

# Arabic Traces in the Hebrew Writing of Arab Authors in Israel

*Aadel Shakkour*

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# INTRODUCTION

## A. Theoretical background

The subject of the present study is the influence of Arabic on the Hebrew of Arab writers in Israel. In my MA thesis (Shakkour 2009) I discussed the influence of Arabic on the Hebrew writings of Anton Shammas; however, so far no comprehensive study has been made of the traces of Arabic in the literary works of other Arab writers (Naim Araydi, Sayyid Qashu, Atallah Mansour, Gerries Tannous, Muhammad Ghanayim, Usama Abu Ghush and Salman Natour) originally composed in Hebrew or translated from Arabic into Hebrew by an Arab writer. Arabs writing literature in Hebrew is a relatively new phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> A number of researchers have described this phenomenon, in an attempt to explain the motives for its emergence, but have ignored the lexical and syntactic influence of Arabic on the works in question.<sup>2</sup>

The study below is based on the examination of the writings of numerous authors, from a variety of cultural and educational backgrounds. The research questions addressed here are the following:

Is the influence of Arabic equally great among most authors; what can we conclude from this?

Is there a connection between an author's education and the nature and strength of Arabic influences?

Do most authors adhere in equal measure to Arabic texts when they are translated into Hebrew, and how does the research affect the strength of the influences?

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<sup>1</sup> See Shakkour 2013, pp. 1-17.

<sup>2</sup> Abu Bakr (2002) studied the influence of Arabic as a native language on the written Hebrew of 17-18-year-old Arab students taking the matriculation exams in the years 1996-2000, but made no mention of the influence of Arabic on the Hebrew writings of Arab authors. On the influence of Arabic on Modern Hebrew, see Mar'i (2012, pp. 10-17).



Do Arab authors tend to preserve Arabic syntactic structures when writing in Hebrew or when translating their texts into Hebrew; what are the motivations for this?

Many prominent writers today compose literature in a language that is not their native tongue, that is, in the language of the “other”. Some use the language of the other to express personal experiences or emotions, others use it on official occasions when speaking before a certain audience, and still others choose it freely and consciously because they feel comfortable and fluent in it. Discussing the other in literary research means focusing on the literature of minorities, minor literature, literature of groups that have historically been marginalized, and may also be motivated by a general liberal interest in strengthening the identity of cultural groups and in the promotion of cultural variation and multiculturalism. Focusing on the other shows to what extent culture itself is a variable ideological structure.<sup>3</sup> A good example of writing in the language of the other is that of the Algerian author Assia Jabbār, who consciously chose to write in French, the language of the colonizers in Algeria. She felt the need to express the brutality of French colonialism in the French language, and to use that language to document the Algerian people’s rebellion and heroic struggle against the French enemy. As she explained, writing in the language of the other means making the other tangible and discernable.<sup>4</sup>

Margolin discussed syntactic traces of Arabic in the language of Anton Shammas’ novel *Arabesques*.<sup>5</sup> She describes the many Arabic traces in this Hebrew novel as stylistic embellishments, that decorate the text like arabesques. They do not mar the quality of the novel’s Hebrew, but create “a literary language that differs from all the languages of Hebrew literature so far”.<sup>6</sup> Shammas was able to create such a language because of his intimate acquaintance with contemporary written Hebrew on one hand, and the linguistic culture of modern written Arabic on the other. His achievement thus reflects the diglossia in which he lives, as an Israeli Arab writer who is fluent in both Hebrew and Arabic.

<sup>3</sup> Buchweitz, Marī and Fragman 2010, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Jabbār 2003, pp. 19-27.

<sup>5</sup> Margolin 2003, pp. 53-60; Margolin 1996, pp. 296-348.

<sup>6</sup> Prof. Menahem Pery, editor of ‘סרטיא בת השד הרע’, Shammas’ Hebrew translation of Emile Habibi’s *سرايا بنت الغول* (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*), praises the translator for having produced a masterpiece which succeeds in conveying the qualities of Habibi’s Arabic in a type of Hebrew which he created.

## B. Bilingual literary activities of Arab writers in Israel

Any minority that lives adjacent to a dominant majority will be affected by the latter in many ways, in culture, customs and language. The evidence for this is readily available from a study of history, for example Spain during the period of Muslim rule. Spanish society was greatly influenced by Arabic and borrowed hundreds of Arabic words. The same was true of the Arab world during the Ottoman period, when numerous Turkish words entered Arabic (Dana 2000, p. 13). The same is true of the Arabs of Israel, a minority within a country with a Hebrew-speaking Jewish majority; this minority, too, is of course affected by this in numerous ways, especially in the linguistic domain, as a minority that speaks Hebrew fluently.

Among the Arabs of Israel Hebrew plays an important role in everyday life. Almost all Arabs have some command of Hebrew. Hebrew is taught in all Arab schools, and daily contact between Jews and Arabs have made this language a necessary element of life, and has enhanced its status within Arab society.

A good working knowledge of Hebrew among the Arabs of Israel gives them access to the dominant Jewish majority and to its social, economic and educational resources. Language is the main mechanism for interpersonal communication with the outside world, and a means for strengthening social frameworks and cultural awareness (Mar'i 2001, pp. 45-46). For this reason, Hebrew is an important tool in Israeli Arabs' everyday lives (Amara 2002, pp. 86-101).

Contact between Arabs and Hebrew speakers takes place in many different places: government offices, the workplace, restaurants, etc. Because of this contact, numerous Hebrew words and phrases have entered colloquial Arabic and are in common use among Arabs in Israel, for example *be-seder* ("ok"), *'aruts* ("channel"), *mivisa* ("sale"), *qanyon* ("shopping mall"), *matsil* ("lifeguard") and many more.<sup>7</sup> The use of Hebrew words and sentences by Israeli Arabs is not uniform, but takes place at different levels.<sup>8</sup> The extent of borrowing depends on gender, age, place of

<sup>7</sup> Dana (1983, pp. 47-49) and Amara (1999, pp. 81-103) speak of "linguistic merger" (الدمج اللغوي) in spoken Arabic, that is, the inclusion of Hebrew words and even complete sentences in one's speech, for example: *شئت تבלه ال ليغه وش لك نوهر* ("Did you see the league chart? Not the youth [league chart], the adult one").

<sup>8</sup> Amara (1986, p. 3) notes that Arabic also borrowed terms from English, as did many other languages, especially in the fields of science and technology. In this

residence, frequency of contact, etc. Thus Hebrew words are used by men more frequently than by women, since Arab men have closer contact with Jewish society than Arab women, especially in the workplace and in government offices. Young people are more adept in Hebrew than the elderly. The former's exposure to Hebrew is greater, because young people spend more of their leisure time in places of amusement in Jewish cities and because they are exposed to publications in Hebrew, especially newspapers, which help improve their Hebrew and cause them to use Hebrew words when conversing in Arabic (Amara 2002, p. 87).

Geography and place of residence are also significant factors in the use of Hebrew by Israeli Arabs. The closer one's place of residence is to Jewish urban centers, the greater the influence of the Hebrew language. Thus the Arabs of the Triangle region and the Negev use Hebrew more extensively than the Arabs in Galilee, and in mixed cities and neighborhoods the everyday use of Hebrew is greater, since in such places the public institutions are shared by both Jews and Arabs. The daily contact between Jewish and Arab citizens has enhanced the status of Hebrew among Arabs (Amara and Mar'i 2002, p. 58).

Yet another factor that influences the use of Hebrew among Israel's Arabs is employment outside of one's place of residence. Employers in most workplaces are Hebrew-speaking Jews, as are managers, many of the employees, and the clients. The names of tools and machines used at work are Hebrew, as are their operating instructions. This state of affairs makes it necessary to learn Hebrew, which has come to play a dominant role in the lives of Arabs. We note here that Hebrew is not a difficult language for Arabs, who learn it quite quickly, since both Hebrew and Arabic are Semitic languages and share many lexical items.<sup>9</sup>

Although Hebrew is the second most important language for Israeli Arabs, both because it is necessary for contact with Jews in everyday life and because it serves as an agent of modernization, there still exist sociolinguistic restrictions on language convergence, as noted by Ben-Rafael (1994, p. 176):

The double identity (Palestinian and Israel) is reflected in the linguistic repertory of Palestinians in Israel. The tension between the two identities,

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respect, the close relations between Israel and the United States are also a factor: some English words entered Arabic through Hebrew.

<sup>9</sup> Amara and Kabha 1996, pp. 60-62; Mar'i 2002/3, pp. 133-136; Cohen 1968, p. 670; Dana 2000, pp. 165-170.

Israeli and Palestinian, has limited the degree of approach to Hebrew, the language of the dominant Jewish culture. In other words, the Arabs have adopted the strategy of linguistic integration. On one hand, they attempt, through the acquisition of high-level Hebrew language skills, to connect to the broad social network shaped by the majority culture, and on the other hand they preserve their identity by keeping their mother tongue.

Snir (1990, pp. 248-253) provided an extensive description of how the culture of the majority in Israel attempted to obtain control of the Arab minority after the establishment of the State of Israel, an event which the Arabs viewed as *nakba* (“tragedy”). The Israeli establishment strove to implement a process of reeducation and re-acculturation, through which the Arabs of Israel would be detached from the Palestinian heritage and become integrated into the life of the state.<sup>10</sup> Arab nationalism of any kind was perceived as dangerous; the Israeli establishment and the Israeli public maintained the view, expressed well by the poet Mahmoud Darwish before he left Israel, that every Arab was suspect and guilty. The Israeli establishment took harsh steps in order to achieve its aim. Thus, the Orientalist Michael Asaf, a major figure in the establishment’s Arabic arm in the 1950s, and as such the managing editor of establishment journals such as the weekly *Haqiqat al-amr*, the daily *Al-Yawm* and the journal *Sadā l-tarbiya* (Arabic-language organ of the Teachers’ Union), called for more Hebrew lessons in Arab primary schools, at the expense of Arabic language lessons. For this reason, he was unpopular among Arabs (especially Communists) and was often described as a disseminator of hatred, incitement and misinformation concerning the Arab minority.

In contrast to Snir, who argued that the majority culture in Israel failed in its attempts to gain control over the state’s Arab minority, Amir (1992, p. 41) is of the opinion that no such failure occurred, simply because the majority culture consciously and as a matter of principle refrained from any systematic and purposeful action. It wanted Arabs, if at all (in theory more than in fact), merely as adding a quaintly picturesque oriental flavor to the country, as law-abiding and hardworking subjects, and hoped they would be only passive players in party politics. It quite openly preferred Arabs who were “loyal to their people and their heritage”, even when

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<sup>10</sup> The main argument used by the policymakers who designed the Hebrew language curriculum was that Hebrew not only promotes the economic development of the Arab minority, but that it also helps it to integrate into the majority and to reduce existing gaps between the Arab and the Jewish communities in Israel (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999, p. 108).



fighting for their rights “in our enlightened regime”, but not as full-fledged Israelis.

Snir (1997, pp. 141-153) also described in detail the phenomenon of Arab authors who write in Hebrew, and explained the background for this development. He argues that it is connected to the broader issue of the interrelations between the majority and the minority cultures and to the political power balance between them, which affects the literary scene as well. Bilingual Arab authors have their roots in the culture of the Arab minority in Israel, which exists within the culture of the country’s Jewish majority. Usually, a minority culture adopts a position of opposition towards the culture of the majority; this is certainly the case here, where the majority culture, especially in the 1950s and the first half of the 1960s, attempted to gain control over the minority culture. Taha (2006, p. 1) discusses this at length:

The rulers of Israel after the war of 1948 found themselves with an Arab minority that remained planted in the homeland. Some viewed this minority as a historical danger and made every effort to expel it. Others planned to Hebraize man and land, and indeed did succeed in Hebraizing the names of territories, springs, rivers, some village names and some names of cities. For example, *Wādī l-Hawārīth* was changed to *Emeq Hefer*, the river *al-‘Ujā* was changed to *Yarqon*, the city of *Akkā* became *Ako*, *Yāfā* became *Yafō*, *Şafād* became *Tsfat* and *Bisān* became *Bet She’an*. But they did not succeed in changing the name of Arab lands and Arab people. At the beginning of Israeli rule over this Arab minority, the intention was to teach only Hebrew in Arab schools, in order to Hebraize the Arab minority. But this attempt failed, and so some Zionist intellectuals sought alternative plans to Hebraize this minority. On May 25 Eliahu Agasi, of the ruling MAPAI Party published an article in the newspaper *Davar* in which he called on Arab writers and poets in Israel to write in Hebrew, but his call was ignored. To the contrary, the Arabs of Israel rebelled against it, so Agasi changed his proposal and called on the Arabs to write Arabic using the Hebrew alphabet, in the same way that some medieval Jewish writers and poets wrote their works in Arabic using Hebrew letters. But this call, too, was rejected, and made the Arabs more determined to adhere to their own language. In fact, all these plans aimed at Hebraizing the minority created a huge response among Israel’s Arabs and made their adherence to the Arabic language and to writing Arabic correctly a matter of national pride. Indeed, the preservation of Arabic from any kind of Hebraization is a matter of national importance, no less than the preservation of Arab land; to the contrary, preservation of the Arabic language is more important than preservation of Arab land.

In response to efforts made by the culture of the majority to impose its cultural hegemony in the same way it imposed its political hegemony and to assimilate the culture of the minority within it, members of the minority engaged in intensive national cultural activity, the likes of which cannot be found in other Palestinian communities. This cultural confrontation is taking place against a backdrop of ambiguous interrelations: the Arab minority was the majority before the establishment of the State of Israel, and can still lay a claim to being the majority, if one takes the demographic balance in the entire Middle East into consideration. In contrast, the current Jewish majority is not only a minority in the Middle East, which is entirely Arab, but its collective consciousness is still suffused with the memory of existing as a minority throughout history, both in Palestine and in the Diaspora. Small wonder, then, that it still exhibits patterns of expression that typify minorities fighting for existence and hiding their power through these patterns.<sup>11</sup>

It only against the background of the dialectics of this complex political and cultural confrontation that it is possible to understand the complicated psychological and cultural world inhabited by the few authors who, unlike most members of the minority, certainly most of the intellectuals among them, did not restrict their use of Hebrew to practical communication purposes, but also wrote literature in that language. Snir notes that such linguistic-literary dualism is not unusual in societies in which a minority culture arises beside the culture of the majority, as a result of a system of political power relations. However, in Israel the high status of Arabic in the mostly Muslim minority's cultural and religious heritage has limited the production of works of literature in Hebrew to marginal groups, mainly Christians and Druze, for Arabic is not only the mother tongue, but also the language of religion, the Qur'an, scholarship and heritage (Mar'i 2002/3, p. 130). The phenomenon of Hebrew writings by Arabs emerged in the Hebrew literary system only in the course of the 1980s, in the wake of the activities of the Druze Naim Araydi and the Christian Anton Shammas.

Shammas was born in the village of Fasūṭa in Galilee (1950). He achieved renown through his translations of Emile Habibi's works from Arabic into Hebrew, the articles he wrote for Israeli newspapers, and especially his first novel, *Arabesques* (1986), the most important Hebrew work of literature ever composed by an Arab. Not only was it not originally written in Arabic, it was also never translated into Arabic, although its author is

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<sup>11</sup> See Grossman 1992, p. 199; Kayyal 2006, pp. 15-16.

one of the best Arabic-Hebrew translators (Margolin 1996, p. 18). The title *Arabesques* characterizes both the novel's content and its style. In content, it jumps around in space and time, with memory winding back and forth like a picturesque and twisted arabesque, while its style involves the use of numerous Arabic traces that serve as decoration. Naim Araydi was a Druze from the village of Maghār, where he lived with his family. He had a Ph.D. in Hebrew literature (his dissertation is about the poetry of Uri Zvi Greenberg). He was a well-known poet who received a number of prizes for his verses. Many of his poems, some in Arabic and others in Hebrew, have been translated into various languages and have appeared in poetry collections in Europe. *Fatal Christening (Tevila Qatlanit)* was his first novel (*Lexicon of Modern Hebrew Literature* 2005).

Snir (1990, p. 258) agrees with Hever (1989, pp. 193-196), that most locally-composed Arabic literature is still outside the Hebrew literary canon, although in the last two decades this literature has managed, albeit slowly, to break into the Hebrew canon and move from the rejected margins of the minority culture into the domain of the authoritative culture of the majority. This development is reflected in the growing number of translations into Hebrew, and its apex may be seen in attempts by Arab authors to write in Hebrew, the language of the majority.<sup>12</sup> Hever considers this a dramatic moment, in which the dialectic of power relations manifests itself through the cultural confrontation between the minority and the majority. In order to exhaust the possibilities of breaking through to the canonical center, the minority identifies weak spots in the majority culture and attacks them, thus forcing the majority's cultural mechanisms to grant it legitimacy, weight and significance.

Kochavi (1999, p. 267) notes that Shammas and Araydi, as well as others such as Ghanayim, constitute a cultural elite among Israel's Arabs. All

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<sup>12</sup> We note that writers such as Anton Shammas, Muhammad Ghanayim and Salman Natour received their formal education in the Israeli school system and adhered closely to the Hebrew source text. As a result, their translations show clear influences of Hebrew and suffer from a lack of linguistic uniformity. This approach, which treats Hebrew as a dominant culture, deepened the isolation of this translation activity in the view of the Arab target audience, which refused to accept the hegemony of Hebrew. Small wonder, then, that two prominent representatives of this school of translation, Shammas and Ghanayim, ceased their translation work, apparently due to fierce criticism on the part of Arabs both in Israel and abroad, and the feelings of unease that accompanied their attempts to bridge the gap between two mutually alienated cultures (Kayyal 2005, p. 132; Shammas 1985, pp. 18-19).

three have also been active in frameworks belonging to the Hebrew majority culture. They belong to a prestigious and important class, whose views are respected and whose members are perceived in Hebrew culture as authoritative experts on Arab culture. She argues that were it not for the prominent status which Shammas and Araydi enjoyed in both cultures, it was doubtful whether Israeli institutions and publishers would have asked them to edit anthologies (Shammas is the editor of *Bishney Qolot* [*With Two Voices*]) or journals (Ghanayim edits the journal *Mifgash* [*Encounter*], financed by the Histadrut labor organization), or would have agreed to published anthologies of their own making (Araydi edited *Hayalim shel Mayim* [*Soldiers of Water*]).

Snir (1997, pp. 142-143) insists that it is not for lack of space that any discussion of Arab authors' writings in Hebrew focuses on Araydi and Shammas, but rather it is because they are the only Arab writers since the establishment of the State of Israel whose works carry any weight at all in Hebrew literature, in contrast to other writers, whose compositions proved to have been only fleeting episodes, for example Atallah Mansour,<sup>13</sup> author of the first Hebrew novel composed by an Arab (*Be-Or Hadash—In a New Light*, 1966). Other Arab writers in Hebrew who have received media attention in the new millennium include Sayyid Qashu,<sup>14</sup> who received the Prime Minister's Prize for Hebrew Writers after the publication of his *Aravim Roqdim* (*Dancing Arabs*) and *Vayehi Boqer* (*And It Was Morning*) (2010), which were translated into several language and garnered considerable praise.<sup>15</sup> The latest novel by an Arab author in

<sup>13</sup> Born in the village of Jish in Upper Galilee. He studied in Lebanon in the years 1946-1950. He returned clandestinely to Israel in 1950, and obtained Israeli citizenship only ten years later. After his return he lived for a year in the kibbutz of Sha'ar ha-'Amaqim, where he began to learn Hebrew. He worked as a youth counselor and later as a journalist for the weekly *Ha-Olam Haze* (1954-1958). In the years 1958-1991 he was a reporter for the newspaper *Ha'aretz*. He wrote in Arabic, Hebrew and English.

<sup>14</sup> Born in Tira. His father was a banker and his mother a teacher. He was the second of four children. At the age of fifteen he was accepted to the School of Science and Art in Jerusalem, a boarding school considered the best of its kind in Israel. After graduation he studied philosophy and sociology at the Hebrew University. After college he worked as a reporter for the newspaper *Kol ha-'Ir*. Later he also wrote television reviews and a personal column. His captivating style and his refusal to become a kind of Uncle Tom expressing a synthetic type of "Israeliness" make him the target of nationalist criticism; however, this only served to enhance his prestige as a journalist.

<sup>15</sup> In *Dancing Arabs* Qashu describes his traumatic first encounter with Jewish society. It remained high on the bestseller list for eleven weeks, and was also well-



Hebrew is Sayyid Qashu's *Guf Sheni Yahid* (*Second Person Singular*, 2010).<sup>16</sup> In this connection we may also mention the authors Salman Natour, who wrote the Hebrew documentary book *Holkhim 'al ha-Rua' — Sihot Be-Beit Sha'an* (*Walking on the Wind—Conversations in Beit She'an*, 1992),<sup>17</sup> Jeries Tannous' Hebrew novel *Be-Tsel ha-Shezaf – Tmunot me-Hayeh Shekhunati* (*Under the Shade of the Jujube Tree – Pictures of the Life of My Neighborhood*, 2007),<sup>18</sup> and Odeh Bisharat's Hebrew novel *Hutsot Zaytuniyya* (*The Streets of Zatonia*, 2009).<sup>19</sup>

received abroad. It was translated into Italian, German, French, Dutch and English. In *And It Was Morning* Qashu describes a young family's move from the city to their parents' village. The move to the village is described as a disaster, the end of all dreams and hopes. The narrator discovers this truth immediately upon his arrival in the village, which he describes in extremely depressing tones.

<sup>16</sup> I have not included the Hebrew version of Odeh Bisharat's novel *Hutsot Zaytuniyya* (*The Streets of Zatonia*, 2009), because the author translated it together with Prof. Moshe Ron. It was originally published in Arabic (ساحات زونيبا - *Sāhāt Zanūbia*, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Born in Dāliyat al-Kamil, 1949. He studied philosophy at the Hebrew University and Haifa University. He is a writer, journalist, playwright and lecturer on philosophy and Arab culture, director of the Emile Toma Institute for Palestinian and Israeli Studies, and editor of the journal *Israeli Issues*, published in Ramallah. He has published twenty-five books: novels, short stories, literary criticism and books documenting the Palestinian memory. He translated David Grossman's *Ha-Zman ha-Tsahov* (*The Yellow Wind*) and Prof. Yeshaya Leibowitz's *Sihot 'al Mada' va-'Arakhim* (*Conversations on Science and Ethics*) from Hebrew into Arabic.

<sup>18</sup> Born in Maghār, 1937, to peasant parents. From 1956 lives in Acre. A retired educator, he taught Hebrew language and literature in Arab high schools for forty-eight years. He is a graduate of Haifa University's departments of Hebrew Language and Literature and of Arabic Language and Literature. He composes prose and poetry in both languages. So far he has published three novels and two dictionaries in Arabic, as well as two dictionaries entitled *Imut Na'im* (*Pleasant Confrontation*) about similarities and identical features between Hebrew and Arabic: Hebrew-Arabic and Arabic Hebrew. His *Under the Shade of the Jujube Tree* is written from the perspective of a boy from a peasant family, whose life proceeds mainly between one prank to another and the punishments he receives for them. Between stealing figs and trapping and freeing thrushes the extensive violence in the book—every page contains an act of violence, be it a kick from his brother or a thrashing by a priest or teacher—takes on almost a peaceable character.

<sup>19</sup> An Israeli Arab journalist and author, residing in the village of Yafi'. His family was displaced from the village of Ma'lul. He served as the head of the National Committee of Arab High School Students and the Arab Students' Union at Haifa University. He was the Secretary General of Hadash—Democratic Front for Peace

The literary activities of Araydi and Shammas were affected by the fact that they belonged to two mutually estranged cultural systems: the Arabic system, within which they were born and took their first literary steps, and the Hebrew system, into which they were cast, at first against their will and later as a conscious esthetic preference. It is thus not to be wondered that they focused mainly on the dividing line between Hebrew and Arabic literature. Both are well-known translators. Their natural talent, their well-developed spiritual world, their expressive skills, fluent Hebrew, unique style and modernist techniques, enable them to write Hebrew fluently, occasionally even more fluently than in their Arabic mother tongue.<sup>20</sup>

Snir (1997, pp. 142-143) adds that in Araydi's and Shammas' natural Arab environment they are an oddity because of their conscious esthetic connection to Hebrew culture, while in Hebrew literature they are an oddity not only as recently arrived foreigners, but also, and mainly, because their activity within the system is made possible by the fact that they are treated as representatives of a minority. Hebrew literature is prepared to accept them almost only as authors who fill the slot which the Israeli cultural system (like the political system) designates for minorities. Thus, they find themselves working within a culture which, to put it mildly, does not consider the minority's culture as its main focus. Still, as writers operating at the margins of Arabic literature who strive to reach the canonical center of the majority's culture, their writings are aimed mainly at a Jewish audience and deal almost exclusively with questions of cultural identity. The penetration of such writers into the Israeli cultural system is never preplanned; it always involves solitary individuals with certain cultural preferences, whose common denominator can only be discovered after the fact. An examination of Araydi's and Shammas' activity in Israeli

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and Equality (a political party) at the beginning of the 2000s and has a column in the newspapers *Ha'aretz* and *al-Itihād*.

<sup>20</sup> Tannous, for example, has explicitly declared that his Hebrew writing skills are better than those in Arabic: "My linguistic wealth in Hebrew was greater than in Arabic. In Hebrew I succeeded in finding several synonyms for every word. I felt freer". Tannous' excellent Hebrew is not only the result of many years of experience with the language and his love for it, but is also based on ideology: "It is not only my love for writing with two pens, like your great people in the Middle Ages. I also want to contribute something". He explains: "To sweeten the pill. After all, to dispute there are many contributors, but to reconciliation there are not". When Tannous waves in greeting to his neighbor Ofra and she responds with a smile, it is easy to become addicted to the spirit of coexistence which he exudes: "Look what a life together we have here. Not just coexistence, but living together".

culture reveals that they present two distinct models of members of the Arab minority who are active within Israeli culture.

Amir (1992, p. 40) disagrees with Snir and others who have expressed reservations concerning the writings of Arabs as “Hebrew” authors and who view the works of Shammas, Araydi and their like as a passing and atypical phenomenon.<sup>21</sup> He does not understand why Snir, Oren and others were “excited” at Shammas’ and Araydi’s acceptance as legitimate authors in Hebrew literature. According to Snir, only a Jew can be a Hebrew author; according to Oren, Hebrew literature perforce possesses “a national, Jewish tone” and must convey a “vision”, which in the nature of things must be Jewish and Zionist.<sup>22</sup> Amir (*ibid.*, p. 39) discusses the situation as described by Yosef Oren,<sup>23</sup> concerning the danger of blurring the identity of Hebrew literature as a literature possessing a Jewish national character. According to Oren, until less than fifty years ago Hebrew literature did indeed possess such a national character. He views the activity of authors such as Shammas and Araydi as “problematic”, because it presages an “unavoidable process” of mutual absorption of “authors of Jewish origin and authors from another national origin”. This process, if allowed to continue, will cause Hebrew literature eventually to lose its Jewish national character. As evidence for his thesis, Oren mentions the fact that even today most “Israeli authors of Jewish origin” do not address the problem of the national culture’s continuity; that writing which focuses on “actual Hebrew” values, ideas, topics and experiences is today perceived as merely “ethnic, old-fashioned and irrelevant literature”. Amir (*ibid.*, p. 40) views the Hebrew works of Arab authors as decisive evidence for the realization of the Canaanite vision; he adds that these works, rather than portending a melting pot of nationalities in Israel, mark its evolution towards a territorial, secular and democratic national society. He points out that every nation, every linguistic group, every national culture, every collective possessing any kind of linguistic-territorial uniqueness, whatever its religion or ethnicity, and usually also

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<sup>21</sup> An opinion which is similar to that of Mahmoud Darwish (2004, pp. 2-3), who views it as a “fad”. He believes it may signify an attempt at integration into Hebrew culture, perhaps as a rebellion against the Israelis in their own language.

<sup>22</sup> Amir points out that according to this approach, whoever is not of Jewish origin (especially if one is a native of this land, born and bred within the Arabic language and its culture) cannot of course belong. Even “loving stepsons”, to use Snir’s somewhat enthusiastic expression, are such that “their gift will not be well-received, nor their love”.

<sup>23</sup> A prominent literary critic, who has for many years analyzed the works of contemporary Hebrew literature.

whatever its ideology, accepts the “other” to some degree. In a world of nations, certainly in the modern world, no nation is isolated, and no culture can for any length of time avoid the integration of “others” for reasons of religion, ethnicity, gender or ideology or to prevent them from operating within its cultural systems. Amir speaks of a far-reaching development in our generation, namely a process of renewal and changes in values following the absorption of people from “outside” who participate in the creative activities of cultures with a long history of distinct national and linguistic features. Clear examples of this process can be seen in the fertile contributions made by writers and intellectuals of Indian, Caribbean, Vietnamese, Polish, Russian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Greek, Spanish, Canadian, American, Australian, Arab, Israeli, Chinese, Japanese and African origin to the literature, art and music of countries such as Britain and France, not to speak of the United States, which appears to still possess a limitless capacity for absorption, melting and integration. The Muslim Arab culture, whose values and achievements, at least until the Ottoman period, have been highly praised, arose and flourished thanks to members of the cultures which it conquered, crushed and “digested” (speakers of Aramaic, Persian, Greek and Coptic; Zoroastrian Iranian, members of various eastern Christian denominations, Jews and Berber). Without all these nations, with their ancient heritages and cultural traditions, the sword-wielding camel riders who came out of the Arabian desert in the seventh century under the flag of Islam would have left no historical or cultural imprint. Amir presents another example, in question form, based on the history of the Jewish people:

Does not its “canonical” historical memory provide hints as thick as the beam of an oil-press for mutual nourishment between it and its neighbors, for constant processes of assimilation and integration from which it was built and nourished (and in hindsight also suffered, it is true) from the dawn of its history? And the demographic abilities it demonstrated, on the eve of the destruction of its second temple and in its wake, for rebelling against the powerful Roman Empire and for confronting it time and again? Did this not come about to a crucial extent thanks to their semi-Hellenistic kings who imposed their rule and their Judaism on entire populations in territories such as Edom and “the Galilee of nations”, territories which would later give rise to rebel leaders such as Yohana of Gush Halav and Shim'on Son of the Convert (“Bar Giora”), just as they apparently gave rise to Jesus the Galilean and his first disciples, founders of a new religion that spread over the entire world?

Shammas and Araydi were graduates of the establishment school system, which strove to educate Arab intellectuals to identify with the aims of a



state whose national character performance makes them second-class citizens. Shammas (1986, p. 212) tells of the humiliation involved in adopting the occupier's symbols, such as the gigantic star of David which one of his teachers constructed of six wooden beams, on the orders of the school principal, who wished to impress the Jewish superintendent who had been invited to observe the students' achievements during their first year of public school. Snir (1992, p. 7) speaks of the various activities in which Shammas and Araydi engaged out of a sense of mission, derived from their profound belief in their ability to participate in shaping Israeli society. Already in the 1970s Shammas spoke of the new generation, which manages to break down walls, overcome the Hebrew language barrier, and attempts to reach other fields. This generation enjoyed both worlds: Its knowledge of Hebrew causes it to make its acquaintance with unfamiliar experiences, through Hebrew literature and foreign literature translated into Hebrew, while through its knowledge of Arabic it becomes acquainted with the latest achievements of modern Arabic literature. Qashu, too, speaks of a new generation that has overcome the language barrier and tries to reach new fields (2002, p. 1):

It is difficult for an Arab to write in Hebrew. It is not so much a linguistic difficulty, as it is a difficulty to address the Israeli reading public at eye level. An author who writes in Hebrew takes into account the fact that he speaks to his audience at eye level. An author who writes in Hebrew takes into consideration the fact that he is addressing an Israeli audience, and that not always, in fact only quite rarely, will one find Arabs who are well-versed in Israeli culture and are fluent in the language that speaks to Israel, or to the reader of Hebrew. I hope very much that the Palestinian citizens of Israel will not be annihilated in the coming years; I have no doubt that then there will be many good writers. I believe that oppression leads to creativity, or at least gives rise to a need to create. The problem is that this is still a society which pushes its talented sons into the liberal professions; arts and literature do not yet carry weight in Arab society. This is the way of a minority that seeks professions that will help it survive. I believe that in the second or perhaps the third generation of Palestinian education inside Israel a creative generation will arise that will conquer the country's cultural stages. If we continue to live together, I am certain that we will play a role similar to that which the blacks fulfill in the United States. As for me, I still dream to be the Arab Cosby.

Araydi and Shammas, writers in the two languages, often feel like steppe wolves suffering the hell of a life lived in two cultures, two crisscrossing faiths (Hesse 1971, p. 26). Thus Shammas felt from the beginning that the path he had chosen embodies a significant statement about his Arab-Palestinian identity. As someone who, in his own words, chose unwillingly



demand considerable skill and talent in both source and target languages. The effort involved can be greater than that of writing the original composition. Translation is performed in the belief that meanings can be retained even when expressed in different words, including the words of another language. Translation has been said to be “a thankless job”. People have coped with the obstacles involved in translating texts from one language to another since antiquity; past examples are translations of the Bible, and the transfer of Persian, Indian and other intellectual writings into Arabic.<sup>25</sup>

Students of language, literature and philosophy who discovered translation as a distinct discipline known today as “translation studies”, first developed concepts and research methods for these studies based on their original fields of specialization, but gradually independent research methods for the study of translation have evolved. James Holmes, an American researcher at Amsterdam University, appears to have been the first to have given the discipline its name and called for treating it as an independent field of study at a conference held in Copenhagen in 1972.<sup>26</sup> Holmes’ lecture at that conference marked an important point in time in the evolution of translation studies, since it was the first attempt to define it as a scientific discipline and to delineate its structures. However, its beginnings as a discipline that uses methodologies and theoretical frameworks based on other disciplines in order to study a broad range of issues related to translation, can be traced back to the 1970s. Today a variety of theoretical approaches to the study of translation exist: functional-communicative, linguistic, psycholinguistic-cognitive, and polysystem theory. The variety of schools and methodologies used for the study of translation is considered by some scholars as an advantage that has helped translation studies to develop into a scientific discipline.

Toury, who treats translation as a cultural phenomenon, puts the concept of “norms” at the center of his theoretical approach. The concept, which originated in work by Levy and Even-Zohar (Weissbrod 1989, p. 3), refers to inter-subjective factors, which are the main constraints operating on any behavioral, social and cultural activity (Kayyal 2006, p. 5). Norms are located between two end points of constraints: at one end there are objective rules, and at the other idiosyncratic, subjective rules.<sup>27</sup> The act of

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<sup>25</sup> Blum-Kulka 1976, p. 12; Weissbrod 2007, p. 15.

<sup>26</sup> Kayyal 2000, p. 2; 2006, pp. 1-2; Toury 1995, p. 7; Weissbrod, *ibid.*, p. 25; Gentzler 1993, p. 74.

<sup>27</sup> Toury 1972, pp. 223-224; 1974, p. 366; 1977, p. 6; 1995, pp. 54-55.

translation depends on norms at all its stages. The translator fulfills a social function, and usually knows what the preferred translation behavior is in a given socio-cultural situation (Toury 1995, p. 53). In principle a translator can choose either to obey these norms and be rewarded by society, for example by having the translated text published and receiving favorable reviews, or to ignore the norms, at the risk of negative reactions, for example refusal to publish the translated text, and negative reviews, or none at all (Toury 1995, p. 249; Kayyal 2006, p. 5). Norms<sup>28</sup> can change with changing social values; they can become rules or even laws, or they can lose their authority and become invalid. Norms that are in effect in a given translation sector may become organized into a normative system, with hierarchical relations among its components (Toury 1977, p. 11; Kayyal, *ibid.*, p. 6).

Many scholars have discussed the translator's task. According to Blum Kulka (1976, p. 13) a translator into Hebrew should be required to fit the register of his translation with that of the source text, since Israeli Hebrew in its natural uses possesses clear register distinctions. Walter (1993) discussed the translator's task at length. He defines it (p. 44) as finding an appropriate tone in the target language, one that evokes an echo of the source text. This feature distinguishes translation from the art of composing a work of literature, for the latter never seeks a tone of language *per se*, in its totality, but always directly concerns itself with specific linguistic content contexts. In contrast to the original work, a translation does not view itself as existing within the forest of language itself, but rather remains outside. Without crossing its boundary, a translation calls on the source text to enter into the one unique place which returns in its own language the echoes of the text written in another language. Dudin (2009, pp. 7-8) also mentions the translator's task: "The translator's task is not to transfer the thoughts or the feelings of another mechanically, for literary translation is more important than such things; it is a creative act, and a translator is a creative writer like any other".

In the context of the present study the term "linguistic interference" is emphasized. This term refers<sup>29</sup> to the intervention and reflection of the

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<sup>28</sup> For more on types of translation norms, see Toury 1980, pp. 53-57; 1995, pp. 51-56; Kayyal 2000, pp. 6-7; 2006, pp. 5-6.

<sup>29</sup> Amara (1999, p. 25), for example, speaks of extensive interference of Hebrew in the Arabic that is spoken in Israel. The source of this interference, in his opinion, lies in the fact that Hebrew is the dominant language in Israeli Arab society's modernization process, and fluency in Hebrew serves as a tool for reaching the same economic, educational and cultural levels as in Jewish society. But Amara

repertory, the rules and the norms of a given language, Arabic in our case, when intentionally realized in another language, Hebrew in our case (Kayyal 2005, p. 129). According to Toury (1980, pp. 71-78) interference is present in any translation, at least to some degree; in other words, it is impossible to translate from one language into another without interfering in the text. Toury (1995, pp. 274-279) proposes some ideas for a law of interference:

- (1) For interference not to occur in a translation, special conditions and/or great efforts on the translator's part are necessary.
- (2) Interference can take two forms: 1. Negative transfer, that is, deviations from the target system's rules and norms under the influence of the source language, and 2. Positive transfer, that is, choosing linguistic forms and structures that exist in the target language in any case, but in a way that is affected by the source language.
- (3) Interference is influenced by the mental and cognitive processes that are involved in the act of translation, giving rise to what Toury called "discourse transfer", in which the source text imposes itself on the translator (Weissbrod 1989, p. 253).
- (4) There is a clear connection between linguistic interference and the translator's treatment of the source text as a collection of units rather than as an integral entity.
- (5) The more the translator takes the character of the source text into consideration when formulating his text, the greater the interference, unless the translator is extremely talented.
- (6) Socio-cultural factors can affect the extent to which interference will be tolerated. Toleration tends to increase when the translation is made from a very prestigious or a majority culture/language, especially if the target culture/language is "weak" or that of a minority. But the extent of toleration is not necessarily identical at every textual and linguistic level of the target system.

#### **D. Languages in contact, specifically Hebrew and Arabic**

Since the present study is about the influence of Arabic on the Hebrew writings of Arab authors in Israel, an overview of contact linguistics is in

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also points out that various factors have worked towards limiting the interference of Hebrew, including the Arab-Israeli conflict, which has intensified tensions between Jews and Arabs in Israel, the fact that most Jews and Arabs live in separate areas, and more.

order.<sup>30</sup> Human collectives make cultural contact in many forms. Language is the basic medium for communication between peoples and between individuals, and also serves as a tool for the transfer of cultural objects. While the forms of contact are quite varied, it is the same medium, language, that mediates between cultures. According to Amara (2005, p. 26), language is an important factor in socialization among children. It is not merely a tool of communication, but also constitutes an essential component in the socialization of the individual. Language not only transfers content, but is itself also content. When two nations come in contact, because geographical proximity, trade or conquest, their languages are affected mutually. In our case, Hebrew and Arabic are languages which historical events have brought into contact with each other at various times in history. When this happens, the two linguistic systems in question meet and a partial intermingling takes place, with the result that linguistic categories of one language affect the other (Basal 2004, p. 32). Wāfi (1971, p. 71) notes that every encounter between two languages or two dialects, whatever the cause or the intensity, will of necessity lead to mutual influence; in other words, no language can for long remain immune to the influence of a language with which it is in contact.

Weinreich, one of the greatest theorists of contact linguistics provides the following definition (1953, p. 7): "The practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism". He argues (*ibid.*, p. 14) that languages in contact experience transfer in the lexicon, phonology and syntax. Transfer usually occurs when a bilingual speaker uses words from the lending language in the borrowing language, or identifies a phoneme in the secondary system with another in the primary system (the mother tongue), to whose rules he adapts that phoneme.

Israeli Arabs provide a classical example of bilingualism, since they are speakers of Hebrew, in addition to their Arabic native tongue. Basal (2004, p. 32) applies to Arabic Ferguson's (1959, p. 336) distinction between a "high variety", classical Arabic in this case, and the colloquial<sup>31</sup> "low

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<sup>30</sup> Pei (1970, p. 96) notes that linguists recently began to discuss the concept of "languages in contact". Structural analysis of languages shows that the structures of languages in geographical proximity become similar to each other, even when they have disparate origins; such languages develop shared parameters and features as a result of being used by speakers located in a single environment, not because one language quotes another.

<sup>31</sup> Freiha (1964, p. 258) rejects out of hand the claim that spoken Arabic is considered of low status, since it is the language of everyday speech, and so is of no lower status than literary Arabic.



variety”, which is in everyday use and does not adhere to the normative rules of the classical language. In spoken Arabic the quantity of foreign elements is relatively larger than in literary Arabic, which attempts to preserve classical norms. In encounters between cultures language serves as the main medium, but the balance of power usually involves the linguistic dominance of one side, which seems to be associated with the cultural dominance of that side.

Higa (1979, p. 278) discussed the borrowing of lexical items as a sociolinguistic phenomenon which reflects a facet of cultural behavior. She noted that the process of lexical borrowing and its results reflect the main aspects and characteristics of both the lending and the borrowing culture, and formulated the following questions about inter-language borrowing as a methodological basis for studying this issue: What are the conditions for a word being borrowed? Who does the borrowing? Why are foreign words borrowed? How are they borrowed? How does the act of borrowing take place? What words are borrowed? To what extent are the borrowed words used in the borrowing language? Basal (Ibid., p. 33) argues that words are borrowed in order to fill a lexical gap in the borrowing language, or due to social motives, as when one is influenced by the dominant language and uses its words following cultural contact, commercial relations or conquest.

Borrowing can have two sources, oral and written. According to Gluska (1999, p. 110), borrowing from the spoken language happens in every case of contact between languages, and clearly has a sociolinguistic background. Society as a whole participates in the act of borrowing, although it begins with the activity of the individual (De Saussure 1964, p. 168), since eventually it is society that determines what is borrowed and what is not. Usually words that are borrowed from speech are technical terms that belong to specific domains of knowledge and industry (Jespersen 1962, p. 30). Gluska (Ibid., p. 168) disagrees with this claim, and argues that there is no reason to believe that speakers’ needs concern only technical matters, and that culture, literature and the arts are also important for them.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kaufman (1974, p. 166), who investigated the influence of Akkadian on Aramaic, found also lexical items in the domain of religion and general culture; Bloomfield (1976, p. 465), too, found words belonging to the fields of religion, ethics, hunting and sports. Apparently the only restriction on the type of borrowed word is the needs of the speakers. A form that is borrowed from speech is immediately transferred into the borrowing spoken language, and subsequently becomes naturalized in it and also comes to be used in written communication.



Literature, as a component of human culture, is an important medium for the transfer of concepts and terms, whether or not there is physical contact with the culture in question. It is an important channel of influence between languages, especially through the translation of works of literature from one language to another, and through cultural contacts between peoples and individuals (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 34). Usually borrowing from literature enriches the lexicon of the borrowing language. Thus the encounter of Arabic with Greek and Aramaic literature took place through translated texts, among others. Greek and Aramaic literature were sources of borrowing for the Syrian translators, who knew Arabic in addition to Greek, the language of culture, and Syriac, their mother tongue. They translated treatises on science and philosophy from Greek and Syriac, or from Greek through the mediation of Syriac, and used a relatively large number of concepts and lexical items from the source language. In medieval scientific treatises in Arabic one also finds numerous borrowings of science terms (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 34).<sup>33</sup> Similarly, medieval Arabized Hebrew, which was affected by Arabic from the fourth decade of the seventh century CE, following the Arab conquest of the huge territory between Persia in the east and North Africa and Spain in the west. The local populace adopted the rulers' language, and as time went on Arabic also became the language in which texts were composed on subjects that until then were never dealt with in Hebrew (Maman 1991, p. 106). Thus, for example, R. Saadia Gaon (882-942), who lived and was active in Egypt, Palestine and Babylonia, wrote his important linguistic treatises, *Kutub al-Lughā* (*Books of Language*) on grammar and *Egron*, a lexicon for poets, as well as his philosophy book *Kitāb al-Imānāt wal-I'tiqādāt* (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*) in Arabic. Yehuda Halevi (1075-1141), too, wrote his *Kitāb al-Hujja wal-Dalīl fi l-Dīn al-Dhalīl* (*A Defense of the Despised Faith*) in Arabic, and Maimonides also used Arabic for his *Dalālat al-Hā'irīn* (*Guide for the Perplexed*). However, liturgical poetry, and later secular poetry as well, and *halacha* (religious jurisprudence) continued to be written in Hebrew, and occasionally also in Aramaic, but not in Arabic. From the eleventh century Hebrew also became a target language of translation, for the benefit of Jews of Europe and Asia Minor, who were unable to read the literature which their brethren produced in Judeo-Arabic (Maman 1991, p. 107). Thus, for example, the Karaite scholar Tuvya Ben Moshe came from the Byzantine Empire to Palestine. He was fluent in Arabic and during his years in Jerusalem studied philosophy and theology with Yūsuf al-Baṣīr (Ha-Ro'eh) at the Karaite seminary. While there he translated al-Baṣīr's and Yeshu'a Ben Yehuda's

<sup>33</sup> See more in Bloomfield 1976, p. 444 and Bendavid 1967a, pp. 92-94.

writings from Arabic into Hebrew for Byzantine Jews, whose everyday language was Byzantine Greek and the works of important Karaite authors where thus inaccessible to them.

Linguists are divided on the question of how open languages are to foreign influences. Some identify such influences in every aspect of language, including grammar, while others believe that grammatical influences are minor and that languages are basically impenetrable in this respect (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 35). Weinreich (1953, pp. 29-30) mentions two opposing approaches, which illustrate the debate among linguists. He is of the opinion that the grammatical system in contact is immune to the influence of another language, but he also presents a counter-example, showing that even the feminine ending is not immune to such influence.

