hebrew orthography can be summarised as an intention to avoid coincidences with Yiddish orthography, as a desire to separate Hebrew on the visual level. Indeed, one orthography for European component both in Hebrew and Yiddish of the 19th century and its following dissimilation can be well interpreted by Yiddish-Hebrew diglossia in the 19th century<sup>22</sup> and its gradual dissolution in the first quarter of the 20th century.

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<sup>20</sup> See Neil Jacobs, *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 295–296.

<sup>21</sup> Jacobs calls it *dayschmerish* tendency. See Neil Jacobs, *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 301.

<sup>22</sup> First determined by Joshua Fishman in “Bilingualism With and Without Diglossia; Diglossia With and Without Bilingualism,” *Journal of Social Issues* 23 (1967): 31.

## 6 PLURAL FORMS OF LOAN NOUNS

In the 1860s to 1890s, the plural of loanwords was frequently formed according to German models: mostly with **ען** ending, though **ים** forms of the same loanwords were used. Thus, the forms **אדרעסען/אדרעססען** (address) occur in the period ten times more often than **אדרעסים/אדרעססים**. The following contextual examples are to illustrate the phenomenon.

(7)

... ומערי המדינה וחול' ילחו המחיר על שם הרעדאקציע ויכתבו מפורש האדרעסען שלהם.

... and from [other] towns of the country and [from] abroad send the price in the name of editors office and write their addresses explicitly.<sup>23</sup>

(8)

... שאמר אחד מהדיפלומאטען האייראפיים

... that one of the European diplomats said<sup>24</sup>

(9)

שמונים סענאטארען חדשים עתידים להיות נבחרים ביום ההוא

Eighty new senators are to be selected that day.<sup>25</sup>

Loanwords with **ים** ending used to have **יען** in plural forms, following German morphological patterns as well:

(10)

בבתי הגימנאזיען והרעאלשולען בעיר ברעסלוי שוקדים כעת 1031 תלמידים יהודים

In gymnasiums and secondary schools in the city of Breslau 1031 Jewish pupils are working hard now.<sup>26</sup>

(11)

לנהל שני מיניסטעריען בימי צרה וצוקה ומלחמה נוראה

To head two ministries in the days of sorrow and misery and terrible war<sup>27</sup>

Certainly, Germanized plural forms should not be taken as freak deviations. Jews of Eastern Europe were familiar with similar cases from their language experience: Hebrew nouns in Yiddish form the plural according to Hebrew grammar as a rule,

<sup>23</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 21 Jan 1869, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 17 Jan 1877, p. 25.

<sup>25</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 28 Dec 1887, p. 2852.

<sup>26</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 14 Feb 1877, p. 65.

<sup>27</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 3 Sen 1872, p. 57.

Aramaic nouns both in Yiddish and Hebrew usually follow Aramaic patterns for plurals. Germanisms could constitute similar group of nouns within Hebrew with special plural forms ad modum Latinisms in English. But the tendency of Germanization began to decline in the 1890s and almost completely disappeared in the 1910s, when German-style loanwords were gradually replaced with other models of the same notions, that are to be discussed in part 8. It is true that the German language's influence diminished at the end of the 19th century, but the new impact of Slavic languages on Hebrew did not bring to Hebrew any foreign grammatical flexions.

## 7 GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF LOAN NOUNS

Gender distribution of loanwords, as we know it in Israeli Hebrew, took shape in the Russian Hebrew press by the 1910s as well. In short, all internationalisms since the 1910s have been distributed between masculine and feminine genders as follows: those with endings ה, whether the ending is ציה/יה/ה, or derived words with ות and ת are attributed to the feminine gender; all the others, to the masculine. In the 19th century it was different. Internationalisms of special types that are referred to as feminine in German took the feminine gender in Hebrew. The following examples illustrate gender agreement of three of those types.

### *CION*

(12)

עתה אין עוד לעמי עסטרייך קאנסטיטוציאן כוללת אשר שמחו בה במשך שנים אחדות

Now the peoples of Austria have no more common constitution, which they have enjoyed during several years.<sup>28</sup>

(13)

... לשלוח דעקלאראציאן מיוחדת

... to send special declaration.<sup>29</sup>

### *IK*

(14)

... הפאליטיק הגדולה החיצונית

... big foreign policy.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 4 Oct 1865, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 21 May 1879, p. 155.

<sup>30</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 26 Feb 1868, p. 1.



(15)

לא לבד כי לא נמנה למיניסטער בהרעפובליק החדשה ...

Not only that was not commissioned as a minister in the new republic ...<sup>31</sup>

UR

(16)

בכלל אומר לך כי ליטעראטור העברית עומדת עתה על הפרק, ועוד מעט תפול ולא תוסיף קום.