It should be noted that the morpho-phonemic system is rigid, and any change in it is clearly visible. Higa (1979, p. 289, Table 4) studied borrowings between English and Japanese and found that English verbs borrowed into Japanese constitute a mere 2 percent of borrowings, compared to ninety-one percent for nouns. According to Gluska (1999, p. 224), the basic assumption is that any linguistic change begins with the speech of an individual, and is gradually disseminated throughout the language. Until the 1970s most researchers rejected the possibility of changes in the morpho-phonemic system under the influence of language contact. However, this system is part of the structure of language, and cannot but be affected by contact with foreign languages (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 36). In recent decades the study of this subject has advanced; thus, for example, we read the following with respect to classifying language components according to their vulnerability to change under contact (Karttunen 1977, p. 183):

In general, in language contact situation, it appears to be true that vocabulary replacement is persuasive and immediate. Phonology, the most obvious area of systematic linguistic change, seems to be affected next, and syntax remains most resistant to change.

Weinreich (1953, p. 26) notes that it is only natural that the differences between languages in the number and qualities of their phonemes, whatever the language family to which they belong, will cause borrowed words to undergo adaptations of various kinds when used in the borrowing language, and that this will make it difficult to always identify a borrowed form. However, usually phonemes in languages that belong to the same family will be related in a lawful way, making identifications almost certain. Arab grammarians from the earliest times discussed phonematic

relations that can make it possible to identify words as being of foreign origin. In a state of diglossia, it is only natural that the phonemics of one language affect those of the other. The primary changes are phonetic, and these in a sense also bring about morphological change.

Basal (ibid., p. 37) quotes Blau's article on the Hebrew elements in Judeo-Arabic (1958, p. 186):

In the field of morphology, words borrowed from Hebrew, because of the great similarity in grammatical categories between Hebrew and Arabic, may appear in an Arabic category that corresponds to the category in Hebrew. This makes it difficult to identify the borrowed element.

It behooves us to consider the encounter between Hebrew and Arabic in the present study. Both languages, as is well-known, belong to the Semitic family of languages, and the history of encounters between them goes back a long time. They also share many features because of their genetic relationship. Yet they also differ in all linguistic categories: in the number of sounds and the way they are produced, in sentence structure, in derivation and in the lexicon (Basal, ibid., p. 40). Hebrew belongs to the North-West Semitic branch. It is the language of most of the Jewish Bible and is also called "Jewish" (*Yehudit*, Nehemiah 13:14) and the "language of Canaan" (*sefat Kena'an*, Isaiah 19:18). During the Mishnaic period it was called "language of the Bible" (*leshon miqra*) and "the holy tongue" (*leshon ha-qodesh*), in distinction to "language of the sages" (*leshon hakhamim*). The name "Hebrew" (*ivrit*) first appears in Mishnaic literature. In descriptions of the history of the Hebrew language Biblical Hebrew is clearly distinguished from the succeeding stages: Mishnaic Hebrew, Medieval Hebrew and Modern Hebrew.

Until the second century CE Hebrew was spoken in Palestine, in addition to Aramaic. The Jews who returned from Babylonia and who spoke Babylonian Aramaic were fluent in both languages and easily moved from one to the other. Subsequently Aramaic became the more prestigious language, because it was used for official, diplomatic and commercial purposes (Gluska 1999, pp. 16-18). These uses also caused it to function as a culture-bearing and culture-transferring language. Aramaic-speaking foreigners were more numerous than any ethnic group in Palestine in general, and even in Judea; because it was more prestigious, it became the dominant language, a fact that is reflected in both epigraphic texts and written literature.

Hebrew survived among groups and in places where Aramaic did not penetrate deeply (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 40). Hebrew was spoken in Palestine for about one-thousand-five-hundred years, from the days of Joshua until the Bar-Kochva Rebellion. Hebrew was never a dead language; although it was not spoken much, but it continued to function as the language of creative writing, both in poetry and in prose, and in fact its lexicon grew and it underwent changes in syntax (Zuckerman 2008, pp. 19-21). The decrease in the use of Hebrew as the sole spoken language, until its complete disappearance as a spoken everyday language towards the end of the second century CE, was a gradual process. Even in the generation of R. Yehuda Hanasi there are still echoes of Hebrew's struggle to survive, in the form of sayings of the rabbinic sages in praise of learning Hebrew.

Arabic belongs to the South-West branch of the Semitic languages. It is spoken mainly in the Arabian Peninsula, the Fertile Crescent and North Africa. Very little is known of ancient Arabic, although there exist quite a few inscriptions from before the fifth century CE. The Jewish rabbinic sages mention some nouns which "*be-'Arabya qarin*" ("in Arabia are called") so-and-so. The main sources for the study of pre-Islamic Arabic are Jāhili poetry, maxims and stories about the battles among the Arab tribes in those times. Arabic appears at two distinct levels of development: ancient Arabic, a very archaic language, of the Akkadian type, and neo-Arabic. Using ancient Arabic poetry and the Qur'ān as their inspiration, Arab philologists of the eighth and ninth centuries CE created the learned system of Classical Arabic, which became the framework language of medieval Islamic civilization (Basal, *ibid.*, p. 46). Neo-Arabic, which is of a type that is akin to the younger Semitic languages, especially Aramaic, is embodied mainly in contemporary Arabic dialects. This is a language type that existed in antiquity. Scholars are in two minds on when neo-Arabic emerged and when ancient Arabic stopped serving as a spoken language and became the cultural language of poetry, scholarship and public administration. According to one opinion, the neo-Arabic type was in common use in pre-Islamic times in cities such as Mecca and among the Arab tribes. One of its distinctive features was a lack of vowel endings. According to the other view (held by Theodor Nöldeke and Joshua Blau) neo-Arabic emerged after the spread of Islam and the founding of the Caliphate (Fischer & Jastrow 2001, p. 11). Under the influence of the Mozarabs and the contact of Arabic speakers with the populace in Aramaic-, Greek-, Coptic- and Berber-speaking regions, ancient Arabic lost its standing as a spoken language and was replaced by a new type, neo-Arabic. However, Arab philologists view this type as a perversion of Arabic, caused by its use by non-Arabs outside of Arabia.

The spread of Arabs throughout the Middle East had a profound effect on their language. In morphosyntax Middle Arabic moved away from synthetic and towards analytic structures, in which a single concept tends to be expressed by a single word; case and mood endings disappeared, the direct object was occasionally expressed with the preposition *li-*; possessive constructions were split up and two nouns in the construct state could precede the possessor; the plural replaced the dual in most cases; the relative pronoun became fixed in form and could appear also after an indefinite antecedent; far-reaching changes also occurred in the number system (Basal, *ibid.*, pp. 47-48).

The Arabic lexicon contains elements borrowed from a variety of languages. Al-Fassi (2007, pp. 138-139) notes that a strong, vibrant language can absorb foreign elements and cope with contact with other languages without losing its major characteristics:

A resistant language is one that can encompass foreign elements that enter it and can manage to have ties with other languages without losing its main characteristics.

Arab philologists divided such foreign elements into two types: (A) *Mu'arrab* ("Arabized")—foreign words which entered Arabic in the pre-Islamic period, a period in which Arabic was considered to be pure (*faṣīḥa*), with relatively little foreign influence; (B) *Muwallaḍ* ("recent")—words which entered Arabic after the Arabs spread throughout the East and made direct contact with the nations there, speakers of Aramaic in Syria and parts of Iraq, and Coptic in Egypt. This is how the situation is described, for example, by Al-Bashbīshī (1995, p. 41):

After the appearance of Islam, the Arabic language remained under the influence of the Persian language in all matters of administration and under the influence of Greek and Syriac in all matters of science and philosophy. What the translators translated in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, especially from Syriac, Greek, Persian and Hindi, enriched the Arabic lexicon, as can be seen in a general way in al-Khawārizmī's book *Mafāḥ al-'Ulūm* (*Keys of Knowledge*).

In order to illustrate the antiquity of inter-language influences, Basal (2004, pp. 50-51) uses Al-Biruni's historiographical book *al-Āthār al-Bāqīya 'an al-Qurūn al-Khāliya* (*Traces of Centuries Gone-By*), in which the author mentions Hebrew and Aramaic terms associated with the calendar (Al-Biruni 1923, p. 276) in a discussion of calculating dates and holidays and the history of other nations, including the Jews and the

Christians. Al-Biruni mentions the Jew Ya‘aqov Ben Moshe al-Naqrāsī al-Yahūdī in the city of Jūrjān, with whom he consulted and who provided him with information about the Jews and their holidays. He describes the Hebrew calendar and uses Hebrew terms (Ibid., pp. 52-59). Basal provides examples from Al-Biruni’s book in which he describes the Hebrew months and how they are determined:

The leap year—They call the leap year *‘ibbur*, derived from the word *me’ubberet*, which in Hebrew means “pregnant woman”, since they compared the insertion of the extra month to a woman’s pregnancy.

Al-Biruni uses the Hebrew word *maḥzor* (“cycle”) in the singular, as well as in the form of an Arabic broken plural (*maḥāzīr*) and dual (*maḥzorayn*). The Hebrew word *tequfa* (“season”) is written with an Arabic article in the singular (*al-tequfa*) and as an Arabic plural (*al-tequfāt*).

## E. The study’s objective

The study’s main objective is to examine the influence of Arabic on Hebrew in the lexicon and the syntax of works composed in Hebrew by Arab authors, and in some works which these authors translated from Arabic into Hebrew. A secondary objective is to determine whether Arabic influence was more intensive in works translated from Arabic into Hebrew than in works which were originally written in Hebrew.

Our main assumption was that Arabic affected Hebrew in Hebrew works by Arab authors, whether they were originally written in Hebrew or were translated from Arabic into Hebrew, since it would be unreasonable to assume that when an Arab author writes in Hebrew he is completely detached from influences due to his Arabic native tongue, and since translation without interference is impossible (Touy 1980, pp. 71-78). Based on assumption, we formulated the following hypotheses:

(A) Arabic influenced Hebrew through lexicographical treatises composed by Arab writers. Here a distinction must be made between positive and negative borrowing. In language acquisition borrowing/interference is usually negative, while from well-educated authors (whose books were certainly copyedited with care) one expects only positive borrowing, done deliberately, in order to evoke the culture of the source text. Arabic influence in the lexical field can take the following forms: use of Arabic words and expressions within the Hebrew text; loan translations; transfer of meanings and Hebrew neologisms influenced by Arabic. Below are

some examples of Arabic words and expression used in the Hebrew text, with and without explanations in Hebrew:<sup>34</sup>

1. *לִמָּאָדָא לֹם תִּחְזְרִינִי, יָא סַחֲבִי* (Ikhtiyye, p. 87); *יָא סַחֲבִי לֹא סִפַּרְתָּ לִּי* [fa-limādā lam tukhbirni, yā ṣāḥībī] (Ikhtiyye, p. 637) (= So why, my friend, didn't you tell me?). *Yā ṣāḥībī* = “my friend”.

2. כאשר הגענו לקביל אל טאסאת. שהוא רהט השתיה בקעריות הנחושת (The Opsimist, p. 24); *إِنَّا وَصَلْنَا سَبِيلَ الطَّاسَاتِ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا* [hattā idhā waṣalanā sabīl t-ṭāsātī] (Al-Mutashā'il, p. 183).

3. אהלך וסהלך = “Welcome”<sup>35</sup> (In a New Light, p. 140).

Examples of loan translation:

4. מכיוון שהוכח כי אותו רוח שופע תמיד מאצל הראשון יתעלה ויתברך (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 53); *إِذْ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ أَنَّ هَذَا الرُّوحَ دَائِمُ الْفَيْضَانِ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ* [’idh qad tabayyana ’anna hādihā r-rūḥa da’imu l-fayḍāni min ’indī l-lāhī ’azza wa-jalla] (Sarāyā Bind al-Ghūl, p. 768) (= Since it had been proven that the same wind always emanates from God Almighty). *Min ’ind* = “from”.

5. נביחת הכלב מאצל מגדל המים מסיחה את תשומת לבי (In a New Light, p. 116) (= The dog's bark from by the water tower diverted my attention).

An example of meaning transfer:

6. הגמל – אין בוכים על הרסן<sup>36</sup> ודודי, שתפס את כנתה הטמירה, הניע ראש ואמר, הלך (Arabesques, p. 167) (= And my uncle, who perceived her hidden

<sup>34</sup> Examples from translated texts will have a period after the number, while in examples from works composed originally in Hebrew the number will be in brackets. Whenever Arabic words are used without an explanation in Hebrew, the translation will appear between brackets. Examples from archaic (Biblical, Mishnaic and medieval) Hebrew will not be given numbers. Examples 1 and 3 are of Arabic elements that have been borrowed into Hebrew slang. These do not necessarily constitute linguistic interference; rather, they may reflect a conscious attempt on the author's/translator's part to present the text's Arabic character in a way that will be understood by the Hebrew reader. It should in all likelihood be treated as a literary device, an unconscious psycholinguistic process.

<sup>35</sup> The expression does not appear in the source text.

<sup>36</sup> Here the Hebrew verb הלך (*halakh*—literally: “went”) is used with the meaning “was lost”, under the influence of the Arabic verb راح (*rāḥa*), which has both meanings.



intention, nodded and said 'if the camel *is lost* you don't cry over the rein).<sup>37</sup>

(B) Arabic syntax influences the syntax of Hebrew compositions by Arab authors in the use of adjectives and demonstrative pronouns, possessive constructions, objects, adverbial phrases, clauses, case, indefiniteness and others that will be specified in the main part of the text. Below are some examples:

Replacement of the case of the indirect object by the case of the direct object, under the influence of Arabic (*gadol be-* > *gadol o*):

7. שכן נואל זו, הגדולה ממני שנה אחת, הייתה כרוכה. (*Arabesques*, p. 46) (= For this Nawāl, *older* than me by one *year*, was attached).

Replacement of the case of the direct object by the case of the indirect object, under the influence of Arabic (*et, o* > *be-*):

8. כך לא מקובל לחקור במניעיו של איש תמהוני. (*Arabesques*, p. 173) (= This is not the proper way *to investigate into* a strange man's motives).

Placement of a demonstrative adjective before the noun that it modifies:

9. והתנפצו על אלה הוואדיות והעמקים ועל תושביהם. (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 14); [وَأَنْطَمَّتْ بِهَذِهِ الْوَهَادِ وَالْوَدْيَانِ وَيَأْهْلِهَا] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 718) (= And crashed onto *these* rivers and valleys, and on their inhabitants).

10. בוודאי שלא הכרתי את זאת האשה. (*In a New Light*, p. 130) (= Certainly I did not know *this* woman).

Circumstantial clauses that begin with the conjunction *ve-/wa-*:

11. כשמקדרי, דודה של אמי, היה מגיע אלינו מהדרום וידו מונחת על בטנו. (*Zahra's Story*, p. 54);

[عِنْدَمَا جَاءَ خَالَ أُمِّي مَهْدِي وَنَ الْجَنْوِبِ وَيَدُهُ عَلَى بَطْنِهِ] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 69) (= When Mahdī, my mother's uncle, would come to us from the south with *his hand on his belly*).

Complement of quantity after an indefinite noun:

<sup>37</sup> The translation is not in the source text.

12. *ضِغْتُ* (Bridge over the Sad River, p. 95); *[di'tu fi durūbin wa'iratin muddatan ṭawīlatan]* (Jisr 'alā l-Nahr al-Hazīn, p. 93) (= I was lost on a rough road *many days*).

13. בקולִי נסיתי להביע דברים הרבה, שבמעמדו של יהודה לא יכולתי לבטאם. (In a New Light, p. 96) (= With my voice I **tried** to express *many things* which I could not express in Yehuda's position).

Use of a definite direct object without the definite marker *et*:

14. אם אשאלם בערבית יגלו את סודי, ואם באנגלית—אעורר חשדם. (The Opsimist, p. 54) *[fa-ichā sa'altuhum bil-'arabiyyati kashafū amrī. fā-bil-ingilīziyyati 'athartu shukūkahum]* (al-Mutashā'il, p. 222) (= If I ask them in Arabic, they will **discover** my secret, and if in English, I will arouse *their suspicion*).

15. כמעט כל פעם שהפניתי מבטי אליה ראיתי אותה מביטה בי, והדבר עורר את הרהורי. (In a New Light, p. 18) (= Almost every time I turned *my gaze* towards her, I saw her looking at me, and this made me think of her).

16. הושטתי ידי לאחור וחבקתיה, בעוד ידי האחרת מרסנת את הסוסה לעצירה. (In a New Light, p. 18) (= I stretched *my hand* backward and hugged her, while my other hand reined in the mare).

*Ma-min* construction instead of the standard relative clause:

17. אלמלא "קירטל" אותה מה שנפל במנת חלקה מסוגי ההפשטה והחיפוש (the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108) *[lawlā 'an qurṭlā mā lafiyā min ta'arīyā wa-tafīshin]* (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 843) (= Had she not been "saddled" by having been stripped and searched).

18. אבל על דבר אחד הוא לא היה מוכן להבליג: על שאין בקרבת הג'בח'אנה מזבלה. (Walking on the Wind, p. 46) (= But one thing he would not excuse: That next to the jubkhāna there was no garbage dump into which to throw the sardine cans and *what* was left of the field rations).

Stressed indefinite, in the pattern *NP min NP*:

19. אמר: ועל אודות הפיות שהקיפו סלע בכרמל שבצילו ישבנו, סראיא ואני, חולקים. *قَالَ: وَعَنْ عَرَائِسَ تَفُوحَ مَتَفُوحِي الْغُيُومِ أَحَطَّنَ بِصَنْعَةِ فَوْقِ الْكُرْمَلِ كَمَا نَجَلِسُ فِي ظِلِّهَا نَتَشَاظِرُ، سَرَايَا وَأَنَا، تَفَاحَةَ مِنْ تَفَاحَاتِ الْجِنِّ* (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 21)

[*qāla: wa-'an 'arā'isa 'ahatna bi-ṣakhratin fawqa l-Karmil kumā najlisu fī zillihā natashātaru, Sarāyā wa-'anā, tuffāḥatan min tuffāḥāti l-jinni*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 727) (= He said: And about the fairies that surrounded a rock on Mt. Carmel, in whose shade we sat, Sarāyā and me, sharing an apple of the jinnies).

(C) Arab authors when writing in Hebrew tend to choose syntactic structures that are unusual and untypical in Modern Hebrew, but can be found in Classical Hebrew, which shares many syntactic features with Arabic, for example, a demonstrative adjective that precedes the noun that it modifies.

(D) Arab authors' fluency in both modern and classical Hebrew enables them to choose classical syntactic structures that are identical to structures in Arabic, motivated by a desire to preserve the structures of the latter. In other words, the choice of classical syntactic structures is a conscious one.

(E) The more an author takes a source text's nature into account when translating, the greater the interference will be.

(F) The influence of Arabic syntax on the writings of Arab authors that were originally composed in Hebrew is weaker than its influence on works that such authors translated from Arabic into Hebrew. This is so, because in the former case there is no direct influence by an Arabic source text, only the indirect influence of the authors' Arabic mother tongue. Texts that were translated by them from Arabic into Hebrew are more strongly influenced by Arabic syntax than texts originally composed in Hebrew, because in the former case the translator wishes to remain loyal to the source text in Arabic.

## F. Research method

The study is based on the principles of contrastive analysis and on various theories of translation. Wilhelm von Humboldt was the harbinger of contrastive analysis (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 15), an approach that was developed extensively until the 1980s by Haim Rosen (1969) and others (Lev 1997, p. 2). It is based on examining the similarities and differences among two or more languages. This kind of analysis is particularly important in the case of languages that are closely related historically and geographically. Numerous scholars have pointed out the importance of

contrastive analysis for syntax in particular.<sup>38</sup> Kantor emphasizes the importance of contrastive analysis of a learner's native language and the target language in teaching. She quotes the American linguist Charles Fries (1945, p. 45) to the effect that the most efficient learning materials are those that are based on a precise, scientific comparison between the mother tongue and the target language. She also quotes Robert Lado (1957, p. 22): "The comparison between the native and the foreign language gives us the key to the difficulty or the ease of acquiring the foreign language". In Israel, too, the contrastive analysis approach was received with great enthusiasm. Thus Rosen (1969, p. 111) declared: "The most important contribution of linguistics to the teaching of a second language is contrastive analysis, a method which makes it possible to examine the similar and dissimilar elements in any two given languages, and to classify textbooks according to the findings of the examination".

As noted, Arabic and Hebrew are both Semitic languages that share many features, so that it is not always easy to determine if a grammatical utterance in the target language was influenced by the writer's native language. Abu Bakr (2002, p. 10) quotes Alkhuli (2002, p. 81) on the influence of a native language on the target language:

When learning a second language, the learner comes with the first language and with linguistic habits: phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic and cultural. The native language affects the learning of a second language in different ways. When the native language and the second language are similar, the transition will be positive. [...] In such a case, the native language helps one learn the other language. [...] And when the native language is different from the second language, the transition will be negative, and the result will be that the native language distorts the learning of the second language.<sup>39</sup>

Contrastive analysis, we believe, will contribute to identifying Arabic influences on the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, in light of the fact that this study compares two related Semitic languages. Contrasting syntactic structures that are typical to Arabic and are found in texts written originally in Hebrew or in a text translated into Hebrew, with syntactic structures that are characteristic of modern or archaic Hebrew, can be

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<sup>38</sup> Kantor 1992, pp. 66-67; 1978, p. 5; Berman 1989, p. 33; Bar-Sever 1973, p. 6; Lev 1997, p. 2; Zakaria 1983, pp. 50, 70.

<sup>39</sup> It has been demonstrated that learners of a second language are apt to transfer linguistic structures from one language to another, especially when the two languages have different structures (Kantor 1978, p. 2).

important for understanding the nature and character of the syntactic influence at play.

## THE LEXICON

Arab writers' native language had a considerable effect on what they wrote in Hebrew or what they translated from Arabic into Hebrew. This is especially true of colloquial Arabic, which plays a dominant role in these writings. Studies on languages in contact show that lexical influences are especially characteristic of such situations, and are quantitatively predominant, when compared to syntactic, morphological and phonological influences. True, there are differences between languages and between language families (Basal 2004, p. 36). Ben Haim (1992, p. 41) notes the constancy of the external (morpho-phonemic) system, while Gluska (1999, p. 169) argues that the grammar of a high-prestige language is likely to have an effect in contact situations. Phonology is one of the most rigid domains in any language. The following are the ways in which the native language affected Hebrew compositions or works translated into Hebrew by Arab writers: (a) the use of native-language words and expressions, in particular from colloquial Arabic; (b) loan translations; (c) borrowed meanings; (d) phono-semantic matching; (e) revival of biblical collocations and verbs in Hebrew by giving them different or additional meanings taken from Arabic; (f) Hebrew neologisms influenced by Arabic, for example verbal forms, in order to overcome lexical gaps in Hebrew; (g) preference for certain roots over their synonyms due to the influence of cognate roots in Arabic. Our study shows that the predominant way in which the native language's influence is felt is through the use of Arabic words and expressions and loan translations of nouns and verbs, and especially proverbs translated literally and giving rise to a different meaning.

### **A. Use of Arabic words and expressions with no explanation in Hebrew**

Arab writers' decision to make frequent use of Arabic words and expressions inside the Hebrew text in certain linguistic contexts is not random, but intentional and has a clear purpose, namely, to enhance the characters' authenticity and to evoke the atmosphere of the source culture.

It is thus not surprising that this is the dominant type of lexical influence. Horvits (1988, pp. 57-59) calls this phenomenon *'ivrarvit* (a portmanteau word made up of the Hebrew words for “Hebrew” and “Arabic”). She mentions other works of literature in which words in the protagonists’ native tongues are used in order to make them sound more authentic. Schwarzwald (1994, pp. 39-41) argues that an author’s choice of using *'ivrarvit* in certain linguistic contexts is evidence for the author’s perception of the non-Hebrew element not only as an artistic component which creates an authentic atmosphere in discourse and dialogue, but also as one which reflects the social and ethnic essence of Jews with roots in the Arab world.<sup>40</sup> Hofman (1970, pp. 5-14), too, the varied functions of *'ivrarvit* and their linguistic components do not only help create the story’s atmosphere and enhance its perceived reliability as a transmitter of what happened (a poetic function), but also (perhaps, most importantly) create the contours of the “ethnic identity” of the Jews of Yemen, Aleppo or Baghdad, and the core of their ethnic intimacy (a social or socio-linguistic function).

The fact that the authors in question usually vocalize the Arab nouns and expressions within the Hebrew text indicates that they are aware of their foreignness. Occasionally a Hebrew translation is provided inside the Hebrew text (sometimes in brackets), but this does not dispel the foreignness felt by the Hebrew reader. Arabic words and expressions that occur with high frequency within the Hebrew text constitute a distinct stylistic feature in Arab writers’ Hebrew works, whose purpose, as noted above, is to evoke the atmosphere of the source culture:

1. ומורי צעק: **יא ג'מאעה** 'חברה' אין הוא אלא בן מבנינו (The *Opsimist*, p. 26);  
 فَصَاحَ مُعَلِّمِي: هَذَا وَلَدُنَا يَا جَمَاعَةَ  
*[fa-ṣāhā mu'allimī: hādā waladunā yā jamā'a]* (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 185) (= My teacher shouted: *Yā jamā'a* 'guys', this is one of our children).

2. הן הולכות בבוקר לרחוץ **בחמאם** 'מקלחת' (Only Bread, p. 61);  
 يَبْصِرْفَنَ فِي هُنَّ  
 [ʔansarifiya fī ṣ-ṣabāḥi 'ilā l-hammāmi] (*Al-Khubz al-hāfi*, p. 79) (= They go out in the morning to wash in the *hammām* 'shower').

3. לפעמים שומעים גיהוק של האנשים שסיימו לאכול, אשר בעקבותיו בא “אלהמדלה”  
 أحيانًا نَسْمَعُ تَجَشُّاتِ الَّذِينَ أَتَهَوُوا مِنْ  
 [ʔahyānan nasma'ū tajashsu'āti l-ladhīna  
 “الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ مُمَدَّدة الصُّوْتِ  
 تَعَفُّبُهَا:”

<sup>40</sup> Influence can also run the other way. Mar'i (2013, p. 20) coined the term *'aravit* for the use of Hebrew words by Israeli Arabs in their native Arabic, either in speech or in writing.



*ntahaw mina l-akli ta'qubuhā: "l-hamdu li-llāh" mumaddata ṣ-ṣawti* (*Al-Khubz al-hāfi*, p. 108) (= Occasionally we would hear the burps of those who had finished eating, followed by a drawn-out *al-hamdu lillāh* ["Praise be to God"]).

4. הטיילת של מנארה מתמלאת רוכלים שמוכרים כעכים 'עוגיות' בסומסום, ודרך צידון וּמְטַלְיָ קוּרְנִישׁ הַמְנָרָה; (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 112) מתמלאת מוכרי חסה וצנונית [wa-yamṭali'u kūrnīshu l-Manārati bi-bā'ati l-ka'ki b-simsim, wa-tarīqu Ṣaydā bi-bā'ati l-khassi wal-fijli l-ahmari] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 149) (= The Manāra walkway fills with vendors of sesame biscuits [*ka'k*] and the Sidon Road fills with vendors of lettuce and radishes).

5. וכבר שכחת? הדוד שלך, איברהים, עשה בשבילך טייארה 'עפיפון' גדולה כשהיית יְطַלַעْ حَرِيشَكَ مَا أَنْسَاكَ! عَمَّكَ اِبْرَاهِيمُ; (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 89) פיצפון [yiqṭa' harīshak mā 'ansāk! 'ammak Ibrāhīm 'imil lak tayyāra kbīri w-'inti qaddi l-'ūd] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 819) (= Have you already forgotten? Your uncle Ibrāhīm made a kite [*tayyāra*] for you when you were still a wee child).

6. במסגרת השיבה נשלחנו לימית, להתנגד לפינוי. יעני 'כלומר', תגבורת להצלת עם *Walking on the Wind*, p. 18) (= From the Yeshiva we were sent to Yamit, to resist the expulsion. *Ya'nī* 'that is to say', as reinforcements for saving the people of Israel).

7. *Walking on the Wind*, p. 31) (= I prefer less territory and calm rather than more territory with *waja' rās* 'headache').

8. אבל הפלאח 'האיכר' אינו מופיע, ובמקומו מופיעה המשטרה (*In a New Light*, p. 77) (= But the *fallāh* 'peasant' does not appear; instead, the police appears).

9. כשש שנים לאחר הדברים האלה פתח אבו שאקר את הדלת בלי לדפוק ונעמד באמצע הטרקלין, ושק היטה עדיין תחת אצילת ידו. כ'יר (בו / מה אתה רוצה) שאלו דודי. לא (*Arabesques*, p. 109) (= About six years after these events, Abū Shākir opened the door without knocking. He stood in the middle of the living room, with the burlap sack still under his arm. *Khēr?* [Well? What do you want?], my uncle asked him. *Lā khēr walā ballūṭ* [nothing], said Abū Shākir. They're on the way).

10. הסיר דודי את העקאל (הפתיל העבה שהערבים כורכים בו את הכפייה לראשם) מעל ראשו ונטל את הקפּה (המטפחת שהערבים מכסים בה את ראשם) הצחורה שלו, ונעזן בה



*yaṭrudanī ‘anhā wa-yujlisa “d-dallū‘ata”*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 766) (= I would immediately descend from the donkey’s back, before he would take me down and seat the *dallū‘a*, the spoiled one).

6. במרחק מה עמד ה"מַנְקַל", הוא כירת הברזל, בגחלת לוחשת ומבווישת בחלל החדר הגדול (*Arabesques*, p. 140) (= Some distance away stood the *manqal*, the iron range, with its hot coal, embarrassed in the space of the large room).

7. אבו אלעבד והגברים נשארו שם, ירו והפחידו אותם, והנשים והילדים רצו מהר הביתה. "וא אֵלֵבְד וְהַגְבְּרִים נִשְׁאָרוּ שָׁם, יָרוּ וְהִפְחִידוּ אוֹתָם, וְהַנְּשִׁים וְהַיְלָדִים רָצוּ מֵהָרַב הַבַּיְתָה." (*Dancing Arabs*, p. 28) (= Abū l-‘Abd and the men remained there, shooting and frightening them. The women and children ran home quickly and shouted in the streets: *Yā ahl al-balad, al-yahūd akhdhūnā!* [People of the village, the Jews have come to occupy us!]).

8. "היום אתה הַקְּרִיס, החתן", אומר אבא שלי ויוצא לקדם את פני האורחים. (*Dancing Arabs*, p. 63) (= "Today you are the *arīs*, the groom", says my father and goes out to greet the guests).

9. אין להם בושה לדפאוויה (תושבי הגדה). (*And It Was Morning*, p. 66) (= They have no shame, the *daffāwiyye* [people of the West Bank]).

10. בגדיו קרועים וכנפי ה"קַמְבָּאז", הוא הגלימה שלובשים הפלאחים בשכונתנו, תחובות. (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 73) (= His clothes are torn, the flaps of the *qumbāz*, the coat worn by the peasants in our neighborhood, are stuck under his belt, and the faded coveralls cover his feet).

### C. Loan translation

By "loan translation" is meant the creation of a new lexeme, phrase or expression in the borrowing language, which contains the lexical meaning of each of the components of the original form in the source language. Thus the Hebrew word *kaduregel* (soccer) was formed by joining two words (*kadur* [ball] + *regel* [foot]) in accordance with the English form *football* (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 181). Nir (1979, p. 32) defines loan translation as a process that involves the creation of a new word or phrase that imitates the corresponding form in the foreign language. Loan translation does not involve directly borrowing a form from another language, nor in giving a Hebrew form to a foreign word. Maman (1991, pp. 106-115) discusses "Arabized" Hebrew (Hebrew influenced by Arabic) and the types of "Arabization". He notes that loan translation means the creation

of a completely new Hebrew word or phrase, modeled on an Arabic source. He adds (p. 112) that the difference between loan translation and borrowing a meaning is that in the latter case the word itself already exists in Hebrew but it is given a new meaning, while a loan translation is a new formation influenced by a foreign language.

### Loan translation of nouns (nouns and phrases whose nucleus is a noun)

The lexicon of everyday life and folklore in Modern Hebrew was quite incomplete at first, and required borrowing from a variety of sources, mainly Yiddish and colloquial Arabic. Yiddish made a significant contribution in expressions of affection, diminution (some of which were in turn borrowed from Slavic languages), scorn and insult, wit, food and more. Colloquial Arabic for its part contributed to the language of play and amusement of the younger Jewish generation in Palestine (which lacked traditions in this field) and also to curses, greetings, wishes, exclamations, conversation around the campfire, sex, Middle Eastern food and more (Bar Adon 1963, pp. 252-254). Bar Adon notes that it is sometimes difficult to identify the source of a loan translation that was created in the far past, such as the Hebrew *hatikha* “good-looking girl” [literally “piece”], which came into common use in the 1940s. Its identification as a loan from Arabic *shaqfa* was not straightforward, since similar usages occur in Russian and English.

#### *Nouns and phrases from colloquial Arabic*

##### כלות לבנה [*kallot labaneh*]

This is a loan translation of Arabic عَرَائِسٌ لَبْنِيَّة [‘*arāyis labanih*] and denotes “a thin round pita bread, on which olive oil was spread, then covered with hyssop or salt, and rolled up like a baton” (see below).

1. והתחיל עושה אינסוף כלות לבנה, הלא הן אותן פתים מרוחות שנלפפו בדמות שרביט, צידה לדרך הנדודים (*Arabesques*, p. 115) (= He began making endless *kallot labaneh*, those pitas rolled up like batons, provisions for wandering).
2. שלחתי את ידי לתרמיל והוצאתי לה “כלה” ובתוכה שמן וזעתר (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 73) (= I sent my hand into the rucksack and took out a *kalla* with oil and hyssop for her).
3. הייתי מבקש ממנה שתכין “ערוס” בשבילי, או “כלה” (ואין הכלה אלא פת קימורית (*Sarāyā the* רקיקה, שנמרחת בשמן, נבזקה זעתר או מלח, ולופפה כדמות שרביט)

*Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 129); *كُنْتُ أَطْلُبُ مِنْهَا أَنْ تَقِفَ لِي عَرُوسًا* – رَغِيفًا مِنْ خُبْزٍ [kuntu 'aṭlubu minhā 'an 'taliffa lī 'arūsan - raghūfan min klubzi ṣ-ṣāji maltūtan bi-z-zayti wa-marshūshan bi-z-za'tari 'aw bil-milhi] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 870) (= I would ask her to make me an 'arūs or "bride" (this bride is but a round pita, smeared with oil, on which hyssop or salt has been sprinkled, and it was rolled up like a baton).

4. ולעיתים היתה אמה משכימה ומכינה לנו "כלות", ואין ה"כלה" אלא פת קימורית רקיקה. וכאֵת הַוַּלְדָּה, إِذَا مَا اسْتَقْبَلْتِ, (117) (*Ikhṭiyye*, p. 117); מרוחה בשמן ומלח ומגולגלת לשרביט *[wa-kānat l-wālidatu, 'idhā mā stayqazat, taliffu lanā 'arūsatan mina l-klubzi r-raḡīqi l-mughhammasi bi-z-zayti wa-bi-l-milhi, 'ahyānan (Ikhṭiyye, p. 667)* (= At times, mother would get up early and make us "brides", which were but round pitas on which oil and salt were put, and it was rolled into a baton).

5. נערות הכפר לא השילו מעליהן את ביישנותן אלא במפגשן עם נערי העיר, ואנחנו היינו ממלמלים וכובשים את עינינו בקרקע, אבל לבתינו שבנו ועמנו נחמה פורתא: ... שעד מהרה נעלמו בפנינו, ומבטים גנובים מעיניה של נערה, שליוונו ותיעתעו בנו שנה תמימה, ובשובנו ולא תִּחְרַג הַמַּיִתָּה; (135) (*Ikhṭiyye*, p. 135); לכפר כעבור שנה נאמר לנו שהנערה התחתנה *القُرُوبِيُّ عَنْ خَفَرِهَا إِلَّا مَعَ أَوْلَادِ الْمَدِينَةِ فَتَلَعْتُمْ وَيَسْتَدُّ خَفَرْنَا وَنَعُودُ بِزَوَاةٍ مِنْهَا: ... لَا تَكُونُ طَوِيلًا, [wa-lā takhruju ṣ-sabīyyatu l-qarawīyyatu 'an khafrihā 'illā ma'a awlādi l-madīnati fa-natala'thamu wa-yashtaddu khafarunā wa-na'ūdu bi-zuwwādatin minhā: ... lā tadūmu ṭawīlan, wa-khalasātin min 'uyūnihinna ta 'išlu hawlān lā hawlā lanā fili wa-lā tā'ila (Ikhṭiyye, p. 667)* (= The village girls did not rid themselves of their shyness until they met the city boys. We would murmur and keep our eyes downcast, but returned to our homes with this small consolation: ... which quickly disappeared inside our mouths, and stolen glances from a girl's eyes, which accompanied us and played with us for a whole year. When we returned to the village a year later we were told that the girl had married).

Expressions such as גיבור בן and פלאח בן פלאח, מחבלת בן מחבל, דייג בן דייגים are loan translations of *صَيَّادُ ابْنِ صَيَّادِينَ* [*ṣayyād 'ibn ṣayyādīn*] (= fisherman son of a fisherman), *مُخَرَّبِيَّةُ بِنْتُ مُخَرَّبٍ* [*mukharribā bint mukharrib*] (= terrorist daughter of a terrorist), etc., and serve to emphasize a characteristic ascribed to the person in question:

1. והחקירה שהעמידה אותה באחת על העובדה שאין היא אלא "מחבלת בן מחבל" *وَأَسِيلَةٌ أَفْتَعَهَا بِأَتَاهَا "مُخَرَّبِيَّةُ بِنْتُ مُخَرَّبٍ*; (108) (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 108); *[wa-'as'ilatun 'aḡna'athā bi-'ammahā "mukharribatun bintu mukharribin"]*

(*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 843) (= And the interrogation, which at once made her realize that she was nothing but “a terrorist, daughter of a terrorist”).

2. ובדראן זה היה נער שחרחר, דייג בן דייגים מאלה המעטים מבני עכו שעלה בידם לצלול עמוק לתוך ימה של העיר ולעצור את נשימתם עד חלוף הסער של ארבעים ושמונה כַּאן הַוּלְדُ الْأَسْمَرُ ابْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ صَيَادًا ابْنُ صَيَادِينَ (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 43); *[kāna l-waladu l-'asmaru Ibrāhīmu ṣayyādan bnu ṣayyādīna min 'ahli 'Akkā l-ladhīna staṭū 'ū l-ghawṣa fī bahri 'Akkā wa-habsa 'anfāsihim hattā marrati l-'āṣifatu]* (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 756) (= Badrān was a dark youth, a fisherman son of a fisherman, of those few in Acre who succeeded in diving deep into the city's sea and to hold their breath until the storm of '48 passed).

3. ואילו הגשש הפנסיונר, כך טען, הוא בן מאומץ, ואימו שבויה בת שבויה, יוצא שהלה ואמא قِصَاصُ الْأَثَرِ الْمُحَالِ عَلَى الْمَعَاشِ – قَالَ – قَلَيْسَ سِوَى دَعِيٍّ (Ikhtīyye, p. 104) *[wa-'ammā qaṣṣāsu l-'athari l-muḥālī 'alā l-ma'aṣhi – qāla – fa-laysa siwā da'iyyin bna da'iyyatin fa-inna wālidatalu sabiyyatun bintu sabiyyatin]* (Ikhtīyye, p. 652) (= while the retired tracker, so he claimed, was adopted, his mother a captive daughter of a captive, so that he was a bastard).

4. כַּאן، مُنْذُ ذَلِكَ الزَّمَنِ، (Ikhtīyye, p. 114) הוא היה פועל בן פועל ואחיהם של פועלים *[kāna, mundhu dhālika z-zamāni, 'āmīlan bna 'āmīlin wa-'akhā 'ummālin]* (Ikhtīyye, p. 664) (= He was a laborer son of a laborer and the brother of laborers).

5. “הרי פלאח בן פלאח אתה”, אמרה לי סבתי כשנפלתו ובכיתי לאחר שנסרטו שתי ברכי *[In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 64]* (= “But you are a peasant son of a peasant”, said my grandmother when I fell and cried after my knees were scratched).

6. פלאח בן פלאח הוא, אפילו עם צמד הבקר היה מדבר כדברו עם בני אדם, ודאג לו כמו *[In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 48]* (= He is a peasant son of a peasant. Even to the pair of cattle he would speak as if to a person, and took care of them like he did to his children).

7. שבילי שכונתנו גדושים רפש וגללים, גיבור בן גיבור מי שאינו נופל, ולו פעם אחת *[In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 45]* (= The paths in our neighborhood are filled with filth and droppings. Whoever does not fall even once during the rainy season is a hero son of a hero).

גבר על חלשים (literally: “he-man over the weak”)

This expression, meaning bully, is a literal translation of قَوِيٌّ عَلَى الضَّعِيفِ [qawī ‘alā d-d’āf] (= literally: “strong over the weak”). It is used to denote someone who only dares stand up to those perceived as weak.

1. גבר על חלשים” (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 23) (= Whoever hit him was considered “a he-man over the weak”).

בנך בננו (literally: “your son is our son”)

This is a literal translation of اِبْنُكَ اِبْنُنَا [ibnak ibennā], meaning: We love and respect your son as if he were our own.

1. אנו שכנים ובנך בננו, ואלוהים יעיד עלי ועל כולנו שאת עיסא אנו אוהבים כבננו (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 22) (= We are neighbors and your son is our son. God will testify that I and all of us love ‘Isā like our own son).

אבי העבודה / אבי הפחדנים / אבי ההמצאות (literally: “father of work / father of cowards / father of inventions”)

This is a loan translation of اَبُو الْعَمَلِ / الشُّغْلِ [abū l-‘amal / sh-shughl]. The expression is documented already in Arabized medieval Hebrew, where one frequently encounters phrases such as אבי המדע (literally: “father of science / knowledge”), borrowed from Arabic اَبُو الْعِلْمِ [abū l-‘ilm], meaning someone versed in science.

1. לז היה נצלב בקיץ וקם אחרי כשלושה ימים מן הקבר, לא היינו רואים ולו נוצרי אחד בכנסייה, כי הקיץ הוא אבי העבודה, וידי של הפלאח אותות במגל והשדות הומים אדם (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 159) (= If he had been crucified in the summer and had arisen from the grave after three days, we would not have seen a single Christian in the church, because the summer is father of work, when the peasant holds the scythe and the fields are full of people).

2. אתה שפן ואבי הפחדנים (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 163) (= You’re spineless, the father of cowards).

3. למחרת, השכם בבוקר, נלך ונבדוק: “מי שלא הניח את האבן על הקבר, ייקרא ‘שפן’ ו’אבי אבות הפחדנים’ יהיה שמו בשכונה”, אמר אליאס כמורה העומד בפני התלמידים (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 168) (= Early the next morning we’ll go and see: “Whoever did not place the rock on the grave will be called ‘spineless’, and ‘grandfather of cowards’ will be his name in the neighborhood”, said Elias, like a teacher standing before the students).



4. *In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 88) (= Playful and very smart is the cruel Elias, *father of inventions*).

כוכבי הצהריים (literally: “stars at noontime”)

This is a literal translation of نَجُومُ الظُّهْرِ [nĵūm z-zuħur], which refers to the flash one perceives when being slapped in the face. Since stars are not seen during the day, the expression emphasizes the violence of the blow.

1. חיזוי של אור ניתז מעיניו, מה שמכונה בפינו, הילדים, כשאנו מתלוננים בבדיחות הדעת. *In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 16) (= A flash of light sprang from his eyes, what we children called, when complaining jokingly about the many slaps we receive from our parents and our bigger brothers, *stars of the sky*).

בך האשם

This is a loan translation of الْعَيْبُ فِيكَ [al-‘aybu fika] (literally: “you’re to blame”). The author below uses the Hebrew form אשם rather than אשמה under the influence of the Arabic word عَيْبٌ, which is masculine.

1. פתחו את הדלת ולקחו אותה ממך ברטינה, כאילו בך האשם שנפלה על סלע, כי לא חשתי. *Ikhūyye*, p. 122) (فَتَّحُوا الْبَابَ وَأَخَذُوا مِنْكَ فِي جَفْوَةٍ كَمَا لَوْ أَنَّكَ الْمَسْئُورُ عَنْ وَقُوعِهَا عَلَى الصَّخْرَةِ، فِيمَا كَانَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ تَسْبِقَ الْوَقْعَةَ وَأَنْ تَمُدَّ يَدَكَ فَتَقْطَعُ بَيْنَ يَدَيْكَ سَلِيمَةً [fa-fataħū l-bāba wa-‘akħadħūhā minka fi ĵafwatīn kamā law ‘annaka l-mas‘ūlu ‘an wuqū‘ihā ‘alā ṣ-ṣakħrati, fimā kāna ‘alayka ‘an tasbiqa l-waq‘ata wa-‘an tamudda yadaka fa-taqa‘u bayna yadayka sālimatan] (*Ikhūyye*, p. 672) (The opened the door and took her from you grumbling, as if you were at fault that she fell on a rock, because you did not reach out in time to catch her in your arms).

הכל מאללה (literally: “everything is from Allāh”)

This is a loan translation of كُلُّو مِنْ اللَّهِ [kullo min Allāh], meaning that God holds our fate in His hand.

1. בענייני האזרה הפשוט, לא יחסכו כל מאמץ, ובפוליטיקה הגבוהה הריהם כאומרים: *(Walking on the Wind*, p. 60) (= “הכל מן אללה”, “ותן לזמן לעשות את שלו”) (●n matters that concern the man-in-the-street they will not spare any effort, while in high policy it is as if they say *everything is from Allāh* and “let time do its work”).

*Nouns and phrases from literary Arabic*

יום השילם (literally: “day of accounting”)

This is a loan translation of *يَوْمُ الْحِسَابِ* [*yawmu l-hisābi*], which denotes the Day of Judgment. This is a collocation whose meaning differs from the sum of the meanings of its components.

1. (Arabesques, p. 114) (= They did not know that the real *Day of Accounting* was still to come).

אח של פועלים (literally: “brother/comrade of the workers”)

This is a loan translation of *أَخَا عَمَالٍ* [*akhā ‘ummāl*], someone who identifies with laborers and seeks their welfare.

1. (Ikhtiyā, p. 114) הוא היה פועל בן פועל ואחיהם של פועלים. *كَانَ، مَثَلُ ذَلِكَ الزَّمَنِ،* (Ikhtiyā, p. 114) הוא היה פועל בן פועל ואחיהם של פועלים. *كَانَ، مَثَلُ ذَلِكَ الزَّمَنِ،* [kāna, mundhu dhālika z-zaman, ‘āmilan bna ‘āmilin wa-akhā ‘ummālin] (Ikhtiyā, p. 664) (= He was a laborer, son of a laborer, and brother of the laborers).

בושה עלינו (literally: “shame on/for us”)

A loan translation of *عَارٌ عَلَيْنَا* [*‘ārun ‘alaynā*]. A native speaker of Hebrew will likely say *בושה לנו* rather than *בושה עלינו*.

1. (Dancing Arabs, p. 29) (= *Shame on us* if he enters).

מחלה על מחלה (literally: “an illness on an illness”)

A loan translation of *مَرَضًا عَلَى مَرَضٍ* [*maradān ‘alā marad*], an expression that indicates the seriousness of the disease.

1. (Only Bread, p. 12) *نَحْنُ لَا نَأْكُلُهُمْ. هُمْ يَأْكُلُونَهَا. تُزِيدُهُمْ مَرَضًا عَلَى مَرَضٍ*; [naḥnu lā na’kuluhū. Hum ya’kulūnahā. Tuzīdūhum maradān ‘alā marad] (Al-Khubz al-Hāfi, p. 19) (= We don’t eat them. They eat them. They make them even sicker).

### Loan translation of verbs (verbs and expressions with a verbal nucleus)

There are many examples of this type of loan translation. Arab writers consciously choose a literal translation of verbs, collocations and expressions

with a verbal nucleus, in order to enhance the atmosphere of authentic Arab culture in the Hebrew story. Here the presence of Arabic is very strong

*Loan translations from colloquial Arabic*

ביקש את ידה (literally: “asked for her hand”)<sup>41</sup>

A literal translation of طَلَبْتُ إِيْهَا [ṭalab ṭidhā], meaning: “asked to marry her”.

1. והיחידה שעדיין לא באו לבקש את ידה (*Arabesques*, p. 189) (= The only one whose hand has not yet been sought).

2. מדי פעם טורחת חמותי, כשהיא מציינת את שמו של אחד הצעירים שבנה בית קפה וקנה, מכונית נוצצת לארוסתו או לאשתו הטריוויה, לציין כי בזמנו הוא ביקש את ידה של בתה, (occasionally takes care, when mentioning the name of one of the young people who built a café and bought a shiny new car for his betrothed or fresh wife, to note that earlier he had asked for the hand of her daughter, my wife, and that they had refused despite this).

לא תלך היום לעבודה? (literally: “You’re not going to work today?”)

A literal translation of the colloquial Arabic expression اتروخ<sup>43</sup> بَدَكَشْتَن [badkāsh trūh t-yōm ‘alā sh-shughul?].

1. “אז מה?” שואלת אשתי, “לא תלך היום לעבודה?” (*Arabesques*, p. 76) (= “So what?”, asks my wife, “you won’t go to work today?”).

מה המקצוע שלך? (literally: “What is your work?”)

1. אם תשאל אותו: “מה המקצוע שלך?” יזדרז לענות: “חשמלאי, נהג מונית, נהג” (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 40) (= If you ask him: “What is your work?” he will answer right away: “Electrician, cab driver, bus driver”).

יש לי אליך בקשה (literally: “I have a request of you”)

A loan translation of إِلَيَّ عِنْدَكَ طَلَبٌ [‘ilī ‘indak ṭalab].

<sup>41</sup> This is an expression which in Hebrew also exists as a loan translation from European languages, English for example. However, in this case it appears to have been directly influenced by Arabic.

<sup>42</sup> Literally: “You don’t want”.

<sup>43</sup> A future-tense verb in colloquial Arabic.

1. *יש לי אליך בקשה*. אל תקרא לו שמחה. שמו פאראת, וכך נקרא לו. (*In a New Light*, p. 137) (= *I have a request of you*. Don't call him Simḥa. His name is Farah, and that is how we will call him).

אין להם אלוהים (literally: “they have no God”)

A loan translation of *مَلْهَيْشَنَّ رَبِّ / فَشَنَّ عَيْنَيْ رَبِّ* [*mallihimish<sup>44</sup> rabb / fish<sup>45</sup>* ‘*indin rabb*], which denotes cruel, evil, unbelieving people.

1. אני לא אוהב קבוצים. אין להם אלוהים. אני אדם זקן ולא יכול לנסוע. (*In a New Light*, p. 59) (= I don't like kibbutz. *They have no God*. I'm an old man and can't travel).

2. בקיבוץ אנשים כופרים. אין להם אלוהים. (*In a New Light*, p. 59) (= In the kibbutz the people are unbelievers. *They have no God*).

עקרה מתוכה את שורש הבושה (literally: “tore the root of shame out of herself”)

A literal translation of *شَرَّشَ الخَجَلِ*<sup>46</sup> *قَلَعَتْ* [*gal'at shurshi l-khajal*], which denotes a woman whose behavior does not conform to the norms of Arab society.

1. זו אישה שעקרה מתוכה את שורש הבושה. (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 27) (= This is a woman who has *torn the root of shame out of herself*).

לך הבשר, ולנו העצמות (literally: “You have the meat and we have the bones”)

A loan translation of *إِلَّاكَ اللَّخْمَاتُ وَإِنَّا الْعِظْمَاتُ* [*'ilak l-lahmāt w-'inā l-'azmāt*], which means: Parents give educators free reign to do what is necessary to educate their children, including the use of violence, because the teacher knows the correct way to punish children.

1. הורינו ייפו את כוחו לעשות בנו כאוות נפשו: “לך הבשר ולנו העצמות”, כך אמרו. (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 192) (= Our parents gave him permission to do with us as he wished: “*You have the meat and we have the bones*”, that is what our parents told the teachers and the priest in our presence).

לעשות עליה/עליו גבר (“play the he-man”)

<sup>44</sup> “They have no ...”.

<sup>45</sup> “There isn't ...”.

<sup>46</sup> In Standard Arabic: *قَلَعَتْ*.

A literal translation of the expression *عَامِلٌ عَلَيْنَا زَلَمِي* [*‘āmil ‘alīnā zalami*], referring to someone who plays the hero to impress others.

1. היא לא הייתה חשה לעזרתני, משתי סיבות: ראשית, מפני שלא יכלה למנוע מאחי מלהכותני, כי גם היא סבלה מססירותיו החזקות והתכופות ולבה נפל בקרבה כל אימת שצעק עליה, ושנית, משום שתמיד השתדלתי “לעשות עליה גבר”, על אף היותה מבוגרת ממני בשנתיים (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 19) (= She would not come to my help. For two reasons. First of all, because she could not prevent my brother from hitting me, because she, too, suffered from his frequent harsh blows and she was terrified every time that he shouted at her, and secondly, because I always tried to *play the he-man*, despite the fact that she was two years older than me).

עצום עין ופקח עין (literally: “shut an eye and open an eye”)

A loan translation of *عَمَضُنْ عَيْنٌ وَفَتَّحْ عَيْنٌ* [*ghammid īn w-fattih īn*], meaning: time passes quickly.

1. השנים עוברות כהרף עין. אומרים אצלנו: “עצום עין ופקח עין”. סימן לזמן שעובר מהר (*Fatal Christening*, p. 81) (= The years passed in the blink of an eye. As we say, *shut an eye and open an eye*, meaning that time passes quickly).

נפלו בנות אוזניי (literally: “the daughters of my ears fell”)

A loan translation of *وَقَعُوا بَنَاتُ أَدْنِي* [*wiq‘ū banāt ‘adhanay*], meaning: I have an ear infection.

1. יש מחלות משותפות לקטינים ולגדולים, כמו נפילת בנות האוזניים (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 176) (= There are diseases that are common to young and old, such as *the falling of the daughters of the ears*).

2. כאשר התלוננתי על כאבים בגרוני ועל קשיי נשימה, לא התבלבלה אמי כי ידעה שנפלו בנות אוזניי (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 176) (= When I complained of a throat ache and breathing difficulties my mother was not confused. She realized that *the daughters of my ears fell* and that they almost block my throat).

3. כנראה בנות אוזניי נפלו אל המעבר, הצרו את פתחו ועיכבו את זרימת הנחל (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 177) (= Apparently *the daughters of my ears fell* into the passage, constricted the opening and hindered the fluid’s flow).

4. ממה סבלו האנשים בשכונתנו? מכאבי בטן, מכאבי גב, מנפילות בנות האוזניים ומכאבי ראש (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 175) (= What did people suffer from in our neighborhood? From belly aches, back aches, *falling of the daughters of the ears* and headaches).

ימיד ("may Allāh give you a long life")

A literal translation of *اللَّهُ يُطَوِّلُ عُمرَكَ* [*Allāh yṭawwil 'umrak*], meaning: May God bless you. The corresponding expression in Literary Arabic is *أطال الله عُمرَكَ* [*aṭāla l-lāhu 'umraka*].

1. אמר: בטרם נעלם לתמיד בשער ראש הנקרה, הביט לעברי ואמר: "אללה יאריך את *Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 52); *قال: والنفت نخوي، وهو داخل في بؤابة رأس الأثورة وقال: على سعاد<sup>47</sup>، الله يخليك، يا خيا، شق* [*qāla: wa-ltafata nahwī, wa-huwa dākhilun fi bawwābati ra'si n-nāqurati wa-qāla: "Allāh ykhalik, yā khayyā, shuq 'alā Su'ād"*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 767) (= He said, before he disappeared forever through the Rosh Ha-Niqra Gate, looked at me and said: "May God give you a long life, my brother, go every once in a while to see how Su'ād is doing").

2. השביעני אחי ג'וואד ואמר: "אללה יאריך את ימיד, יא אחי, שוב אליו ודא בעצמך *Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 55); *واستخلفتني أخي جواد قائلًا: "الله يخليك، يا خيا، عذ عليه"* [*wa-stahlafanī 'akhī Jawād qā'ilan: "Allāh ykhalik, yā khayyā, 'ud 'alayhi"*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 771) (= My brother Jawād made me swear and said: "May God give you a long life, my brother, go back to him and make sure the job is finished").

(literally: "he waited so long, he'll wait a bit longer")

A loan translation of *إني استنتي كُن هذا الوقت يستنتي كمان شوي* [*'illī stannā kull hādha l-waqt bistannā kamān shway*].

1. טניה מארג'לי נמדה ופתח ושאלה אם אנחנו רוצים להצטרף לסירור שהיא מדריכה ברחבי התנה. "ומה יהיה אם יבוא ואני לא אהיה כאן?" אני שואל אותה. "חכיכה כל כך *Arabesques*, p. 228) (= Tanya Marjalī stood at the entrance and asked if we wanted to join the tour of the farm that she was guiding. "And what will happen if he comes and I won't be here?", I asked her. "He waited so long, he'll wait a bit longer").

<sup>47</sup> The expression *على الغريض شق* [*shaq 'alā li-mrīṭ*] in colloquial Arabic means "visit the sick".

הים (literally: “let him swallow the sea”)

A loan translation of *إِلَيَّ مِشْ عَاجِبُو يَنْبَغِ الْبَحْرُ* [‘*illī mish ‘ājbu yibla’ l-baḥir*]. This is an insensitive comment on someone with whom one is dissatisfied.

1. אבל אנחנו שאלנו בכיתה, ופרצנו בצחוק כאשר המורה להיסטוריה מודרנית הסמיק, הלם באגרופו על השולחן ואמר: “זאת ההיסטוריה, מי שרוצה להאמין סחתיך, ומי שלא **שיבלע את הים** (Walking on the Wind, p. 87) (= But we asked in class and burst out laughing when the modern history teacher blushed, pounded on the table with his fist, and said: “This is history. Whoever wants to believe, very well, and whoever does not, *let him swallow the sea*”).

מה הסיפור שלה עם אבא שלך? (literally: “What’s her story with your father?”)

A literal translation of *شُو قُصِّثَهَا مَعَ أَبِيكَ* [‘*shū quṣṣithā ma’ ‘abūk*], meaning: What happened between her and your father?

1. “מה הסיפור שלה עם אבא שלך?” היא שואלת, ואני אומר לה שאבא שלי גנב לי את **המצית** (Dancing Arabs, p. 142) (= “What’s her story with your father?”, she asks. I tell her that my father stole my lighter).

עשה בשכל (“acted wisely”)

A loan translation of *عَمِلَ بِعَقْلٍ* [‘*imil b-‘aql*]: acted wisely.

1. לאשתך הם קנו בדיוק את מה שהם קנו לאשת אחיך הבכור, וזה רק איש חכם כמו אבא **עשו** שלך עושה, כי אתה יודע איך זה, נשים מסתכלות אחת על השנייה ומקנאות, הם **עשו בשכל** (And It Was Morning, p. 60) (= They bought for your wife exactly what they had bought the wife of your elder brother. That is something that only a wise man like your father would do, because you know how it is, women look at each other and become jealous. They *acted wisely*).

אכלת אותה (literally: “you ate it”)

This expression, which is very common in spoken Hebrew, is a literal translation of *أَكَلْتَهَا* [‘*akaltihā*], “you ate it”, meaning: you will pay dearly for this, or: you’ve really gotten into trouble this time.

1. אבל מה, אם אתה נופל על חתונה איסלאמית, **אכלת אותה** בגדול (And It Was Morning, p. 81) (= But if you happen to fall on a Muslim wedding, *you’ve eaten it* in a big way).

חתך את החשמל (literally: “cut the electricity”)



A literal translation of قَطَعَ الْكَهْرَبَا [qata' l-kaḥrabā].

1. מה זה? ועוד חתכו את החשמל. (*And It Was Morning*, p. 94) (= What is this? And they also cut the electricity).

מה שנעלם נעלם (literally: “what’s gone is gone”)

A literal translation of إِلَيَّ ضَاعَ ضَاعٌ [‘illi dā’ dā’], used to express the idea that one should not cry over spilled milk. A similar expression in colloquial Arabic is إِلَيَّ صَارَ صَارٌ [‘illi sār sār] “whatever happened, happened”, meaning: you can’t undo what’s been done.

1. אחי נעלם לכמה דקות וחוזר. “עליתי לגג”, הוא אומר. “חצי מכל כבר ריק, מה שנעלם. (*And It Was Morning*, p. 152) (= My brother disappeared for a few minutes and came back. “I went up on the roof”, he said. “The container is already half empty. *What’s gone is gone. It doesn’t fill up again and there is more running water*”).

מה הבכי יעזור עכשיו? (“what will crying help now?”)

Rhetorical questions in which a definite noun follows the question word מה [ma] (= what?) are loan translations from colloquial Arabic, where definite nouns follow the corresponding question word شُو [shū] (in literary Arabic مَاذَا [mādhā] or مَا [mā]). The rhetorical question מה הבכי יעזור עכשיו is a loan translation of شُو الْبِكِي بِنْفَعُ إِسَى [shū l-bikī binfa’ issā?] or in literary Arabic مَا نَفَعُ الْبُكَاءِ الْآنَ [mā nafa l-bukā’i l-’āna?].

1. חמי זו בעצבנות ופולט לעברן, “בשביל מה כל זה, מה הבכי יעזור עכשיו”. (*And It Was Morning*, p. 184) (= My father-in-law moved nervously and said to them: “What’s all this for? *What will crying help now?*”).

2. ומה כבר הטעם שיהיו לי סיגריות אחרי שיאזלו המים. (*And It Was Morning*, p. 189) (= *What will it help* for me to have cigarettes after the water will have run out?).

מהלך (literally: “will eat us without salt”)

A loan translation of بُكُلُو بَلَا مِلْحٍ [būklū balā milih], meaning: able to easily overcome the rival.

1. “דמוקרטיה?” אומר אבא, “אם מישוהו יפתח את הפה עכשיו ... הם יאכלו אותנו בלי מלח” (*And It Was Morning*, p. 233) (= “Democracy?”, my father said. “If anyone opens their mouth now ... they’ll eat us without salt”).

אין לך דם (literally: “you have no blood”)

A loan translation of the rhetorical question **فَيْشُ عِنْدَكَ دَمٌ** [*fish ‘indak dam*], meaning: you have no shame.

1. היא מרימה את הקול, צועקת על אבא שלי, “אתה הורג את הילד. בוא תראה איך הוא **אין לך דם**” (= She raises her voice and shouts at my father, “You’re killing the boy. Come see how he shakes. *You have no blood*”).

פָּרַח מִכָּאן (literally: “fly away from here”)

A loan translation of **طِيرُ مِنْ هُوْنٍ** [*tīr min hūn*], meaning: get away from here.

1. **פָּרַח מִכָּאן** ומסור לאחיק ה'תכשיט', שאמירה אומרת לו להתנהג בנימוס (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 39) (= *Fly away from here* and tell your damn brother that Amīra says he should behave).

הפכו פניהם (“turned their faces”)

A loan translation of **قَلَّبُوا / دَارُوا وَجْهَهُنَّ عَنِّي / مَنِّي** [*qalabū / dārū wijhin ‘annī / minnī*]. In Hebrew, the more usual expression is **הככו פניהם ממני**.

1. האווירה בחדר האוכל היתה מתוחה. רבים **הפכו פניהם ממני** בהיכנסי (*In a New Light*, p. 148) (= The atmosphere in the dining room was tense. Many *turned their faces away from me* when I entered).

2. חלקם ענו לברכתי, חלקם התעלמו, אבל איש מהם לא **הפך ממני פניו** (*In a New Light*, p. 148) (= Some returned my greeting, others ignored me, but no one *turned their face away from me*).

*Loan translations from literary Arabic*

מה פשע עשינו? (literally: “what crime did we commit?”)

This is a loan translation of the rhetorical question **أَيُّ ذَنْبٍ اقْتَرَفْنَا؟** [*ayyu dhanbin qtarafnāhu?*].

1. דבריה ננעצו בבשרי כמשור חלוד. אלוהי הטוב, **מה פשע עשינו**. (*In a New Light*, p. 25) (= Her words penetrated my flesh like a rusty saw. Good God, *what crime have we committed?*).

זאת הייתה לי (“that was for...”)

A loan translation of the Arabic expression *كانت بالنسبة لي* [*kānat bi-nisbatī lī*].

1. זאת הייתה לי הפעם הראשונה שהרגשתי טעמו של גן עדן. (*In a New Light*, p. 23) (= *That was for me the first time that I felt the taste of Paradise*).

literally: “try, if your mother gave birth to you as a man”)

This conditional sentence, which means “try, if you are a real man” is a loan translation from Arabic.

1. *جَرِّبْ إِذَا وَلَدَتْكَ أُمَّكَ رَجُلًا* (*Only Bread*, p. 98) *אם אמא שלך ילדה אותך גבר* [*jarrib 'idhā waladatka 'ummuka rajulan*] (*Al-Khuzb al-Hāfi*, p. 131) (= *Try, if your mother gave birth to you as a man*).

“not over yet, and never will be over”)

A literal translation of *لَمْ يَنْتَهَ وَلَنْ يَنْتَهِيَ* [*lam yantahi wa-lan yantahiya*], meaning: the matter is far from finished, and may never finish.

1. עבד אלכרים אבו אל עבאס חזר לארץ כאשר ידע, בנכבים המסותרים ביותר של *אֲמָ עֵבֶד*; (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 107) כי סיפורו עם אח'טיה לא תם, ולעולם לא יתם *الكَرِيم أَبُو الْعَبَّاسِ فَقَدْ عَادَ إِلَى الْبِلَادِ جِئِنَ أَدْرَكَ، فِي بَاطِنِ بَاطِنِهِ، أَنَّ أَمْرَهُ مَعِ “أَخْطِئَةٌ” لَمْ يَنْتَهَ،* (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 658) (= ‘Abd al-Karīm Abū l-‘Abbās returned to the country when he realized in the innermost recesses of his consciousness that *Ikhtiyāye*’s story was not over, and may never be over).

literally: “the ear falls in love before the eye, sometimes”)

A loan translation of *وَالْأَذُنُ تَعَشَّقُ قَبْلَ الْعَيْنِ أحيانًا* [*wa-l- 'udhnu ta 'shaqu qabla l- 'ayni ahyānan*].<sup>48</sup>

1. היא ידעה לשיר, ולקול שלה, גם כאשר דיברה, היה חן מיוחד ושובה לב. אחד המשוררים הערביים הקלאסיים שהיה עיוור, כתב באחד משיריו: והאוזן מתאהבת לפני העין, לפעמים. ואשר לסמירה גם אוזני, גם עיני התאהבו בה בעת ובעונה אחת (*Fatal Christening*, p. 14) (= She sang well. Her voice, even when she talked, had a special, attractive grace. One of the classical Arabic poets, a blind man, wrote in one of his poems: *The ear falls in love before the eye, sometimes*.

<sup>48</sup> The expression was created by the blind poet Bashār Ibn Burd: *يَا قَوْمِ أَذْنِي لِبَعْضٍ* (= ● my people, my ear loves someone from the neighborhood, for the ear falls in love before the eye, sometimes).

And as for Samīra, both my ears and my eyes fell in love with her simultaneously).

### *Loan translations of prepositions*

In Arabic grammar the term “preposition” does not exist. The corresponding parts of speech are called **أَحْرُفُ الْجَرِّ** [*ahrufu l-jarri*], literally, “letters of the genitive case”. It is only rarely that the Hebrew of Arab writers in Israel is affected by Arabic prepositions.

בא אצל (“come to”)

A literal translation of **جَاءَ عِنْدَ** [*jāʿa ʿinda*].

1. הלך אבונה אליאס וּבא אצל ידידו לברכו על הכבוד שנפל בחלקו. (Arabesques, p. 209) (= Father Elias came to his friend to congratulate him on the honor that was given him). A native Hebrew speaker would probably have used בא אל instead of אצל בא אל.

מלבדך, מלבדה, (“other than you/her)

The use of the word מלבד + attached pronoun may be the result of the influence of Arabic **غَيْرِ** [*ghayr*], as in **غَيْرِي** [*ghayri*] (= “other than me”), **غَيْرُكَ** [*ghayruka*] (= “other than you”).

1. מוזר הדבר, אבל במקום עדרי עזים ראיתי אשה מדלגת מעל לגדר. (In a New Light, p. 20) (= It is strange, but instead of flocks of goats I saw a woman jumping over the fence. Other than her, nothing. My heart beat fiercely).

2. וכיום אתה אבי. אין לי לא הורים ולא משפחה מלבדך. (In a New Light, p. 59) (= And today you are my father. I have no parents and no family other than you).

### *Loan translations of adverbs*

In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors in Israel the influence of Arabic in this domain appears to be much weaker than it is in the case of loan translations of nouns, verbs and maxims. The influence on adverbs was much greater in the Hebrew of Arabic speakers in the Middle Ages, for example, use of the adverb מקודם under the influence of Arabic **مِنْ قَبْلِ** [*min qabli*].

## מאצל (“from, by”)

This word, which introduces an adverbial phrase, consists of the preposition מ plus the word אצל. It is formed on the pattern of colloquial Arabic *من عند* [*min + 'indi*] (= near, by). Native Hebrew speakers will prefer to use just the preposition מ.<sup>49</sup>

1. *The Opsimist*, יושבי הבית התייצבו כדי ללהוץ ידיהם של “הבאים מאצל הערבים” (p. 140); (wa-’aqqala ‘ahlu d-dāri yusallimūna ‘alā l-qādimīna “min ‘indi l-‘arabī”) (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 348) (= The house’s residents came out to shake the hands of “those coming *from* the Arabs”).

2. *Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 53); (إِذْ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ أَنَّ هَذَا الرُّوحَ دَائِمَ الْفَيْضَانِ مِنْ عِنْدِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ) [*‘idh qad tabayyana ‘anna hādihā l-rūha dā’imu l-fayḍānī min ‘indi Allāhi ‘azza wa-jalla*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 768) (= Since it has been proven that this same spirit always emanates *from* God, may He be exalted and blessed).

3. הלך הנסיך מאצלה ובלבו זיק תקוה, לאמור: גורלם של בני תמותה טוב מגורלם של *فَمَضَى الْأَمِيرُ وَفِي قَلْبِهِ بَارِقَةٌ مِنْ أَمَلٍ أَنْ يَكُونَ بَنُو الْإِنْسَانِ أَوْفَرَ*; (ג’ניים) (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 107); [*fa-maḍā l-‘amīru wa-fī qalbihi bāriqatun min ‘amalin ‘an yakūna banū l-‘insāni ‘awfara ḥazzan min banī l-jānni*] (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 654) (= The prince went away *from* her with a glimmer of hope, namely: the fate of mortals was better than that of the jinni).

4. *In a New Light*, p. 116) (= *The dog’s bark by the water tower distracted me*).

5. *In a New Light*, p. 135) (= I tried to caress her neck, but *by* the wall of the barn steps could be heard).

6. *Arabesques*, p. 191) (= At dawn the doctor came out *from* where the woman who had given birth was, and announced that she was dead).

7. *Arabesques*, p. 223) (= I went out *from* her body).

<sup>49</sup> Abu Bakr (2002, p. 204) notes that Arab students when writing their matriculation exams in Hebrew for speakers of Arabic make frequent use of the preposition מאצל, under the influence of their native language, for example הוא מאצל האל instead of מהאל (= It is *from* God”).

8. והיא פונה מאצל האורנה ועולה לגג (*Arabesques*, p. 143) (= She goes away *from* the barn and climbs to the roof).

ביום מן הימים (literally: “on a day of days”)

This indefinite phrase functions as an adverbial of time, under the influence of Arabic *فِي يَوْمٍ مِنَ الْأَيَّامِ* [*fī yawmin mina l-ayyāmi*] (= one day). In standard Hebrew one would say בִּיאֵד אֶחָד, באחד הימים or the like.

1. כולם לא היה האיש הבכיר, ביום מן הימים, ילד קטן? (The *Opsimist*, p. 113); أَلَمْ يَكُنِ الرَّجُلُ الْكَبِيرُ فِي يَوْمٍ مِنَ الْأَيَّامِ، طِفْلاً صَغِيرًا؟ (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 311) (= Wasn't the great man *at one time* a small child?).

2. כאילו מובטח היה שנוֹר יברח ביום מן הימים ואין הוא מבקש לדעת אלא לאן ברח (*Arabesques*, p. 206) (= As if it was certain that Nūr would escape *one day* and all he wants to know is to where he fled).

3. אם נגזר על דרכינו להצטלב ביום מן הימים, לטלטל (*Arabesques*, p. 33) (= If our paths are destined to cross *one day*).

מקודם (literally: “from before”)

This word functions as a time adverb. It consists of the preposition מ (= from) + קודם (= before), under the influence of Arabic *مِنْ قَبْلُ* [*min + qabl*]. Maman (1991, p. 113) quotes two examples of the use of this word by Maimonides: A. ובאמת שהיה לישמעאלים מקודם באותן המקומות שלושה מיני (= And indeed, the Ishmaelites had *previously* had in these places three kinds of idolatry); B. ודברים אלו כלן מפרשין וידועין אצלנו מקודם שתעמד דת (= All these things have been known and understood by us *from before* the emergence of the religion of the Ishmaelites).

1. היא היתה צריכה לדאוג לזה מקודם (*And It Was Morning*, p. 160) (= She should have seen to it *before*).

מן בן (“from here”)

This prepositional phrase, which functions as an adverb, is a loan translation from colloquial Arabic *مِنْ هُنּוּ* [*min hūn*], in literary Arabic: *مِنْ هُنَا* [*min hunā*].

1. גבר כבן ארבעים הזדקף ואמר: “לך שמאלה מן בן” (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 32) (= A man, about forty years old, stood up and said: “Go left *from here*”).

לבדה, לבדו, (“by himself, alone”)

This adverb, consisting of לבד + an attached personal pronoun, is a loan translation from Arabic *لَوْحِدِهِ* [*liwahdihī*] (= by himself). In Hebrew לבד usually occurs with no attached pronoun. In rabbinic Hebrew לבד + an attached personal pronoun functions as an adverb of exclusivity, with the attached pronoun agreeing with the focused noun phrase (subject or predicate) (Azar 1995, p. 139): A. שניהן חולצין, שניהן קוצעין, שניהן מביאין את. (= Both remove [the stones], but *he alone* brings the soil (Mishna Negaim 12:6); B. לא הייתה פרה רוצה לצאת – אין. (= If the cow does not want to go out, one does not bring out a black one with it, lest they say: They slaughtered a black [cow]. Nor a red [cow], lest they say: They slaughtered two. Rabbi says: Not because of this, but because it is written “He shall bring it outside” – *by itself* (Mishna Para 3:7).

1. כעבור שעה חזר החמור לבדו, ועליו שני פחי חלב. (= An hour later the donkey returned *by itself*, with three cans of milk on it).

2. האיש שכתב את השירים, עצוב. הוא לבדו בודד כענן בבוקר סגריר. (= The man who wrote the poems is sad. He is *by himself*, alone like a cloud on a cold day).

3. כל כמה שבועות היתה באה לבקר אותי לבדה, כי אבא היה תמיד עסוק. (= Every few weeks she would come to visit me *by herself*, because *dad* was always busy).

על הבוקר

This Hebrew expression, meaning “in the morning hours”, functions as a time adverb. It is a loan translation of *على الصُّبْحِ* [*al-ṣ-ṣubḥi*] in colloquial Arabic. The expression is used in order to evoke an authentic atmosphere of the source culture.

1. מזג האוויר גשום ועננים שחורים מסתירים את השמש. על הבוקר, מהדורת חדשות. (= The weather is rainy. Black clouds hide the sun. *In the morning*, bad news on TV; all the radio stations talk about the terror attack).

2. לא עומדים בשורות לפני שנכנסים לכיתות. לא חייבים לקרוא את הקוראן על הבוקר, (= No *Dancing Arabs*, p. 81) ואין ילדה קבועה שמנגנת “קול דודי” באורגן



standing in rows before entering the classroom. Not required to recite the Quran in the morning, and no fixed girl playing *Kol Dodi* on the organ).

מפעם לפעם (“from time to time”)

This phrase functions as an adverb of frequency. It is a loan translation of colloquial Arabic *مِنْ مَرَّةٍ لِمَرَّةٍ* [*min marra la-marra*], although identical expressions also exist in Yiddish and English. The corresponding expressions in literary Arabic are *بَيْنَ الْجَيْنِ وَالْأَخْرِ* [*bayna l-hīni wa-l-ākhar*] and *بَيْنَ الْفَيْئَةِ وَالْأُخْرَى* [*bayna l-faynati wa-l-'ukhrā*]. Native speakers of Hebrew will in all likelihood prefer to use the expression מדי פעם.

1. עד שנישאה נהגה לבוא ולבקר מפעם לפעם את אחיה יוסי בהכשרה של משק בית אור. (*In a New Light*, p. 46) (= Until she married she used to come from time to time and visit her brother Yossie who was in agricultural training in Beit Or).

#### *Loan translations of maxims*

Maxims express general truths in succinct form. Arabs have a long tradition of maxims, dating from pre-Islamic times. Just as the poetry of that period reflected life in the desert, so did the maxims. With the advent of Islam, maxims took on a more religious and ethical aspect, probably due to Jewish and Christian influence. The Arabs, who excelled in maxims as well as in poetry, promoted the composition of collection of maxims, especially in the Umayyad period, which was known for its Arab nationalist tendency (Dana 2006, p. 6). According to Ibn al-Muqaffa' (1987, p. 23), transforming a statement into a maxim causes it to be perceived and understood more clearly: *إِذَا جُعِلَ الْكَلَامُ مَثَلًا كَانَ ذَلِكَ أَوْضَحَ لِلْمَنْطِقِيِّ*: *idhā ju'ila l-kalāmu mathalan kāna dhālika 'awḍahu lil-mantiqi wa-'abyanu fi l-ma'nā wa-'anqā li-sam'i wa-'awsa'u li-shu'ubi l-hadīthi*. Maxims also have didactic aims, although not everyone agrees. It may express advice, command, or preference. The didactic aim is occasionally hidden, but almost every maxim has a message. In the Arab world maxims are used very frequently, and each contains a message that fits the occasion (Dana 2006, p. 29).

Colloquial Arabic maxims have greatly influenced Hebrew writings of Arab authors in Israel, who use many such maxims as loan translations in their texts. Hebrew readers very likely feel the foreign nature of these maxims, whose meanings usually differ markedly from the combined meaning of its various components. Hebrew readers of European

extraction will perceive them as strange, but they may be clear to those of Middle Eastern origin.<sup>50</sup>

### *Maxims from colloquial Arabic*

לך סמוך לקיר ואמור יהי האל בעזרי (literally: “walk near the wall and say ‘may God help me’”)

A literal translation of *إمشي من الجيط للجيط وقول يا ربي السطرة* [*imshū min l-ḥiṭ lil-ḥiṭ w-qūl yā Rabbī s-sutra*]. This maxim describes a man who tries his best to avoid trouble and who considers every step beforehand. A literal translation of its components produces a different meaning.

1. כדברי האמרה הערבית שהייתה שגורה לפנינו בפינו, למשל: “לך סמוך לקיר ואמור יהי האל בעזרי” (*Arabesques*, p. 96) (= In the words of the Arabic saying that we used in the past, for example “*Walk near the wall and say ‘may God help me’*”).

אין בוכים על הרסן – הלך הגמל (literally: “if the camel is gone, you don’t cry over the bridle”).

A literal translation of *راح الجمل – لا أسف على الراسن* [*rāh l-jamal – lā ‘asaf ‘alā r-rasan*], meaning: When you lose something of great value, it does no good to feel bad about little things. The literal translation of the maxim’s components does not fit its overall meaning.

1. דודי, שתפס את כוננה הטמירה, הניע ראש ואמר, הלך הגמל – אין בוכים על הרסן. (*Arabesques*, p. 167) (= And my uncle, who understood her hidden meaning, nodded and said: “*If the camel is gone – you don’t cry over the bridle*”).

אלוהים מכה בידו האחת ומגונן בידו השנייה (literally: “God strikes with one hand and protects with the other”)

A literal translation of *الله بضرب يده ويخلق نايده* [*Allāh byuḍrub b-‘īd w-byilqā b-‘īd*], meaning: Eventually God helps His creatures and solves their problems.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Gori (1994, p. 13) notes that maxims which contain national-cultural elements reflect the unique features of the nation which uses the language in question and its historical, ethnic and other characteristics. A literal translation of such maxims will result in an text that is incomprehensible to the reader.

1. **אלהים מכה בידו האחת ומגונן בידו בשנייה**, מלמלו הזקנים ונענעו בראשיהם, ולא (= *God strikes with one hand and protects with the other*, mumbles the old men and nodded, not realizing that soon yet another blow will land on them).

מעולם לא הרים יד על נמלה (literally: “never laid a hand on an ant”)

A literal translation of **بَرِّمَانُو مَا اتَّعَدَى عَلَى نَمْلَةٍ** [*b-zamānū mā t'addā 'alā namli*], said of a very peaceful person, who would not threaten even the weakest creature. The meaning of the literal translation differs from that of the saying as a whole.

1. “אבל מי ירצה להזיק לאישה הצדקת הזאת”, אומרת הדודה מארי שבאה לבקר אצל “שלא הרימה יד מעולם אפילו על נמלה” (= “But who would want to harm this righteous woman”, said aunt Mary who came to visit her mother, “who never laid a hand on an aunt”).

מרוב הטבחים נקדה התבשיל (too many cooks spoil the broth)

A literal translation of **مِنْ كَثْرَةِ الطَّبَّاحِينَ شَاطَتِ الطَّبَّخَةُ** [*min kathrat t-tabbākīn shātat t-tabkhā*], meaning: when everyone on a job has an opinion of their own, the job cannot be done well, especially when some of the opinions are uninformed.

1. **מרוב הטבחים**, אומר הפתגם, **נקדה התבשיל** (= *Too many cooks, says the proverb, spoil the broth*).

חתול יכול לגנוב מידו את ארוחת הערב (literally: “a cat could steal his dinner from his hand”)

A literal translation of **الْبَيْسُ بِيُوكِلُ عَشَاهُ** [*t-bis byūkil 'ashāh*], said of someone who is very honest and seeks to avoid conflict. The literal translation creates a different meaning.

1. **והתולה יכולה לגנוב מידיה את ארוחת הערב שלה** (= *And a cat could steal her dinner from her hand*).

תרגום מילולי של **الْبَيْسُ بِيُوكِلُ عَشَاهُ** (אלבס ביוכל עשאה), הנאמר על אדם סימפטי המשתדל ככל יכולתו להיות ישר ולהתרחק מבעיות. התרגום המילולי יצר משמעות שונה מן המשמעות הכוללת של חלקי הניב.

<sup>51</sup> Similarly to the Hebrew maxim **שמאל דחה וימין מקרבה** (literally: “The left hand rejects and the right hand draws near”).

עלי (literally: “they will do an Abū ‘Alī on you”)

A literal translation of the Arabic expression *عَامِلٌ خَالُو / عَلِيًّا أَبُو عَلِي* [*āmil hālū / ‘alīnā Abū ‘Alī*], said of someone who pretends to be a hero. The literal translation gives a different meaning.

1. כאן הם טובים עד שתיכנס איתם לעבודה, תתחיל לעבוד אצלם והם יעשו עליך אבו. עלי (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 36) (= Here they’re good until you go to work with them. When you start working with them, *they’ll pretend to be big heroes*).

הר עם הר לא נפגש, בן אדם נפגש (literally: “a mountain does not meet a mountain, a man does”)

A literal translation of *جَبَلٌ مَعَ جَبَلٍ مَا يُبْتَلِقُوا، بَنَادِمٌ مَعَ بَنَادِمٍ يُبْتَلِقُوا* [*jabal ma’ jabal mā byiltqū, banādām ma’ banādām byiltqū*], meaning: the world is small and everyone will meet eventually; therefore, one should treat one’s fellow man with respect and support each other.

1. עבדתי אצל אחר ... נתן לי צ’יק, חזר, לא רצה לשלם, אמרתי לו, הר עם הר לא נפגש. *Walking on the Wind*, p. 36) (= I worked for someone else ... He gave me a check. It bounced. He didn’t want to pay. I said to him: *A mountain does not meet a mountain, a man does*).

אם תרצה לדעת את סודותיהם, שאל את ילדיהם (= If you want to know their secrets, ask their children)

A literal translation of *خُدُوا سَرَازَهُنَّ مِنْ كِبَارِهِنَّ* [*khudhū srārhin min kbārhin*], meaning: Small children can help expose the adults’ secrets.

1. “אם תרצה לדעת את סודותיהם, שאל את ילדיהם” (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 68) (= An Arabic proverb says: *If you want to know their secrets, ask their children*).

השתיק את ציפורי בטני (literally: “silenced the birds of my belly”)

A loan translation of *أَسْكَتَ عَصَافِيرَ بَطْنِي* [*askata ‘aṣāfirā baṭnī*]. The saying *عَصَافِيرُ بَطْنِي بِتَرْتِيقٍ* [*‘aṣāfir baṭnī bitarziq*] (= The birds of my belly tweet) is: I’m very hungry. So silencing one’s “belly birds” means satisfying one’s hunger. The literal translation created a different meaning.

1. *لَقَدْ أَسْكَتَ عَصَافِيرَ بَطْنِي*; (Only Bread, p. 81); *لَقَدْ أَسْكَتَ عَصَافِيرَ بَطْنِي* [*laqad ‘askata ‘aṣāfirā baṭnī*] (*Al-Klubz al-Hāfī*, p. 81) (= *He silenced the birds of my belly*).

הנעדר נימוקו איתו (literally: “he who is absent has a good reason”)

A loan translation of *الغَائِبُ جِئْتُ مَعُو* [*l-ghāyib hijjtu ma‘ū*], meaning: there’s always a good reason why someone **did** not come.

1. והוא איתר כהרגלו, ולא נותר בידיך מן הקמיעות זולת האמירה “הנעדר נימוקו איתו” (Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter, p. 78); فَتَأَخَّرَ كَعَانِكَ، حَتَّى لَمْ يَبْقَ لَكَ مِنَ التَّمَامِ (Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter, p. 78); *[fa-ta’akhkhara ka-‘adatihī, hattā lam yabqa laka mina t-tamā’imi siwā “l-ghā’ibu ‘udhruhu ma‘ahu”]* (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 776) (= He was late as usual, and the only amulet left in your hands was the saying *He who is absent has a good reason*).

הנח ראשך בין הראשים, וקרא לשר הטבחים (literally: “place your head among the heads, and call for the executioner”)

A literal translation of *حُطَّ رَأْسُكَ بَيْنَ الرُّؤْسِ وَتَوُونَ يَا قَطَّاعُ الرُّؤْسِ* [*huttā rāsak bīn r-rūs w-qūl yā qattā‘ r-rūs*], meaning: **do** not try to oppose the fate God has chosen for you.

1. אלא שלא שעינו לדברי דודי איברהים ופעלנו על פי האמרה “הנח ראשך בין הראשים, וּלְכַנְתָּ לִמָּא תִּבְעֵי לִמָּא תִּבְעֵי” (Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter, p. 59); *[wa-lākimmanā lam na’ bah limā taqawwalahu ‘ammī Ibrāhīmu bal wada’ nā “ru’ūsunā bayna r-rūs w-qulnā yā qattā‘ r-rūs”]* (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 776) (= But we **did** not heed the words of my uncle Ibrāhīm, and acted in accordance with the saying: *Place your head among the heads and call for the executioner*).

שופט הילדים תלה את עצמו (literally: “the children’s judge hanged himself”)

A literal translation of *قاضي لَوْلَاذْ شَتَّقْ خَالُو* [*qādi li-wlād shanaq hālū*], meaning: If you try to arbitrate between children, you will fail.

1. כדברי הפתגם, “שופט הילדים תלה את עצמו”, (In the Shade of the Jujube Tree, p. 22) (= After all, they are children, and *the children’s judge hanged himself*, as the proverb goes).

הלילה הוא אבי הסודות (literally: “night is the father of secrets”)

A loan translation of *الْأَيْنُ أَبُو الْأَسْرَارِ* [*l-līl abū l-‘asrār*], meaning: people tend to reveal their secrets at night, when there is less chance of being overheard by children or by the wrong people. The maxim’s meaning differs from the meaning of its combined components.

1. בשכונתנו נהגו לומר שהלילה הוא אבי הסודות (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 10) (= In our neighborhood they used to say that *night is the father of secrets*).

אתה רוצה לאכול ענבים או לריב עם הנוטר? (literally: “do you want to eat grapes or to quarrel with the guard?”)

A loan translation of *’anta turīdu ’an ta’kūn al-’inib* *’am ’an tuqātila n-nāṭūr*, which originates in the colloquial Arabic saying *baddak tūkil l-’inib wallā baddak tuqātil l-nāṭūr*, meaning: we should focus on our aim rather than on minor things that do not bring us closer to what we want. The literal meaning differs from the maxim’s overall meaning.

1. אתָּתְ תְּרִידָ אֲנִי אֲתֹאֵל (Ikhtiyee, p. 75); אתה רוצה לאכול ענבים או לריב עם הנוטר? (Ikhtiyee, p. 625) (= *Do you want to eat grapes or to quarrel with the guard?*).

הפעם הראשונה לאירוח, השנייה לניחוח (literally: “the first for hospitality, the second for the aroma”)

A loan translation of *al-finjān al-awwāl li-lṭayif wa-lṭayif li-lṭayif* [l-’awwāl la-ḡ-ḡif wi-thānī la-l-kīf wi-th-thālith la-s-sīf], meaning: when offering coffee a guest is permitted two cups and may not ask for a third.

1. בכל הגשה מותר לארח לשתות שני ספלונים ואסור לו לבקש פעם שלישית, כפי שאומר *Fatal Christening*, p. 100) (= Every time drinks are offered, a guest is allowed to drink two small cups and may not ask for a third, as the Arabic saying goes: *The first for hospitality, the second for the aroma*).

מהעפר של כפרך תקרה על פניך! (literally: “smear soil from your village on your face”)

A loan translation of *min trāb ’ardak kaḡl ḡaynak* [min trāb ’ardak kaḡl ḡaynak], in reference to someone who has left his homeland long ago and now longs for it. The maxim’s meaning differs from the literal meaning given by its components.

1. הוא ודאי רצה לבחור לי אישה בעצמו, איזה בת דוד, כדי לשמר את הגזע. “הכל נשאר” *Fatal Christening*, p. 10) – היתה אני אומרת על זה: “מהעפר של כפרך תקרה על פניך” (= He certainly wanted to choose a wife for himself,



some cousin, in order to preserve the race. “Everything remains in the family”, Armie would say about this: “*Smear soil from your village on your face!*”, said about someone who marries a foreign woman).

פניו הקשוחים לא חייכו אפילו למראה כיכר לחם שטוחה וחמה (literally: “His tough face did not smile even at the sight of a flat, warm loaf of bread”)

A literal translation of *وَجُو بِضَحْكَيْش لَرُغَيْفِ السُّخُنِ السُّكْتُونِ* [*wijjū bidhākish la-r-rgħīf s-suktūn*], meaning someone who always wears a serious expression and almost never smiles.

1. סבא סיפר, שהקצין היה גבוה, שערו שחור, עיניו חומות, ופניו הקשוחים לא חייכו אפילו למראה כיכר לחם שטוחה וחמה, שאף לפני שניות ספורות הוצאה מן הטאבון (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 46) (= Grandfather said that the officer was tall, with black hair and brown eyes, with a tough face that did not smile at the sight of a flat, warm loaf of bread, which had come out of the oven just a few seconds before).

#### Maxims from literary Arabic

גנב את שכלם (literally: “stole their mind”)

A literal translation of *سَرَقَ عَقُولَهُمْ* [*sarāqa 'uqūlāhum*], meaning: influenced them, controlled them, perhaps tricked them. The maxim's meaning differs from the sum of the meanings of its parts.

1. זה הצבוע המפיל את תחתו על רועי הסביבה, ולא אחת “גנב את שכלם”, כמאמר (*Arabesques*, p. 138) (= This hyena, which is the terror of the region's shepherds, and more than once stole their mind, as the peasants say, leading them to its lair and their bitter end).

(= need/necessity is the mother of invention) / ההכרח היא / הוא אם כל המצאה

A literal translation of *الْحَاجَةُ أُمُّ الْاِخْتِرَاعِ* [*'al-hājatu 'ummu l-'ikhtirā'i*], meaning: dire straits strengthen one's motivation to be creative.

1. וכבר נאמר לפנינו, בצדק או שלא בצדק, שהנחיצות היא אם כל המצאה (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 82); *كَانَ قَدْ قِيلَ، إِنَّ صِدْقًا وَإِنْ كَذِبًا أَنَّ “الْحَاجَةَ أُمُّ الْاِخْتِرَاعِ”* [*kāna qad qīla, 'in ṣidqan wa-'in kadhiban, 'anna “l-hājata 'ummu l-'ikhtirā'i”*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*), p. 809) (= As has already been said before, true or not, necessity is the mother of invention).