In general, I tell you, literature of Hebrew is now on the agenda, and just a step more and it will fall down and will not continue to stay.<sup>32</sup>

(17)

... כי על ארבע דברים הקולטור עומדת ...

... because culture stands on the four things ...<sup>33</sup>

In the 1910s, all the internationalisms given above were superseded either by other forms of the same notions with ending ה- or by their Hebrew counterparts; thereby the problem of a huge number of new lexis that constitute groups of gender agreement exceptions was solved. Since then the model has been admitted in European Hebrew and in Israeli Hebrew as well, as in the words: מודרניזציה, קריקטורה, פרנגמטיקה, סמנטיקה (modernization, caricature, pragmatics, semantics).

## 8 MORPHOLOGY AND GRAMMATICAL ADAPTATION OF LOANWORDS

### 8.1 Vowel Ending of Loan Nouns

In the 1860s to 1880s, the vowel ending of loan nouns whether *a* or *e* (since in Ashkenazic Hebrew both of them were pronounced as *e*), was signed usually by 'ayn, even though the number of such loanwords was small. At times their agreement was according to the feminine, following German grammar, and at other times their agreement was masculine, as is shown in the examples below:

(18)

... סינאדע אחת ...

... one synod [FEM]<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 3 Sen 1872, p. 57.

<sup>32</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 2 Feb 1866, p. 5.

<sup>33</sup> *Ha-Yom*, 21 May 1886, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 11 Apr 1883, p. 113.

(19)

... ישלחו לידי על אדרעססע הרשום

... send to me to the address, that is inscribed. [MASC]<sup>35</sup>

In late 1880s–1890s the same words with alef ending become more popular:

(20)

האדרעססא שלי לעת עתה

My current address.<sup>36</sup>

However, in the 1900s the new tendency can be observed: the vowel endings of loanwords become signed with *hey* in increasing frequency.

(21)

... עפ"י אדריסה ידועה לו

... According to [the] address known for him [FEM]<sup>37</sup>

That seemingly orthographic change includes vowel ending loanwords in the framework of traditional Hebrew grammar, attributing them as common feminine nouns. Since the last vowel is signed with *hey*, no more variations in gender agreement of such loanwords occur.

Moreover, in the same period groups of loanwords with consonant endings that were agreed in the feminine (like -IK and -UR nouns) accept *hey* endings; thus the whole system of gender agreement of loanwords fits into Hebrew grammar, as it does in Israeli Hebrew.

(22)

... לא יתנהג על פי פוליטיקה ריאקציונית

... will not behave according to reactionary policy. [FEM]<sup>38</sup>

(23)

... לברוא ריפובליקה דימוקראטית

... to create democratic republic [FEM]<sup>39</sup>


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<sup>35</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 14 Aug 1867, p. 257.

<sup>36</sup> *Ha-Melitz*, 24 Sep 1889, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> *Ha-Zfira*, 2 Arp 1905, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup> *Ha-Tzifira*, 9 Jul 1905, p. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ha-Zman*, 8 Jan 1907, p. 3.

(24)

... קולאטרה פולנית

... Polish culture. [FEM]<sup>40</sup>

A similar tendency to prefer ה forms for internationalisms can be seen in later Israeli Hebrew in such words as מנדרינה, דיאתזה, and others.

## 8.2 Morphological Adaptation

Two general tendencies of morphological adaptation of internationalisms appeared in the 1890s and become dominant in the 1910s: (1) advanced grammatical adaptation of internationalisms and (2) switching from Germanized to Slavicized models, along with general unification of derivational models. New loanwords appeared in Hebrew as well; other internationalisms, which had been used in Hebrew press for many years heretofore, changed morphologically.

Examples of that morphological switching and grammatical adaptation in several loan noun types are given below. It is worth mentioning that Slavic gender markers are rather close to Hebrew, since feminine nouns mostly have vowel endings, and masculine nouns have consonant endings, unlike the German language, which makes gender distribution and grammatical adaptation easier and promotes the vitality of those models in Israeli Hebrew.

*TET* → *TA*

Internationalism with טעט ending, and thus attributed to feminine in German, usually received new forms with feminine marker:

(25)

... פראפעססארען של האוניווערזיטעט

... professors of the university.<sup>41</sup>

(26)

מיניסטער הצבא והצי קרנסקי הראה בנאומו שנשא בשעת פתיחת האוניברסיטה של הספנים

Minister of the Army and Fleet Kerensky noticed in his speech, which he held during the opening of the university of sailors.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Ha-Tzifira* 14 Jan 1913, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 28 Feb 1883, p. 69.