## D. Borrowed meanings

Abu Bakr (2002, pp. 181-182) quotes Waller (1971, p. 47), Sarfatti (1985, p. 195) and Gluska (1999, p. 133) on the borrowing of meaning. Waller argues that meaning is borrowed whenever a native speaker is not aware of the fact that a polysemic word in his own language corresponds to two distinct words in the target language, and so uses one of these in every context where he would use his native word, even when the meaning is not the relevant one. Sarfatti notes that when the semantic fields of two words in the two languages partly overlap, the semantic field of the affected word may expand to become identical to that of the affecting word. He provides an example of a borrowed meaning from medieval Arabic: The Hebrew verb העתיק and the Arabic verb نَقَّ have a meaning in common: “move something from its position”. The Arabic verb نَقَّ also means “translate” and “transmit a tradition”. The Hebrew verb העתיק took over these meanings from the Arabic verb. Gluska, on the other hand, states that semantically-based borrowing takes place when the forms in the languages in contact differ phonemically.

Maman (1991, p. 111) writes that Arabic has influenced Hebrew technical terminology in a variety of ways, the most important of which is meaning borrowing: If the influencing language possesses a word A with basic meaning A1 and secondary meanings A2, A3, etc., and in the influenced language there is a word B whose basic meaning B1 is identical with basic meaning A1 (i.e., B1 = A1), B can, either naturally or intentionally, borrow A's other meanings as well (A2 > B2, A3 > B3, etc.). Thus the Arabic verb أَفَادَ [*'afāda*] (= benefit, be useful) has the same basic meaning as the Hebrew verb הועיל. But the Arabic verb also has another meaning, “convey meaning”. This meaning was originally absent from the Hebrew verb, but was passed on to it due to the two verbs' shared basic meaning, so that both verbs came to correspond in all their meanings.

### *The verb הלך*

The verb راح [*rāḥ*] in colloquial Arabic denotes a transition from one place to another. It corresponds to a number of Hebrew verbs of motion (הלך, נסע, הפליג, טס, גנסע). The Hebrew verbs differ with respect to the means whereby the action is performed (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 184):<sup>52</sup> הלך (X moved from

<sup>52</sup> According to Abu Bakr, Hebrew sentences such as הלכתי הביתה and הלכתי הדרך לי העט and הכסף הדרך show Arabic influence, as do sentences such as לאוניברסיטה. The latter two sentences may be treated as Hebrew slang, but are more likely directly influenced by colloquial Arabic.

place A to place B on foot; the feet are the means); נסע (X moved from place A to place B in a car); טס (X moved from place A to place B in an airplane); הפליג (X moved from place A to place B in a ship). All four verbs can correspond to Arabic راح, which can be translated into Hebrew as התלמידים הלכו לצרפת: הלהך (= I went to France a week ago); הלכנו לאי רחוק; (= the students went to Tel-Aviv); הלכנו לאי רחוק; (= we went to a distant island).

The meaning of the Arabic verb does not contain a component that indicates the means of travel, while in Hebrew the means is part of the meaning of each verb. Arabic راح can also mean “was lost”, “disappeared”, “passed away”. In this sense, the sentence structure is either راح + Ø or راح + من, as in راح مِنِّي الْيَوْمَ قَلَمٌ غَالِي [rāḥ minnī l-yūm qalam ghālī] (= I lost an expensive pen today). Below are examples of the use of the Hebrew verb הלך in the sense of “was lost”, “disappeared”, “passed away” in the writings of Arab authors in Israel.

1. ודודי, שתפס את כוננתה הטמירה, הניע ראש ואמר, הלהך הגמל – אין בוכים על הרסן (Arabesques, p. 167) (= If the camel is gone, you don't cry over the bridle).
2. בשביל לעשות סידור קטן, הולהך לך עשרים שיחות טלפון. (Walking on the Wind, p. 44) (= To attend to the smallest matter, twenty phone calls are wasted).
3. راحَ حَمْدِي; (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 105) راحَ حَمْدِي; (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 840) (= Hamdi is gone and Ibrāhīm passed away).

The verb ذَهَبَ [dhahaba] in literary Arabic also corresponds to the Hebrew verb הלך, and possesses the same semantic and syntactic features as راح. However, it may also transfer the meaning of “emigrate” to the Hebrew verb.

1. והנה פירמידה של אגסים עציים וצהובים וחיוורים, שאין בהם לא עסיס ולא טעם, משל וְذَلِكَ هָרֵם מִן הָאֵפֶסֶס הַחֲשִׁבִי; (Ikhtiyay, p. 30) וְذَلِكَ הָרֵם מִן הָאֵפֶסֶס הַחֲשִׁבִי; (Ikhtiyay, p. 30) וְזוֹ הָאֵפֶסֶס הַבָּהִיט לֹא מֵאָה וְלֹא חַיָּה וְלֹא אֲשְׁجָרָה דְּבִלְתָּ אוֹ אֲשִׁיבִית בְּעֶשְׂרֵי הַעֲצִים, מִזֶּה אֲנִי “ذَهَبَ الْأَصْفَرُ الْبَاهֵט لَا مَاءَ فِيهِ وَلَا حَيَاءَ كُلُّ أֲشְׁجָרָה דְּבִלְתָּ אוֹ אֲשִׁיבִית בְּעֶשְׂרֵי הַעֲצִים, מִזֶּה אֲנִי “ذَهَبَ” [wa-dhālika haramun mina l-ijāsi l-khashabiyyi l-asfari l-bāhiti lā mā'a fihi wa-lā hayā'a ka'anna 'ashjāralu dhabulat 'aw usibat bi-usri l-hadmi, mundhu 'an “dhahaba l-arabu”] (Ikhtiyay, p. 581) (= Here is a pyramid of wooden, pale yellow pears, with no juice and no taste, as if the trees had wilted since “the Arabs went”).

אני עצמי עדיין לא הלכתי. ואין אני סבור שאלך יום אחד. שאם אלה, חוזר אהזור. שאם. 2. **لَمْ أَذْهَبْ، بَعْدُ. وَلَا أَرَى إِلَى أُنْتِي ذَاهِبًا**; (Ikhtiyāye, p. 133) לא אחזור, כאילו לא הלכתי (Ikhtiyāye, p. 681) (= I myself have not yet gone. Nor do I think that I will go one day. For if I go, I will certainly return. For if I don't return, it is as if I never went).

### The verb הרג

The verb **قَتَلَ** [*qatala*], whose basic meaning is identical with that of הרג (= “kill”), is used in colloquial Arabic also to denote “hit, strike” as well as “lose, spend”. Examples of the various usages:

1. **قَتَلَ السَّارِقُ الحَارِسَ** [*qatala s-sāriqu l-hārisa*] (= The thief killed the watchman).
2. **يَا بَا اليَوْمِ إِمِّي قَتَلْتِي** [*yābā l-yūm 'immī qatalatnī*] (= Dad, today mother beat me).
3. **بَلِّشْ أَنْزُسْ، لِيَشْ بِنُقْتُلْ وَقِيْتْ؟** [*ballish 'udrus, lish btuqtul waqit?*] (= Start studying. Why do you waste time?).

Here is an example of the use of the verb הרג in the sense of “lose, waste” in a text by an Arab author:

1. על כן החליטו להרוג כל אישר ייקרה להלוויה בדרכה, וזאת מטעמי כבוד לה'אן הראשון. כשם שהרגנו בשנות השלושים שלושה ימי לימודים מטעמי כבוד שרחשנו למלך הראשון **وَلِذَلِكَ قَرَرُوا أَنْ يَقْتُلُوا كُلَّ مَنْ تَلَقَاهُ الجَنَازَةُ فِي طَرِيقِهَا، اخْتِرَامًا**; (*The Opsimist*, p. 34) **لِيَذْكُرَى خَانَ الأَوَّلِ، كَمَا قَتَلْنَا فِي الثَّلَاثِيَّاتِ ثَلَاثَةَ أَيَّامٍ دِرَاسَةَ اخْتِرَامًا لِلْمَلِكِ الأَوَّلِ** [*wa-lidhālika qarrarū 'an yaqtulū kulla man talaqquhu l-janāzatu fī tarīqihā, htirāman li-dhikrā Khāni l-awwali, kamā qatalnā fī th-thalāthihnāti thalāta*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 196) (= We therefore decided to kill whoever will be encountered during the funeral procession, out of reverence for the first Khān, just as in the thirties we killed three days of school due to the reverence we felt towards the first king).

### The verb לקח

This verb (“take”) appears in two types of syntactic structure. ● One, in Hebrew as well as in literary Arabic, is NP1 + לקח + NP2 + PP (מ), as in **أَخَذَ الأَوَّلُ كِتَابًا مِنَ المَعْلَمِ** [*'akhadha l-waladu kitāban mina l-mu'allimi*] (= The

boy *took* a book from the teacher). In this structure, the Hebrew verb may also take on the meaning of “inherited” or “adopted”, under the influence of Arabic, as in *أَحْنَأْنَا عَن أَجْدَائِنَا الْقَهْوَةَ الْمُرَّةَ* [*'akhadhna 'an ajdādinā l-qahwata l-murrata*] (= We *inherited* the bitter coffee from our forefathers). The other structure exists only in colloquial Arabic: NP1 + לקח + NP2, where the verb can have five different meanings (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 183):

A. “require”: *هَذَا الْمَشْرُوعُ يُؤَخِّدُ وَقْتٌ كَثِيرٌ* [*hādha l-mashrū' būkhiḏh waqit kihīr*] (= This project *requires* a lot of time). Abu Bakr notes that in Hebrew this usage exists in low registers as a loan translation from English and that the structure of the Arabic verb is identical to that of the English verb.

B. “receive”, “obtain”: *أَخَذْتُ فِي الْإِمْتِحَانِ 95* [*'akhadhḏit fī l-imitihān 95*] (= I *obtained* a 95 on the exam).

C. “contain”: *هَذَا شَوَالٌ يُؤَخِّدُ أَرْبَعٌ كِيلَاتٍ* [*hādha shwal būkhiḏh 'arba' kīlāt*] (= This sack *contains* four kilograms).

D. “learn”: *أَخَذْتُ الْيَوْمَ تَرْسٌ رِيَاضِيَاتٍ* [*'akhadhḏit l-yūm dars riyaḏiyiyyāt*] (= I *took* [= *learned*] a math lesson today).

E. “occupy”: *مَنْ أَخَذَ أَرْضَنَا؟* [*man 'akhadhha arḏanā?*] (= Who *occupied* our land?).

Below are some examples of the use of the verb לקח with the meaning of “require” in the writings of Arab authors’ works in Hebrew:

1. *מה עוד שזמן השכירות קצר מהזמן שנסיעה כזאת יכולה לקחת* (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 137) *وَالْوَقْتُ الْمُؤَجَّلُ لَكَ أَقْصَرُ مِنَ الْوَقْتِ الَّذِي تَسْتَعْرِفُهُ فِي قَطْعِ هَذِهِ الْمَسَافَةِ* [*wa-l-waqtu l-mū'ajjaru laka 'aqṣaru mina l-waqtī l-ladhū tastaghriquhu fī qat' i hādhihi l-masāfati*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 878) (= Furthermore, the rental period is shorter than the time such a journey would *require*).

2. *תחכה בשקט, אוי ואבוי אם תצפור, חכה שיגמרו את השיחה, אינשאללה ייקח להם שעה* (*And It Was Morning*, p. 31) (= Wait quietly. Don't you dare honk. Wait until they finish their conversation. Hopefully, it will *take* them an hour).

3. *מעניין אם יקרה עכשיו משהו רע להורים שלי, אני חושב. כמה זמן ייקח לנו לדעת* (*And It Was Morning*, p. 202) (= I wonder if something bad will now happen to my parents, I think. How long will it *take* us to find out?).

4. אני לא יכול לגלח את הזיפים עדיין, אני חייב לחכות שהפצעים יגלידו קודם, זה לא ייקח (= I can't shave the bristles yet. I have to wait until the wound heals first. It won't *take* long, a matter of two or three days).

5. כשחזרתי לחדר שלי, פגשתי אותה במדרגות. "חיפשתי אותך", היא אמרה, "לקח לי" (= When I returned to my room I met her on the staircase. "I looked for you", she said, "it took me an hour to find the room).

The verb לקח with the meaning of "inherit, adopt" in the writings of Arab authors' works in Hebrew:

1. קראו לזה שנטר. אנחנו לקחנו את זה מהם. האבות שלנו אמרו, הם דווקא לקחו את זה וקאדו יִסְמוּנְהָ הַשָּׁטָן. فَآخَذْنَاهَا عَنْهُمْ. وَقَالَ أَجْدَانَا هُمْ الَّذِينَ: מאתנו (Ikhtiyee, p. 27); [wa-kānū yusammūnahā l-shaṭāta. Fa-'akhadhūnāhā 'anhum. Wa-qāla 'ajdānū humu l-ladhīna 'akhadhūhā 'annā] (Ikhtiyee, p. 580) (= They called it a *shanta*. We took it from them. Our forefathers said that, to the contrary, they took it from us).

The verb לקח with the meaning of "occupy" in the writings of Arab authors' works in Hebrew:

1. בבית הספר למדתי שהם לקחו את ארצנו וניהלו את ענייניה (In the *Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 210) (= In school I learned that they took our country and administered it).

2. האם חושבים להם היהודים שאבי ויתר הפלאחים בשכונה ייתנו להם לקחת את אדמתנו ואת ביתנו (In the *Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 211) (= Do the Jews think that my father and the other peasants in the neighborhood will allow them to take our land and our house?).

3. ניידה אבנים על כל מי שיבוא לקחת את שלנו (In the *Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 213) (= We'll throw stones at anyone who comes to take what is ours).

The verb לקח with the meaning of "occupy" in the writings of Arab authors' works in Hebrew:

1. היא יודעת מתי הנשים בכפר התחילו ללמוד, כמה שיעורים הן לקחו וכמה טסטים הן (And It Was Morning, p. 42) (= She knows when the women in the village began to learn, how many lessons they took and how many tests they passed until they received the license).



## E. Phono-semantic matching

By phono-syntactic matching we denote the phenomenon of adapting the meanings of Hebrew words to phonetically similar Arabic words. Sarfatti (1985, p. 195) notes that meanings are occasionally borrowed due to a similarity in the sound of the words, that is, a word in language A absorbs the meaning of a similarly-sounding word in language B. In other words, it is a phonetically-based borrowing of meaning. Dunash Ben Labrat, a pioneer grammarian who coined Hebrew grammatical terms, used the term צירוף for “grammatical inflection”, because of the Hebrew word’s phonetic similarity to Arabic *تَصْرِيف* [*taṣrif*], which has the same meaning. The same goes for *וְ* the conjunction *w*, from Arabic *وَ* *الْعَطْف* [*wāwi l-’atf*], *פרק* for “difference” from Arabic *فَرَق* [*farq*] and “but” *לכן* from Arabic *لكن* [*lākin*].

Yehuda Ibn Tibon, for example, coined the Hebrew term *אותיות הדליקה* for the letters *lmnr* and *bwmp*, based on the similarly-sounding corresponding Arabic term *ذَلَق* [*dhalq*] (meaning “tip of the tongue”, because that is the point of articulation of these sounds, according to early grammarians), although from an etymological perspective it would have been more correct to use *אותיות הזליקה* (Maman 1991, p. 110).

1. “הגיע הבאמבור”, שהיה לבמבורובה, והוא גם שמה של הרכבת בפי סבתא מרים. החיפאית, לאמור “באבור”. ומפיה או מפי מרימות אחרות, עבר המונח לפועלים החוראנים “جاء البامبور”, فأصْبَحَتْ (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 104); “البامبور” שהיו קוראים “באמבור”, وهو أيضا، فطائر سبغة الحديد على لسان جدتي مريم الخيفاوية – “البامبور” وميها، أو “جاء البامبور”, which [“*jā’a l-bāmbūru*”, which became “*bāmbūrva*”, *wa-luwa ‘aydan qitāru sikkati l-hadīdi ‘alā lisāni jaddatī Maryama l-hayfāwiyyati – “l-bābūru” wa-minhā, ‘aw min ghayrihā mina “l-maryamātī”, naqalahā l-fa’alatu l-hawārinatu fa-hatafū*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 838) (= “The *bambūr* arrived”, which became *bāmbūrūva*, which was also the name for the train used by grandmother Maryam from Haifa, that is, *bābūr*. From her, or from other Maryams, the term went over to the Horanian workers who would call).

The word *al-fa’alatu*, a plural of *fā’ilun*, has a negative connotation of “evildoers”. The Hebrew word *הפועלים* (literally: “workers”) here receives the same connotation due to its phonetic similarity with *al-fa’alatu*.



*Renewal of biblical collocations and Hebrew verbs by giving them other or further meanings under the influence of Arabic*

Margolin (2003, pp. 53-60) examined the overt Arabic traces in Shammas' Hebrew text of *Arabesques*, including the explicit use of Arabic words and expressions. She also noted the existence of covert traces, which ostensibly belong to Hebrew culture, but reflect Arabic culture as well. She explains that such covert traces are formed through the "renewal" of biblical collocations and Hebrew verbs, which are provided with different or additional meanings from Arabic. These traces, which reflect the author's state of diglossia, Arabic and Hebrew, are what give rise to Arab writers' special language.

גלה את אוזני

The collocation גלה את אוזני ("reveal") is typical of biblical Hebrew rather than the contemporary language:

A. (= Surely the Lord God does nothing without *revealing* His secret to His servants the prophets) (Amos 3:7).

B. (= Now the day before Saul came, the Lord had *revealed* to Samuel) (I Sam. 9:15).

Since this biblical collocation has the meaning of clarification, Arab authors use it in order to overcome the absence of verbs of revelation in Hebrew which serve only for clarification, in contrast to Arabic, which has no lack of verbs of this type, for example *اَنْبَغ* [*ablaghā*], *اَخْبَرَ* [*akhabara*] and also *جَلَى* [*jālā*], which is similar in meaning to the Hebrew verb גלה (Margolin, *ibid.*).

1. فَلَمَّا كَشَفْتُ لَهُ عَنْ رَغْبَتِي (The Opsimist, p. 16); *הואיל וגליתני את אוזנו על רצוני* [*fa-lammā kashaftu lahu 'an raghbātī*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 173) (= Since I revealed to him my desire).

2. שאם עלה בחכתם דג המולית הקרוי "סולטן איברהים" – דבר נדיר בקרבת החוף – שהוא גדול מן הממוצע, היו גולים את אוזנו, משהשגיחו בהשתאותו, כי אין זה סולטן אלא *فَإِذَا وَقَعَتْ فِي أَيْدِيهِمْ سَمَكَةٌ*; (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 23) "سُلْطَانُ الْإِبْرَاهِيمِ" – وَهُوَ أَمْرٌ نَائِرٌ الْوُقُوعِ عَلَى النَّشَاطِي – أَكْبَرُ حَجْمًا مِنْ أَخَوَاتِهَا، وَأَبْدَى *[fa-'idha waqa'at samakatu "Sulṭān Ibrāhīm" – wa-luwa 'amrun nādīru l-wuqū'i 'alā sh-shā'ī'i – 'akbaru hajman min 'akhawātihā, wa-'abdā stighrābahu dda'ū bi'anna smahā "l-*

*Hājj Ibrāhīm*”] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 730) (= When they happened to catch a bigger than usual “Sultan Ibrāhīm” fish, a rare happening near the shore, and he would wonder, they would *reveal to him* that its name was “Hājj Ibrāhīm”).

3. הוא גילה את אוזני ששם ההר, במבורבה, מקורו בימי שלטון התורכים (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 104); فَأَيْتَقِي أَنْ اسْمَ الْجَبَلِ “بَامُرُوفَا” – مَرُورَةٌ مِنْ زَمَنِ الْحَكْمِ; (Sarāyā *ʿanna sma l-jabail, Bambūrva, mawrūth min zamani l-lukmi l-turkyyi*) (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 838) (= He *revealed to me* that the mountain's name, Bamburva, originated in the time of Turkish rule).

4. אמר לי ידידי, כאשר גיליתי את אוזנו בדבר המצוקה שאני שרוי בה בבואי לסיים את. قَالَ لِي صَاحِبِي; (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 133); جِئْتُ أَخْبِرْتَهُ بِمَا أَلْقَيْتُهُ مِنْ عُسْرِ فِي إِيْمَامِ نَقْمَةِ هَذِهِ الرَّوَايَةِ عَلَى نَفْسِي [qāla lī ṣāhibī, hīna 'akhbartuhu bimā 'ulāqīhi min 'usrin fī 'itmāmi naqmati hādhihi l-riwāyati 'alā nafsī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 874) (= My friend said to me, after I had *revealed to him* my difficulty in finishing the story that I had promised myself).

5. ולא גיליתי את אוזנו שאדון קעווש והנותו נמחו מספר נצרת, אלא נתתי לו ללכת לדרכו. فَلَمْ أَيْتَقُهُ; (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 169); بَأَنَّ “الْمَعْلَمَ كَعُوشَ” وَدُكَّانَهُ أُمْسَتْ “عِظَامُهُمَا مَكَالِحٌ” بَلْ تَرَكْتُهُ يَمْضِي فِي سَبِيلِهِ وَقَدْ أَيْقَنْتُ أَنْ لَا [fa-lam 'ublighhu bi'anna “l-mu'allima Ka'washā” wa-dukkānahu 'amsat “izāmulumā makāhil” bal taraktulu yamḍī fī sabīlihi wa-ḡad 'ayḡantu 'anna lā sabīla 'amāmalu siwā hādihā s-sabīli] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 924) (= I *did not reveal to him* that Mr. Ka'wash and his shop were gone, but let him go on his way, realizing that he had no other way).

6. وَهَلْ; (Ikhṭiyye, p. 19); وَهَلْ تُصَدِّقُونَنِي إِذَا أَخْبَرْتُكُمْ – وَهَا أَنَا فَاعِلٌ [wa-hal tuṣaddiqūnāni 'idhā 'akhbartukum – wa-hā 'anā fā'ilun] (Ikhṭiyye, p. 573) (= Will you believe me if I *reveal to you*, which I am indeed doing).

7. אני נוטה לשער שלא לחינם גילה את אוזני בדבר קורות שמי. (*Arabesques*, p. 203) (= I *tend to believe* that it was not for nothing that he *revealed to me* the matter of my name).

8. אחר כך, במטוס לשיקגו גילה את אוזני בדבר הדחף האמיתי המביא אותו על אף הכל אל. (= Afterwards, on the plane to Chicago, he *revealed to me* the true motive that brought him despite everything to a remote town in the American Middle West).

9. אמרתי לגלות את אוזנכם לומר שבאנו בדברים עם שכנינו היהודים בגינוסר, והם הבטיחו לנו שישמרו על השכנות הטובה כפי שהיינו מאז ומתמיד (את יהודי גינוסר לא הכרתי, אבל המבוגרים הנהנו בראשם לאות שביעות רצון והסכמה) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 234) (= I decided to reveal to you that we made contact with our Jewish neighbors in Genosar, and they promised that they would maintain the good neighborly relations that had always existed (I did not know the Jews of Genosar, but the older people nodded in satisfaction and agreement).

10. עדנאן גלה את אוזני ואמר לי: "אחיך ואחי רוכבים יחד על סוסותיהם כדי להציץ." (= 'Adnān revealed to me and said: "Your brother and mine are riding on their mares together, in order to get a glimpse of the girls bearing their jars on their heads").

רהויות

רהה is a biblical verb:

A. אל תפחדו ואל תרהו הלא מאז השמעתיך והגדתי ואתם עדי הגש אלוהי מבלעדי ואין צור. בל ידעתי (= Do not fear, or be afraid, have I not told you from of old and declared it? You are my witnesses: Is there any god besides me? There is no other rock, I know not one) (Isaiah 44:8).

The participle רהוי occurs in medieval Hebrew literature in the sense of "hesitant", "weak", "fearful". Israeli Arab authors use the biblical form רהוי in a different sense, taken from the cognate Arabic I form verb رهي [rahi], meaning "be gentle", "be calm", one that fits the context better than the meaning in the Bible and in medieval literature.

## F. Hebrew neologisms influenced by Arabic

Arab authors created new Hebrew verbal forms derived from nouns, under the influence of denominal verbal forms in Arabic. Moreh (1979, pp. 326-327) notes that Shammas' translations of David Rokah's poetry are excellent, because they were produced by a translator with much experience in the translation of Hebrew poetry and prose, who was himself a talented poet in both Semitic languages. However, he criticizes Shammas for his tendency to use too many words that are not part of the Arabic lexicon and deviate from the rules of Arabic lexicography. Such daring language adds a dimension to the translated text that does not exist in the original, introducing a lack of clarity which can confuse the reader, who encounters

words which the context does not help to elucidate. Thus, for example, he translates the Hebrew word מכהסהר, which appears in the poem עיניים בסלע (p. 44, Sifrei Daga, 1967), as מסרנם. This translation is a portmanteau word (like Hebrew רמזור [= semaphore] which consists of the words רמו and אור), a type of word-formation which is rather rare in Arabic. The word מסרנם is meaningless in Arabic; its meaning can only be inferred from a comparison with the Hebrew source text, which reveals that the meaning is “sleepwalker”.<sup>53</sup>

### Derivation of verbal forms from nouns under the influence of Arabic

#### שוקספרתי

1. מיום ששוקספרתי על ידי הסוהרים בכלא (The *Opsimist*, p. 326); مِنْ يَوْمِ مَا شَكَّسَبَرْتَنِي خُرَّاسُ السَّجْنِ [min yawmi mā shaksbaranī hurrāsu s-sijni] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 362) (= From the day that I was *shakespeared* by the prison guards).

The author created the new and non-existent Arabic verb شَكَّسَبَرْتَنِي from the name Shakespeare. Hebrew has a similar verbal morphology, so that it was easy for the translator to use the verb, adding another dimension to it by putting it in the passive voice.

#### התמנגנו

1. חדלתי מלבכות את יעאד והתחלתי מבכה את עצמי, בלא כל חשש מהמנגנון, כי כולם לَمْ أَغْدَأْ أَبْكِي عَلَى يُعَادَ بْنَ عَلَى خَالِي، وَبَدُونَ أَيَّ خَوْفٍ (The *Opsimist*, p. 67); התמנגנון [lam 'a'ud 'abkī 'alā Yu'āda bal 'alā hālī, wabidūni 'ayyi khawfin mina l-jihāzi li'anna l-jamī'a tajahhaza] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 242). (= I ceased crying for Yu'ād and became to cry for myself, without any fear of the system, because they were all *systemed*).

The Arabic verb تَجَهَّرَ here is not used in its usual meaning (“equip oneself”) but one that is derived from the noun جَهَّاز (“system, apparatus”), in this case referring to the Israeli authorities. The translator transferred this derivation to Hebrew, creating the verb התמנגן from the noun מנגנון, which has the same basic meaning as Arabic جَهَّاز, and using the Hebrew *binyan* התפעל, which is equivalent to Arabic form V.

<sup>53</sup> Somekh (1993, p. 49) calls such neologisms “fabricated words”.

התנמס, התנמסתי

فَرَجَّنِي (The *Opsimist*, p. 56) יעקב נזף בי וצרת: התנמס! שבתי למקומי והתנמסתי. 1. [fa-zajjanī Ya 'qūbu wa-ṣāḥ: Ta 'addab! Fa-waqafu muta 'addiban] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 225) (= Ya 'qūb scolded me and shouted: *Manner yourself!* I stopped *manneredly*).

The translator derived the Hebrew verbal forms התנמס and התנמסתי using the Hebrew *binyan* „התפעל“, in line with the form of the Arabic form V verb.

מְחַשֵּׁשׁ

1. هُوَ أَيْضًا يَسْكُرُ وَيَحْتَشِشُ (Only Bread, p. 23) גם הוא משתכר ומחשש 1. [huwa 'aydan yaskaru wa-yatahashshashu] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 31) (=He, too, gets drunk and *hasheeshes*).

The form V verb [yatahashshashu] is derived from the noun حَشِيش [hashīsh] (“cannabis”). It means “smoke cannabis”. Under the influence of the arabic verb, the translator derived the Hebrew verb מְחַשֵּׁשׁ from the noun חֲשִׁישׁ in *binyan* פיעל.

מְתַאָרִיִּים

1. ואותו אריה ששאג סופו שנחצה לשניים והיה לשני אריות, האחד ישכון לגדות הפרת. 1. ומשנהו לגדות הנילוס, ושניהם מְתַאָרִיִּים עכשוו ושואגים ומלעזיזים זה על זה (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 20); فَانْقَسَمَ الْأُنثَى إِلَى هَرَبَيْنِ اثْنَيْنِ: هَرَبٌ عَلَى الْفُرَاتِ وَهَرَبٌ عَلَى الْهَيْلِ [fa-nqasama l-āna 'ilā hizbarayni thnayni: hizbarin 'alā l-Furātī wa-hizbarin 'alā N-Nīli, hādihā yuhazbiru 'alā dhālika wa-dhāka yuhazbiru 'alā hādihā] (*Sarāyā Bind al-Ghul*, p 726) (= The lion that roared then split into two and became two lions, one residing on the shore of the Euphrates and the other on the shore of the Nile. Both now *lionize*, roar and slander each other).

The author derived an Arabic verb فَعَلَكَ [fa'lala], meaning “roar like a lion”, from the noun هَرَبٌ [hizbar] (“lion”). The translator did the same, and formed a verb, מְתַאָרִיִּים, from the Hebrew word for “lion”, אריה.

מְבַרְטֵעַ / בְּרִטְעַע / בְּרִטְעָתִי / בְּרִטְעֵעַ

1. אמר: כשדחף דודי איברהים לפי פלח דודא ואמר לי “בְּרִטְעַע!” וענית בקול גדול שכבר 1. “בְּרִטְעַע!” וְלَمَّا نَسَّ عَمِّي إِتْرَاهِيمُ فِي فَمِي جَرًّا مِثْلَهُ وَقَالَ: “بְرִطْعُ!” أَجَبْتُهُ، بِصَوْتِ عَالٍ: (83)

”بَرَّطْتُ!“ قَائِلَتْهُنِي هَامِسًا: “هُسُّ. وَطَيَّ جَسْتُكَ!“  
*Ibrāhīmu fī famī ḥizzan minhu wa-qāla: bartī! ‘ajabtulu bi-ṣawtin ‘alīn: bartā‘tu. fa-ntaharanī hāmisan: huss, waṭṭī hissak!* (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 810) (=He said: When my uncle Ibrāhīm stuck a piece of mandrake and said to me: gallop! I answered loudly that I had already galloped. He silenced me and said: Speak quietly).

2. וכבר לא נותרו בכרמל עיזים שנוכל לרדוף אחריהן, ולא נותרו בו מרחבים לברטוע  
 (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 83); وَمَا بَقِيَ فِي الْكَرْمَلِ، الْآنَ، مَا عَزَّ تُكَارِهُ. وَمَا  
 [wa-mā baqiya fī l-Karmil l-‘āna mā ‘izun wa-mā  
 baqiya fī l-Karmil khalā‘un nubartī‘u fihī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 810)  
 (= On Mt. Carmel there were no longer any goats we could pursue, nor any open spaces for galloping).

3. וכשהגעתם לוואדי, הייתי משהררת את ידו ומשתלחת לך כאיילה, מברטעת מסלע לסלע  
 חَتَّىٰ إِذَا اشْرَفْتُمْ عَلَى الْوَادِي (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 91); وَكَانَتْ قَائِرَةً عَلَى الصُّغُورِ إِلَى الطَّائِرَةِ مَاشِيَةً عَلَى قَدَمَيْهَا الْإِثْنَيْنِ لَوْلَا أَنْ قَرَطَهَا مَا لَقَيْتَهُ مِنْ  
 [hattā ‘idhā  
 ‘ashraqtumā ‘alā l-wādī saḥabti yadahu wa-fararti tubartī‘ina min  
 saḥhratin ‘ilā saḥhratin wa-hwa warā‘akī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 821)  
 (= And when you reached the valley, you would let go of his hand and run away like a deer, galloping from one rock to another, with him in your footsteps).

The meaning of the Arabic verb يَبْرُطُ [yubartī‘u], which is derived from the noun بَرَطَةٌ [bartā‘a], is the romping of the goats in spring when they have plenty to eat. They jump around in joy, the more so after eating mandrake. The author created the Hebrew quadrilateral verbal forms מְבִרְטֵעַ, מְבִרְטֵעַ and בְּרִטְעִי, as well as the verbal noun בְּרִטְעָה under the influence of the corresponding Arabic forms يَبْرُطُ, يَبْرُطُ and بَرَطَةٌ.

קירטל / מקורטלת / קרטול

1. היא הייתה מסוגלת לעלות למטוס ברגליה השתיים אילמלא “קירטל” אותה מה שנפל  
 (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108); وَكَانَتْ قَائِرَةً عَلَى الصُّغُورِ إِلَى الطَّائِرَةِ مَاشِيَةً عَلَى قَدَمَيْهَا الْإِثْنَيْنِ لَوْلَا أَنْ قَرَطَهَا مَا لَقَيْتَهُ مِنْ  
 [wa-kānat qādiratan ‘alā ṣ-ṣu‘ūd ilā l-‘ā‘irati māshiyatan ‘alā  
 qaḍamayhā li-ṭhwayni lawlā ‘an qarṭalalā mā laqiyaṭhu min ta‘riyatīn  
 wa-taṭfīshīn] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 843) (= She would have been able to board the airplane on her own two feet, had she not been basketed by having been stripped and searched).

2. ולימים גם מדודתי נזיחה שהתברכה בבעל נמרין מבני דודה, שהיה מגיש לה את ארוחות  
 (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108); وَكَانَتْ قَائِرَةً عَلَى الصُّغُورِ إِلَى الطَّائِرَةِ מَاشِيَةً عَلَى قَدَمَيْهَا الْإِثْنَيْنِ לَوْلَا أَنْ قَرَطَهَا مَا לَقَيْتَهُ مِنْ



ثُمَّ عَنْ عَمَّتِي نَزِيهَةَ الَّتِي بُورِكَتْ بِرَوْحِ نَشِيْطٍ مِنْ أَوْلَادِ عَمَّهَا كَانِ يُحْمَلُ; (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108); [thumma 'an 'ammātī Nazīhata l-latī būrikat bi-zawjīn nashūtin min 'awlādi 'ammihā kāna yahmilu 'ilayhā l-ṭā'ama wa-hiya mustalqiyatum 'alā sarīrihā taqrā'u fi kitābi ṣ-ṣalāti wa-hiya muqarṭalatum] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 843) (= And later also from my aunt Nazīha, who was blessed with an energetic husband, one of her cousins, who would serve her meals as she lay in her bed reading from the prayer book, *basketed*).

3. ואני נשבע שאמת בפי, ושהדי במרומים, שבמו עיני ראיתי את אשר קרה לדודתי כעבור 3. חמש דקות מעלייתה למטוס, מקורטלת על האלונקה (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108); וְהָאֲנִי אֶשְׁבַּע בְּאֵלֵי הָעֲלִיּוֹת עָלַי שֶׁרָאִיתִי עִינַי מֵעַלֵּיתָהּ לַמֵּטוֹס, מִקּוֹרְטֵלַת עַל הָאֲלוֹנְקָה [wa-hā 'anā 'uqsimu bi-l-lāhi l-'alī l-qadīr 'alā ṣidqī shahādātī – shāhidu 'ayyāmun - 'alā mā ḥadatha li-'ammātī ba'da khamṣi daqā'iqā min dukhūlihā 'ilā ṭ-ṭā'irati muqarṭalatan] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 843) (= I swear that I am telling the truth. God is my witness that I saw with my own eyes what happened to my aunt five minutes after she had boarded the plane, *basketed* on a stretcher).

4. האלונקה עצמה הוחזרה לקרקע, ודודה נזיחה שרועה עליה בעיניים עצומות, בקרטול 4. بِالنَّعْلَةِ نَفْسِهَا تُعَادُ إِلَى الْأَرْضِ; (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 108) מִחֹלַת הַפֶּעַם [bi-n-naqqālati nafsihā tu'adu 'ilā 'arḍi l-maṭāri wa-fawqahā 'ammātī Nazīhatu wa-qad 'asbalat jufūnahā 'alā 'aynayhā wa-'aṣbahat qarṭalatuḥā haqqātan] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 843) (= The stretcher itself was returned to the ground, with my aunt Nazīha lying on it, her eyes shut, in absolute *basketing* this time).

In classical Arabic the meaning of قَرْطَلٌ [qarṭal] is “wicker basket”. It is a loanword from Aramaic. In Palestinian Arabic the form is قُرْطَلٌ [qurṭal]. The quadrilateral verb قُرْطَلٌ [qarṭala], derived from the above noun, means “cause to shrink in fear, as if placed in a basket”. The author derived the Hebrew verbs קירטל and מקורטלת, as well as the verbal noun קרטול, from the Arabic forms قَرْطَلَةٌ and مُقْرَطَلَةٌ.

בָּדָה and עָדָה

1. مَا عَدَا; (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 144); لَا עָדָה עֲלֵינוּ זוֹלָתָהּ אֲשֶׁר בָּדָה; (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 888) [mā 'adā 'illā ḥadhā l-ladhī badā] (= He did nothing unexpected).



The Arabic phrase *مَا عَدَا إِلَّا هَذَا الَّذِي بَدَا* [*mā 'adā 'illā hādhā l-ladhī badā*] is said of someone who behaves in the expected normative fashion. Of someone who behaves in a way that is unexpected, whether in an affirmative or a negative way, one says *شُو عَدَا مَا بَدَا* [*shū 'adā mā badā*] in colloquial Arabic. In this context, the meaning of the verb *عَدَا* [*'adā*] is “changed” and of *بَدَا* [*badā*] is “appeared”. The translator derived the Hebrew verbs *עָדָה* and *בָּדָה* from the Arabic verbs of the same form.

#### מתמרים

1. אלא שלא היינו מתמרים ולא עזבנו את שכונות פלסטין, ולימים אפילו למדנו איך. *وَلَمْ نَبْقَ حَمِيرًا إِلَى وَقْتِ طَوِيْبٍ، بَلْ انْتَقَلْنَا مِنْ تِلْكَ; (Ikhtiyaye, p. 64)* *مَتَمَرِّים* את האחרים *[wa-lam nabqā hamīran 'ilā waqtin tawīlin, bali ntaqalnā min tilka l-hālati 'ilā hālati stihmāri ghayrinā]* (*Ikhtiyaye, p. 614*) (= But we were not donkeys and did not leave the neighborhoods of Palestine. After a time we even learned how to *donkey* the others).

The form X Arabic verb *اسْتَحْمَرَ* [*istahmara*] is derived from the noun *جَمَلٌ* (“donkey”, “fool”). The form *اسْتَحْمَارٌ* is a verbal noun also derived from *جَمَلٌ*. The author derived the Hebrew form *מתמרים* from the cognate Hebrew noun *חמור* (“donkey”), under the influence of Arabic.

#### לשבק

1. ואגב כך, מספרים על אחד מראשוני היועצים לראש הממשלה בענייני המיעוטים ... *وَوُزُوِي عَدَا أَنْ أَحَدَ أَوْلَادِ مُسْتَشَارِي رَيْسِ; (Ikhtiyaye, p. 62)* *لَشَبַק* אותנו, ונכשל *[wa-yurwā 'annā 'anna 'ahada 'awā'ili mustashāri ra'īsi l-hukūmati li-shu'ūni l-aqallīyyāt ... hāwala 'an yashbikhā baymanā (min shābāk) fa-'ajiza]* (*Ikhtiyaye, p. 612*) (= And by the way, there is a story about one of the first of the Prime Minister's advisers on minorities ... who tried to *shabak* us, and failed).

The form I Arabic verb *يَشْبِكُ* [*yashbiku*] is derived from *شَبَاكٌ* [*shābāk*] (= a Hebrew acronym for Israel's domestic intelligence service, “General Defense Services”). There is also a phonologically identical original colloquial Arabic verb, *شَبِكَ* [*shabaka*] in the past, which means “complicate”. The translator derived the Hebrew verb from *שב"כ*, under the influence of the Arabic text.

## Verbal neologisms in Hebrew under the influence of Arabic, due to a lexical gap in Hebrew

### גולה

1. בלילה שהוריו של מישל אביד, בן העשרים, הודיעו לבנם שהוא נוסע לארצות הברית. ביום המחרת, היא הרגישה שהחוט האחרון הקושר אותה לגלות ניתק, ובשיחת משרתות אחרונה עם אדיל, ששימשה כובסת בבית משפחת אביד, גולה הלה את אוזנה, על סמך הרכילויות הנוודות בין חדרי המשרתות באל מפרד, בדבר הסוד הנורא שהרים את ראשו כאפע מתחת למעטה של עשרים שנות שמירה קפדנית והוא מאיים לפגוע במשפחת אביד, (= The same night in which the parents of twenty-year-old Michel Abid told their son that he was leaving the next day for the United States, she felt that the last string that tied her to the diaspora broke. In her last chambermaid chat with Adelle, the washing woman in the Abid family, the latter revealed to her, based on the wandering gossip in the servants' rooms in al-Ma'rad, something of the terrible secret which had raised its head like a viper kept strictly under the lid for twenty years, and threatens to hit the Abid family. That is why they are in a hurry to send their only son across the ocean).

The verb גולה is a past-tense form of *binyan* פועל, which corresponds to form III (فَاعَلَ [fā'ala]) in Arabic. This form usually denotes an attempt or effort to do something, for example: سَابَقَ [sābaqa] “attempt to get ahead”, دَافَعَ [dāfa'a] “make an effort to defend”, قَاتَلَ [qātala] “try to kill”, etc. (Margolin, *ibid.*). By using the Hebrew form גולה, which corresponds to form III in Arabic, the author adds an element of attempting or making an effort to the denotation of the action itself. This form is the only one in *Arabesques* which the author invented in a *binyan* that no longer exists in contemporary Hebrew. By choosing this form, the author creates a distinction between the collocation גלה את אוזנו “reveal [a secret]” and “tried to reveal [a secret]” (Margolin, *ibid.*).

### רטויה, רטויים

The Hebrew root רטי first appears in rabbinic Hebrew, for example רטויה (= a bandage on a wound) (Jerusalem Talmud, Tractate Sabbath 3:4). To the original meaning of “bandage” modern Hebrew has added that of “eyepatch”. The author of *Arabesques* used the past participle of this root in the context of “cover”, filling a lexical gap in Hebrew.

1. מקומות מסתור חבויים ומוצנעים לרוב בגופו של האב היו עכשיו בהישג ידו, רטויים (= Places on his father's body that were usually modestly hidden were now within his reach, *uncovered* to the touch of his fingers).
2. ועכשיו היא רטויה לעיניו המאוכזבות של אבו שאכר (= And now it is *uncovered* to Abū Shākir's disappointed eyes).

### Preference for certain verbs over synonyms due to etymological influence of Arabic counterparts

1. אותו לפני שהם עצמם נטמרו<sup>54</sup> ובאו שלטונות המנדט וטמרו (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 100) (thumma ṭamarathu hukūmatu l-'intidābi 'alā Filasṭīna qabla an tanṭamira) (= The British Mandate authorities came and made him disappear, before they disappeared themselves).
2. יוצא מממשלת ישראל קיבלה אותו לידיה טמור ומטומר (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 100) (fa-warathathu hukūmatu Isrā'īla maṭmūran) (= So the government of Israel received him completely concealed).
3. ואחר טמרה אחרים מאתרינו המעיידים רק על עברנו (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 100) (wa-ṭamarat ghayralhu min 'āthārinā l-latī lā tachullu 'illā 'alaynā) (= And then she concealed others from our sites that testify only to our past).
4. ואפשר שהיה נותר טמור עד יום הדין, אלא שיום הדין הגיע (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 100) (wa-kāna min al-muḥtamlī an yuṭl maṭmūrā 'ilā yawmi l-haṣṣhri l-lawlā an jā'a yawmu l-haṣṣhri) (= It could well have remained concealed until the Day of Judgment, but then the Day of Judgment came).
5. ושטט (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 24) (wa-shaṭṭa khayālī, ba'īdan 'an hādhih sh-shaṭṭi) (= My imagination strayed far from this shore).

<sup>54</sup> The root טמר means "cover, conceal".

## Summary

In this chapter the influence of Arabic on Hebrew was described in a variety of domains: Use of Arabic words and expressions in the Hebrew text, loan translation, meaning borrowing, phono-semantic matching, use of biblical collocations and Hebrew verbs with additional or different meanings under the influence of Arabic, Hebrew neologisms under the influence of Arabic, the preferential use of certain verbs over their synonyms due to the former's similarity to cognate verbs in Arabic. The study has shown that the dominant influence is lexical, as expressed mainly in the insertion of Arabic words and expressions into the Hebrew text and in loan translations from Arabic to Hebrew of nouns, verbs and especially maxims, which were translated literally, thus creating a difference in meaning between that of the maxim as a whole and the sum of its constituents.

As noted above, Arab authors did not randomly choose to include a great number of Arabic words and expressions in their Hebrew texts in certain linguistic contexts. Rather, they consciously chose them for the purpose of enhancing the characters' authenticity and creating an atmosphere of the source culture. It is thus not to be wondered that this influence was strongest in the lexicon, especially that of colloquial Arabic, which Arab authors choose as an efficient means for reflecting the source culture.

## SYNTAX

The influence of Arabic syntax on Hebrew syntax can be divided into two categories:

**A. Direct influence:** changes of case under the influence of Arabic, such as replacement of the direct object case by the indirect object case, and *vice versa*; use of syntactic structures that are typical of Arabic, for example phrases headed by the *min* of clarification and specification, the first signs of whose use in Hebrew appear only in the Arabized Hebrew of the Middle Ages.

**B. Indirect influence:** Arab writers tend to use syntactic structures that are characteristic of archaic Hebrew and do not occur frequently in the modern language, for example: placement of the demonstrative adjective before the noun; placement of the quantity modifier הרבה (*harbe* = “much, many”) after the noun that it modifies; introduction of circumstantial clauses with the conjunction *vav*. These structures are very similar to structures of Arabic syntax; their use appears to constitute a stylistic adaptation and characterizes the Hebrew writings of Arab authors. The motivation for these usages lies in the authors’ conscious desire to adapt the Hebrew structure to that of the original Arabic, to which they remain committed at the expense of structures that are more common in Modern Hebrew. Below we add some examples from archaic stages of Hebrew (Biblical Hebrew, Rabbinic Hebrew and Arabized Medieval Hebrew) in order to demonstrate that not a few of the syntactic structures preferred by Arab writers existed already in previous stages of Hebrew.

### A. Demonstrative adjectives

A demonstrative adjective refers to a noun. In Hebrew such an adjective usually appears after the noun which it modifies, as in התלמיד הזה מכבד את הוריו (= “This student respects his parents”). In Arabic, on the other hand, when a demonstrative adjective modifies a noun that has the definite article **أَنَّ** before it, it precedes that noun (Becker 1989, p. 64): **دَهَبَ هَذَا الْوَلَدُ**.

[*dhahaba hādihā l-waladu*] (= “This boy went”). When, however, the noun is definite not by virtue of the definite article, the demonstrative adjective follows that noun, just as in Hebrew (*ibid.*, p. 65): *أَخَذْتُ بِنْتِي*; לקחתי את בתי זו: *هَذِهِ* [*akhadhthu bintī hādihī*] (= “I took *this daughter of mine*”).

Examples of demonstrative adjectives that precede their noun can be found in the Bible (Gesenius 1909, p. 110; Walteky & Connor 1990, p. 310; Kadari 2006, p. 239; Even Shoshan 1990, p. 310; Kaddari 2004, Unit 5, p. 82; Rabin 1967, p. 71):

1. ותאמר דבורה אל ברק קום כי זה היום אשר נתן יהוה את סיסרא בידך הלא יהוה נצא (= “Then Deborah said to Barak, “Up! For *this is the day* on which the LORD has given Sisera into your hand. The LORD is indeed going out before you.” So Barak went down from Mount Tabor with ten thousand warriors following him”) (Judges 4:14).

2. ונקים יהוה לו מלך על ישראל אשר יקרית את בית ירבעם זה היום ומה גם עתה (= “Moreover the LORD will raise up for himself a king over Israel, who shall cut off the house of Jeroboam *this day*, even right now) (1 Kings 14:14).

In the Mishna phrases with demonstrative adjectives before indefinite nouns occur only at the beginning of an utterance (Azar 1995, p. 211; Segal 1936, p. 51):

3. זה מדרש דרש יהודיע כהן גדול (= “*This commentary* was said by Yehoyada’ the High Priest”) (Sheqalim 6:6).

4. אלו דברים בפסח דוחין את השבת (= “*These things* on Passover prevail over the Sabbath”) (Pesahim 6:1).

In the works of some writers and translators using medieval Arabized Hebrew the positioning of the demonstrative adjective before the noun it modifies became the rule. The demonstrative particle זה when used as an adjective was placed before the nucleus whenever the latter was not attached to a possessive pronoun (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 155; Yoel 1972, p. 226; Kogut 1981, p. 20). The same is true of the Hebrew writings of contemporary Arab authors:

5. ואני מבטיחה שנודע שלא ינקוף שבוע חזור אהזור אליה, ואתי נשק ותחמושת, ופגישתנו فأعدها بأن أعود إليها بعد أسبوع، ومعني (The *Opsimist*, p. 38); תהיה בצלה של זו הגפן السلاخ والذخيرة، فالتقيها تحت هذه النالية [*fa-’a’iduhā bi-an a’ūda ilayhā ba’da usbū’in, wa-ma’ī l-silāhu wal-dhakhūratu, fa-’altaqīha tahta hādhihi l-*



*dāliyatī*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 202) (= “I promise her that I will come back within a week, with a weapon and ammunition, and will meet her under *this vine*”).

6. הצלתי אותה מאלה השנים העשרים, שנות המרורים, על כן נותרה היא עלמה בת 6. اُنقَذْتُهَا مِنْ هَذِهِ السَّنَوَاتِ الْعَشْرِينَ (The Opsimist, p. 137); עשרים, בלעדי עשרים שנותי المريرة، فَبَقِيَْتُ يُعَادُ صَبِيَّةً فِي الْعَشْرِينَ وَبِدُونِ عَشْرِينَ [ʿanqadhuhā min hādhihi l-sanawāti l-ʾishrīna l-marīrati, fa-baqiyat yuʿadu ṣabīyyatan fi l-ʾishrīna wa-bidūni ʾishrīni] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 345) (= “I saved her from those twenty years, bitter years, so that she remained a girl of twenty, without my twenty years”).

7. جَاءَكَ اللَّهُ هَآءِ اللَّيْلَةَ [jābaka llāhu hādī l-laylati] (*Only Bread*, p. 85) (Only Bread, p. 85) (Al-Khubz al-Hāfi, p. 85) (= “God sent you *this night*”).

8. והתנפצו על אלה הוואדיות והעמקים ועל תושביהם (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 14); وَأَزْطَمَتْ بِهَذِهِ الْوَهَادِ وَالْوُدْيَانِ وَبِأَهْلِهَا [wa-ratamat bihādhihi l-wihādi wal-widyāni wa-bi-ahlīhā] Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 718) (= “And crashed against *these stream beds and valleys and their residents*”).

9. הרי היטבתי לרדת בזה השביל לפני שברחתי אל הכתיבה (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 60); كُنْتُ أَحْسِنَ النَّزُولَ فِي هَذَا النَّزْبِ قَبْلَ هُرُوبِي إِلَى الْكِتَابَةِ; [kuntu uhsina l-nuzūla fi hādhi l-darbi qabla hurūbī ilā l-kitābatī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 778) (= “I was fully capable of descending by *this path*, before I escaped into writing”).

10. וכשהגיע לגורל ה"ואדי" של "כל השולח ידו להתרים ולהוליכם אל על", נתחייכו שפתיו בחיוך ממזרי, במעין זחול מנומס ברגשותיו, או שמא בבוז מחודד ליכולתם של Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 142); قَلَمًا وَصَلَّ إِلَى الْمَصِيرِ "الْمَوْكِدُ" لِمَنْ "حَاوَلَ فَكَ فَيُودِهِمْ" وَدَفَعَهُمْ نَحْوَ الْأَعْلَى "انْفَجَرَتْ أَسَارِيرُهُ عَنِ انْتِسَامَةِ خَبِيثَةٍ، اسْتَهْرَاءَ مُؤَدَّبًا بِمَشَاعِرِهِ أَوْ اخْتِقَارًا وَفَعَلَهُمْ نَحْوَ الْأَعْلَى" عَلَى إِنْزَالِ ذَلِكَ الْمَصِيرِ بِهِ فِي هَذَا الزَّمَانِ [fa-lammā wasala ilā l-maširi "l-mu'addadi" li-man "hāwala fakka quyūdihim wa-daf'ahum nahwa l-ʾalā" nfajarat asārīrulu ʿani btisāmatin khabīthatin, stihzāʿan muʾaddaban bi-mashāʾirihī awi ltiqāran mudabbaban li-qudurātī "sujanāʾi l-kahfī" ʾalā inzāl dhālika l-maširi bihi fi hādhi l-zamāni] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 886) (= “And when he arrived at the fate of the ʾwādī, of ‘whoever tries to free them and push them upwards’, his lips formed an evil smile, in a kind of polite disregard for his feelings, or

<sup>55</sup> The demonstrative word هَآءِ is colloquial.



perhaps in sharp scorn at the current prisoners of the cave to execute this kind of fate *in these days*”).

11. בני יגדל בין אלה הצמחים הזרים. (*In a New Light*, p. 130) (= “My son will grow among *these* foreign *plants*”).

12. בוודאי שלא הכרתי את זאת האשה. (*ibid.*) (= “Certainly I *did* not know *this* woman”).

We found one example of an indefinite demonstrative adjective following a definite noun in the Hebrew works of Arab authors. It would appear that the decision to choose such an unusual syntactic structure is due to the desire by Arab writers to use a Hebrew structure similar to that of Arabic:

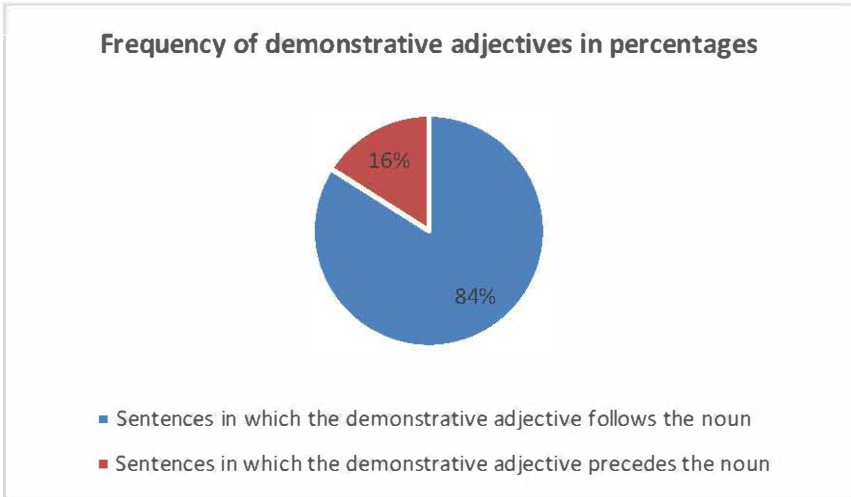
13. התאזר בסבלנות, ואל-נא תתמה לאמור: מי הוא סעיד אבו אל-נחס אל מתשאאל זה? (*The Optimist*, p. 9); صَبْرًا، وَلَا تَتَسَاءَلْ: مَنْ هُوَ سَعِيدُ أَبِي النَّحْسِ الْمُتَشَائِلِ هَذَا؟ [ṣabran, ṣabran, wa-lā tatasā'al: man huwa Sa'īd Abū l-Nahsi l-mutashā'ilī hādihā] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 165) (= “Patience, patience. Don't ask yourself: Who is Sa'īd Abū l-Nahs, *that* *opsimist*?”).

**Table 1: Frequency of demonstrative adjectives in the novel *The Optimist***

Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective follows the noun	Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective precedes the noun	Total
104	20	124
84%	16%	100%

**Pie Chart 1: Frequency of demonstrative adjectives in percentages**

- A. Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective precedes the noun
- B. Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective follows the noun

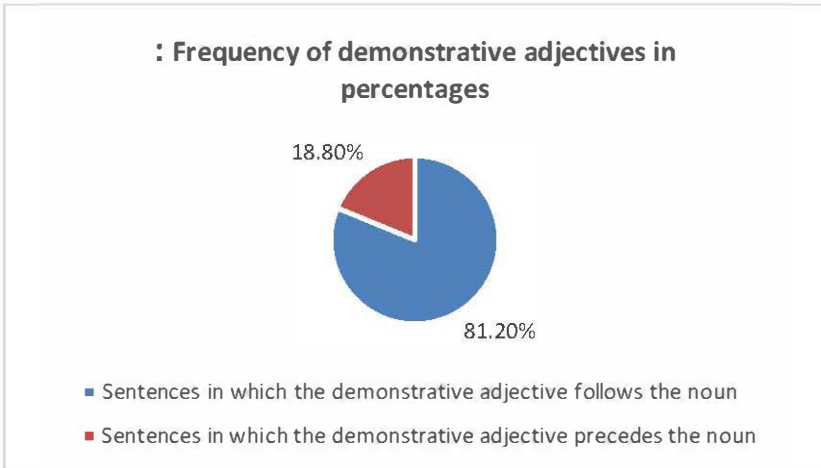


**Table 2: Frequency of demonstrative adjectives in the novel *Arabesques***

Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective follows the noun	Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective precedes the noun	Total
43	10	53
81.2%	18.8%	100%

**Pie Chart 2: Frequency of demonstrative adjectives in percentages**

- A. Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective precedes the noun  
 B. Sentences in which the demonstrative adjective follows the noun



## B. Adjectives

In both Arabic and Hebrew adjectives follow the noun they modify. The Hebrew word *harbe* (= “much, many”) can function as an adjective, in which case it appear after the noun, like its Arabic counterpart *kathūr*.

1. אֲנִצְזַרְתָּ אַיָּמָא כְּשִׁירָהּ; וְהִיכִיתִי יָמִים הַרְבֵּהּ [ntazartu ayyāman kathūratan] (= “I waited many days”).

In Modern Hebrew *harbe* is not in frequent use as an adjective that follows its noun, but in the Old Testament it does function as an adjective of quantity which comes after the noun:

2. קָנִיתִי עֲבָדִים וְשִׁפְחוֹת וּבְנֵי בַיִת הָיָה לִי גַם מִקֶּנֶה בְּקָר וְצֹאן הַרְבֵּה הָיָה לִי מִכָּל שֶׁהָיוּ לִפְנֵי בִירוּשָׁלַם (= “I bought male and female slaves, and had slaves who were born in my house; I also had great possessions of herds and flocks, more than any who had been before me in Jerusalem”) (Ecclesiastes 2:7).

3. כִּי בָרַב חֲלֵמוֹת וְהַבְּלִים וְהַדְּבָרִים הַרְבֵּה כִּי אֵת הָאֱלֹהִים יִרָא (= “With many dreams come vanities and a multitude of words; but fear God”) (*ibid.* 5:7).

In the Mishna there are some cases of an adjective of quantity following an indefinite noun (Azar 1995, p. 198; Kaddari 2004, pp. 77-80):

4. נִפְרְצוּ בּו פְּרֻצוֹת הַרְבֵּה (= “Many breaches were made in it”) (Kil’ayim 4:4).

5. לֹא נֹאמַר יָמִים אֵלָא שִׁישׁ בּו מִיָּנִי יָמִים הַרְבֵּה (= “It says ‘days’, meaning that it contains many kinds of days”) (Miqva’ot 1:4).

In medieval Arabized Hebrew, the structure *harbe/me’at* following an indefinite noun is not frequent. Here is one example:

6. כֵּן מֵאֵמַר הָאוֹמֵר הוּא אֶחָד, אֲבָל הוּא בְעַל תֹּאדָרִים הַרְבֵּה. (*A Guide for the Perplexed*, Part I (2), p. 228); كَذَلِكَ قَوْلُ الْقَائِلِ هُوَ وَاحِدٌ، لَكِنَّهُ ذُو صِفَاتٍ مُتَعَدَّةٍ [kadhālika qawlu l-qā’ili huwa wāhīdun, lakinnahu dhū šifātin muta’addīdatin] (*Dalālat al-Hā’irīn*, p. 115) (= “The same goes for whoever says that He is one, but possesses many attributes”).

In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors we find numerous examples of the word *harbe* as an adjective of quantity following the noun that it modifies:

7. ضِعْفُ (A Bridge over the Sad River, p. 95); فِي دُرُوبِ وَعَرَةٍ مَدَّةٌ طَوِيلَةٌ [di’tu fi durūbin wa’iratin mudātan ṭawīlatan]

(*Jisr 'alā al-Nahr al-Ḥazīn*, p. 93) (= “I was lost on rough roads for a long time”).

8. وَإِذَا بَعَسَكَ كَثِيرٌ (The *Optimist*, p. 104) והנה חיילים הרבה פורצים אל משרדי 8. وَإِذَا بَعَسَكَ كَثِيرٌ [wa-idhā bi-'askarin kathīrin yaḏkḥulūna 'alayya fī maktabī] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 297) (= “Many soldiers then burst into my office”).

9. החליף העבאסי הששה עשר, אל מועטדד, שמלך בעשור האחרון של המאה התשיעית, ופי (Ikhṭiyā, p. 11); وهذه السنة ظهر للمعتضد شخص في صور مختلفة في داره (Ikhṭiyā, p. 567) (= “In that year (the sixteenth Abbasid caliph) Al-Mu'tadid (ruled in the last decade of the ninth century CE) saw a figure of many forms in his house”).

10. בקולי ניסיתי להביע דברים הרבה, שבמעמדו של יהודה לא יכולתי לבטאם. (In a New Light, p. 96) (= “I tried to express many things with my voice that I could not express in Yehuda's presence”).

11. Arabesques, p. 19) (= “There were still many empty pages in the notebook”).

12. שבועות הרבה נקפו עד שאזרתי עוז בנפשי והפרתי את האלם שגזרתי על עצמי. (ibid, p. 33) (= “Many weeks passed by before I dared violate the silence that I had imposed on myself”).

13. שעות הרבה היו עוברות יום יום במרדף עקשני אחר שערוניה. (ibid, p. 69) (= “Many hours would be spent every day in a stubborn chase after her hair”).

14. שניהם ייפגשו כעבור שנים הרבה בצל המות המתקרב. (ibid, p. 144) (= “Both would meet after many years, in the shadow of approaching death”).

### C. The verb: Auxiliary verb with participial complement

In Arabic there is a structure consisting of an auxiliary verb followed by a present-tense verb, for example بَدَأَ يَكْتُبُ [bada'a yaktubu] (= “he began to write”); its Hebrew counterpart is an auxiliary verb + a participle: התחיל לכתוב. In Arabic this structure can be replaced by the sequence auxiliary verb + (preposition +) verbal noun, as in بَدَأَ بِالْكِتَابَةِ [bada'a bil-kitāba] (= “He began writing”). However, the former structure is more

prevalent. In Hebrew, three structures are possible: auxiliary verb + participial complement, as in: התחיל לומד (=“He began learning”); auxiliary verb + infinitive, as in: התחיל ללמוד (= “He began to learn”); and auxiliary verb + prepositional phrase, as in: התחיל בלמידה (= “He began learning”). Arab authors tend to prefer the structure auxiliary verb + participle,<sup>56</sup> especially in translated works, in order to make the Hebrew structure more similar to that of the Arabic source text:

1. הוצאתי מנרתיקני עיתון והתחלתי מדפדף בו. (A Bridge over the Sad River, p. 97) [ أَخْرَجْتُ صَحِيفَةً مِنْ جِزَائِي وَبَدَأْتُ أَتَصَفَّحُهَا ] (*Jisr 'alā al-Nahr al-Ḥazīn*, p. 94) (= “I took a newspaper out of my bag and began to turn the pages”).

2. העמדתי פנים כי פני מועדות לטיול על שפת הים, והתחלתי מהלך, אנה ואנה מול הבית. (The OpSimist, p. 53); وَأَخَذْتُ أَتَهَبُّ مِنَ قَطَاةَرَتْ بِأَنْفِي جُنْتُ أَتَنْزُّهُ عَلَى شَاطِئِ الْبَحْرِ، وَأَخَذْتُ أَتَهَبُّ مِنَ (The OpSimist, p. 53); [fa-tazāhartu bi-annaī ji'tu antazihu 'alā shāṭi'i l-baḥri, wa-akhadhtu adhhabu min amāmi baytinā] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 221) (= “I pretended to be going for a walk on the beach. I began walking back and forth in front of the house”).

3. ריחמתי על עצמי, ונשאתי את חפצי על ראשי וכתפי, והתחלתי מנשש את דרכי מעל. (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 34); فَرَثَيْتُ لِحَالِي وَحَمَلْتُ أَشْيَائِي فَوْقَ ظَهْرِي وَعَلَى كَتِفِي وَرَخْتُ أَكْمَسُنْ; طَرِيقِي فَوْقَ الصَّحَابِ اللَّزِجَةِ وَالصُّخُورِ الْبُورِيَّةِ الْمَسَاءِ وَأَنَا أَخْبُو عَلَى أَرْبَعِ خَوْفًا مِنَ الْإِنْزِلَاقِ [fa-rathaytu li-hālī wa-ḥamaltu 'ashyā'i fawḡa zahrī wa-'alā katifi wa-ruhtu atalammasu tarīqi fawḡa l-taḥālibi l-laziati wa-sshukhūri l-malsā'i wa-anā aḥbū 'alā arbar'in khawfan mina l-'inzilāqi] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 746) (= “I felt sorry for myself and carried my possessions on my head and shoulder. I began feeling my way above the slippery moss and the smooth crystalline rocks, crawling on all fours for fear of slipping”).

4. דבריה החלו קולחים בהתלהבות. (In a New Light, p. 27) (= “Her words began to flow with enthusiasm”).

5. והסתובבה והחלה מתרחקת ממני בצעדים קטנים. (ibid., p. 101) (= “She turned around and began to walk away from me in small steps”).

<sup>56</sup> The sequence התחיל (“begin”) + participle can be found in all stages of Hebrew, including the contemporary language. What sets texts by Arab writers apart is their very pronounced preference of התחיל + participle over the sequence התחיל + infinitive.

6. פתחתי את פי והוא החל נוגע בעזרת הכפית בדבר שסותם את גרונו ומגרד (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 177) (= “I opened my mouth and he began to touch the thing that clogged up his throat and itched with a teaspoon”).

7. טענות רבות החלו מתעוררות בי, מעין הצטברות של מרידות וכעס שחיפשו להם פורקן (*Fatal Christening*, p. 25) (= “Many complaints began to awaken in me, a kind of accumulation of bitterness and anger that sought release”).

8. אך יצאה מפתח הדלת החלה בוכה (*ibid.*, p. 29) (= “As soon as she went out past the door she began to cry”).

9. לפיכך התחילה שולחת את ידה בתפירה כדי לעזור בפרנסת ילדיה הארבעה (*Arabesques*, p. 20) (= “Therefore she began working as a seamstress in order to help support her four children”).

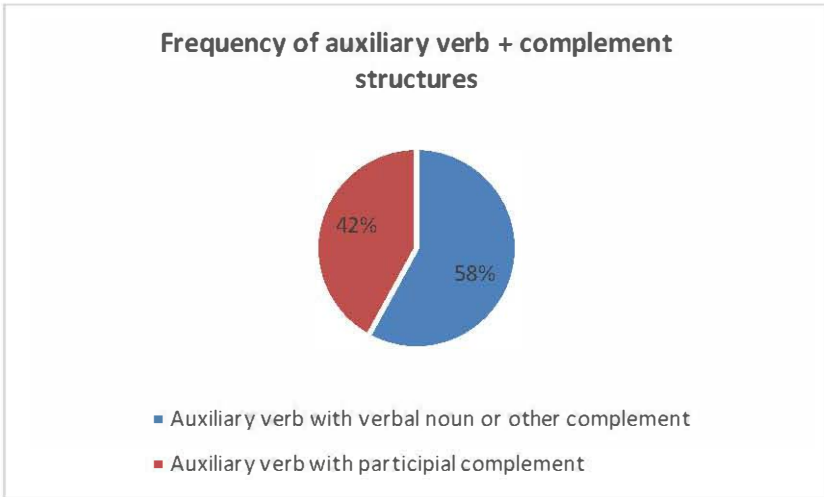


**Table 3: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement in the novel *The Optimist***

Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other complement	Auxiliary verb with participial complement	Total
22	16	38
58%	42%	100%

**Pie Chart 3: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement structures**

- A. Auxiliary verb with participial complement
- B. Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other complement

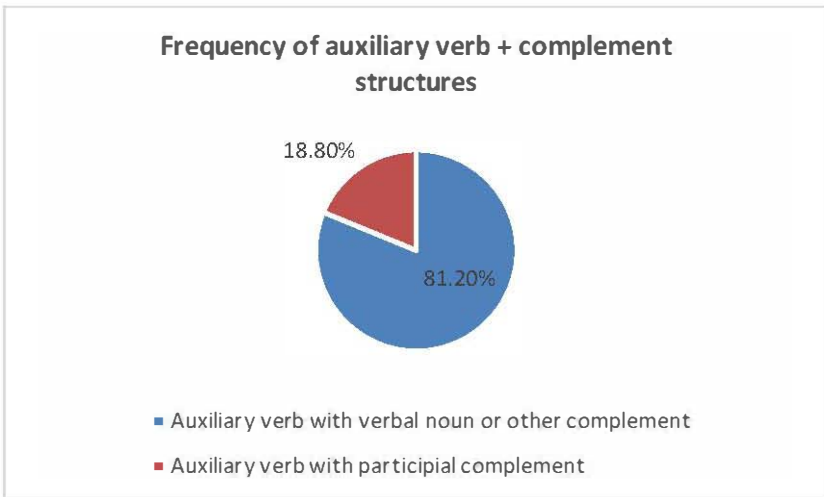


**Table 4: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement in the novel *Arabesques***

Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other complement	Auxiliary verb with participial complement	Total
43	10	53
81.2%	18.8%	100%

**Pie Chart 4: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement structures**

- A. Auxiliary verb with participial complement
- B. Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other compleme

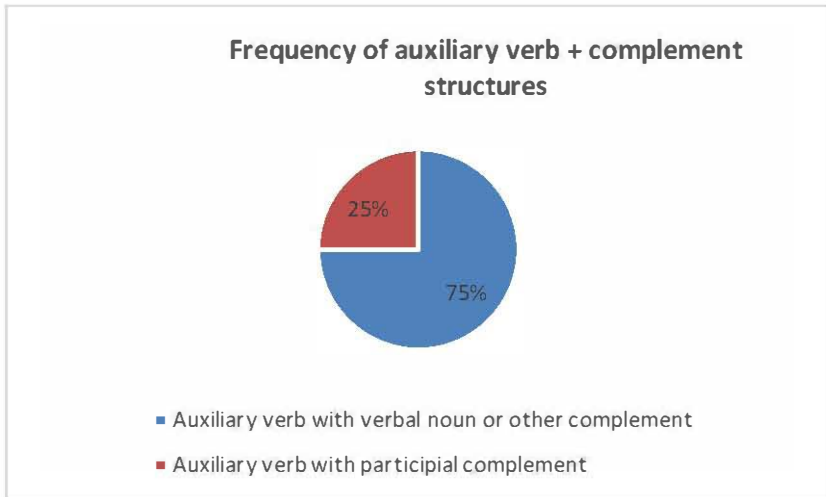


**Table 5: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement in the novel *In a New Light*<sup>57</sup>**

Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other complement	Auxiliary verb with participial complement	Total
18	6	24
75%	25%	100%

**Pie Chart 5: Frequency of auxiliary verb + complement structures**

- A. Auxiliary verb with participial complement  
 B. Auxiliary verb with verbal noun or other complement




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<sup>57</sup> The entire novel was scanned.

## D. Prepositions

Medieval grammarians discussed prepositions, to which they referred using a variety of terms. Abraham Ibn Ezra uses a number of terms: עבדים (literally: “slaves”); מילות עניין (literally: “matter words”); אותיות עניין (literally: “matter letters”); מילות טעם (literally: “reason words”); מילות דבק (literally: “adherence words”) (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 30). Blau & Margalit (1992, p. 10) define prepositions in Hebrew as words that express the relation between a noun or its dependent pronoun and another word. Thus, in the phrase המהברה בתיק (= “the notebook in the bag”) the preposition ב expresses the relation between the bag (תיק) and the notebook (המהברה). According to Ravid (1997, pp. 184-197), prepositions in most cases connect verbs to nouns, but may also connect nouns to other nouns (הספר של המורה “the book of the teacher”). Schlesinger (2000, pp. 79-99) discusses prepositions at length; he argues that they are derived from relative pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, *contra* other views (such as Rosen 1957, p. 116), according to which they are derived from nouns.

In Arabic grammar this part of speech is called *أخْزَفُ الْجَرِّ* [*aḫẓuf al-jarr*], i.e., “particles (assigning) the genitive case” to the following noun, for example *من* [*min*] (= “from”) and *بـ* [*bi-*] (= “with”). According to Arabic grammarians the words *بعد* [*baʿd*] (= “after”), *قرب* [*qurb*] (= “next to”), *داخل* [*dākhil*] (= “inside”), *أمام* [*amām*] (“in front of”), *خارج* [*khārij*] (= “outside”) and the like are not prepositions, but adverbs of time and place, despite the fact that the following noun also receives the genitive case (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 31).

### 1. Changing the case

According to Abu Bakr (2002, pp. 38-71), the native language of Arab adults affects the case used when writing in Hebrew.<sup>58</sup>

(A) *Indirect object case replaced by direct object case*, for example אה > לה (O). Thus, for example, the verb הבטיח (= “promise”) in Hebrew requires the indirect object marker לה, while in Arabic the corresponding verb takes a direct object in the accusative, which in Hebrew is marked by the particle אה. In Standard Arabic the case is marked by a word-final vowel *فتحة* [*faṭḥa*] (a), as in وَعَدْتُ الْوَلَدَ هَدِيَّةً [*waʿadtu l-walada hadiyyatan*] (= “I promised the child a present”).

<sup>58</sup> Abu Bakr (2005, p. 7) calls changes in case due to the influence of one’s native language “errors of subcategorization”.

(B) *Direct case replaced by indirect object case*, for example את (O) > על. Thus, for example, את הדגיש על > הדגיש על: *لِيُشَدِّدَ عَلَى لَامْبَالَةٍ إِنْسَانِيَّةً*: הדגיש על > הדגיש את, *li-yushaddida 'alā lā mubālātin insāniyyatin* (= “to stress [literally: ‘on’] human indifference”).

Some Standard Arabic verbs subcategorize for the preposition אל-ל, like Hebrew, that is, the same preposition is used in the corresponding Hebrew verbs. However, in colloquial Arabic the more usual preposition is على [*'alā*] (= “on”) or its shortened version ع [*'a*]. This is so, for example, in the case of verbs of motion such as שלח (= “send”), לקח (= “take”), הלך (= “go”) and חזר (= “return”): שלח אותי על הבית; *waddāni 'a-ddār* [= “He sent me [literally: ‘on’] home”]. Doron (1970, p. 85) argues that the use of the preposition על in such cases is due to the influence of colloquial Arabic, although case replacement occurs also in Biblical Hebrew.

The replacement of indirect object case by direct object case in Arab writers’ Hebrew works: את (O) > ב- (= “support”). The corresponding Arabic verb دَعَمَ [*da‘ama*] takes a direct object, as in دَعَمْتُ الطَّالِبَ [*da‘amtu l-tāliba*] (= “I supported the student”). In Biblical Hebrew, too, the corresponding verb occasionally occurs with a direct object:

1. אל תירא בי עמך אני אל תשתע בי אני חלֹקִיד אִמְצָתִיד אף תִּמְכָּתִיד בְּיַמִּין צַדִּיקי (= “do not fear, for I am with you, do not be afraid, for I am your God; I will strengthen you, I will help you, I will uphold you with my victorious right hand”) (Isaiah 41:10).
2. וְדִין רָשָׁע קָלָאת דִּין וּמִשְׁפָּט תִּמְכּוּ (= “But you are obsessed with the case of the wicked; judgment and justice seize you”) (Job 36:17).
3. וַיֵּרָא יוֹסֵף כִּי נָשִׂית אֲבִיו יָד וַיִּמְנוּ עַל-רֹאשׁ אֶפְרַיִם וַיִּרַע בְּעֵינָיו וַיִּתְמַךְ יַד-אֲבִיו לְהַסִּיר (= “When Joseph saw that his father laid his right hand on the head of Ephraim, it displeased him; so he took his father’s hand, to remove it from Ephraim’s head to Manasseh’s head”) (Genesis 48:17).

However, in Modern Hebrew the verb תִּמַּךְ requires an indirect object, ב-ב. The frequent use of the direct object in the writings of Arab authors, תִּמַּךְ את, is to be ascribed to the influence of the corresponding Arabic verb:

4. לאחר כמה נסיונות כושלים מצאתי את עצמי תומך אותה בגבה בידים הססניות, והיא, (= “After a few

failed attempts, I found myself *supporting her* by her back with hesitant hands; encouraged by my support, she slowly ascends the slope and begins”) (*Arabesques*, p. 49).

5. ניגשתי אל הסייח, מיששתי את רעמתו ואת מצחו, והוא ליקק את כף ידי. קשרתי חבל דק לצווארו, משכתיו הצדה ובעדינות קפצתי על גבו של המחמד הצחור. הוא לא הואיל ללכת, רעד אחז בו, והוא נפל על הקש. **תמכתיו** והעמדתיו על רגליו [...] אני משדלו ללכת, רעד אחז בו, והוא נפל על הקש. **והומכו** בידיי, והוא שרוע על הקש ונשימתו כבדה around its neck, pulled it aside, and gently mounted the white beauty’s back. It would not walk. It shivered and fell on the straw. *I supported it and raised it on its feet [...]* I try to persuade it and *support it* with my hands, while it lies on the straw, breathing heavily”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 69).

6. ביד שמאל הן **תמכו את** הכדים המלאים והכבדים פן ייטו הצדה וייפלו, וביד ימין **תמכו** את מותניהן (= “With the left hand they *supported* the full, heavy jars so that they **did not** lean to the side and fall, and with the right hand they *supported* their waists”) (*ibid.*, p. 39).

7. ובין השלבים **התומכים את** רגלי השרפרף היה מציב את “ראש” הלוקס **התומך את** (= “Between the rungs that *supported* the stool’s legs he would place the ‘head’ of the lamp that *supported* the wonderful bag”) (*Arabesques*, p. 10).

8. וכל חמש האבנים **תומכות את** מקור גאָנון (= “with all five stones *supporting* the source of his pride”) (*ibid.*, p. 36).

9. היא רכנה מעל למעקה וידיה **תומכות את** לחייה (= “She leaned over the balustrade and her hands *supported* her cheeks”) (*ibid.*, p. 70).

לעל > (∅) את as in > ציווה על (∅) את (= “commanded”). The corresponding Arabic verb **أَمَرَ** [*amara*] requires a direct object, for example: **أَمَرَنِي** [*amarani*] (= “he commanded me”). In Biblical Hebrew, too, there are cases in which the verb takes a direct object:

1. נתענו ותאמר אלי **תטאנו ליהוה** אָנחנו נעלה ונלחמנו ככל אשר **צונו יהוה** אֱלֹהֵינוּ (= “You answered me, ‘We have sinned against the LORD! We are ready to go up and fight, just as the LORD our God *commanded* us’. So all of you strapped on your battle gear, and thought it easy to go up into the hill country”) (Deuteronomy 1:41).

2. (עַשׂוּ דָוִד כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוְּהוּ הַאֱלֹהִים וַיַּכּוּ אֶת מַחֲנֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים מִגִּבְעוֹן וְעַד גִּזְרָה (= “David did as God had *commanded him*, and they struck down the Philistine army from Gibeon to Gezer”) (1 Chronicles 14:16).

However, in Modern Hebrew the verb צוה takes an object indirectly, ציווה על; Arab authors’ use of direct objects for this verb in their writings appears to be due to the influence of the verb’s Arabic counterpart:

3. משנכנסנו בשערן של בניין המשטרה, בחוף המערבי, מסר אותי המושל לידי אחד  
 قَلَمًا دَخَلْنَا عَمَارَةَ الشَّرْطَةِ، عَلَى الشَّاطِئِ الْغَرْبِيِّ؛ (The *Opsimist*, p. 24);  
 [fa-lammā dakhalnā ‘amarata l-shurṭati, ‘alā l-shāṭi’i l-gharbiyyī, wa-salamanī l-hākimu ilā ahadi dubbāṭihā, amaranī] (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 183) (= “As we passed through the entrance to the police building on the western shore, the governor gave me to one of the officers and *commanded me*”).

4. قَسَمْتُهَا عَلَى تَرْفُهَا، (The *Opsimist*, p. 35); והוא קיללה על קלות דעתה, וציווה אותה  
 وَأَمَرَهَا [fa-shatamalā ‘alā nazqihā, wa-amarahā] (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 197)  
 (= “He cursed her for her frivolity, and *commanded her*”).

The verb ביקש (= “request”), with a similar meaning, can also appear with a direct object, under the influence of the Arabic verb:

5. (= זליג, מרכז המשק, ביקש אותי לעזור להם שם בהעמסת הארגזים על המשאיות  
 “Zelig, the equipment manager, *asked me* to help them there in loading the boxes onto the trucks”) (*In a New Light*, p. 106).

ענה את (○) > ענה לו (○), asin את (∅) > אל/ל-  
 The corresponding Arabic verb أَجَبْتُ [ajabtu l-walada] takes direct object case, for example: [ajāba] (“I answered the child”). In Biblical Hebrew, too, the verb can appear with a direct object:

1. כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה בַּעַת רְצוֹן עֲבִיתִידָ וּבַיּוֹם יִשׁוּעָה עֲזַרְתִּידָ וְאַצְרִידָ וְאַתְנַדָּ לְבָרִית עִם לְהַקִּים (= “Thus says the LORD: In a time of favor I *have answered you*, on a day of salvation I have helped you; I have kept you and given you as a covenant to the people, to establish the land, to apportion the desolate heritages”) (Isaiah 49:8).

2. וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹסֵף אֶל אֶחָיו אֲנִי יוֹסֵף הַעוֹד אֲבִי חַי וְלֹא יָבֹל אֶחָיו לַעֲנֹת אֹתוֹ כִּי נִבְהַלּוּ מִפְּנֵיו (= “Joseph said to his brothers, “I am Joseph. Is my father still alive?” But his brothers *could not answer him*, so *dismayed* were they at his presence”) (Genesis 45:3).



However, in Modern Hebrew the verb **ענה** subcategorizes for an indirect object: **ענה לו**; occurrences of direct objects in the writings of Arab authors (**ענה את**) are due to the influence of the corresponding Arabic verb:

3. **أَجَابَ كَبِيرُنَا: سِلَاحُنَا الْعِلْمُ**; ומפקדנו **ענה**: המדע הוא נשקנו (*The Opsimist*, p. 39); (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 203) (= “Our leader replied: Our weapon is science”).

להפריע לו > (O) הפריע את (= “disturb, bother”).

The corresponding Arabic verbs **عَكَرَ** [*akkarā*], **أَزَعَجَ** [*az'aja*] and **ضَايَقَ** [*dāyaya*] require a direct object: **لا تُزَعِجْنِي** [*lā tuz'ijnī*] (= “Don’t bother me”); **لا تُضَايِقِ الْوَلَدَ** [*lā tuḍāyiq al-walada*] (= “Don’t disturb the child”); **عَكَرَ** **صَفَاءَةَ** [*akkarā ṣafā'ahu*] (= “He disturbed him”). In previous stages of Hebrew the sequence **את הפריע** exists, while in Modern Hebrew it is rare. Its appearance in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is in all likelihood due to the influence of the corresponding verbs in Arabic:

4. קאסם, בן דודתי, הרחק את ידך משיפולי בטני. אני לא רוצה להפריע את שנתו של סבא (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 86); **يَا ابْنَ خَالَتِي قَاسِمُ لَا أُرِيدُكَ أَنْ تُعْكَرَ صَفَاءَ جَدِّي** (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 116) (= “My cousin Qāsim, ... I don’t want I don’t want you to disturb grandfather’s sleep”).

5. זליג הגיע לשולחני בחדר האוכל והפריע אותי מהרהורי (= “Zelig came up to my table in the dining room and interrupted my thoughts”) (*In a New Light*, p. 108).

6. עמדתי לי שם, על ידי הגדר החיה, וחשבתי על יהושע בר און, שהתקשרתי אליו מבית קפה אחד לא הרחק מן השער הראשי של בית הקברות, ומן הסתם הפריעתי את מנוחת **Bar On**, whom I called from a café not far from the cemetery’s main entrance, and obviously interrupted his siesta”) (*Arabesques*, p. 121).

להגיע לו > (O) הגיע.

The Arabic verbs **أَتَى** [*atā*] and **جَاءَ** [*jā'a*] (= “come”) can take either direct or indirect complements. Indirect: **أَتَى إِلَيَّ مُسْرِعًا** [*atā ilayya musri'an*] (= “He came to me in a hurry”); **جَاءَ الطَّالِبُ إِلَى الْمَدْرَسَةِ** [*jā'a l-tālibu ilā l-madrasati*] (= “The student came to the school”); direct: **كُنْتُ وَاقِعًا أَنْ أَخَذَهُمْ** **سَيَأْتِينِي بِالْخَبَرِ الْيَقِينِ** [*kuntu wāq'ān 'anna 'ahadāhum sa-ya'ūnī bil-khabari l-yaqīnī*] (= “I was certain that someone would come to me with positive information”); **جَاءَنِي غَضَبًا** [*jā'anī ghādiban*] (= “He came to me in anger”).

In the Hebrew Bible, the corresponding verb הגיע occasionally occurs with a direct object:

1. אם מעשה עמנו רעה כצער לא נגענוך וכצער עשינו עמך רק טוב ונשלחך בשלום אתה. (= “so that you will do us no harm, just as we have not touched you and have done to you nothing but good and have sent you away in peace. You are now the blessed of the LORD”) (Genesis 26:29).

In Modern Hebrew, however, this verb takes an indirect object; direct objects in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors are, in our opinion, due to the influence of the corresponding Arabic verbs:

2. وَلَقَدْ عَشِنْتُ فِيمَا (The *Opsimist*, p. 113); بِمَشْךِ حُودِشِيمِ الْهَامِنَتِي كِي أَوْتِ مَاهِمِ يَغِيَعِنِي  
وَأَنَا مُوقِنٌ بِأَنَّ إِشَارَةَ سَتَائِنِي مِنْهَا [wa-laqaḍ 'ishtu fīmā ba'du shuhūran  
wa-anā mūqinun bi'anna ishāratan sata'tinī minhā] (Al-Mutashā'il, p. 113) (= “For months I believed that some sign from them would reach me”).

Direct object replaced by indirect object: חקר ב- > חקר את (O) :ב- > את (O) (= “examine”).

The corresponding Arabic verb حَقَّقَ [haqqqa] takes an indirect complement: حَقَّقَ ب- [haqqqa bi-], while the Modern Hebrew verb takes a direct object: חקר את. In previous stages of Hebrew the sequence ב- חקר does occur, but in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors it is due to the influence of its Arabic counterpart:

1. כד לא מקובל לחקור במניעיו של איש תמהוני (= “This is not the accepted way to examine the motives of an eccentric man”) (Arabesques, p. 173).

(O) אכל ב- > אכל את (O).

The Arabic verb أَكَلَ [akala] (= “eat”) takes a direct object: أَكَلَ الْوَلَدُ التُّفَّاحَةَ [akala l-waladu t-tufāḥata] (= “The child ate the apple”). In colloquial Arabic the verb occasionally also takes an indirect object: أَكَلَ ب-/فِي [akal bi-/fi-]: أَكَلُوا فِيْئُو [būklū fīyū] (= “They eat it”). Under the influence of the latter, the Hebrew verb אכל can occur with an indirect object in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

2. רציתי לספר לזליג על הענבים בחרם שהבשילו ועל הדבורים האוכלות בהם בכל פה (In a New Light, p. 106) (= “I wanted to tell Zelig about the grapes in the vineyard that had ripened and about the bees that were gobbling them up”).

(∅) > את, as in: (∅) מעורר את (= “arouse, call for”).

The corresponding Arabic verb دَعَا [*da‘ā*] takes an indirect complement: دَعَا إِلَى [*da‘ā ilā*], while the Hebrew verb עורר is transitive: עורר את. In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors the Hebrew verb עורר appears with an indirect object under the influence of the corresponding Arabic verb:

1. הדבר מעורר למחשבה, מדוע בכלל אתן לקבצן כסף. (*In a New Light*, p. 51) (= “This *makes one think* why should I give the beggar any money”).

(∅) > אחרי, as in (∅) חיפש אחרי > חיפש את (∅) (= “search for”).

The corresponding Arabic verb بَحַثَّ [*baḥaṭṭha*] takes an indirect object: بَحַثَّ عَنْ [*baḥaṭṭha ‘an*]: بَحַثَّتُ عَنِ الْكِتَابِ وَلَكِنِّي لَمْ أَجِدْهُ: [‘*ishṭaḥaytu ‘an al-Kitābi wal-likinnanī lam ajidhu*] (= “I searched for the book but did not find it”). The corresponding verb in Hebrew takes a direct object: חיפש את. In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors the Hebrew verb חיפש appears with an indirect object under the influence of the corresponding Arabic verb:

1. נתאוותתי לשוב אל הכרמל על מנת לחפש אחריה (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 87): [‘*ishṭaḥaytu ‘an a-ūda ‘ilā l-Karmil abḥaṭṭhu ‘anhā*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 816) (= “I was filled with a desire to return to the Carmel in order to *search for her*”).

## 2. ‘Min’ of specification

The preposition מִן (Arabic مِنْ [*min*]) (= “from”) in certain contexts functions as a particle of clarification and specification.<sup>59</sup> The sequence *min* + noun in such cases does not create a true relation; the phrase does not cease to function as a noun.<sup>60</sup>

1. את שהוא נראה מן הגיזה מותר, ואת שאינו נראה מן הגיזה אסור. (= “What is seen of the fleece is permitted, and what is not seen of the fleece is forbidden”) (Mishna Bekhorot 3:4).

The use of *min* of specification in medieval Arabized Hebrew is due to Arabic influence (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 192):

2. לזכור בו מיני דברים מזינים שירחיק או יסמוך עליהם מן המסעדים הנמצאים אצלנו. (= “To mention in it various nourishing things to be rejected or

<sup>59</sup> Atallah et al. 1994, in the appendix on the meanings of prepositions.

<sup>60</sup> This type of *min* in Hebrew is called החלקיות (= “*partitive min*”); see Azar 1995, p. 44.

relied on, of those that are habitually found among us”) (*On Asthma*, Chapter Three, p. 5).

3. וכבר גדרו הרופאים הראוי בזה, והוא, שישלק אדם ידיו קודם שיקוין מאוכל, אך בעת, 3. وَقَدْ حَدُّوا الْأَطْبَاءَ الْوَاجِبَ فِي ذَلِكَ بِأَنْ يَرْفَعِ الْإِنْسَانُ يَدَهُ مِنَ الطَّعَامِ قَبْلَ أَنْ يَكْرَهُ طَعَامَهُ بَلْ (11) [wa-qaḍ ḥaddū l-aṭṭibā'u l-wājiba fi dhālika bi-'an yarfa'a l-'insān yadaḥu mina l-ṭa'āmi qabla an yakraha ta'āmaḥu bal lūna taskumu jullu shahawātihi lahu wa-yabqā ma'a l-insān mina l-shahwati baqiyyatun mā] (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Five, p. 25) (= “The physicians determined what is proper for this, namely that one restrain one’s hand before one becomes disgusted by food, but at the same time that most of one’s appetite be sated, so that of desires only a small amount shall remain”).

The frequent use of מן in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors testifies to Arabic influence:

4. נכון הוא שכרגע אין במצב רוחי לא משום התרוממות הרוח ולא מן האור (= “It is true that at the moment my mood has nothing in it of exaltation or of light”) (*In a New Light*, p. 8).

5. בקולה של רבקה היה הרבה מן ההפתעה (= “In Rebecca’s voice there was much of surprise”) (*ibid.*, p. 15).

6. היה בצחוקו הרבה מן הזלזול והבטול (= “His laughter had in it much of contempt and dismissal”) (*ibid.*, p. 80).

7. מה אורזים בשלהי אוגוסט מן הבגדים שנסרקו בקפידה להסיר מהם את שערותיה (= “What does one pack at the end of August of clothes that were carefully combed in order to remove any hairs from them”) (*Arabesques*, p. 74).

#### *‘Min’ of differentiation*

In other contexts, the preposition *min* is used in order to express a distinction between two opposites. The use of this kind of *min* in medieval Arabized Hebrew is due to the influence of Arabic (Goshen-Gottstein, *ibid.*):

1. מי שהלך בזה בדרך הנכונה ונהג בו על נתיב האמת, והכיר השרשי מן הנוסף. (*Sefer Harikma*, Author’s Introduction, p. 26); مَنْ نَهَجَ فِي ذَلِكَ طَرِيقَ الصَّوَابِ وَسَلَّكَ فِيهِ; سَبِيلَ الْحَقِّ فَمَيَّزَ الْأَصْلِيَّ مِنَ الْأَحْقِّ [man nahaja fi dhālika ṭarīqa l-sawābi wa-salada fili sabila l-ḥaqqi fa-mayyaza l-aṣliyya mina l-lāḥiqi] (*Kitāb al-*

*Luma'*, p. 15) (= “Whoever proceeds with this in the right way and walks the path of truth, and distinguishes the fundamental *from* the appended”).