<sup>42</sup> *Hoom*, 21 Aug 1917, p. 3.

*SION* → *SLA*

Internationalisms with סיון ending that are of feminine gender in German changed for Slavicized סיה with feminine marker:

(27)

... ויפקיד גם קאמיססיון מיוחדת לשים עין פקוחה

... and he will also institute a special committee to keep a close eye on.<sup>43</sup>

(28)

... נבחרה קומיסיה מיוחדת שתעסוק בקבוץ החומר

... special committee, that would be concerned with collecting of the material, was elected<sup>44</sup>

*CION* → *CLA*

Internationalisms with ציה ending constitute one of the largest group of loanwords. A switch to the Slavonicized model occurred in the 1900s–1910s. Most of the loanwords of the type were used in previous Hebrew press with ציאן suffix. Thus, the words קאסאציאן, קאנווענציאן “cassation, convention,”<sup>45</sup> used in 1870s, changed to קונבנציה,<sup>46</sup> קסציה<sup>47</sup> in 1910s. The contextual examples are given below.

(29)

... והמה אזנו חקרו ותקנו יסודות העדה על פי חקי הקאנסטיטוציאן לטוב לה

... and they poised, investigated and corrected basic principles of the community according to the constitution [and] for the good of it.<sup>48</sup>

(30)

לאלפי רבבות עבדים שנשתחררו ברוסלאנד יש להם תקוה יותר מאל העבדים השחורים באמעריקא לשוב במהרה אל מצב הציוויליזאציאן

Many thousands of slaves that have been liberated in Russia have more hope to come back to the civilization than black slaves in America do.<sup>49</sup>

Usage of those Slavic models in Israeli Hebrew borrowings was noticed by Wexler, but for him it is a matter of spoken Hebrew “revival”, or more precisely relexifica-

<sup>43</sup> *Ha-Tzifira*, 25 Nov 1879, p. 345.

<sup>44</sup> *Hoom*, 4 Nov 1917, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> Both in *Ha-Magid*, 27 Jan 1875, p. 28.

<sup>46</sup> *Hoom*, 26 Jul 1917, p. 3.

<sup>47</sup> *Ha-Tzifira*, 14 Oct 1913, p. 3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 1 Jan 1883, p. 2.

<sup>49</sup> *Ha-Magid*, 16 Jan 1866, p. 1.

tion, in Israel, whereas present materials demonstrate that those models were adopted in written the Hebrew of the Russian Hebrew press.<sup>50</sup>

### IUM

Some loanwords with **יום** ending changed their form to **יה**, like in the word **גימניה** **גימנאזיום** →, thereby preserving the feminine gender of the nouns. Other internationalisms with the same ending were still widely used in 1910s, like **קונסרבטוריום**. In addition, certain loanwords with **יום**-ending were used alongside the new form with **יון**-ending, like **מיניסטריון = מיניסטעריום**.

Although those **יום**-forms were present in German, their resistance can be explained through the third tendency of the period, namely a tendency to prefer borrowing or even creating latinised/grecisized words, as will be discussed below.

### ION

In the period of the 1900s–1910s, various loanwords acquired the Greek suffix *ion* in Hebrew, even if it was not present in source languages; thus, it began to act as a productive Hebrew suffix. The following are some examples: “principle,”<sup>51</sup> **פרינציפיון** **סיקריתאריון** “secretariat,”<sup>52</sup> **פרוליטריון** “proletariat,”<sup>53</sup> **קומיסריון** “comissariat,”<sup>54</sup> **הסטוריון** “historian.”<sup>55</sup> The same phenomenon is observed in Israeli Hebrew: **קניון**, **טכניון** (Technion, shopping center).

According to the same tendency in Hebrew of the 1910s, internationalisms with **יוזום** ending were sometimes preferred to their counterparts with **זום** ending, even though the last model was used in Slavic languages: **אבסולוטיזום**, **סוציאליזום**, **אידיוטזום**, **אימפריאליזום**, **אידויטיזום** and others. When Simon Dubnov formulated his theory of autonomism (автономизм – avtonomizm in Russian) at the beginning of 20th century in his articles in the Russian language, the concept entered the Hebrew press in the form **אוטונומיזום**.<sup>56</sup>

## 9 DERIVATIONAL ACTIVITY OF LOANWORDS

Loan adjectives as well as adjectives derived from loan stems were hardly used in the Hebrew press of the 19th century. In the 1900s–1910s, the number of new adjectives derived from loan stems began to gradually grow – they were adjectives formed on the model of relative adjectives by means of *i* suffix and with all corre-

<sup>50</sup> See Paul Wexler, “The Slavonic ‘Standard’ of Modern Hebrew,” *The Slavonic and East-European Review* 73 (1995): 202.