The same is true of the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

2. זו אי הנדאית שהיא יתרון המתים מן החיים. (= “That is the uncertainty, which is the advantage of the dead over the living”) (*Arabesques*, p. 34).

### *Verbal complements*

#### *Definite direct object without the definite article* אַת

In Hebrew, a transitive verb connects directly to the direct object only when the latter is indefinite. When the object is definite, it is preceded by the particle אַת. In Biblical Hebrew this particle is often missing, especially in poetry:

1. וַיֵּרָא מַנְתֵּהּ כִּי טוֹב וְזֹאת הָאָרֶץ כִּי נְעִמָּה וַיֵּט שִׁכְמוֹ לְסֹבֵל וַיְהִי לְמַס עֶבֶד. (= “he saw that a resting place was good, and that the land was pleasant; so he bowed his shoulder to the burden, and became a slave at forced labor”) (Genesis 49:15).

In biblical prose there are also a few cases of this kind (Weiss 1982, p. 236):

2. וַיֹּאמֶר מֶלֶךְ סֹדֶם אֶל אַבְרָם תֵּן לִי הַנְּפֹשׁ וְהַרְכָּשׁ קַח לָךְ. (= “Then the king of Sodom said to Abram, ‘Give me the persons, but take the goods for yourself’”) (Genesis 14:21).

3. וַתֹּאמֶר לְאַבְרָהָם גֵּרֶשׁ הָאִמָּה הַזֹּאת וְזֹאת בְּנֵהּ כִּי לֹא יִרַשׁ בְּן הָאִמָּה הַזֹּאת עִם בְּנֵי עַם יִצְחָק. (= “So she said to Abraham, ‘Cast out this slave woman with her son; for the son of this slave woman shall not inherit along with my son Isaac’”) (Genesis 21:10).

In the Bible there are also a few cases of אַת before an indefinite direct object, which in Modern Hebrew is unacceptable (*ibid.*, p. 283):

4. מֵה שֶׁהָיָה כְּבָר הוּא וְאֲשֶׁר לִהְיוֹת כְּבָר הָיָה וְהִזְלֵהִים יִבְקֹשׁ אֶת נִרְדָּה. (= “That which is, already has been; that which is to be, already is, and God seeks out what has gone by”) (Ecclesiastes 3:15).

Occasionally we find ׀ before an indefinite noun as overcompensation.<sup>61</sup> Such utterances are typical of immigrants from English-speaking countries: לקח את אישה (= “He took *a wife*”); אני אהבתי את ספרים (= “I like *books*”) (Waller 1971, p. 24). Abstention from the use of ׀ before a definite direct object is a stylistic choice; a prominent case is that of Israel’s first Prime Minister, David Ben Gurion, who was known for his avoidance of the particle (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 67). Avineri (1964, p. 59) expressed his disapproval of Ben Gurion’s style:

I therefore felt compelled to explain the error of his approach to the Prime Minister. I am certain that the Prime Minister also realizes this, since he never considered eliding ׀ in all of his articles and speeches over dozens of years. It is only the unfortunate desire to surprise or to imitate the languages of other nations that can occasionally cause someone to lose their wits. It can happen that such an aspiration can subject our language to a foreign one.

According to Azar (1995, p. 60) the rule in Mishnaic Hebrew is that ׀ precedes a formally definite direct object that is not a personal pronoun (a noun phrase of the form ה + noun, proper noun, demonstrative pronoun, noun + attached possessive pronoun, noun + demonstrative pronoun, genitive phrase with formally definite *nomen rectum*, - מי ש- or מה ש-); otherwise, there is no ׀: “However, we must take into account some exceptions to this rule: formally definite direct objects without ׀ and direct objects that are not formally definite but do come with ׀”. Here are some examples:

5. ונתן גט לאישה, והשובר לאיש (= “And he gave a letter of divorce to the wife, and *the receipt* to the husband”) (Gittin 8:8).

6. מרחיקים את האילן מן העיר עשרים והמש אמה. החרוב והשקמה עשרים אמה (= “Trees are placed at a distance of twenty-five cubits from the city; *the carob and the sycamore fig* twenty cubits”) (Bava Batra 2:11).

7. ׀ העושה תפילתו קבע אין תפילתו תחנונים (= “One who makes *his prayer* fixed, his prayer is not one of pleading”) (Mishna Berakhot 4:4).

8. בית שמי אומ׳: שברא מאור האש (= “The House of Shammai say: He who created *the light of fire*”) (Berakhot 8:5).

<sup>61</sup> Abu Bakr 2002, p. 68; Shehadah 1998, p. 175; Doron 1970, p. 69.

Since Arabic has no particle that marks a definite direct object, the use of  $\text{נָס}$  in medieval Hebrew translations constantly diminished, under the influence of Arabic:

9. ויאות לכל איש מבני האדם, שישער אכלו בעת הבריאות, וידע השער, שאם אכלו בימי 9. قَيْبَنِي [كَلَّ شَخْصٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ أَنْ يَقْدَرَ أَكْلُهُ فِي] (On Asthma, Chapter Five, p. 10) *[fa-yanbaghū li-kulli shakhshin mina l-nāsi an yuqaddiru aklahu fi hāli silhatihi wa-yata'allama l-miqdāra lladhū idhā tanāwalahu fi zamani l-rabī'i (Maqāla fi l-Rabw, Chapter Five, p. 24) (= "It is seemly for every person to assess his [intake of] food when in good health, and to know the amount, for if he eats in the spring season...").*

10. ויהיה החולה אוסף ישרם, מפני שאין איש מבני אדם להיות זוכר כל מה שלמד 10. وَيَكُونُ الْمَرِيضُ قَدْ جَمَعَ صَوَابَهُمْ وَذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ لَيْسَ فِي] (On Asthma, Chapter Thirteen, p. 46) *[wa-yakūnu l-marīḍu qad jama'a ṣawābahum wa-dhālika 'annahu laysa fi maqdirati shakhshin mina l-nāsi an yakūna dhākiran li-kulli mā qara'ahu] (Maqāla fi l-Rabw, Chapter Thirteen, p. 109) (= "The sick person should collect their honesty, for no human being can remember all that he has learned/read").*

The appearance of definite direct objects without the particle  $\text{נָס}$  in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, especially when the Hebrew text translates an Arabic syntactic structure in which the object is not preceded by a preposition, makes it more than likely that these authors are influenced by the syntax of the source language and driven to choose similar structures, which in many cases also occur in earlier stages of Hebrew:

11. אם אשאלם בערבית יגלו את סודי, ואם באנגלית – אעורר חשדם. 11. (The Opsimist, p. 54) *[fa-'idhā sa'altuhum bil-'arabiyyati kashafū amrī, fa-bil-'inglīziyyati athartu shukūkahum] (Al-Mutashā'il, p. 222) (= "If I ask them in Arabic they'll expose me, and if in English I will arouse their suspicion").*

12. וחיבטנו אנפאסנו ונחנן נסתמם; 12. (The Opsimist, p. 31) *[wa-habasnā anfāsanā wa-naḥnu nastami'u] (Al-Mutashā'il, p. 192) (= "We held our breath as we listened").*

13. ומתנפצים כגעש אש בכפות הידיים שקפאו עכשיו בהתכנסות פלחי העכוז אל תוך 13. (= "And crash like raging fire in the palms of the hands, that froze now as the buttock cheeks closed on themselves in a flinching contraction due to the back that



became bowed, accentuated *his vertebrae* and became silent”) (*Arabesques*, p. 50).

14. וכל השלושה משתטחים אפים ארצה ומגוננים על ראשיהם וממתינים שיסגור התדר (= “All three lie down on their faces, protect their heads and wait for it to close *the room* and its walls on top of them and that the ceiling will for down on their heads”) (*ibid.*, p. 198).

15. כמעט כל פעם שהפנתי מבטי אליה ראיתי אותה מביטה בי, והדבר עורר את הרהורי עליה (= “Almost every time that I directed *my gaze* towards her I saw her looking at me, which caused me to think about her”) (*In a New Light*, p. 12).

16. (= “I extended *my hand* backwards and embraced her, while my other hand reigned in the filly in order to stop it”) (*ibid.*, p. 18).

17. (= “The old man took *the initiative* and asked how I was and what my family was doing”) (*ibid.*, p. 95).

18. היום נסעה מזה עם יהודה, הפעם הראשונה מאז הכרתי אותה, ולפתע אני מרגיש עצמי (= “Today Maza went with Yehuda, for the first time since I met her, and suddenly I feel *myself* lonely, isolated and banned”) (*ibid.*, p. 104).

19. אתה לקחת השור של האח של אבא שלי למה שהוא הלך בצד השני של הנחל (= “You took *the ox* of my father’s brother because he walked on the other side of the stream”) (*ibid.*, p. 144).

20. (= “Farah did not raise *his head* to me”) (*ibid.*, p. 144).

21. “איפה הדרך למזכירות שלכם?” צועק בחור קצרץ בלורית המשרבב ראשו מתוך (= “Where is the road to your secretariat?”, shouted a young man with a short haircut who extended *his head* out of the car”) (*ibid.*, p. 152).

## E. Clitic object pronoun

Clitic object pronouns are common in the early parts of the Hebrew Bible, which stem from a time when cases marked the various functions of the noun in a sentence, but the spoken language caused a reduction in its use

(Muchnik 1993, p. 119). In Biblical as well as Rabbinic Hebrew, clitic object pronouns are suffixes attached to the verb, as in לקחו (= “he took him/it”), שָׁמְרָה (= “he kept her/it”), אֶלְקֶטְנוּ (= “I will gather him/it”), יִכְסֶה (= “he will cover her/it”). The most commonly occurring clitic object pronouns are third-person suffixes. First-person pronouns are less common, the most frequent being the singular יָנִי (= “me”). Second-person pronouns are rare in the Bible and the Mishna; especially rare is the masculine plural form כֶּם, which occurs in the Mishna only in one passage, a prayer formulated in an archaic style: לְהַקִּימְכֶם (= “to raise you [m.pl.]”), לְהַחְיִיתְכֶם (= “to revive you [m.pl.]”) (Berakhot 55b) (Segal 1936, pp. 46-47). Here are some examples from the Bible and the Mishna:

1. וַיֹּאמֶר קַן אֵל הַבֵּל אֲחִיו וַיְהִי בְהִיטָם בַּשָּׂדֶה וַיִּקָּם קַן אֵל הַבֵּל אֲחִיו וַיַּהַרְגֵהוּ (= “Cain said to his brother Abel, ‘Let us go out to the field’. And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him”) (Genesis 4:8).

2. הֲוֹ גֵרְשַׁת אֶתִּי הַיּוֹם מֵעַל פְּנֵי הַדָּדָמָה וּמִפְּנֵי אֶסְתֵּר וַהֲיִיתִי נֶעַ וְנָד בְּאַרְצוֹ וַהֲיָה כָל מִצְעָי יְהִרְגֵנִי (= “Today you have driven me away from the soil, and I shall be hidden from your face; I shall be a fugitive and a wanderer on the earth, and anyone who meets me may kill me”) (Genesis 4:14).

3. וּצְאִין לְהַר הַמִּשְׁחָה<sup>62</sup> וְכָל מַסְעֵדֶיהָ (= “The cow and all those attending to it go out to the Mount of ●lives”) (Mishna Para, 3:6).

4. לֹא טִימַוְנִי, וְאַתָּה טִימַאַתְנִי<sup>63</sup> הֲרִי זֶה אֹמֵר: מִטְמִיךְ (= “What defiled you did not defile me, and you defiled me”) (Mishna Kelim, 8:4).

In medieval Arabized Hebrew pronouns that function as direct objects are always clitics and never independent words. They can be attached either to the predicate itself, or to the morpheme אֶת that follows the predicate. Which form is used depends on style rather than structure (Yoel 1972, p. 143):

5. כָּל מַסְעֵד, שִׁיּוּלִיד מִמֶּנּוּ תַעְרוּבַת עֵבָה אוּ מַדְבֵּק, יֹאֵת לְהַרְחִיקוֹ וְכִמוּ כֵן מִה שִׁיסְעֵד מַסְעֵד כֻּן גִּזְאָה יִתְּוֹלָד מִנֵּה אֶחְלָט. (● *On Asthma*, Chapter Two, p. 4):  
 [kullu ghidhā'in yatawalladu minhu 'akhlāṭun ghalīzatum 'aw lazīzatum yanbaghū jtinābuhā

<sup>62</sup> A participial form, “those who attend to it”; “it” is thus an objective rather than a possessive pronoun.

<sup>63</sup> “The oven that defiled you”; here, too, “you” is an objective rather than a possessive pronoun.

*wa-kadhālika kullu mā yaghdlhu ghīdhū'an kathūratan*] (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Part Two, p. 8) (= “Any nourishment from which a thick or sticky mixture can be created should be *put aside*, as well as anything that is very nourishing, even if it is good”).

6. *قَلَّمَا* וכאשר קראת עמי מה שקראתו ממלאכת (A Guide for the Perplexed, p. 6); *قَرَأْتُ عَلَى مَا قَدْ قَرَأْتَهُ مِنْ عِلْمٍ* [fa-lammā qarata 'alayya mā qad qar'tahu min 'ilmi] (*Dalālat al-Hā'irīn*, p. 1) (= “And as you read with me what you read of the knowledge...”).

Clitic object pronouns are quite common in the language of modern Hebrew literature, and also in the language of the press, which in certain domains shares the prestige of the literary language. In Modern Hebrew clitic pronouns attached directly to verbs are fairly rare. The fact that such pronouns occur in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, especially in translations of Arabic syntactic structures in which object pronouns are attached to verbs, is evidence for the influence of Arabic:

7. ואני מבטיחה שעד שלא ינקוף שבוע חוזר אחזור אליה, ואתי נשק ותחמושת, ופגישתנו *فَاعِدْهَا بِأَنْ أَعُودَ إِلَيْهَا بَعْدَ اسْبُوعٍ، وَمَعِيَ* (*The Optimist*, p. 38); *السِّلَاحُ وَالذَّخِيرَةُ*, *فَأَلْتَقِيهَا تَحْتَ هَذِهِ الذَّالِيَةِ* [fa-'aiduhā bi-'an a'ūda 'ilayhā ba'da 'usbū'in, wa-ma'ī l-silālu wa-dhakhīratu, fa-altaqihā tahta hādhihi l-dāliyatī] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 22) (= “I promise her that before a week goes by I will return to her with a weapon and ammunition, and that we will meet under that vine”).

8. והתקיפוני, שעל כן נודעה לי – אלמלא הם לא היה מתרחש מה שהתרחש (*The Optimist*, p. 52); *هَاجَمُونِي فَأَيَّقْتُ أَنِّي مُهِمٌ لَمَا وَقَعَ مَا وَقَعَ* [*hājamūnī fa-'ayqantu 'annanī muhimmun lammā waqa'a ma waqa'a*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 219) (= “And they attacked me for knowing this, since were it not for them what happened would not have happened”).

9. ואני כסבור הייתי, תחילה, שאין זאת אלא צלילתו של הכריש המשולח בים למרגלותי, *كَسْبُوتُهُ، وَلَوْ هَلَاةُ الْأُولَى، ظِلٌّ سَمَكَةِ الْفَرَسِ تَسْعَى فِي الْمَاءِ تَحْتَهُ قَائِلَةٌ لِي:* (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 28); *حَدَّثَنِيَا وَهِيَ اللَّيْ تَسْعَى لِتَأْخُذَنِي* [*hasibtulu, lil-wahlati l-'ūla, zilla samakati l-girshi tas'ā fi l-mā'i tahtahu qa'ilatan li: khudhni! wa-hiya l-lati tas'ā li-ta'khudhani*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 737) (= “At first I thought that it was only the shadow of the shark moving in the water underneath, telling me: *Take me!* While in fact it was the one who wanted to take me”).

10. שחף גרמי, שהפתיעני וצלל הישר לתוך ערימת הדגים (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 25); *طَيْرٌ كَبِيرٌ عَافَتَنِي وَانْقَضَ عَلَى بَطْنِ الْقَارِبِ* [*tayrun kabīrun*

*ghāfulanī wa-nqadda 'alā batnī l-qārībī*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūli*, p. 723) (= “A bony gull that *surprised me* and *dove* directly into the pile of fish”).

11. לא ראיתיה פוקדת עין לראותני, אבל לא היה בי כל ספק כי לפחות את קול צעדי שמעה (= “I *did* not *see her* directing an eye to see me, but I *had* no *doubt* that she at least heard my footsteps”) (*In a New Light*, p. 22).

12. הכאב המוזר חזר לצרבני, בגבי, ובאוזני שמעתייה אומרת בבקשה שב בקול מחוספס (= “The strange pain came back to *sting me* in my back, and with my ears I heard her say in a rough voice ‘Please sit’”) (*ibid.*, p. 21).

13. אז תפסו הם את אחד מילדיו כבן ערובה ואיימו לרוצחו נפש, אם לא ייתן להם את מבוקשם (= “They then grabbed one of his children as hostage and threatened to *kill him* if he *did* not give them what they wanted”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 16).

14. ואילו השייח' העכס, לא תמיד היה איתם, לא בשעת שינאה ולא בשעת מלחמה, ולו גם באשמוהו בבגידה (= “And the wise sheikh was not always with them, not at a time of *hatred* nor at a time of war, even if they *accused him* of *treason*”) (*ibid.*, p. 88).

## F. Inner object

The inner object expresses nothing but the action itself. In fact, phrases such as *הכה מכה* (literally: “struck a *strike*”) or *אהב אהב* (literally: “loved a *love*”) merely say the same thing twice, occasionally for emphasis. This structure is often used because it enables one to attach another word to the verb, for example *מכה רבה* (literally: “a great *strike*”) or *משכב הצהריים* (literally: “a noon *rest*”). This is useful because Hebrew does not have much flexibility in *adverb* formation: the verb is thus formally split into two, with the second part expressing the *adverb*, in the form of a *modifier* (Rabin 1967, p. 54).

1. והאספסוף אשר בקרבם התאוה ונשבו ונכבדו גם בני ישראל ויאמר מי יאכלנו בשר (= “The rabble among them *craved a* (strong) *craving*, and the Israelites also wept again and *said*, ‘If only we had meat to eat’”) (Numbers 11:4).

2. ונלכו בני רמון הכזרתי רכב ובענה ונבאו כחם היום אל בית איש בשת והוא שכב את משכב הצהריים (= “Now the sons of Rimmon the Beerothite, Rechab and Baanah, set out, and about the heat of the *day* they came to the house of Ishbaal, while he was *resting his noonday rest*”) (2 Samuel 4:5).

The difference between inner and outer (regular) direct objects is that an inner object is born with the onset of the action and ends when the action ends, as in שמחתי (literally: “I rejoiced a rejoicing”): the “rejoicing” begins with the beginning of the action of “I rejoiced” and ends when the action ends. In the sentence זרקתי אבן (= “I cast a stone”), “stone” is an external object, which existed before, during and after the action; in other words, the stone’s existence in no way depends on “I cast” (Becker 1989, p. 161; Wright 1967b, p. 54). In Arabic the inner object is called *المفعول المطلق* [*al-maf’ūl al-muṭlaq*] or “cognate accusative”, as in: *فَرِحَ فَرِحًا عَظِيمًا* [*farīḥa farīḥan ‘aẓīman*] (= “He rejoiced a great rejoicing”). The use of an inner object in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is due to a desire to choose a Hebrew structure that corresponds to the one in Arabic, rather than because of this structure’s frequency in Hebrew:

3. הסוס שתה ממי המיכונג וצהל צהלה ארוכה וחדה (*And They Forbade Rejoicing in the City*, no page number); *فَشْرَبَ الْحَصَانُ مِنْ مَاءِ الْمَيْكُونْجِ وَصَهَّلَ صَهِيلًا طَوِيلًا*, *حادًا* [*fa-shariba l-ḥiṣānu min mā’i l-Mikūngi wa-ṣahala ṣahīlan taḥīlan ḥāddan*] (*Wa-Ṣādarū l-Farah fi Madīnati*, no page number) (= “The horse drank from the water of the Mekong and neighed a long, sharp neigh”).

4. והם בודקים אותה, בדיקה מקפת ומדויקת, מחשש שמה הטמנתי בקפל מקפלי שמלתה (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 109); *وَيَفْتِشُونَهَا تَفْتِيشًا بَاطِنِيًّا دَقِيقًا خَوْفًا مِنْ أَنْ أَكُونَ أَخْفَيْتُ فِي طَيِّبَاتِ ثَوْبِهَا* [*wa-yufattishūnahā taftīshan bāṭiniyyan daqqīqan khawfan min ‘an ‘akūna qad akhfa’ytu fī ṭayyātin min ṭayyāti thawbihā*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 844) (= “They search her, a comprehensive, careful search, fearing that I had hidden in a fold of her dress”).

5. נפלתי על האדמה נפילה קשה ששברה את הכידון ואת צוואר הכידון (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 133); *فَوَقَعْنَا عَلَى الْأَرْضِ وَقَعَةً شَدِيدَةً كَسَرَتْ ظَهْرَ الْمَيْبُضِ* [*fa-waqa’nā ‘alā l-‘arḍi waqā’atan shadīdatan kasarat ṣaḥra l-miḡbaḍi*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 875) (= “I fell a hard fall on the ground, breaking the bayonet and its handle”).

6. שקר לבן שיקרתי לך, מחמוד ידידי, שקר לבן כעין הזכרון, כשהודעתי לך שסיימתי את. *كَلَبْتُ عَلَيْكَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ*: *كُتِبَتْ عَلَيْكَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ* (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 150); *كَلَبْتُ عَلَيْكَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ، حِينَ أَلْبَسْتُكَ بِأَلْبَسِي النَّهْيُتِ مِنْ كِتَابَةِ هَذِهِ الرِّوَايَةِ، وَأَتَمَمْتُ نَقْمَتَهَا عَلَيْكُمْ* [*kadhbtu ‘alayka yā Maḥmūd kidhbatan bayḍā’a kamā l-dhākiratu, hīna ablaghtuka bi-‘ammanī nṭahaytu min kitābati hādhihi l-riwāyati, wa-atmamtu naqmatahā ‘alaykum*] (*Ikhtiyāye*, p. 696) (= “I lied a white lie to you, Maḥmūd my friend, a lie white as a memory, when I informed you

that I had finished writing the novel and finished exacting my revenge from you”).

7. וסטר לו סטירה שהשיבה את לחיו הימנית למקומה הראשון, אבל הנסטר נפל ארצה (7) (Ikhūyye, p. 67); وَلَكِنَّمَا أُوقِعَتِ الْمُخَامِيَةُ إِلَى مَكَانِهِ الْأَوَّلِ، وَكَيْفَا أَوْقَعَتْ الْمُخَامِيَةُ (أَرْضاً) [thumma laḥmahu laḥmatan 'a'ādat khaddahu l-aymana 'ilā makānīhi l-'awwali, wa-lākinnahā 'awqa 'ati l-muḥāmiya ardan] (Ikhūyye, p. 618) (= “She slapped him a slap that made his right cheek return to its original position, but the victim fell to the ground”).

8. הוא ממלא את הסל ממתקים, ובשובם הביתה מקבלת האם את פני הילדה ומקטירה (8) (= “He fills the basket with sweets and when they come home the mother greets the girl and burns incense around her”) (Arabesques, p. 22).

9. הם הריצו בפני על בעיות עולים ומלוואו, ועל התמורות הגדולות שדרגן להתחולל, ועל האמונה ועל המאבק ועל שאר אותם דברים גדולים המרוממים אנשים קטנים התרוממותם (= “They talked to me about all the problems of the world, about the great changes that were about to take place, about faith, struggle and the other great things which uplift the little people an uplifting of spirit and happiness”) (In a New Light, p. 8).

10. יהודה בעלה, שישב תמיד לצידה, נהג לחייך חיוך כמוס לעצמו כל פעם שמבטינו (= “Her husband Yehuda, who always sat next to her, used to smile to himself a secret polite smile every time our looks crossed”) (ibid., p. 12).

11. לבי דואב עלי בדרך כלל ביודעי כי בחבל ארץ זה, בעמקים פוריים אלה, בהרים (= “My heart often aches, for I know that in this region, in these fertile valleys and tall mountains, a rule of despots rules”) (ibid., p. 157).

*The word עמהם* (literally: “with them”) as indirect object marker

Like direct objects, indirect objects are closely connected to the content of a verb. Indirect objects are always introduced by a preposition, which is usually constant. One such preposition is עם (= “with”). In Modern Hebrew the use of עמהם, consisting of the preposition עם + an object pronoun, is not very frequent. In the Bible and the Mishna this word occasionally introduces an indirect object. The following examples are taken from the Bible, the Mishna and medieval Arabized Hebrew:



1. וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֶל בִּלְעָם לֹא תֵלֵךְ עִמָּהֶם לֹא תָאֵר אֶת הָעָם כִּי בְרֻכָּה הִיא (= “God said to Balaam, ‘You shall not go *with them*; you shall not curse the people, for they are blessed!’”) (Numbers 22:12).

2. וְהָלְכוּ בְנָיו וַעֲשׂוּ מִשְׁתֵּה בֵּית אִישׁ יוֹמוֹ וְשָׁלְחוּ וַקְרָאוּ לְשִׁלְשֵׁת אֶחָיִתָּיהֶם לֶאֱכֹל וּלְשָׂתוֹת עִמָּהֶם (= “His sons used to go and hold feasts in one another’s houses in turn; and they would send and invite their three sisters to eat and drink *with them*”) (Job 1:4).

3. (= “You have not fulfilled your duty *towards them*”) (Mishna Bava Metsi’a 7:1).

4. (= “And ruled *with him* that he would provide for her daughter for five years”) (Mishna Ketubot 12:1).

5. אף על פי שבכך נצטיינו, אסור לאדם להכביד עולו על בניו ולהדקדק בכבודו עמהם. (= “Although we were commanded thus, a man is forbidden to be overbearing towards his sons and to be overly strict *with them* over his honor, so that he does not cause them to sin; rather, he should forgive and ignore”) (Maimonides’ *Musarim ve-De’ot*, I, p. 189).

6. (= “Any Jewish court which is honest, the divine spirit is *with them*. Therefore the judges must sit”) (*ibid.*, II, p. 87).

Arab authors when writing in Hebrew also used the word עמהם (rather than אתם), because of the former’s similarity to Arabic *مَعَهُم* [*ma’ahum*]:

7. (= “But the water is good, and the locals whom he met invited him to drink a glass of wine *with them*”) (*Arabesques*, p. 129).

8. (= “Its passengers are no strangers to him; more than once he sat *with them* over a cup of coffee”) (*ibid.*, p. 112).

9. (= “They carried *with them* whatever they could, and mother was thankful in her heart”) (*ibid.*, p. 166).

10. (= “after he had been suspected of cooperating *with them*”) (*ibid.*, p. 114).



## G. Verbal tenses: Compound tenses

### (A) היה + future

Compound tenses are common in Arabic: **كَانَ فَعَلَ** [*kāna fa'ala*] (= “he had done”), **كَانَ يَفْعُلُ** [*kāna yaf'alu*] (= “he used to do”), **كَانَ قَدْ فَعَلَ** [*kāna qad fa'ala*] (= “he had done”), **كَانَ قَدْ يَفْعُلُ** [*kāna qad yaf'alu*] (= “he would have done”). Karaites in the Middle Ages created patterns of compound tenses in Hebrew under the influence of Arabic, as in: **היו ימצאו** (= “they would find”), **היה יושלם** (= “it would be completed”), **היה יתכן** (= “it had been possible”), **היה יתבונן** (= “he had observed”). However, these structures remained largely confined to Karaite Hebrew (Maman 1991, p. 114). Under the influence of Arabic the same pattern can also be found in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

1. **ההיגיון המשותף של שנינו לא יכול היה להיות ההגיון שלי** (= “Our shared logic could not have been my logic”) (*In a New Light*, p. 36).
2. **ההיגיון המשותף של שנינו יכול היה רק להיות ההיגיון הבלעדי שלה** (= “Our shared logic could only have been her exclusive logic”) (*ibid.*).
3. **מה היה צריך לקרות? שאלה מבוהלת** (= “What should have happened? A terrified question”) (*ibid.*, p. 100).
4. **פאראח לא היה צריך להשיב** (= “Farah did not have to reply”) (*ibid.*, p. 140).

### (B) ככבר + past

The use of the word **ככבר** before a verb in the past, as in **וכבר נכרתה דעתם** (= “their minds had been cut out of their mouths”), to indicate an event that took place and was completed in the past, imitates the usage in Arabic, of placing the particle **قَدْ** [*qad*] or **وَقَدْ** [*wa-qad*] before a verb in the past. The latter, and thus also the Hebrew word **ככבר**, may denote the past perfect (Maman 1991, p. 113; Becker 1989, p. 204; Tur Sinai 1938, pp. 273-277). In Biblical Hebrew **ככבר** means “indeed”, which is also one of the meanings of Arabic **قَدْ**; it is a word used to give emphasis to what is being said. Thus **قَدْ فَعَلَ** [*qad fa'ala*] may be understood as “he thus did”, “he did indeed”, “he certainly did” and the like, rather than “he had done”. Here are a few examples from the Bible and from medieval Arabized Hebrew:

1. וְשָׁכַח אֲנִי אֶת הַמֵּתִים שֶׁכָּבַר מֵתוֹ מִן הַחַיִּים אֲשֶׁר הֵמָּה חַיִּים עֲדָנָה (= “And I thought the **dead**, who *have already* died, more fortunate than the living, who are still alive”) (Ecclesiastes 4:2).

2. וּפְנִיתִי אֲנִי לְרֵאוֹת חֲכָמָה וְהוֹלָלוֹת וְסִכְלוֹת כִּי מִה הָאָדָם שֶׁיָּבֹא אַחֲרַי הַמְּלָךְ אֶת אֲשֶׁר כָּבַר עֲשׂוּהוּ (“So I turned to consider wisdom and madness and folly; for what can the one **do** who comes after the king? **Only** what *has already been* done”) (Ecclesiastes 2:12).

3. וכבר גדרו הרופאים הראוי בזה, והוא, שיסלק אדם ידיו קודם שיקן מאוכל (*The On Asthma*, Chapter Five, p. 11); وَقَدْ حَدُّوا الْأَطْيَاءَ الْوَاجِبَ فِي ذَلِكَ بِأَنْ يَرْفَعَ الْإِنْسَانُ يَدَهُ مِنَ الطَّعَامِ [wa-qad ḥaddū l-aṭibbā’u l-wājiba fī dhālika bi-’an yarfa’a l-’insānu yadahu mina t-ta’āmi] (*Maqāla fī l-Rabw*, Chapter Five, p. 25) (= “The physicians *have already* defined what is appropriate in this case, namely, that one should keep one’s hands away before the food **disgusts** him”).

4. (= “We *have already* commented on this very useful chapter, which arouses every good thing in this labor”) (*On Asthma*, Chapter One, p. 3).

Arab authors use the word כבר before verbs in the past with considerable frequency, under the influence of Arabic:

5. אבל המכונית כבר השיגה אותנו ופנים מוכרות הציצו מתוכה (*The Story of Zalra*, p. 50); [lākinna l-sayyārata kānat qad waṣalat wa-aṭalla wajhun m’lūfun] (*Hikāyat Zalra*, p. 62) (= “But the car *had already* caught up with us and a familiar face looked out from it”).

6. איך חזרתי לאפריקה אחרי שהשמים כבר פתחו לי את שעריהם והובילו אותי ללבנון (*The Story of Zalra*, p. 95); كَيْفَ عُدْتُ إِلَى أَفْرِيْقِيَا وَكَانَتْ السَّمَاوَاتُ قَدْ فَتَحَتْ لِي أَبْوَابَهَا [kayfa ’udtu ’ilā ’afriqiya wa-kānati s-samā’u qad fataḥat lī abwābahā wa-’a’ādatnī bi-tā’iratihā ilā Lubnāna] (*Hikāyat Zalra*, p. 127) (= “How I returned to Africa after the skies *had* opened their gates for me and led me to Lebanon”).

7. כבר התרגלנו שמדי כמה ימים יש הפוגה בקרבות (*The Story of Zalra*, p. 108); فِي بَدَئِ الْأَمْرِ كُنَّا قَدْ تَعَوَّدْنَا عَلَى وَقْفِ إِطْلَاقِ النَّارِ بَعْدَ أَيَّامٍ قَلِيلَةٍ مِنْ اسْتِثْبَاطِ الْأَطْرَافِ [fī bādī’i l-’amri kunnā qad ta’awadnā ’alā waqfi ’iṭlāqi l-nāri ba’da ’ayyāmin qalilatin mina shtibāki l-aṭrāfi] (*Hikāyat Zalra*, p. 144) (= “We

<sup>64</sup> The Arabic original is not available.



1. וכאשר ירע ההנהגה ויטה לתאוותיו והרגלו מבלי השמר הנה זה ישים הזמן מבין העונות מתקרב בהכרח ויוסיף במקרה העונה ופשעה ויגדל הכאב בה עד שהם **כבר ימותו** בחוזק הכאב (= “When one’s behavior deteriorates and one gives in to one’s desires and habits without taking care, the time will necessary come near and the pain will increase so much that *they may die* because of the strength of the pain”) (*On Asthma*, Chapter One, p. 5).<sup>65</sup>

2. ואחר אשר נמצאהו לא יחלה תמיד מבואר הוא **שכבר יבוא** עליו דבר אחר בו יתם חדוש בו החולי (= “After we find that he will not always become ill, it is clear that something else *may come to afflict him* and make the disease appear anew”) (*ibid.*, p. 6).

3. אמנם המשגל לא ישים לו אחד מן הקדמונים מבוא בהנהגת הבריאות. אמנם ברפואת (= “It is true that sexual intercourse was not considered by one of the ancients as having an effect on health, but in the medicine of disease Abu Qarā and Galen mentioned that *he may need* to disseminate the seed in some of the bad humors”) (*ibid.*, p. 7).

4. אמנם הקיא הנה הוא הנהגת הבריאות לאנשים בכלל **כבר ישתמש** בו ברפואת המחלות (= “Indeed, vomiting is a healthy behavior for people and *may be used* in healing illnesses and mention of the cures for this disease”) (*ibid.*, Chapter Nine, p. 45).

In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors the use of **כבר** before a future-tense verb, whether in a modal or another meaning, is due to the influence of Arabic, in which this structure is more common:

5. יש לי תחושה שבקרוב מאוד מישו מהאתראים שם **כבר יבקש** ממני בדרך דיפלומטית (= “I have a feeling that very soon someone of those responsible over there *may well ask me* diplomatically to refrain from this”) (*And It Was Morning*, p. 42).

6. כשִׁרְדוּ לכביש הם יִפְרְדוּ, אמא תלך עם הנשים ואבא **כבר יצעד** עם הגברים (= “When they will descend to the street they will separate. Mom will go with the woman and *dad will probably march* with the men”) (*ibid.*, p. 102).

7. אבל לאחר שראש המועצה הסביר שאין ברירה, שאם המצב ימשך כך עוד יום אחד **כבר** לא יישארו מים לשתייה, הם חזרו בהם (= “But after the head of the council explained that there was no choice, that if the situation remains as it is for

<sup>65</sup> In this and the next example the original Arabic text is not available.



2. מהללין כסף על נחושת מדוחק (= “Silver can be profaned onto copper *when unavoidable*”) (Ma’aser Sheni 2:6).

It would seem that the use of adverbials of cause beginning with מן in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is due to its similarity to the causal particle من [*min*] in Arabic:

3. עינאי איבטנא מן; (A Bridge over the Sad River, p. 95) [عَيْنَايَ اَيْبُتْنَا مِنْ] [aynāyā byaddatā min layli z-zinzānati t-tawili] (*Jisr 'alā al-Nahr al-Hazīn*, p. 93) (= “My eyes became which *due* to the night in the *dungeon*”).

4. מרוב פחד, פעימות לבי התמוססו והדופק ביד שלה נעלם. (The Story of Zahra, p. 7) [لَاخِطْتُ أَنْ نَقَاتُ قَلْبِي ذَابَتْ وَتَبَضَّ يَدَهَا مَا تَ مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْخَوْفِ] [*lāḥiẓtu 'anna daqqāt qalbī dhābat wa-nabaḍa yadīhā māta min shiddati l-khawfi*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 7) (= “*Out of fear* my heartbeats melted and the pulse in her hand *disappeared*”).

5. כששמעתי נקישות בדלת לא יכולתי לפקוח את העיניים מרוב עייפות. (The Story of Zahra, p. 10) [عِنْدَمَا سَمِعْتُ نَقَاةَ الْبَابِ لَمْ أَسْتَطِعْ أَنْ أَفْتَحَ عَيْنِي مِنَ الْاُعْبَاءِ] [*indamā sami'tu daqqan 'alā l-bābi lam 'astati' an 'aftaha 'aynī mina t-ta'abi*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 10) (= “When I heard knocking on the door I couldn't open my eyes *out of fatigue*”).

6. ראיתי את פניה העגולות של אמא, שכמעט התפחתו מרוב חרדות מודחקות. (The Story of Zahra, p. 90) [وَوَجِدْتُ وَجْهَ أُمِّي الْمُسْتَتِيرِ السَّمِينِ الَّذِي يَكَادُ يَقْفَعُ مِنْ كَثْرَةِ اِمْتَلَائِهِ] [*wa-wajadtu wajha 'ummī l-mustadīra s-samīna l-ladhī yakādu yafqa'u min kathrati mtilā'ihī hā'iran*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 122) (= “I saw mother's round face, which nearly burst *from anxiety*”).

7. אנ'עיש מן שיד'ה העי'א; (Only Bread, p. 79) [أَنْتَعِشُ مِنْ شِدَّةِ الْعِيَاءِ] [*arta'ishu min shiddati l-'inā'i*] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 102) (= “I'm shaking *from exhaustion*”).

8. לרגע לא הבנתי את שאלתה, מהיותי מרוכז מדי במאמץ להיראות טבעי תוך ההבאת. (In a New Light, p. 63) (= “For a moment I *did not understand* her question, *from having been* too focused on an effort to look natural and to hide my lie”) (*In a New Light*, p. 63).

9. נפשי נקעה מן הכחש המנומס ומן הצביעות. (= “I was sick and tired *of the polite denials and of the hypocrisy*”) (*ibid.*, p. 118).

(B) The *ma* of exclamation as an adverbial of degree

In Arabic, the particle ما [*mā*], known as مَا التَّعْجِيبِيَّة [ *mā al-ta'ajjubiyya*] (= “the *mā* of exclamation”) expresses wonder, as in مَا أَفْضَلُ زَيْدًا [ *mā afḍala Zaydan*] (= “How good Zayd is!”). In the Bible and in medieval Arabized Hebrew the cognate word *ma* is also used as a particle of exclamation, before a verbal or an adjectival predicate (Even Shoshan 1990, p. 624; Kadari 2006, p. 584):

1. *מה רבו מעשיך יהוה כלם בחכמה עשית מלאה הערצין קננה* (= “● LORD, *how manifold* are your works! In wisdom you have made them all; the earth is full of your creatures”) (Psalms 104:24).
2. *יהוה גדלנונו מה אדיר שמך בכל הערצין אשר תנה הודך על השמים* (= “● LORD, our Sovereign, *how majestic* is your name in all the earth!”) (Psalms 8:1).
3. *ומה נדמו בזה אל אנשים עורים, הובאו אל בית, מוכן להם בכל תועלותיהם* (*Duties of the Hearts*, p. 168); وَمَا أَشْبَهُهُمْ بِذَلِكَ بَعْمَانٍ أُدْخِلُوا فِي دَارٍ مُّهَيَّأَةٍ لَهُمْ بِجَمِيعِ مَصَالِحِهِمْ (كتاب الهداية إلى فرائض القلوب [ *wa-mā 'ashbahalum bi-dhālika bi-'uyānin 'udkhlilū fī dārin muhāyya'atin lahum bi-jamī'i maṣālihihim*] (*Al-Hidāya ilā Farā'id al-Qulūb*)<sup>66</sup> (= “How like the blind they are! Brought to a house that has been prepared for them for all their benefits”).

The frequent use of the *ma* of exclamation in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors may be the result of Arabic influence:

4. *מה אפוא זאכריתם!* [ *mā aqwā dhākiratalum!*] (*Al-Mu'ashā'il*, p. 190) (= “How powerful their memory is!”).
5. *מה יפה הוא הסוף שמחזיר אותנו אלי ההתחלה* (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 60); مَا أَرْوَعُ النِّهَايَةِ الَّتِي تُعِينُنَاكَ إِلَى الْبِدَايَةِ [ *mā arwa'a l-nihāyata l-latī tu'īduka ilā l-bidāyati*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 778) (= “How beautiful is the end that brings us back to the beginning!”).
6. *ומה קצרה היתה הדרך* (*Ikhūyye*, p. 116); مَا كَانَ أَقْصَرَ الطَّرِيقِ [ *mā kāna aqṣaru t-tarīq*] (*Ikhūyye*, p. 667) (= “How short was the way!”).
7. *ומה רחב ידיים היה העולם באותם ימים* (*Ikhūyye*, p. 116); وَمَا أَرْوَعُ الدُّنْيَا فِي ذَلِكَ [ *wa-mā arwa'a d-dunyā fī dhālika l-zamān*] (*Ikhūyye*, p. 667) (= “How vast the world was in those days!”).

<sup>66</sup>The original text in Arabic is unavailable.



8. ומה רבתה כאן התנועה! כל הארץ כולה נראתה משום מה רצה ארצה (= “*How much traffic there was here! The entire country seemed as if it was rushing on the road for some reason*”) (*Arabesques*, p. 132).

9. מה יפה הוא כפרי ומה גדול הוא הפסחא בכפרנו ובשכונתנו (= “*How beautiful is my village and how big is Easter in our village and our neighborhood!*”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 161).

10. מה יפה הוא כפרי ומה גדול הוא הפסחא בכפרנו ובשכונתנו (= “*How beautiful is my village and how big is Easter in our village and our neighborhood!*”) (*ibid.*).

11. מה לי ולבחירות האלה (= “*What do I have to do with these elections?*”) (*Fatal Christening*, p. 48).

### (C) The כמה of exclamation as an adverbial of degree

The frequent use of כמה of exclamation in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, especially as a translation of Arabic كَمْ [*kam*] (literally: “how much, how many”) is clearly due to Arabic influence, since these writers possess enough linguistic fluency to use other words as well. The fact that they choose a similarly-sounding Hebrew word for expressing exclamation is a sign of Arabic influence:

1. וכל הזמן חשבתי כמה הייתי רוצה למשוך אותה אלי, לגעת לה בפנים, להרגיש את עיניה. كُنْتُ أَتَوَكَّرُ وَأَنَا أَنْظَرُ إِلَيْهَا كَمْ أَوْدُ أَنْ: (The Story of Zahra, p. 11); [kuntu 'ufakkiru wa-'anā 'anzuru 'ilayhā kam 'awuddu 'an 'ashuddalāh 'ilayya, 'an 'ashudda nafsī 'ilayhā, 'an 'amsika bi-wajjihā wa-'uqarriba 'aynayhā min wajhī] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 12) (= “The whole time I thought how much I would like to draw her to me, to touch her face, to feel her eyes”).

2. אה כמ קרַהַתְּמָא תַלְכ; וכמה שנאתי אותם באותו רגע; (The Story of Zahra, p. 14); [āh kam karīhtuhumā tilka l-lahzati] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 15) (= “Oh how much I hated her in that moment”).

3. כמה רציתי לפתוח את הדלת, למרות שלא ידעתי מה אראה שם. [kam wadadtu 'an 'aftaha l-bāba, raghuma 'annanī lā 'a'rifu mā yajrī khalfahu] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 17) (= How I wanted to open the door, even though I did not know what I would see there”).

4. אבל הוא חזר על אותם דברים שוב ושוב, והבנתי כמה הוא משתוקק לשוב הביתה (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 20); لَكِنَّهُ ظَنَّ يَرِيدُهُ هَذَا الْمَوْضُوعَ طَوَالَ الْوَقْتِ وَعَرَفْتُ كَمْ هُوَ جَائِعٌ إِلَى الْعَوْدَةِ [lākimmahu zalla yuraddidu hādihā l-mawḍū'a tiwāla l-waḡti wa-'arāftu kam huwa jā' i' ilā l-'awdati] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 23) (= “But he continued to repeat the same thing the whole time, and I understood how much he wanted to come back home”).

5. נאנחת, חשבתי עד כמה הוא רחוק מהאמת וכמה טוב היה אילו הפסיק לדבר על זה. تَتَّيَّدْتُ وَفَكَّرْتُ: مَفْنِي شَأْنِي أَيْنَمَا مَتَكُونَتِ لِفَتْوَاةِ أَتِ الْفِدَا كَمْ هُوَ بَعِيدٌ وَكَمْ مِنَ الْأَفْضَلِ أَنْ تُعَلِّقَ الْمَوْضُوعَ لِأَنِّي لَنْ أُنْفِخَ فَمِي [tanahhadtu wa-fikrī kam huwa ba'īdun wa-kam mina l-'afḍali 'an nu'alliqa l-mawḍū'a li-'annī lan aḡḡala famī] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 132) (= “I sighed and thought how far he is from the truth and how good it would be if he stopped speaking about it, because I have no intention of opening my mouth”).

6. כמה גדול הוא משיחנו. (= “How much bigger it is than our bush”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 155).

7. כמה אכזר אביו, שלא נכנס לעובי הקורה ולא חקר את כל סיפור המעשה. (= “How cruel is his father, who did not inquire into the matter and did not investigate the whole affair”) (*ibid.*, p. 166).

#### (D) The adverbial of specification (*tamyīz*)

The adverbial of specification (*tamyīz*) serves to focus on one specific attribute of a noun to the exclusion of others. It takes the accusative case (*naṣb*) and is usually indefinite. It means “as for”, “with respect to”, “as far as... is concerned”, etc. In other words, it focuses on the content of the action rather than on the object (Becker 1989, pp. 169-170; Rabin 1967, p. 51). It is frequently used as follows:

1. After an elative adjective, in order to restrict the comparison to a single feature: هُوَ أَكْبَرُ مِنْكَ سِنًا [huwa aktharu minka sinnan] (= “He is bigger than you in years”, i.e., he is bigger than you in age [but not in other respects]).

2. As a partial apposition after a noun: قَبَّلْتُ رَيْدًا وَجْهًا [qabbaltu Zaydan wajhan] (= “I kissed Zayd on the face”, [and on no other part of his body]).

3. After weights and measures: اشْتَرَيْتُهُ بِكَذَا وَكَذَا دِينَارًا [shṭaraytuhu bi-kadhā wa-kadhā dīnāran] (= “I bought it for so-and-so many dinars”).

4. After an adjective: **هُوَ كَسَنٌ وَجْهًا** [*huwa hasanun wajhan*] (= “He is beautiful *of face*” [and not necessarily of other parts of his body]).

5. After a verb with adjectival meaning: **طَابَ الْوَلَدُ نَفْسًا** [*tāba l-waladu nafsan*] (= “The child was good *in spirit*”, i.e., good with respect to his spirit).

*Tamyīz* occurs in Biblical Hebrew, in medieval Arabized Hebrew and in Modern Hebrew:

6. **וּבְפָרְשֶׁכֶם כְּפִיכֶם אֶעֱלִים עֵינַי מִכֶּם גַּם כִּי תִרְבּוּ תַפְלָה אֲיַנְנִי שִׁמְעוּ יְדֵיכֶם דְּמִים מְלֹא** (= “When you stretch out your hands, I will hide my eyes from you; even though you make many prayers, I will not listen; your hands of *full of blood*”) (Isaiah 1:15).

7. **וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל פְּרִו וַיִּשְׂרְצוּ וַיִּרְבּוּ וַיַּעֲצְמוּ בְמֵאדָּ מְאֹד וַתִּמְלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם** (= “But the Israelites were fruitful and prolific; they multiplied and grew exceedingly strong, so that the land was *filled with them*”) (Exodus 1:7).

8. **שָׁמַעְתִּי אֶת תְּלִינֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל דֹּבֵר אֲלֵהֶם לֵאמֹר בֵּין הָעֶרְבִים תֹּאכְלוּ בָשָׂר וּבִבְקָר תִּשְׁבְּעוּ** (= “I have heard the complaining of the Israelites; say to them, ‘At twilight you shall eat meat, and in the morning you shall *have your fill of bread*; then you shall know that I am the LORD your God”) (Exodus 16:12).

9. **אִתָּה תִהְיֶה עַל בֵּיתִי וְעַל פִּיךָ יִשָּׁק כָּל עַמִּי רַק הַכִּסֵּא אֲגַדֵּל מִמֶּךָ** (= “You shall be over my house, and all my people shall order themselves as you command; only *with regard to the throne* will I be greater than you”) (Genesis 41:40).

10. **וּמַעֲשֵׂה הַחֲרָדֵל אֲצַלְנוּ בַסְּפָרַד הוּא, שִׁיקָה קַב חֲרָדֵל שְׂאמִי, וַיִּשְׁקֶהוּ בַמִּים בַּמִּים לַיְלָה** **وَصَنَعَةُ الصَّنَابِ عِدْنَا بِالْأَنْدَلُسِ. يُؤْخَذُ مَدُّ خَرْدَلٍ** (*On Asthma*, Chapter Four, p. 10); **شَامِيٌّ يُنْفَعُ فِي الْمَاءِ الْخَارِ لَيْلَةَ** [*wa-san'atu l-sinābi 'indānā bil-Andalusi: yu'khadhu maddu khardalin shāmiyyin yunqa'u fi l-mā'i l-hārri laylatan*] (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Four, p. 21) (= “Making mustard spread here in Andalusia is as follows: Take a *mudd measure of Syrian mustard* and put it in warm water for a night”).

11. **אָחֲרַי כֵּן יִשִּׂים בּוֹ שֶׁמֶן זֵית טוֹב וּמְתוּק, רֵאשׁוֹן רֵאשׁוֹן עַד אֲשֶׁר יִבְלַע הָקוֹ לִיטְרָא שֶׁמֶן** **ثُمَّ يُسْفَى بِزَيْتٍ طَيِّبٍ أَوْ لَا أَوْ لَا** (*On Asthma*, Chapter Four, p. 10); **حَتَّى يَشْرَبَ الْمَدُّ رَطْبَ زَيْتٍ طَيِّبٍ وَيَلِينُ جَدًّا** [*thumma yusqa bi-zaytin tayyibin 'adhbīn 'awwalan 'awwalan hattā yashraba l-maddu ratlu zaytin tayyibin wa-yalīnu jiddan*] (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Four, p. 21) (= “Then put

on it good, sweet olive oil first of all, until the *mudd* measure swallows a *rott of good oil* very well”).

12. אנתנו עוברים דירה (= “We’re moving *house*”).

13. שברתי כוס מים (= “I broke a *water* glass”).

14. שני בקבוקי שמפניה (= “Two bottles of *champagne*”).

The frequency with which Arab authors use adverbials of specification in their Hebrew writings may be indicative of Arabic influence. Below are some examples:

15. ובתוך הכיסא וסביב לו ארבע חיות מלאות עיניים מבפנים ומאחור (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 99); فِي وَسْطِ الْعَرْشِ، وَحَوْلَ الْعَرْشِ، أَرْبَعَةُ حَيَوَانَاتٍ مَمْلُوءَةٌ عَيْنًا [wa-fī wasaṭi l-‘arshi, wa-hawla l-‘arshi, ‘arba’atu ḥayawanātin mamlū’atin ‘uyūnan] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 832) (= “Inside the throne and around it there were four animals full of *eyes*”).

16. שבוע ימים נתמלא הבית כינים (= “For a week the house became filled with *lice*”) (*Arabesques*, p. 24).

17. זו השקית שהיתה מהלכת על אבי חרדה מתמדת שמא תתפורר בלי סיבה של ממש (= “This bag, which aroused constant *fear* in my father, lest it disintegrate without good reason”) (*ibid.*, p. 11).

18. ותחתן הוא ממלא את הסל ממתקים (= “And underneath them he fills the basket with *sweets*”) (*ibid.*, p. 22).

19. F(= “Here and there could be seen the holes drilled in the rock, that were to be filled with *gunpowder*”) (*ibid.*, p. 39).

20. נתקפתי חשק עז להפנות לה עורף ולהסתלק (= “I became filled with a strong *desire* to turn my back and get out of there”) (*In a New Light*, p. 42).

21. לבי התמלא רגשות של הכרת תודה (= “My heart filled with *feelings* of gratitude”) (*ibid.*, p. 62).

(E) Adverbial of place beginning with the preposition מן

Adverbials of place beginning with מן occur frequently in the Bible, in the Mishna and in medieval Arabized Hebrew:

1. וְאֵד יַעֲלֶה מִן הָאָרֶץ וְהַשֶּׁקֶת אֶת כָּל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה (= “but a stream would rise *from the earth*, and water the whole face of the ground”) (Genesis 2:6).

2. כתבו העידים בראש הדף *מן הצד* או *מן אחריו* (= “The witnesses wrote at the head of the page, *from the side or from behind*”) (Mishna Gittin 9:7).

3. ראת על חלוקה *מן התגור* [...] טמאה *מן התגור* ומעלן טהורה (= “If she sees it from the waist *downwards*, she is impure, *from the waist upwards*, she is pure”) (Mishna Nidda 8:1).

4. וגדר הזמן שיאכל בו המאכל הוא, שהמאכל הראשון כבר יצא *מן האסטומכא* (= “The time limit for eating that food is that the first food already came out *of the stomach*”) (● *Asthma*, Chapter Six, p. 13).<sup>67</sup>

The frequency with which Arab authors use adverbials of place that begin with the preposition *מן* in their Hebrew writings, especially when translating Arabic sentences in which the cognate preposition *من* [*min*] appears, is a sign of indirect influence of Arabic, due to an attempt to fit the Hebrew syntactic structure to its Arabic counterpart:

5. לאחר כרבע שעה של שתיקה נשלחו עוד סימנים *מן הסירה* (*Only Bread*, p. 115); *بَعْدَ حَوَالِي رُبْعِ سَاعَةٍ مِنَ الصَّمْتِ أُرْسِلَتْ مِنَ الْمَرْكَبِ عِلَامَاتٌ أُخْرَى* [*ba'da hawālay rub'i sā'atin mina l-ṣamti ursilat mina l-markabi 'alāmātun ukhrā*] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 154) (= “After about a quarter of an hour of silence further signals were sent *from the boat*”).

6. וכבר אחזה בראשי סחרחורת הים, ודמיתי שהכרישים באים עלי *מן הים ומן היבשה* (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 28); *كَانَ دَوَارُ الْبَحْرِ فَدُ تَمَلَّكَنِي، وَكَانَتْ أَسْمَاكُ*; *[kāna duwwāru l-baḥri qad tamallakāni, wa-kānat 'asmāku l-qirshi tabdū lī 'ātiyatun mina l-baḥri wa-mina l-barri]* (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 737) (= “My head felt sea sick and I imagined the sharks coming towards me *from the sea and from the land*”).

7. נראה שאיחר לחזור *מן השדות* ורק עתה חוזר הוא מהמקלחת (= “It appears that he returned late *from the fields* so that he is just now coming back from the shower”) (*In a New Light*, p. 149).

8. מאיפה אתה אחמד? שאל הבחור הצעיר, שישב לידו וצחק. *מן פקועה*. (= “Where are you from, Ahmad?, the young man who sat next to him asked, and laughed. From Faqū'a”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 35).

<sup>67</sup> The Arabic original is not available.

9. ילדותי נחרטה בזיכרונו והוא לא ישכח את החורשה שליד הבית, ואת ההליכה לבית הספר בשלג, בחורף הקשה, ואת דליית המים מן הבארות, ואת לימוד התורה לאור עששיות (= “His childhood was imprinted on his memory. He will not forget the grove by the house, walking to school in the snow, in the harsh winter, drawing water from the wells, and studying Torah in candlelight”) (*ibid.*, p. 68).

(F) The infinitive used as an adverbial of purpose

The infinitive as an adverbial of purpose is documented throughout the history of the Hebrew language. The frequent use of this construction in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors to translate Arabic syntactic structures that begin with the proposition *لِ* [*li*] (literally: “to”) in the sense of *لِكَيْ* [*likay*] (= “in order to”) is evidence for indirect Arabic influence:

1. *يَتْرُكُنَا الرَّجُلُ لِيَأْتِيَ*; (The Story of Zahra, p. 14) והלך להביא שקית מהמכונית [yatrukunā l-rajulu li-ya'tiya bi-kisin mina l-sayyārati] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 15) (= “He went to bring a bag from the car”).

2. (The Story of Zahra, p. 15) *وَعَادَ يَسْأَلُ إِذَا كَانَتْ زَهْرَةَ تَوَدُّ أَنْ تَجْلِسَ عَلَى الرَّجُلِ لِتَلْعَبَ بِهَذِهِ الدُّمَيَّةِ الْجَمِيلَةِ*; [wa-'ada yas'alu 'idhā kānat Zahratu tawuddu 'an tajlisa 'alā d-darajī lital'aba bi-hādhihi d-dumyati j-jamīlati] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 16) (= “He asked if Zahra would like to sit on the steps in order to play with the pretty doll”).

3. (The Story of Zahra, p. 54) *وَتَضَحَّكَ أَكْثَرَ عِنَّمَا يَبْحَثُ عَنْ عَصَاةٍ لِيَضْرِبَنَا بِهَا وَتَكُونَ قَدْ خَبَأْنَا*; [wa-nadhaku 'akthara 'indamā yabḥathu 'an 'asāhu li-yadribanā bihā wa-nakūnu qad khabbā nāhā] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 70) (= “He searched for his cane in order to beat us, but we had already managed to hide it”).

4. (Only Bread, p. 10); *أَرْسَلْتَنِي يَوْمًا مَعَ أَطْفَالِ جِيرَانِنَا لِأْتِيَهَا بِالْبُحُولِ* [arsalatnī yawman ma'a 'atfāli jīraninā li-'ātiyahā bil-buḥūli] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 26) (= “One day she sent me together with the neighbors' children to bring her beans”).

5. (Only Bread, p. 17); *أَفْهَمْتَنِي أَنَّ أَبِي خَرَجَ لِيَفْتِشَ عَنِ الْجُنْدِيِّ الْأَوَاشِيِّ لِيَتَقَبَّلَا* [afhamatnī 'anna 'abī kharaja li-yufattisha 'ani l-jundiyyi l-wāshī li-yataqābalā] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 26) (= “She explained to me that my father had gone out to search for the soldier who had denounced him in order to beat him”).



(G) Future tense following the purpose word למען (= “for, for the purpose of”)

The frequent use of this structure by Arab authors in their Hebrew writings, instead of למען ש- + future-tense verb, testifies to the influence of Arabic, in which the structure *حتى* [*hattā*] (“for the purpose of”) + future-tense verb is quite common:

1. אבל הוא לא העלה על דעתו שהשפעת הקמיע תהיה חזקה כל כך, והריהו מוכן ומזומן. (= “But it never entered his mind that the amulet would have such a powerful effect. He was fully prepared to do anything he was told in order for his mother to heal”) (*Arabesques*, p. 59).

2. הם הורסים את האתמול למען נבנה את עתידו המתוכנן של העולם. (= “They destroy the past so that we will build the world’s planned future”) (*In a New Light*, p. 43).

3. מה חטאו של עגל זה? בנך הקריב את עצמו למען ימחק את החטא הקדמון של אדם. (= “What is the sin of this calf? Your son sacrificed himself in order to erase our forefathers Adam’s and Eve’s Original Sin, not the sin of animals”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 109).

4. הקריב עצמו למען יציל את החוטאים מחטאם. (= “He sacrificed himself in order to save the sinners from their sins”) (*ibid.*, p. 116).

5. את האדם שבו הקריב למענו, למען יכפר. (= “He sacrificed his human part for us, in order to atone”) (*ibid.*, p. 36).

6. “לשתי אחיותי צריך לתת משהו, כי אין מנהגן של בנות לתזור על בתי הקרובים למען.” (= “You have to give something to your two sisters, because girls are not supposed to go to their relatives in order to get pennies”, she explained to me, and I nodded in agreement”) (*ibid.*, p. 160).

(H) *واو المصاحبة* [*wāw l-muṣāḥaba*] (= “the *wāw* of accompaniment”) in the sense of “with”

When the conjunction *وَ* [*wa*] connects two nouns, the first of which is perceived as primary and the second as of lesser importance, the latter is given the accusative case (*naṣb*). The basic meaning of *وَ* in this construction is “with” (Becker 1989, p. 183). This construction of *واو*



المصاحبة [wāw l-muṣāḥaba] corresponds to the Hebrew construction of an adverbial of accompaniment; in fact, in some syntax books the collocation עם אחיו (= “with his brother”) in the sentence הילד דיבר עם אחיו (= “The child spoke with his brother”) is analyzed as an adverbial of accompaniment:

1. ذَهَبَ الْوَلَدُ وَأَخَاهُ [dhahaba l-waladu wa-akhāhu] (= “The boy went *with* his brother”).
2. يَنْفُوقُ هَذَا الْإِقْتِرَاحُ وَإِرَادَتَنَا [yattafiqu hādha l-iqtirāhu wa-irādatanā] (= “This proposal is consistent *with* what we want”).
3. سَارَ الرَّجُلُ وَالطَّرِيقَ [sāra r-rajulu wa-t-tarīqa] (= “The man walked *along* the road”).
4. تَتَّفِقُ الْحَرَكَاتُ الْقَوْمِيَّةُ الْعَرَبِيَّةُ وَالْحَرَكَاتُ الْإِسْلَامِيَّةُ فِي أُمُورٍ وَتَخْتَلِفُ فِي أُمُورٍ [tattafiqu l-harakātu l-qawmiyyatu l-‘arabiyyatu wal-harakātu l-islāmiyyatu fi ‘umūrin wa-takhtalifu fi ‘umūrin] (= “Arab nationalist movements agree *with* Islamic movements on some matters and *disagree* on others”).

In the Bible, too, we find the conjunction ו in the sense of “with”:

5. וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל לְאַחִיזָה הַגִּישָׁה עָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי הִנֵּה עָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וּבְגִי יִשְׂרָאֵל (= “Saul said to Ahijah, ‘the ark of God here.’ For at that time the ark of God went *with* the Israelites”) (1 Samuel 14:18).

6. In the Arabic Christian translation *Al-Kitāb al-Muqaddas* this verse (p. 432) uses the word مع [ma‘a] (= “with”) as a translation of the Hebrew conjunction ו: فَقَالَ شَاوُوْلٌ لِأَخِيَا: “قَدُمُ تَابُوتَ اللَّهِ.” لِأَنَّ تَابُوتَ اللَّهِ كَانَ فِي ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ مَعَ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ [fa-qāla Shā’ulu li-Akhīyā: ‘qaddim tābūta Llāhi’, li’anna tābūta Llāhi kāna fi dhālika l-yawmi ma‘a Banī Isrā’īl].

7. הַלִּיכְתֵּן שֶׁל הַצְעִירוֹת הַיִּתֵּה מְאוּמָצֵת. כָּל צְעִירָהּ וְכֵדָה עַל רֹאשָׁהּ (= “The young women walked *with* an effort, each one *with a jar* on her head”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 39).

8. סיפרו לי על עוד דוד לוי אחר מבית שאן, צעיר יותר, והוא יד ימינו של ישראל קיסר; כל מנהיג והדוד לוי שלו (= “They told me about another Uncle Levy from Bet Shean, a younger one, who was Israel Kesar’s righthand man; every leader *with his own David Levy*”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 53).

(I) The word אצלם (literally: “at their place”) as an adverbial of place

The word אצלם functions as an adverbial of place in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, instead of the standard אצלם, apparently due to the former’s formal similarity to Arabic عِنْدَهُمْ [‘*indahum*]:

1. כאן הם טובים עד שתיכנס איתם לעבודה; תתחיל לעבוד אצלם והם יעשו עליך אבו. (= “Here they are good until you start working with them; when you start to work for them they will lord it over you”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 36).

## H. Complex sentences

In a complex sentence one part (or several parts) is a sentence in itself, with a subject and a predicate of its own, called a subordinate clause. Such a clause is generally introduced by a subordination conjunction such as “that”, “because”, “so that”, or a relative pronoun such as “who”, “that”, “which”. The clause is subordinate because it cannot stand by itself, just as a part of a sentence cannot stand by itself. The sentence as a whole is called complex, and whatever is not part of a subordinate clause belongs to the main clause (Becker 1989, p. 215).

In Arabic a simple sentence is called الجُمْلَةُ الصُّغْرَى [al-*jumla ṣ-ṣughrā*] (literally: “small sentence”) while a complex sentence containing a subordinate clause is called الجُمْلَةُ الْكُبْرَى [al-*jumla l-kubrā*] (literally: “big sentence”), for example: هُوَ أَرَادَ أَنْ يَتَقَدَّمَ [huwa ‘arāda ‘an yataqaddama] (= “He wanted to progress”). The same content can also be expressed via a simple sentence: هُوَ أَرَادَ التَّقَدَّمَ [huwa arāda t-taqadduma] (= “He wanted progress”).

(A) Complex sentences with a clause of state introduced by a *wa* of state

In Arabic, a حال [hāl] (= “state”) construction usually consists of a noun, an adjective or a participle that describe the state of the subject or of another noun phrase in the sentence. The حال word itself takes the accusative case ending and is usually indefinite: رَجَعَ الْوَلَدُ مَسْرُورًا [raja‘a l-waladu masrūran] (= “The child return happy”) (Wright 1967, II, pp. 20, 50, 112; Becker 1989, pp. 171-172). A state clause can be nominal or verbal. A nominal state clause connects to the main clause with *wa* al-hāl [wāw al-hāl] (also called *wa* al-ibtidā [wāw al-ibtidā] or “the *wāw* of the nominal subject”) (Wright 1967, II, pp. 332-333):

1. قَامَ زَيْدٌ وَهُوَ بَاكٍ [qāma Zaydun wa-huwa bākin] (= “Zayd arose *weeping*”).
2. عَادَ إِلَيَّ وَهُوَ مَضْرُوبٌ. [āda ilayya wa-huwa maḍrūbun] (= “He returned to me *beaten*”).

The Hebrew conjunction ו opens clauses of state in the Bible. Such syndetic clauses occur especially when the clause’s subject is a pronoun. In other cases the clause may be asyndetic, that is, with no preceding conjunction. Clauses of state in the Bible can be nominal or verbal (Kačari 2006, pp. 231-232; Rabin 1967, pp. 95-96):

3. אָנִי טָרַם אֲכַלְהָ לְדַבֵּר אֶל לְבִי וְהִנֵּה רַבְקָה יֹצֵאת וְכַדָּה עַל שִׁכְמָהּ וַתֵּרֶד הָעֵינָה וַתִּשָּׂא נָא וְאָמַר אֵלַיהָ הַשְׁקִינִי נָא (= “Before I had finished speaking in my heart, there was Rebekah coming out *with her water jar on her shoulder*, and she went down to the spring, and drew. I said to her, ‘Please let me drink’”) (Genesis 24:45).

4. וְאַחֲרָיו כִּן יָצָא אֶחָיו וְיָדוֹ אֶחְזָת בַּעֲקֵב עֵשָׂו וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיִּצְהַק בֶּן שִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה בְּלֶדֶת אֹתָם (= “Afterward his brother came out, *with his hand gripping Esau’s heel*; so he was named Jacob. Isaac was sixty years old when she bore them”) (Genesis 25:26).

(A1) The state clause may precede the main clause, in which case they are connected by the conjunction ו:

5. הוּא מוֹצֵאת וְהִיא שְׁלָחָה אֶל חַמְיָה לֵאמֹר לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר אֵלָהּ לֹו אֲנִי הָרָה וַתֹּאמֶר הִכָּר נָא (= “As she was being brought out, she sent word to her father-in-law, ‘It was the owner of these who made me pregnant’. And she said, ‘Take note, please, whose these are, the signet and the cord and the staff’”) (Genesis 38:25).

In the Mishna, a state clause that contains a pronoun which refers to one of the nouns in the main clause can begin with the conjunction ו, without it, or with כִּשׁ- (Azar 1995, p. 135). Asyndetic state clauses attach to the main clause with no conjunction:

6. (= “A wife who went, she and her husband, overseas, *peace [will be] between him and her and peace in the world*”) (Mishna Yevamot 15:1).

(A2) State clause connected to the main clause with the conjunction ו:

7. נוטל אדם את בנו והאבן בידו, כלכלה והאבן בתוכה (= “A man carries his son with the stone in his hand, a basket with the stone in it”) (Mishna Shabbat 21:1).

“Reciprocal” state clauses are always asyndetic:

8. מקיפים שלשה חבלים זה למעלה מזה וזה למעלה מזה (= “Three ropes surround it, each above the other”) (Mishna Eruvin 1:9).

9. מצא [...] שלשה מטבעות זה על גבי זה (= “If one finds [...] three coins, one above the other”) (Mishna Bava Metzi’a, 2:2).

In medieval Arabized Hebrew state clauses are typically introduced by the conjunction ו; note that this is not unique to that stage of the language (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, pp. 221):

10. וכאשר ארכו הימים, ואני חוקר על זה וזולתו, מצאתי גאלינוס (On Asthma, Chapter Thirteen, p. 43); وَلَمَّا طَلَّتِ الْمُدَّةُ وَأَنَا أَبْحَثُ عَنْ هَذَا وَغَيْرِهِ وَجَدْتُ جَالِينُوسَ [wa-lammā ṭalati l-muddatu wa-ʾanā ʾabḥathu ʾan hādihā wa-ghayrihi wa-jiʿtu Gālīnūsā] (Maqāla fi l-Rabw, Chapter Thirteen, p. 104) (= “As time went on while I studies this and other matters, I found Galen”).

A state clause that begins with the conjunction ו is very common in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, perhaps in imitation of the typical Arabic structure of state clauses beginning with *wa* *al-hāl*:

11. עָדָּ וְעָלָי רָאִישִׁי תַּאֲךְ (A Bridge over the Sad River, p. 96); عَادَ وَعَلَى رَأْسِهِ تَأَجُّ [ʿāda wa-ʾalā raʾsīhi tājun] (Jisr ʾalā al-Nahr al-Ḥazīn, p. 93) (= “He returned with a crown on his head”).

12. ואני מבטיחה שעד שלא ינקוף שבוע חזור אחזור אליה, ואתי נשק ותחמושת (The Opsimist, p. 38); فَأَعِدُّهَا بِأَنْ أَعُودَ إِلَيْهَا بَعْدَ اسْتَبْوَعٍ، وَمَعِيَ السِّلَاحُ وَالنَّخِيرَةُ [fa-ʾaʿiduhā biʾan ʾaʿūda ʾilayhā baʿda ʾusbūʿin, wa-ma ʿī s-silāhu wash-dhakhūratu] (Al-Mutashāʿil, p. 202) (= “I promise her that before a week goes by I will return to her with arms and ammunition”).

13. ראיתי אותו מכסה את פניו בידיו והדם נוזל בשפע מבין אצבעותיו (Only Bread, p. 58); رَأَيْتُهُ يُغَطِّي وَجْهَهُ بِيَدَيْهِ وَالدَّمُ يَسِيلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ أَصَابِعِهِ بِغَزَارَةٍ [raʾaytuhu yughattī wajhahu bi-yadayhi wad-damu yasīlu min bayni ʾaṣābi ihi bi-ghazāratin] (Al-Khubz al-Ḥafī, p. 75) (= “I saw him covering his face with his hands while blood flowed freely between his fingers”).

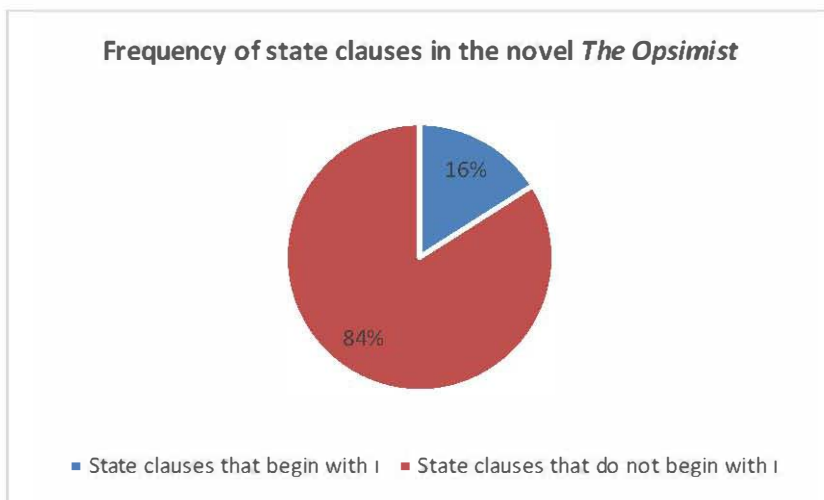


**Table 6: Frequency of state clauses in the novel *The Optimist***

State clauses that begin with ׀	State clauses that do not begin with ׀	Total
18	95	113
16%	84%	100%

**Pie Chart 6: Frequency of state clauses in percentages**

- A. State clauses that begin with ׀  
 B. State clauses that do not begin with ׀

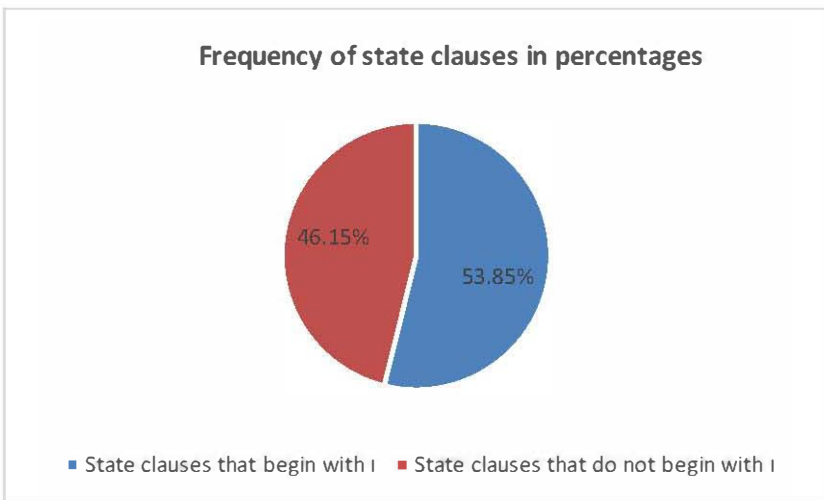


**Table 7: Frequency of state clauses in the novel *In a New Light*<sup>68</sup>**

State clauses that begin with 1	State clauses that do not begin with 1	Total
7	6	13
53.85%	46.15%	100%

**Pie Chart 7: Frequency of state clauses in percentages**

- A. State clauses that begin with 1
- B. State clauses that do not begin with 1




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<sup>68</sup> The entire novel was examined.



## (A3) Participles as state clauses

In Biblical, Rabbinic and medieval Arabized Hebrew, participles can be used as state clauses, just as in Arabic (Maman 1991, p. 114; Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 121). Here are some examples:

1. וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת קוֹל יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּגֶן לְרוּחַ הַיּוֹם וַיִּהְיֶה אָדָם וְאִשְׁתּוֹ מִפְנֵי יְהוָה  
וַיִּהְיוּ בְּגֶן הָעֵדֶן בְּתוֹךְ עֵץ הָעֵץ (= “They heard the sound of the LORD God walking in the garden at the time of the evening breeze, and the man and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the LORD God among the trees of the garden”) (Genesis 3:8).

2. הֲעַתָּה לְכֶם אִתְּם לְשִׁכְתַּי בְּבֵתֵיכֶם כְּסוּפֵינִי וְהַבַּיִת הַזֶּה הָרַב (= “Is it a time for you yourselves to sit enclosed in your houses, while this house lies in ruins?”) (Haggai 1:4).

3. וּמִפְרִישֵׁן אֹתוֹ עֵרוֹם בֵּין הַשְּׁמִשׁוֹת (= “It may be separated while one is naked at twilight”) (Mishna Demai 1:4).

4. וְאִינוּ מַכָּה אֹתוֹ לֹא עוֹמֵד וְלֹא יוֹשֵׁב (= He does not strike him either standing or sitting”) (Mishna Makkot 3:13).

5. הֲלֹא תִרְאֶם מוֹשְׁתַּדְלִים לְחִלּוֹק עַל מוֹפְתֵי מֹשֶׁה רַבְּנוּ בְּלֵהִיטֵיהֶם (Essay on the Resurrection, p. 31) [‘alā tarāhum yarūmūna ‘an yuqāwimū mu ‘izāt Mūshāh Rabbūnū bi-sihrihim] (*ibid.*) (= “Do you not see them striving to oppose Moses’ miracles with their own magic?”).

6. יֵשׁ אֹמְרִים כִּי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ תִּקְרַב לָהֶם וַיִּשְׂרַפְם וְרֵאִיתֶם עֲזִי מַה שֶּׁנֶּאֱמַר הַיּוֹם בֹּא בֹרֵעַר  
יֵשׁ אֹמְרִים כִּי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ תִּקְרַב לָהֶם וַיִּשְׂרַפְם וְרֵאִיתֶם עֲזִי מַה שֶּׁנֶּאֱמַר הַיּוֹם בֹּא בֹרֵעַר  
(= “Some say that the sun will come near them and burn them. They claim as evidence the verse ‘See, the day is coming, burning like an oven’, while others say...” (Maimonides’ *Musarim ve-De’ot*, Part One, p. 5).

7. וּנְמַצְאוּ מִתְרַשְׁלִין [...] וְלֹא תַחוּס עֵינְךָ וּבַעֲרַת דַּם הַנָּקִי (= “They were found behaving negligently [...] ‘Show no pity, you shall purge the guilt of innocent blood’”) (*ibid.*, Part Two, p. 87).

Examples from the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

8. הַדְּפִיקוֹת וְהַצַּעֲקוֹת נִפְסְקוּ כִּאֲשֶׁר אִמָּא פִתְחָה אֶת הַדְּלֵת, וְהָאִישׁ הַזּוֹעֵם יִשְׁדַּפֵּק בְּדֵלֶת קוֹדֵם  
وَاسْتَعْرَبَتْ النَّقَّ عَلَى الْبَابِ: (The Story of Zahra, p. 10) [wa-staghrabtu d-daḡḡa ‘alā l-bābi wa-ṣi-yāḥa l-ladhayni tawaḡḡafā ‘indamā

*fatahat 'ummī l-bāba wa-ra'anī r-rajulu l-ghāḏibu multasiqatan bihā*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 10) (= “The knocks and shouts both stopped when mother opened the door, and the angry man who had struck the door earlier saw me *standing close to her*”).

9. وَفَقْنَا خَلْفَ الْأَبَابِ نَزَجِفُ (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 7); *[waqafnā khalfa l-bābi nartajifu]* (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 7) (= “We stood *shaking behind the door*”).

10. אני עדיין זוכר איך בכיתי, איך רצתי לכל האסיפות, לכל הסניפים, מנסה להבין למה לא זאל אדקר ענדמא אָהשט (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 43); *[la'azāl adkru andema aghast]* *[wā'asra'tu 'ajūbu bil-bukā'i, wa-'asra'tu 'ajūbu kulla tajammu'āti l-hizbi, wa-'aduqqu 'abwāba buyūti l-mudīriyyāti, muhāwīlan 'an 'asma'a mā jarā]* (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 53) (= “I still remember how I cried, how I ran to all the meetings, to all the branches, *trying to understand why they had not yet set fire to the whole world*”).

11. سَمِعْتُهُ يَصْرُخُ وَيَبْنُ (*Only Bread*, p. 58); *[sami' tuhu yaşrukhu wa-yan'innu wa-yastaghīthu]* (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 75) (= “I heard him *screaming, groaning and pleading for help*”).

12. امْرَأَتُهُ وَجَدْنَاهَا تُصَلِّي (*Only Bread*, p. 58); *[mra'atuhu wajadnāhā tuşallī]* (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 53) (= “We found his wife *praying*”).

13. *(Only Bread*, p. 17); *[fi tilka l-laylati ghalabanī n-nawmu qabla l-mu'tādi wa-taraktuhumā yatashākayāni]* (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 25) (= “That night I fell asleep earlier than usual and I left them *complaining to each other*”).

14. ذَاتَ لَيْلَةٍ رَأَيْتُهُمْ يَمْزَحُونَ (*Only Bread*, p. 23); *[dhāta laylatin ra'aytuhum yamzahūna]* (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 31) (= “One night I saw them *joking*”).

15. ושם, בדיוק שם, נעצר טרנד פיג'ו אפור, ומתנחל יהודי ירה צורר כדורים, ואלהאם *(And exactly there a gray Peugeot pickup truck stopped, a Jewish settler shot a burst of fire, and Ilhām fell, lying in her blood)* (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 75).

16. באתי לבית שאן, לא מכיר אף אחד, ואמרתי, ננסה שבוע. (= “I came to Bet She’an, *without knowing anyone*, and said, let’s try it for a week”) (*ibid.*, p. 37).

(B) Cause clause that begins with the causal particle על

A causal adverbial is a sentential constituent which denotes the cause of the subject’s action. It usually precedes the main sentence in time: “*Because of the rain we were wet*”: First it rained, then we became wet. Adverbials of purpose are called *المفعول لأجله / لئله* [*al-maf’ūl li-’ajlihi/lahu*] in Arabic (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 113; Wright 1967, II, p. 122). They denote the objective of the subject’s action, and therefore usually follows the action of the main clause in time: “*We will come for the cake*”: First we will come, then we will eat the cake. Adverbials of cause and purpose are not treated as two separate categories in Arabic grammar, since their semantic fields are very similar, so that native speakers will not always be able to distinguish between them (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 113). According to Becker (1989, p. 168) in Hebrew it is also not always easy to distinguish between the two, for example: “*We rose in the commander’s honor*”. Did we do it *because* we honor him or *in order to* honor him? For this reason the two are dealt with together as a single category in Arabic grammar.

In Arabic, the preposition *على* [*‘alā*] can introduce an adverbial of cause:

1. *على إهمالي* [*lāmani ‘alā ‘ihmālī*] (= “He complained to me *about my negligence*”).

The Hebrew cognate word על is used in the Bible with the meaning of “because”:

2. וישאלו אנשי המקום לאשתו ויאמר אחתי הוא פי ורא לאמר אשתי פן יהרגני אנשי (= “When the men of the place asked him about his wife, he said, ‘She is my sister’; for he was afraid to say, ‘My wife,’ thinking, ‘or else the men of the place might kill me for the sake of Rebekah, *because* she is attractive in appearance”) (Genesis 26:7).

3. ויאמרו לו אחיו המלך המלך עלינו אם משול תמשל בנו ויוספו עוד שבא אתו על חלמתיו (= “His brothers said to him, ‘Are you indeed to reign over us? Are you indeed to have dominion over us?’ So they hated him even more *because* of his dreams and his words”) (Genesis 37:8).

In the Mishna we find על שם used in a causal meaning (Azar 1995, p. 124):



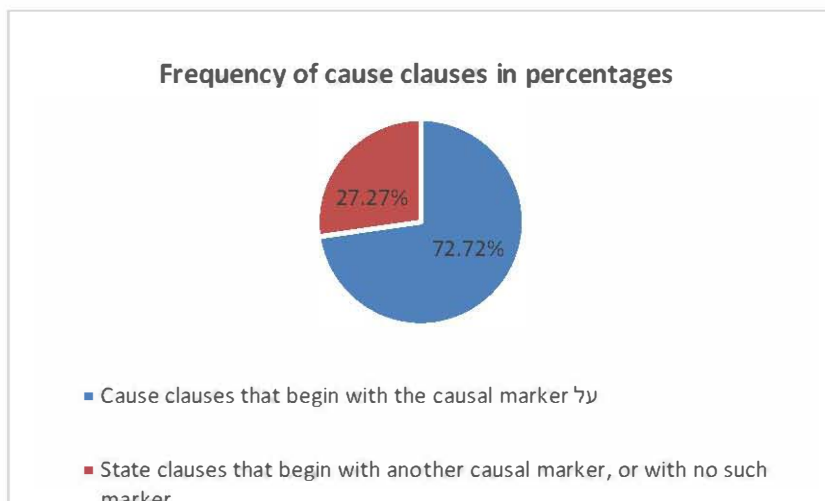
12. בעת ההיא הטיל הארכיבישוף א-דומאני חרם על אבונא אֶלְיָאס זה, על שום ההקלות שהנהיג בקרב צאן מרעיתו ועל שום הידידים הרבים שהצליח לקנות לו מקרב המוסלמים (= “At the time Archbishop Al-Dumani banned Abuna Ilyas, because of the concessions the latter had introduced among his flock, and because of the many friends he had acquired among the region’s Muslims”) (*Arabesques*, p. 209).

**Table 8: Frequency of causal clauses in the novel *In a New Light***

Cause clauses that begin with the causal marker על	State clauses that begin with another causal marker, or with no such marker	Total
16	6	22
72.72%	27.27%	100%

**Pie Chart 8: Frequency of cause clauses in percentages**

- A. Cause clauses that begin with the causal marker על  
 B. State clauses that begin with another causal marker, or with no such marker



(C) Asyndetic object clause after the verb שמע (= “hear”)

An object clause can replace a direct object in a simple sentence: “I saw *the boy*” – simple sentence, “I saw *that they came back*” – complex sentence with an object clause (Becker 1989, p. 222). Examples in Arabic:

1. هُوَ قَالَ إِنَّهُ مَرِيضٌ [huwa qāla innahu marīḍun] (= “He said that he was sick”).

2. هُوَ مَا قَدَّرَ أَنَّ الْمَاءَ يَنْقَطِعُ مِنْ حِينٍ إِلَى حِينٍ [huwa mā qaddara ‘anna l-mā’a yanqaṭi’u min hīnin ilā hīnin] (= “He did not anticipate that the water supply would be interrupted from time to time”).

3. اسْتَطَاعَتْ أَنْ تَنْشُرَ لُغَتَهَا [staṭā‘at ‘an tanshura lughatahā] (= “It managed to disseminate its language”).

The use of an asyndetic object clause introduced by the Hebrew particle שׁ (= “there is”) after the verb שמע (= “hear”) in Hebrew writings of Arab authors is due to the influence of colloquial Arabic, in which a corresponding particle فِي [fī] (= “there is”) introduces an asyndetic object clause after the verb سَمِعْتُ [smi’it] (= “I heard”), as in: سَمِعْتُ فِي خِلافٍ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَهُ [smi’it fī khilāf bīnak w-bīnō] (= “I heard there’s a dispute between you and him”). Asyndetic object clauses are rare in Literary Arabic, thus: سَمِعْتُ أَنَّهُ يُوجَدُ خِلافٌ بَيْنَكَ وَبَيْنَهُ [sami’tu annahu yūjad khilāfun baynaka w-baynahu] (= “I heard that there is a dispute between you and him”). An example from the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

4. “מה קרה?” שואל אחי כשאני נכנס לבנק. “שמעתי יש מחסום ביציאה.” (= “What happened?”, my brother asks as I enter the bank. ‘I heard there’s a roadblock at the exit’) (*And It Was Morning*, p. 54).

(C1) Finite object clauses instead of the infinitive

The use of such clauses in medieval Arabized Hebrew, as in וארצה שאלך (literally: “I want that I go there”) instead of the usual וארצה ללכת שמה (= “I want to go there”), shows the influence of Arabic (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 235; Kogut 1981, p. 20):

1. ותרצה שתמצא להם דבר נאות בדבר הנמשל (Guide for the Perplexed, Introduction to Part I, p. 29); وَتُرِيدُ أَنْ تَجِدَ لَهَا مُطَابَقَةً فِي الشَّيْءِ الْمَمْتُولِ [wa-turīdu ‘an tajida lahā muṭābaqatan fī sh-shay’i l-mamthūli] (*Dalālat al-Ḥā’irūn*, Introduction to Part I, p. 16) (= “You will want to find [literally: “that you find”] what conforms to it in the thing being compared”).

2. הוא תאור עצמתו וגדלתו אשר אין צריך שיחשב דבר חוץ מעצמו (Guide for the Perplexed, Chapter Nine, p. 72); فَهِيَ صِفَةٌ عَظَمَتِهِ وَجَلَالَتِهِ الَّتِي لَا يَتَّبَعِي أَنْ تَتَكَلَّمَنَّ شَيْئًا; خَارِجًا عَنِ ذَاتِهِ [fa-huwa sifatu 'azamatihī wa-jalālatihī l-latī lā yanbaghi 'an tatakhayyala shay' an khārijan 'an dhātihī] (Dalālat al-Hā'irīn, Chapter Nine, p. 36) (= "It is a description of His power and greatness, which should not be counted as something outside Himself").

Here are some examples from the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

3. (= "In the new kibbutz, I hoped, I would find repose for myself") (In a New Light, p. 47).

4. (= "I was afraid that I would lose it, that pain") (ibid., p. 19).

5. (= "She is angry at me and demands that I listen to her call") (ibid., p. 32).

6. (= "I demand that you drive over to him") (ibid., p. 45).

7. (= "Perhaps it would be better that I talk to Ruth") (ibid., p. 45).

8. (= "She called over to me that I come back to visit them") (ibid., p. 46).

9. (= "Maybe it would be better that I reveal the whole truth to her, damn it all") (ibid., p. 64).

10. היה בדעתי לומר למוכתאר, שהרבה עבודה וכסף אנחנו משקיעים בטיפוח המרעה, וכי (= "I was going to tell the mukhtar that we invest a great deal of labor and money in improving the grazing, and that it would be more useful for our neighbors to try [literally: "that they try"] to imitate us instead of cursing us") (ibid., p. 76).

#### (D) Manner clauses

Manner clauses can replace simple manner adverbs. For example: "He walks slowly" – simple sentence; "He walks like a turtle walks" – complex sentence with a manner clause. The most frequently used conjunctions for introduction manner clauses are: **كَأَنَّ** [ka-'anna] and **كَأَنَّ** [ka-'an] (= "as if"); **كَمَا** [kamā] (= "as"); **بِحَيْثُ** [bi-haythu] (= "such that"); **دُونَ** [dūna 'an] and **مِنْ غَيْرِ** [min ghayri 'an] (= "without"); **حَتَّى** [hattā] (= "so that");





We found one example of a manner clause introduced by וכאילו in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, as a translation of an Arabic clause introduced by وَكَأَنَّهُ [wa-ka'annahu], with an added ו attached to the regular form כאילו, in imitation of the Arabic construction; in other words, the Arabic syntactic structure drove the author to choose a similar structure in Hebrew, including the addition of ו to כאילו:

4. לפתע החדש הזה נהפך לישן נושן וכאילו עומר נוטל חלק במערכה אמיתית. (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [39]); وَلَمْ يَلْبَثْ ذَلِكَ الْجَدِيدُ أَنْ عَدَا قَدِيمًا جَدًّا، فَكَأَنَّ عُمَرَ يَخُوضُ مَعْرَكَةً حَقِيقَةً [wa-lam yalbath dhālika l-jadīdu 'an ghadā qadīman jiddan, fa-ka'anna 'Umara yakhūdu ma'rakatan haqīqiyyatan] (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [29]) (= “Suddenly this new thing became very old, as if 'Umar was engaged in a real battle”).

#### (E) Concession clauses

Various definitions have been proposed for concession clauses. Thus, for example, Sela (2003, p. 67) discusses the opacity of the term “concession”,<sup>69</sup> and the difficulty of defining it, he proposes instead the term “unrealized expectation complement”. Kasovsky (1987, p. 201) in her definition of concession clauses contrasts them with conditionals: “A concession adverbial is a condition in which the action is the opposite of what would have been expected [...], when what is said in the sentence is conditional on the realization of the condition stated in it, that is a conditional clause; when what happens according to the sentence is in opposition to what is stated in the condition, that is, it is in opposition to what is expected (by habit, experience, or desire), then it is a concession adverbial”. Thus, whether the “condition” is realized or not, a “response” will exist. For example, in “even if you make an effort, you will fail”, failure is certain; in other words, the condition and its apodosis are independent of each other.

In Arabic the most common particles that introduce concession clauses are the following: وَإِنْ [wa-'in], وَلَوْ [wa-law], مَعَ أَنْ [ma'a 'anna], عَلَى أَنْ ['alā 'an] (= “although”, “despite”, “even though”, and the like) (Becker 1989, pp. 236, 240-241). Here are some examples:

1. أَكْرَمْتُهُمْ مَعَ أَنَّهُمْ لَمْ يَكْرِمُونِي [ 'akramtululum ma'a 'annahum lam yakrimūnī] (= “I respected them, even though they did not respect me”).

<sup>69</sup> School textbooks, or at least some, do not contribute to clarifying the matter. In fact, some scholars do not consider it an adverbial at all.