<sup>51</sup> *Hoom*, 3 Aug 1917, p. 3.

<sup>52</sup> *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 2.

<sup>53</sup> *Ha-Tzifira*, 13 Sep 1912, p. 2.

<sup>54</sup> *Hoom*, 2 Apr 1918, p. 3.

<sup>55</sup> *Hoom*, 1 Sep 1917, p. 1.

<sup>56</sup> See Simon Dubnov, “Autonomism as the Basis of the National Program,” *Voskrebod*, 12 (1901).

sponding forms of feminine and plural, for example: פוליטי,<sup>57</sup> נורמלי,<sup>58</sup> פרימיטיבי,<sup>59</sup> דימוקרטי,<sup>60</sup> אימפריאליסטי,<sup>61</sup> ריאלי,<sup>62</sup> אידיאלי,<sup>63</sup> שוביניסטי,<sup>64</sup> סינטימנטלי.<sup>65</sup>

Moreover, relative adjectives were formed in the period so easily that we find in *Hoom* a number of occasional new adjectives mostly formed from proper nouns but only: התעמולה הפוגרומית “the group of Vinaver,”<sup>66</sup> הקבוצה הווינאברית “the program agitation,”<sup>67</sup> המרד האירלנדי “Irish rebellion” (rebellion in Ireland).<sup>68</sup>

In the same period, abstract nouns began to be formed out of the relative adjectives by means of the formant *ut* that was pronounced *us* in Ashkenazic Hebrew, and therefore was aligned with the corresponding Latin formant *us*, propensity for which was discussed above: סולידריות,<sup>71</sup> נייטראליות,<sup>70</sup> דימוקרטיות,<sup>69</sup> ביורוקרטיות,<sup>72</sup> and so on.

At least three verbs derived from loan stems that were rarely used at the end of the 19th century began to be used more and more frequently in the 1900s-1910s: לארגן, לטלגרף, לטלפן. The verb לארגן began to be used in the form of Passive Participle as well:

(31)

הוא מודיע, כי אופוזיציה מאורגנת איננה.

He reports that the opposition is not organised.<sup>73</sup>

## 10 CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER DISCUSSION

Summarizing the development of international loanword adaptation in the Eastern European Hebrew press from the 1860s to the 1910s, we can observe several tendencies: (1) unification of the models of loanwords adaptation; (2) focus on Germanized models changed to focus on Slavicized models; (3) propensity toward Greek/Latin endings; (4) advanced grammatical adaptation of internationalisms; (5)

<sup>57</sup> *Hoom*, 5 Mar 1918, p. 3.

<sup>58</sup> *Hoom*, 26 Jul 1917, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> *Hoom*, 19 Oct 1917, p. 2.

<sup>60</sup> *Hoom*, 9 Sep 1917, p. 3.

<sup>61</sup> *Hoom*, 21 Mar 1918, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> *Hoom*, 24 Jul 1917, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Hoom*, 26 Aug 1917, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> *Hoom*, 7 Nov 1917, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup> *Hoom*, 20 Mar 1918, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 4.

<sup>67</sup> *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> *Hoom*, 5 Sep 1917, p. 3.

<sup>69</sup> *Hoom*, 21 May 1918, p. 4.

<sup>70</sup> *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Hoom*, 17 May 1917, p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> *Hoom*, 6 Aug 1917, p. 3.

<sup>73</sup> *Ha-Tz'fira*, 5 Sep 1913, p. 1.

derivational activity of loanwords; (6) differentiation of Hebrew and Yiddish orthography of internationalisms as a result of the gradual dissolution of Hebrew-Yiddish diglossia.

There is no generally accepted conception of what happened with the Hebrew language from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. The most prudent term for the language change is probably modernization. In the course of Hebrew modernization, new lexis in general and internationalisms in particular played a significant role.

Basic patterns of international lexis adaptation in Israeli Hebrew that seem to be obvious and unquestionable for modern Hebrew speakers were formed at the beginning of the 20th century in East European and predominantly Russian Hebrew far away from both the Hebrew Language Committee and first generations of so called Hebrew native speakers, or to be more precise first generations of Hebrew monolinguals in Palestine that had nativized the language. However, the latter conceptions could be reconciled with my data, if we claim that the new Hebrew/Israeli language emerged on the level of spoken speech, whereas the written language demonstrates the continuity of the Hebrew of previous stages. In this case the sociolinguistic situation in Israel should be regarded as diglossia, which, if so, is a topic for future investigation. However, the task seems to be further complicated by the fact that the process of Hebrew language nativization is not a matter of distant Israeli history, but an everlasting factor of Israeli social reality that definitely influences language development.

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