2. *هُوَ نَجَحَ مَعَ أَنَّهُ لَمْ يَتَعَلَّم* [huwa najaha ma 'a 'annahu lam yata 'allam] (= “He passed, even though he did not study”).

Every utterance in which there is a concessional relationship<sup>70</sup> there are two parts: The part which raises an expectation, and the part in which the unrealized expectation appears. Azar (1997, following Mann & Thompson 1988) calls the former a “concession complement” and the latter a “concession nucleus”.

(E1) Hebrew concession clauses introduced by an Arabic concession word

Such clauses clearly constitute evidence of Arabic influence. Here are some examples:

1. אתה נוסע בכביש צר, בא מולך רכב ואין מקום לשניכם, אתה חוזר מיד אחורה, (You drive on a narrow road, another vehicle comes towards you and there is no place for both of you, you immediately retreat, *inshallah*, he only has to go back two meters, and you a hundred” (*And It Was Morning*, p. 31).

2. אתה נוסע ברחוב ושתי מכוניות חוסמות את הכביש כי הנהגים מדברים אחד נגם השני דרך החלון? תחכה בשקט, אוי ואבוי אם תצפור, חכה שיגמרו את השיחה, אינשאללה ייקח אתה אתה חוזר רק שני מטר ואתה מאה<sup>71</sup> אינשאללה (= “You drive on the street and two cars block the way, because the drivers are talking to each other through the window? Wait quietly. Don’t you dare honk. Wait until they finish, *inshallah* it will take them an hour”) (*ibid.*).

Marī (2002/3, p. 143) calls this phenomenon *الدمج اللغوي* [*d-damj l-lughawi*] (= “linguistic merging”), in his case, Hebrew and Arabic words merged together in colloquial Arabic, as in: מחطة דלק (Hebrew תחנת דלק + Arabic محطة وقود = “gas station”); משאבת מים (Hebrew משאבת מים + Arabic = “water pump”); אכל טעים (Hebrew אוכל טעים + Arabic אكل شهي = “tasty food”).

(E2) Concession clauses with no explicit markers

<sup>70</sup> I.e., between two clauses, two sentences, two passages greater than single sentences, or two parts of an utterance that differ in size or in syntactic status, for example, a paragraph and a sentence.

<sup>71</sup> The meaning of the word *inshallah* (إن شاء الله) in Standard Arabic is “God willing”, but in the present context it takes on the colloquial meaning of “even if”.

In most cases concessive clauses are introduced by overt markers, such as  $\text{O} \dots \text{אף על פי}$ ,  $\text{O} \dots \text{אפילו}$ ,  $\text{O} \dots \text{גם אם}$ ,  $\text{O} \dots \text{אמנם}$ ,  $\text{O} \dots \text{אך}$ ,  $\text{O} \dots \text{אמנם}$  ... אבל, למרות ...  $\text{O}$ , and the like. However, very occasionally one encounters an utterance with a concessive clause that is not introduced by any overt marker, although one is implied by the context. Such syntactic structures in the translations of Arabic texts, in which the concession clause also lacks an overt marker, testify to Arabic influence. Here are some examples:

1.  $\text{K} \dots$  (The Story of Zalwa, p. 90);  $\text{K} \dots$  (Hikayat Zalwa, p. 132) (= "All these letters, and you never told me about him"; meaning: "Although he sent many letters, you never told me about him").

2. (Only Bread, p. 53);  $\text{Q} \dots$  ("an-nāsu yuhājirūna ilā Wahrāna wa-anta taljuruhā!") (= "One of them said to me: '[Although] everyone [else] is moving to Oran, you are leaving it!'").

3. (= "[Despite] all this walking, I'm still next to the school") (Arabesques, p. 194).

### (E3) Concession clauses introduced by ואפילו

This concession marker, with added conjunction  $\text{ו}$ , appears in the Mishna and in medieval Arabized Hebrew, similarly to the corresponding Arabic concession particles  $\text{وَأَنَّ}$  [*wa-'in*] and  $\text{وَأَوْ}$  [*wa-law*], including  $\text{وَأَم}$  and  $\text{وَأَمَّا}$  (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 246). Here are some examples:

1. (= "If there is doubt whether or not he ate forbidden fat, and even if he did eat [...] he brings a doubtful guilt-offering") (Mishna Kritot 4:1).

2. (= "... there is doubt whether it consisted of the prescribed minimum or not, or even if it consisted of the prescribed minimum" (Mishna Tahorot 6:4).

3. (= "... there is doubt whether it was there or not, or even if it was there...") (Mishna Tahorot 6:4).

4. כל מסעד, שיוליד ממנו תערובת עבה או מדבק, יאות להרחיקו. וכמו כן מה שישעז מסעד  $\text{K} \dots$  (On Asthma, Chapter Two, p. 4);  $\text{K} \dots$  [kullu]

*ghidhā'in yatawalladu minhu akhlāṭun ghalīẓatun aw laẓījatun yanbaghī jīnābuhā wa-kadhālika kullu mā yaḡhdū ghidhā'an kathūran jiddan walaw kāna jāyyidan*] (*Maqāla fī l-Rabw*, Part Two, p. 8) (= "Any nourishment which gives rise to a thick or viscous mixture, should be avoided. The same is true of anything that is much used as nourishment, even if it is good").

5. (●) וישבחו בחולי זה מן מיני הירק, הסלקה, והאשפרגש, ואם יש בו קושי עכול. 5. (*On Asthma*, Chapter Three, p. 7); وَحَمْدٌ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ أَيْضًا لِهَذَا الْمَرَضِ السَّيِّئِ وَالْهَلْيُونِ وَإِنْ كَانَ فِيهِمَا عُسْرٌ أَنْهَضَامَ [wa-yuhmadu mina l-buḡūl 'aydan li-hādhā l-marādī s-silqu wal-halyūnu wa-'in kāna fihimā 'usru nhiḡāmin] (*Maqāla fī l-Rabw*, Chapter Three, p. 16) (= "Various greens are good for this disease, including beets and asparagus, even though they are difficult to digest").

6. והשומר והכרפס והמנתה והמנטשטרי והאזוב, והמודיסורט, והצנון, כל אלה, ואם הם 6. (*On Asthma*, Chapter Three, p. 7); وَالرَّازِيَانِجُ وَالْكَرْفَسُ وَالسَّعْنَعُ وَالْقَوْنَجُ وَالسَّعْتَرُ وَالرَّشَادُ وَالْفَجَلُ، كُلُّ هَذِهِ وَإِنْ كَانَتْ رَيْبَةً فَإِنَّهَا وَرَأَيْتُهَا [war-rāzyānju wal-karfāsu wan-na'na'u wal-fūdanju was-sa'taru war-rashādu wal-fijlu, kullu hādhīhi wa-'in kānat radī'atan fa-'innahā shibhu l-'adwiyati li-hādhā l-marādī] (= "Fennel, celery, mint, veronica, hyssop, peppergrass and radish, all these, although they are bad foods, they are like medicine for this disease").

Examples from the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

7. (= "My cousin often saw the rock shine on nights of full moon, although she noticed") (*Arabesques*, p. 17).

8. ואפילו נאמר ששמועת אמת היתה, למה זה אותו מישל אביד, שהוא קרוב מאתנו למקור השמועה, למה זה אין הוא משתדל לחקור את אמיתותה ולהגיע אלינו כמו שאנחנו משתדלים להגיע אליו (= "Even if we were to say that the rumor was true, why did this Michel Abyad, who is closer than us to the rumor's source, why didn't he try to find out whether it was true or not and to reach us just as we try to reach him?") (*ibid.*, p. 64).

9. (= "After all, she did not really oppose me, and even ended with expressing her thanks") (*In a New Light*, p. 30).

(F) Result clauses introduced by the connective כדי ש-, corresponding to Arabic حَتَّى [hattā] (literally: "until") (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 185), as in:

1. ואין המדע ומעשיו שני דברים, כדי שנאמר: המדע דבר ומעשיו דבר (“Knowledge and its deed are not two things, so that we would say: knowledge is one thing and its deeds are another”) (Maimonides, *Sefer Musar*, p. 104).

In the Bible the connective כדי for result clauses does not appear, instead the particle כי is used, corresponding to Arabic حَتَّى:

2. וַיִּקְרָא אַבִּימֶלֶךְ לְאַבְרָהָם וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַה עָשִׂיתָ לָנוּ וְמַה חָטָאתִי לָךְ כִּי הִבַּאתָ עָלַי וְעַל כָּל אֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם לְדַלְתָּהּ מִיַּד מַמְלַכְתִּי חָטָאתָ לְיְהוָה וְעָלִי וְעַל מַמְלַכְתִּי חַטִּיئָה עֲצִימָה? (Genesis 20:9) *ثُمَّ دَعَا أَبِيمَالِكُ إِِبْرَاهِيمَ وَقَالَ لَهُ: مَاذَا فَعَلْتَ بِنَا وَبِمَاذَا أَخْطَأْتَ إِلَيْكَ حَتَّى جَاءْتِ عَلَيَّ وَعَلَى مَمْلَكَتِي خَطِيئَةً عَظِيمَةً؟* [*thumma da'ā Abimāliku Ibrāhīma wa-qāla lahu: mādhā fa'alta binā wa-bi-mādhā 'akhṭa'tu 'ilayka hattā jalabta 'alayya wa-'alā mamlakatī khaṭiyyatan 'azīmatan?*] (Christian Bible Translation, p. 8) (= “Then Abimelech called Abraham, and said to him, ‘What have you done to us? How have I sinned against you, that you have brought such great guilt on me and my kingdom? You have done things to me that ought not to be done’”).

In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors we found a single case of כדי that introduces a result clause:

3. (= “It would appear that I succeed in coming out from under the faucet, only to fall into a swamp”) (*In a New Light*, p. 72).

### (G) Relative clauses

Classical Arabic distinguishes between two main types of relative clause, syndetic (صلة) [*ṣila*], in which the antecedent is definite, and asyndetic (صفة) [*ṣifa*], in which the antecedent is indefinite. In صلة sentences the antecedent is connected to the relative clause through a relative pronoun (الإسم الموصول) [*l-ism l-mawṣūl*], which agrees with the antecedent in gender, number and case; in صفة sentences the connection is direct, with no intervening particle.<sup>72</sup>

#### (G1) Syndetic relative clauses:

1. جاء الرجل الذي رأيته. [*jā' a r-rajulu l-ladhī ra'yтуhu*] (= “The man whom I saw came”).

<sup>72</sup> Becker 1989, pp. 191, 218; Doron 1970, pp. 94-95; Peretz 1967, p. 80; Shehadeh 1998, p. 175; Abu Bakr 2002, p. 97; Wright 1967, II, p. 317; Kogut 1981, p. 20.

2. سَلَّمْتُ عَلَى الْبِنْتَيْنِ اللَّتَيْنِ رَأَيْتُهُمَا [sallamtu 'alā l-bintayni l-latayni ra'aytuhumā] (= “I greeted the two girls whom I saw”).

(G2) Asyndetic relative clauses

3. مَرَرْتُ بِرَجُلٍ يَنَامُ [marartu bi-rajulin yanāmu] (= “I passed by a man [who] was sleeping”).

4. رَأَيْتُ رَجُلًا جَاءَ مِنَ الْقُدْسِ [ra'aytu rajulan jā'a mina l-Qudsi] (= “I saw a man [who] had come from Jerusalem”).

The interrogative pronouns مَنْ [man] (= “who”) and مَا [mā] (= “what”) can also introduce relative clauses; in this case, مَنْ is used in the case of a human head noun, and مَا otherwise:

5. رَأَيْتُ الَّذِي وَصَفْتَهُ [ra'aytu lladhī waṣaftahu] (= I saw [the man] whom I had described”).

6. رَأَيْتُ مَنْ وَصَفْتَهُ [ra'aytu man waṣaftahu] (= I saw [the man] whom I had described”).

The relative pronoun مَا appears in independent relative clauses. If the pronoun appears in a relative clause, that clause can be analyzed as an asyndetic independent relative clause (صفة), in which case مَا is called مَا مُؤَصِّفَةٌ [mā mawṣūfa] (= “mā of ṣifa”); it may also be analyzed as an independent syndetic relative clause (صلة), in which case مَا is called مَا مُؤَصِّلَةٌ [mā mawṣūla] (= “mā of ṣila”) (Wright 1967,II, pp. 319-320). An example: The sentence أَكَلْتُ الطَّعَامَ الَّذِي أُحِبُّهُ [akaltu t-ta'āma l-ladhī uḥibbuhu] (= “I ate the food which I like”) is صلة, since it contains an اسم مؤنول with refers to the definite antecedent الطَّعَامَ. This sentence can be replaced by an independent relative clause which serves as a noun: أَكَلْتُ مَا أُحِبُّهُ [akaltu mā uḥibbuhu] (= “I ate what I liked”). In this case, مَا is called مَا مُؤَصِّلَةٌ and the relative clause is independent, and serves as a noun. Clauses of this type are basically صلة since the relative pronoun مَا replaces a definite noun (in this case: الطَّعَامَ الَّذِي). We call this type of clause an independent syndetic

The same type of clause but with an indefinite antecedent, أَكَلْتُ طَعَامًا أُحِبُّهُ [akaltu ta'āman uḥibbuhu] (= “I ate food that I liked”) is صفة, because the antecedent is indefinite. Such a clause can be replaced with an independent clause serving as a noun: أَكَلْتُ مَا أُحِبُّهُ [akaltu mā uḥibbuhu] (= “I ate what I like”). In this case مَا is called مَا مُؤَصِّفَةٌ and the clause is an independent relative clause functioning as a noun. Such clauses are



basically *صفة*, since the relative pronoun *مَا* replaces an indefinite noun, in this case: *طَعَامًا*. This is an asyndetic independent relative clause.

The same analysis is valid for the relative pronoun *مَنْ* [*man*] (= “who”), which also appears in independent relative clauses. It, too, can be *صفة*, in which case *مَنْ* is called *مَنْ مَوْصُوفَةٌ*, or it may be *صلة*, in which case *مَنْ* is called *مَنْ مَوْصُولَةٌ*.

The words *مِمَّا* [*mimmā*] (consisting of *min* + *mā*) and *مِمَّنْ* [*mimman*] (consisting of *min* + *man*) can also appear in independent relative clauses, as in: *الْمُنَافِقُونَ مِمَّنْ كَانَ يُظْهِرُ الْإِيمَانَ بِلِسَانِهِ* [*l-munāfiqūna mimman kāna yuzharu l-’imāna bi-lisānihi*] (= “the hypocrites whose belief appeared on their tongue”).

In Biblical Hebrew there is no uniformity: Syndetic relative clauses can have a definite as well as an indefinite antecedent, contrary to the situation in Arabic, in which the rule about syndetic and asyndetic clauses applies quite regularly. Asyndetic relative clauses are a prominent, and perhaps the most frequent, feature of the language of biblical poetry (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 97; Gvura 2000, p. 94; Sappan 1981, p. 162; Peretz 1967, pp. 80-81; Rabin 1967, pp. 98-99). However, asyndetic relative clauses usually have indefinite antecedents. Most relative clauses in the Bible are introduced by the relative pronoun *אשר*, which is adjoined as an adjectival complement to the antecedent, whether the latter is definite or indefinite, including after the antecedent *מקום* (= “place”), whether definite or indefinite.

(A) With a definite antecedent:

7. וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל תְּקַרְב הֵלֶם שֶׁל נַעֲלֶיךָ מֵעַל רַגְלֶיךָ כִּי הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה עֹמֵד עָלָיו אֲדַמַּת קֹדֶשׁ הוּא (= “Then he said, ‘Come no closer! Remove the sandals from your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground’”) (Exodus 3:5).

8. וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל אַבְרָם לֵךְ מֵאֶרֶץ וּמִמִּלְכֶיךָ וּמִמְּוֹלַדְתֶּךָ וּמִבֵּית אָבִיךָ אֶל הָאֲרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אֲרָאָךְ (= “Now the LORD said to Abram, ‘Go from your country and your kindred and your father’s house to the land that I will show you’”) (Genesis 12:1).

## (B) With an indefinite antecedent:

9. וַיָּקָם מֶלֶךְ חָדָשׁ עַל מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדַע אֶת יוֹסֵף. (= “Now a new king arose over Egypt, *who did* not know Joseph”) (Exodus 1:8).

10. כַּאִשׁ אִמּוֹ תִנְחַמְנֵנּוּ כֵּן אֲנִכִי אֲנַחֲמֵכֶם וּבִירוּשָׁלַם תִּנְחַמְנִי. (= “As a mother comforts her child, so I will comfort you; you shall be comforted in Jerusalem”) (Isaiah 66:13).

11. וַיְהִי כִּאֲשֶׁר כָּלוּ הַגְּמָלִים לִשְׁתוֹת וַיִּקַּח הָאִישׁ גִּזְם זָהָב בָּקָע מִשְׁקָלוֹ וּשְׁנֵי צְמִידִים עַל יָדָיו עֶשְׂרֵה זָהָב מִשְׁקָלָם (= “When the camels had finished drinking, the man took a gold nose-ring weighing a half shekel, and two bracelets for her arms weighing ten gold shekels”) (Genesis 24:22).

## (C) After מקום (= “place”) as antecedent, definite and indefinite:

12. וַיֵּשֶׁב אַבְרָהָם בְּבֶקֶר אֶל הַמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר עָמַד אֵת פְּנֵי יְהוָה. (= “Abraham went early in the morning to *the place where* he had stood before the LORD”) (Genesis 19:27).

13. כָּל מָקוֹם אֲשֶׁר תִּדְרֹךְ כַּף רַגְלְכֶם בּוֹ לְכֶם נָתַתִּי כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶל מֹשֶׁה. (= “Every *place that* the sole of your foot will tread upon I have given to you, as I promised to Moses”) (Joshua 1:3).

The biblical word אֲשֶׁר also introduces indefinite relative clauses, like Arabic ما. This is how it was translated in the Christian Bible translation into Arabic [Al-Kitāb al-Muqaddas]

14. מִן הַבְּהֵמָה הַטְּהוֹרָה וּמִן הַבְּהֵמָה אֲשֶׁר אֵינָנָה טְהוֹרָה וּמִן הַעוֹף וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר רָמַשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ. (= “Of clean animals, and of animals that are not clean, and of birds, and of everything that creeps on the ground”) (Genesis 7:8).

[wa-mina l-bahā'imi t-tāhīrati wa-l-bahā'imi l-latī loysat bi-  
tāhīratin wa-kulli mā yadibbu 'alā l-ardī] (Genesis 7:8) (= “Of clean animals, and of animals that are not clean, and of birds, and of everything that creeps on the ground”).

The word מאשר in the Bible is identical to Arabic مِمَّا [mimmā], and is translated accordingly in Al-Kitāb al-Muqaddas:

15. וְקִדַּשְׁתָּ אֶת חֶזֶה הַתְּנוּפֵה וְאֶת שׁוֹק הַתְּרוּמָה אֲשֶׁר הוֹנֵף וְאֲשֶׁר הוֹרֵם מֵאֵיל הַמִּלְאִים. (= “You shall consecrate the breast that was raised as an elevation offering and the thigh that was raised as an elevation offering”) (Exodus 29:27).

[wa-tuqaddisu qassa t-tardīdi wa-sāqar-rafi'ati l-ladhū ruddida wa-l-ladhū rufi'a min kabshi l-mil'i mimmā li-Hārūna wa-li-banīhi] (Exodus 29:27) (= “You shall consecrate the breast that was raised as an elevation offering and the thigh that was raised as an elevation offering”).

elevation offering from the ram of ordination, from *that* which belonged to Aaron and his sons”).

The word מי (= “who”) rarely functions as a relative pronoun in the Bible:

16. וְאִישׁ עָמַד עָלָיו מִנְעָרֵי יוֹאֵב וַיֵּאמֶר מִי אֲשֶׁר תִּפְּזוּ בְיוֹאֵב וּמִי אֲשֶׁר לְדוֹד אֶתְרֵי יוֹאֵב (= “And one of Joab’s men took his stand by Amasa, and said, *Whoever* favors Joab, and *whoever* is for David, let him follow Joab”) (2 Samuel 20:11).

In Mishnaic Hebrew asyndetic relative clauses are rare, apparently due to Aramaic influence. The same is true of later Rabbinic Hebrew (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 98; Azar 1995, p. 214; Peretz 1967, p. 84). One exception is the independent relative pronouns מה, מי and ממה:

17. על מנת מה שאני שכח אני אטול (= “So that *what* I forget I will take”) (Mishna Pe’a 6:11).

18. מי שהיו שתי כיתי עידים מעידות אותו (= “*Whoever* had two groups of witnesses testifying against him”) (Mishna Nazir 3:7).

19. (= “the Levites, because they have no allotment or inheritance with you ... may come”. *Of what* you have and he has not, you must give him”) (Mishna Ma’asrot 1:1).

In medieval Arabized Hebrew syndetic relative clauses occur very frequently after definite antecedents, in the manner of Arabic *صِلَّة* sentences, both in works composed in Hebrew and in works translated into Hebrew. In the translated texts one also finds a considerable number of asyndetic relative clauses after indefinite antecedents, in the manner of Arabic *صِفَّة* sentences (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 225).

All the relative clauses after definite antecedents in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors that I examined were syndetic, in the manner of Arabic *صِلَّة* sentences:

20. *ومثل صَيَّادِ السَّمَكِ*; (The *Opsimist*, p. 34) *מִתְּלַם שַׁיְיָדִי סַמָּכִי לַלְחִי יוּלְקִי בִּשְׁאֵנֵי רֵיחֵהּ* (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 195) (= “Like the fisherman who casts his fishing rods into the sea”).

21. ואחי סבי, בעודו בתחתית הבור, נוכח לדעת שאכן, סוף סוף, הוא מצא את האוצר *تَبَيَّنَ عَمِّي لِجَدِّي، وَهُوَ*; (The *Opsimist*, p. 35); שאחריו חיפשה המשפחה במשך הדורות

[*tabayyana 'ammī li-jaddī, wa-huwa fī l-qā'ī, 'ammahu akhūran laqiya l-kanza l-ladhū zallati l-'ā'ilatu tabhathu 'anhu 'abra l-ajyāli*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 197) (= “My grandfather’s brother, when he was at the bottom of the abyss, realized that he had indeed found the treasure which his family had searched for generations”).

22. והחל קורא לאישתו, בחושבו כי ביתו אשר בקרבת החורבה הוא עתה מעליו (*The Opsimist*, p. 35); فَأَخَذَ يُنَادِي عَلَى زَوْجِهِ مُقْتَرًا أَنْ بَيْتَهُ، الَّذِي بِجَوَارِ الْخَرْبَةِ، هُوَ الْآنَ قَوْفَهُ؛ [*fa-'akhadha yunādi 'alā zawjihi muqaddiran 'anna baytahu, l-ladhū bi-jiwāri l-khīrbaṭi, huwa l-'āna fawqahu*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 197) (= “He began to call his wife, because he thought that his house, which was near the ruin, was now above it”).

23. והכרתי את הסיפור על העטלף שתוקף מדי לילה את עץ התות (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 8); وَكُنْتُ أَعْرِفُ حِكَايَةَ الْوُطُوطِ الَّذِي يَهْجُمُ كُلَّ لَيْلَةٍ عَلَى شَجَرَةِ التُّوتِ؛ [*wa-kuntu 'arifu hikāyata l-waṭwāti l-ladhū yahjimu kulla laylatin 'alā shajarati t-tūti*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 8) (= “And I know the story about the bat that attacked the mulberry tree every night”).

24. הקיר שליחו היינו עוברות בדרכנו לד"ר שווקן היה זרוע כתמים כהים (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 8); الْجِدَارُ الَّذِي كُنَّا نَمُرُّ بِهِ وَنَحْنُ قَاصِدَاتَانِ الدُّكْتُورَ شَوْقِي كَانَتْ عَلَيْهِ لَطَخَاتٌ سَوْدَاءَ؛ [*l-jidaru l-ladhī kunnā namurru bihi wa-nahnu qāṣidatāni d-duktūra Shawqī kānat 'alayhi laṭakhātun sawdā'u*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 8) (= “The wall next to which we would pass on our way to Dr. Shawqī was filled with dark stains”).

25. אנחנו עומדים ומושיטים את ידינו אל המים הקרים, שטעמם עדיין עומד בפי (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 70); وَقَفْنَا نَمُدُّ أَيْدِيَنَا عَلَى الْمِيَاهِ الْبَارِدَةِ، الَّتِي طَعْمُهَا عَلَى فَمِي حَتَّى الْآنَ؛ [*waqafnā namuddu 'aydiyānā 'alā l-miyāhi l-bāridati l-latī ta'muhā 'alā famī hattā l-'āna*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 70) (= “We stand and stretch our hands towards the cold water whose taste still remains in my mouth”).

26. לכן החליט לבוא אלי ולבקש מידי את השיר, שכתבתי להגיגות יום העצמאות של (= “Therefore he decided to come to me and to ask me for the song that I had composed for the celebration of Israel’s Independence Day, that would serve as a certificate of honesty”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 15).

27. הצמרמורת שעברה בעורי שיתקה אותי לשניות מספר (*The shiver that went through my skin paralyzed me for a few seconds*) (*ibid.*, p. 21).

28. איני יודע מה עלה בגורלו של הזקן, ומה עושים היום הילדים שהתבגרו, ומה הם. (= "I don't know what happened to the old man, what the children who had become adults were doing today, or what they remember of the experiences of that excursion") (*ibid.*, p. 8).

With respect to relative clauses with an indefinite antecedent, the situation in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is less clear, although in such cases, too, syndetic clauses preponderate.

(A) Asyndetic relative clauses with an indefinite antecedent:

29. היה זה בוקר מוזר בו יצאו החיילים ממעוזיהם השכם. (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [40]); *kāna ṣabāhan gharīban, kharja fihi l-junūdu min thaknātihim mubakkirīna* [*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [31]] (= "It was a strange morning on which the soldiers came out of their barracks early").

30. כן היא פותרת את בעיותיו הכלכליות, והנה היא פותרת גם בעיה טכנית בה הוא נעמ' אִתְּהָ תַחַלּ מְשַׁאֲלֵה אִלְתִּימַאדִיֵּה, וְהִי זֵי תַחַלּ; (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [40]); התקשה מְשַׁאֲלֵה אִלְתִּימַאדִיֵּה, וְהִי זֵי תַחַלּ; (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [40]); *[na'am, 'innahā tahullu mashākilahu l-'iqṭisādiyyata, wa-hiya dhī tahullu mushkilatan funniyyatan 'aydan qad wājahathu]* (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [30]); (= "Yes, it solves his economic problems, and now it also solves a technical problem which he faced").

31. סיפורים וזכרונות אותם תספר אלמנתו לבנו כשזה יהא לו. (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [44]); *'aḡāṣiṣun wa-dhikrayātun qad tahkīhā 'armalatuhu libnihi lūna yakūnu lahu waladun* (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [38]) (= "Stories and memories which his widow will tell his son, when he will have one").

32. הדבר התחיל בינינו ביום בו אמרה "בצחוק" שהיא רוצה לרכב אתרי הסוסה. (= "The thing between us began on a day when she said "jokingly" that she wanted to ride behind the mare") (*In a New Light*, p. 18).

33. לא ישבתי במשרדים, ואין איש מאמין לי שבליתי את המלחמה במטבח, וזה טוב כי. (= "I did not sit in the offices. No one believes me that I spent the war in the kitchen, which is good, because maybe there will be somebody who will believe that I saw combat") (*ibid.*, p. 68).

34. לאחר שהחליף עם שלמה כמה משפטים קצרים באנגלית, אותם לא הצלחתי להבין. (= "After he exchanged a few short sentences in English

with Shlomo, *which I did not understand*, Joe left in a hurry”) (*ibid.*, p. 120).

35. ניסינו להיזכר בשמו של אחד מבין הצעירים עמו נפגשנו בפעם האחרונה, ולא עלה לנו (“We tried to remember the name of *one of the young people with whom* we met the last time, but *did not succeed*”) (*ibid.*, p. 138).

36. היא רואה ילד מת מוציא את הספרים מתוכו (= “She sees *a dead child* taking the books out of it”) (*Arabesques*, p. 21).

(B) מה (= “what”) as a relative pronoun in independent relative clauses, in the manner of the corresponding Arabic relative clauses with *مَا* as a relative pronoun:

37. אל תנסו ... אין זה אלא שבועות, ולא ישאר מה לפרק או להרוס. (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [39]) [*lā tuḥawilī ... in hiya 'illā 'asābi'u, thumma lā yabqā ma rufakkidu 'aw nuḥattimu*] (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [28]) (= “Don’t try ... In just a matter of weeks there won’t remain *what* to dismantle or to smash”).

38. הן אינן רוצות להבין שגם הגברים גאים במה שביתם מכיל. (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [40]) [*innahunna lā yuridna 'an yafhamna bi-'anna r-rijāla yufakkhūrūna 'aydan bimā yamla 'u buyūtalhum*] (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [28]) (= “They do not want to understand that men, too, are proud of *what* their home contains”).

39. עִדְמָא לַ; (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [39]) [*indamā lā yakūmu lalum mā yaf'alūna bi-l-'aslihati wa-bi-n-nāri*] (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [28]) (= “When they will not have *what* to do with the weapons and the fire”).

40. הציעו לי את תפקיד הגזבר, אבל לא זה מה שרציתי. (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 47); [ *aradū 'alayya 'amānata s-sundūqi lākin lam yakum hādihā mā raghibtuhu*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 59) (= “They offered me the job of treasurer, but that is not *what* I wanted”).

41. כולי רועדת רצתי לספר לאמא שכל מה שקראנו בעיתון קורה עכשיו ברחוב שלנו. (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 116); [ *adawtu 'ukhbiru ummī wa-'anā 'artajifu mā kunnā naqra 'uhu fi l-jarā'idi yaliduthu fi shāri'inā*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 157) (= “Shaking all over, I ran to tell my mother that *what* we read in the paper was all happening now on our street”).



42. لماذا لا تملك ما يملكه غيرنا؟ (Only Bread, p. 14); [limādḥā lā namliku mā yamlikulu ghayrunā?] (Al-Khubz al-Hāfi, p. 21) (= “Why don’t we have *what* others do?”).

43. أُجِبُّ مَا هُوَ قَبِيحٌ (Only Bread, p. 52); [‘uhibbu mā huwa qabīḥun] (Al-Khubz al-Hāfi, p. 67) (= “I like *what* is ugly and pleasurable”).

44. (= “When a simple man wants to unload *what* is in his heart, he comes to Mūsā”) (Walking on the Wind, p. 63).

45. הדף המקופל היה נתון בתוך כריכת העור הדהויה השומרת את פנקסו של אבי, על ידי (= “The folded sheet was inside the faded hide cover the protected my father’s notebook, by two small blue velvet boxes, which are all *that* remained of my mother’s wedding jewelry”) (Arabesques, p. 19).

(C) (= “who”) as a relative pronoun in independent relative clauses, in the manner of the corresponding Arabic relative clauses with *مَنْ* as a relative pronoun:

46. והוא גירשני ממשדרו, ושיגר מכתב להוריה, והם שיגרו בתורם מי שהיכני בתחנה (The Opsimist, p. 24); فَطَرَدْنَا مِنَ الْمَكْتَبِ، وَكَتَبَ إِلَى أَهْلِهَا، فَأَرْسَلُوا مَنْ ضَرَبْتَنِي فِي (fa-ṭaradnā mina l-maktabati, wa-katab ‘ilā ‘ahlīhā, fa-‘arsalū man ḍarabanī fi l-mahattati) (Al-Mutashā’il, p. 183) (= “He threw me out of his office and wrote to her parents, who in turn sent [the one] *who* had beaten me at the station”).

47. אין חיפה, אם כן, עיר חדשה, בני. האמת היא שלאחר כל טבח לא נותר בה מי מבין כְּحَيْفَا لَيْسَتْ مَدِينَةً (The Opsimist, p. 30); [fa-Hayfā laysat madīnatun jadīdatun yā bunayya, ‘illā ‘annahu ba‘da kulli madhbahatin lam yabqa fihā man yukhbiru dhi-dharriyyata bi-‘slihā] (Al-Mutashā’il, p. 191) (= “Haifa is thus not a new city, my son. The truth is that after each massacre no one is left among its inhabitants *who* can tell future generations about it”).

48. أَيُّ مَا مَوْكِيَتِ الشَّيْءِ يَنْبَغِي أَنْ يُثَبِّتَ أَنْ الْأَرْضَ أَيْدًا بِحَاجَةٍ إِلَى مَنْ يَنْقُضُهَا (Tears and Ashes, p. [39]); [‘ayyu mā mawkiyatī shay’ in yuthbitu ‘anna l-ardā ‘abadan bi-hājatīn ilā man yashuqquhā] (Dām’ wa-Ramād, p. [28]) (= “which proves that the soil always needs *someone* who will part it”).



49. סגרתי את כל הדלתות בפני כל מי שניסתה לדבר אתי או לקיים אתי מערכת יחסים. *בْن سَدَدْتُ الْأَبْوَابَ كَلِّ مَنْ حَاوَلَتْ أَنْ تَتَّكَأَرَ*; (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 109); *[bal sadadtu l-'abwāba 'amāma kulli man hāwalat 'an tatahāwara ma 'ī wa-tuqīma 'alāqatan 'ādiyatan]* (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 146) (= “I shut all the doors in the face of *anyone who wanted to speak to me or to maintain a normal relationship with me*”).

50. אני אגנוב מכל מי שמנצל אותי, אפילו אם זה אבי או אמי (*Only Bread*, p. 22); *سَأَسْرِقُ كُلَّ مَنْ يَسْتَغْلِبُنِي حَتَّى وَرَأُو كَانُوا أَبِي وَأُمِّي* [*sa-'asriqu kulla man yastaghillunī hattā wa-law kān 'abī wa-'ummī*] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfī*, p. 30) (= “I will steal from anyone *who takes advantage of me, even if they are my mother and father*”).

51. *يُنُونُ*; (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 126) *بُنُو يَطْلُعُ صَوْتٌ مَا رَحَ نَأْخُذَهَا مَعْنَا<sup>73</sup> صَوْتٌ وَيُنِي* [*bi-dūn sūt w-yallū baddō ytallī 'sūt mā rah nākhudhā ma'nā*] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 171) (= “**Quiet!** *Whoever makes noise will stay here*”).

52. כולם גרו אז באוהלים ומי שנתמזל מזול, גר בצריפים או בקליפורנים – בתים מאסבסט וסיביט (= “Everyone at that time lived in tents, and *whoever* was lucky lived in cabins or “Californs”, houses made of asbestos and particle board”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 61).

53. אבל אנחנו שאלנו בכיתה, ופרצנו בצחוק כאשר המורה להיסטוריה מודרנית הסמיק, ה'לם באגרופו על השולחן ואמר: “זאת ההיסטוריה, מי שרוצה להאמין סתתין, ומי שלא רוצה, שיבלע את הים (= “But we asked in class, and burst out laughing when the modern history teacher blushed, struck the desk with his fist, and said: ‘This is the history, *whoever* wants to believe, very well, and *whoever* does not, can swallow the sea”) (*ibid.*, p. 87).

(D) (= “from what”) as a relative pronoun in independent relative clauses, in the manner of the corresponding Arabic relative clauses introduced by *מִמָּה* as a relative pronoun:

54. ולא ראיתי בלבי בלתי אם מצח רחב שעד מהרה גיליתי כי הנסתר, הינו רב *ממה* שיכלו *وَسَوَى جَبِينِ عَرِيضِ سُرْعَانَ مَا تَحَقَّقْتُ*; (*The Opsimist*, p. 43); *أَنْ مَا يَخْفَى عَنِّي مِنْهُ أَعْرَضُ وَمَا طَاقَ بَصَرِي أَنْ يَلْحَظَهُ لِأَوَّلِ وَهَلَاةٍ* [*wa-siwā jabīnin 'arīdin sur'āna mā tahāqqatu 'anna mā yakhtafī 'annī minhu a'raḍu mimma 'īqā baṣarī 'an yalḥazahu li-'awwali wahlatin]* (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p.

<sup>73</sup> The meaning of the colloquial relative pronoun *يُنِي* is the same as Standard Arabic *مَنْ* [*man*] (= “who”).

207) (= “I saw nothing except for a broad forehead and quickly discovered that the hidden is greater than *what* my eyes could see at first”).

55. نَعَمْ. إِيَّاهُ يَسْتَحِقُّ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ مَا فَعَلْتُمَا لَهُ [na'am, 'abi, 'innahu yastahiqqu 'akthara mimma fa' alumulahu lahu] (*Al-Khubz al-Hafi*, p. 76) (= “Yes, my father. I added: ‘He deserves better than *what* you did to him”).

56. ממה שאמר הנהג הזקן הבנתי שלא נתקלתי בשום סיור שמירה. (Only Bread, p. 114) [mimmā qālahu s-sā'iqū sh-shaykhu 'annanā lam nallaqi bi-'ayyati dawriyyatin lil-hirāsati] (*Al-Khubz al-Hafi*, p. 153) (= “From *what* the old driver said I realized that I had not encountered any patrol of the guards”).

57. היא לקחה את ידי בידה והובילה אותי לעבר ארון ברזל נעול שבתוכו היו ממתקים. (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 114) [fa-'akhadhat bi-yadī ilā klūzānatin ḥadīdiyyatin muqafalatin 'alā ḥalawīyyātin 'alā min “ghazli l-banāti” wa-ashaddu ghumūdan mimma akhadha yašilu 'ilaynā] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghul*, p. 850) (= “She took me by the hand and led me towards a locked iron cabinet in which there were sweets sweeter than “cotton wool” and more mysterious than *what* had begun to reach our ears”).

58. نَعَمْ، لَكِنَّهُ يَسْتَحِقُّ أَكْثَرَ مِنْ مَا حَدَّثَ لَكَ [na'am, lakinnahu yastahiqqu 'akthara mimma ḥadatha lahu] (*Al-Khubz al-Hafi*, p. 75) (= “Yes, but he deserves more than *what* he received”).

## I. The structure of relative *mā ... min*

The so-called *min of elucidation* [min lil-bayān] or مِنَ اللَّيْنِ [min li-t-tabyīn] in Arabic explains or provides details about a preceding noun with a more general meaning (Abu Bakr 2002, p. 69; Doron 1970, p. 46). The construction functions as a relative clause, taking the form مَا ... مِنْ [mā ... min] in the case of non-human antecedents and مَنْ ... مِنْ [man ... min] when the antecedent is human:

1. أعطى لجاره المال الذي يملكه. [a'ṭā li-jārili l-māla l-ladhī yamlikuhu] (= “He gave his neighbor the money that he possessed”) = أعطى جارة ما يملك من مالٍ [a'ṭā jārulu mā yamlikuhu min mālin] (= literally: “He gave his neighbor *what* he possessed of money”).

2. رَأَيْتُ الرِّجَالَ الَّذِينَ قَدِمُوا [ra'aytu l-rijāla lladhīna qadimū] (= “I saw the men who came”) = رَأَيْتُ مَنْ قَدِمَ مِنَ الرِّجَالِ [ra'aytu man qadima mina r-rijāli] (literally: “I saw [those] *who* came of the men”).

It is more than likely that *min of elucidation* constructions in the Hebrew works of Arab authors is due to Arabic influence since it is lacking in archaic (Biblical and Mishnaic) Hebrew but occurs in medieval Arabized Hebrew, as a direct result of the influence of Arabic at the time (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 192):

3. ואין זה כוונת המאמר אחרי שחברו הרופאים בכל חולי מה שצריך אליו מזה (●n *Asthma*, Introduction, p. 1); وَأَيْسَ هَذَا عَرَضٌ هَذِهِ الْمَقَالَةَ إِذْ قَدْ وَضَعْتَ الْأَطِبَاءُ فِي كُلِّ مَرَضٍ مَا يَدْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ هَذَا [wa-laysa hādihā gharāḍu hādhihi l-maqqālati idh qad wada'ati l-'atibbā'u fi kulli maraḍin mā yalṭāju 'ilayhi min hādihā] (*Maqqāla fi l-Rabw*, Introduction, p. 2) (= “That is not the aim of this essay, after the physicians collected for every disease *what* it needs of this”).

4. וכבר שבח אבן זוהר להרפות בזה, אמר: ימרוס מן התמר אינדי עשרה זוזים במה שיכסהו וְقَدْ حَمَدَ أَبُو مَرْوَانَ بْنِ زُهْرٍ ثَلَاثِينَ [wa-qad ḥamad abū marwān bnū zalrin talyīnahu bi-hādhihi qāla: yumarrasu mina t-tamri l-hindiyyi 'asharatu darāhimin fi mā yaḡmurulu min mā'in ḥārrin] (*Maqqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Nine, p. 40) (= “Ibn Zuhr praised its soothing He said: ●ne should ten dirhams of tamarind in *what* covers it of hot water”).

5. וירבו בלישתו וקטופו, ויאפה בתנור, ויתבשל בשול כראוי, כי כל לחם, הנעשה ככה, (●n *Asthma*, Chapter Three, p. 5).<sup>74</sup> (“It should be much kneaded and plucked, baked in the oven, cooked well, because any bread that is prepared in this way is better than *what* can be made of any of the seeds”).

*mā ... min* construction in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

6. אלמלא “קירטל” אותה מה שנפל במנת חלקה מסוגי ההפשטה והחיפוש (●n *Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 108); لَوْلَا أَنْ قُرِطَلَهَا مَا لَقِيَتْهُ مِنْ تَغْرِيبَةٍ وَتَقْفِيشٍ [lawlā 'an qarṭalahā mā layiathu min ta'riyatīn wa-taftīshin] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 843) (= literally: “Were it not that she was driven out of her mind by *what* had befallen her of stripping and searches”).

<sup>74</sup> The original text in Arabic is unavailable.

7. היא לקחה את ידי בידה והובילה אותי לעבר ארון ברזל נעול, שבתוכו היו ממתקים מתוקים יותר מן ה"צמר גפן", ומסתוריים יותר ממה שהתחיל להגיע לאוזנינו, בלחשיה, فَأَخَذَتْ بِيَدِي إِلَى: (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 114) خَزَائِنَةٌ خَبِيئِيَّةٌ مَقْفَلَةٌ عَلَى خَلْوِيَّاتٍ أَخْلَى مِنْ غَزَلِ الْبَنَاتِ وَأَشَدَّ غُمُوضًا وَمِمَّا أَخَذَ يَصِلُ إِلَيْنَا مِنْ أَقْوَاهِ إِخْوَتِنَا الْكِبَارِ هَمْسًا [fa-'akhadhat bi-yadī 'ilā khizānatin ḥadīdiyyatin muqfalatin 'alā ḥalawīyyātin 'ahlā min għazli l-banāti wa-ashadda għumuḍan mimma 'akhadha yasilu 'ilaynā min 'afwāhi ikhwatinā l-kibāri ḥamsan] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 850) (= "She took me by the hand and led me towards a locked iron cabinet in which there were sweets sweeter than "cotton wool" and more mysterious than what had begun to reach our ears").

8. ובעוד שהזקן של המונגווי שב אל החוף עם שלד עצמות, כל שהותירו לו הכרישים מן וְفِيمَا اسْتَطَاعَ سَيْخٌ هَمِنْجَوَايِ: (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 26) أُنْ يَغُودُ إِلَى السَّاطِئِ بِهَيْكَلٍ عَظِيمٍ، هُوَ مَا أَبْقَاهُ لَهُ سَمَكُ الْقِرْشِ مِنَ الْخُوتِ الْعَظِيمِ الَّذِي اصْطَادَهُ [wa-fimā stata'a shaykhu Hemingway 'an ya'ūda 'ilā sh-shā'i'i bi-haykalin 'azmiyyin, huwa mā 'abqāhu lahu samaku l-qirshi mina l-ḥūti l-'azīmi l-ladhū ṣṭādahu] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 735) (= "And while Hemingway's old man returned to shore with a skeleton, all that the sharks had left him of the whale that he had caught").

9. הוא התיישב אל שולחנו והעלה על הנייר את שנשתמר בזכרונו מן החזיונות ומן قَعَدَ وَكَوَّنَ مَا عُلِقَ فِي مَخِيلَتِهِ: (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 21) مِنْ تِلْكَ الظَّوَاهِرِ وَمِمَّا نَطَّقَتْ بِهِ تِلْكَ الظَّوَاهِرِ mukhāyiyatihī min tilka z-zawāhiri wa-mimma nattaqat bihi tilka z-zawāhiri] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 727) (= "He sat at his table and wrote down what had been preserved in his memory of scenes and of what these had spoken").

10. שתי קופסאות קטנות של קטיפה כחולה, שהן כל מה שנותר מתכשיטי החתונה של אמי. (= "Two small blue velvet boxes, which are all that was left of my mother's wedding jewelry") (Arabesques, p. 19)>

11. (= "And sighs of longing are all that I am able to produce with my Arab lungs") (ibid., p. 182).

12. (= "What have you seen of the city?") (ibid., p. 93).

13. אחר כך ניכר מישהו את העץ והירך נפלה הישר על ירך העוף ועל פירווי הלחם ועל. (= "Then someone pecked the tree and the thigh fell

straight unto the chicken thigh and on the bread crumbs, and on what was left of the combat rations”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 47).

14. החזרתי לה מעין חיוך, שלחתי את ידי אל פי, ואת מה שנותר מהממתק הגמיש הוצאתי (I responded with a kind of smile, raised my hand to my mouth, and what was left of the elastic sweet I took out”) (*In the Shade of the Jujube Tree*, p. 19).

## J. Definite and indefinite

There are a number of ways to express the idea of indefiniteness, for example Arabic مَا الْإِبْهَامِيَّة [mā l-ibhāmīyya] (= “the mā of indefiniteness”). Below we discuss the indefiniteness as expressed in the construction exemplified by מלך מן המלכים (literally: “[a] king of the kings”). This pattern occurs in Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician and Arabic:

1. ואין איש מאנשי הבית (= “and while no one else was in the house” [literally: “and not [a] man of the men of the house was there”]) (Genesis 39:11).

2. مَلِكٌ مِنَ الْمُلُوكِ [malikun mina l-mulūki] (= “[a] king of the kings”).

The stressed indefinite construction of the pattern מלך מן המלכים in the Bible, is also common in medieval Hebrew, due to the influence of Arabic (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 72).

The most common definiteness marker in Arabic is the definite article ال [al-], which does not attach itself to proper nouns, which are inherently definite, just as possessive pronouns are attached only to common and not proper nouns.

(A) Stressed indefiniteness in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

3. אלם; כלום לא היה האיש הבכיר, ביום מן הימים. ילד קטן? (The Opsimist, p. 113); أَلَمْ يَكُنِ الرَّجُلُ الْكَبِيرُ فِي يَوْمٍ مِنَ الْأَيَّامِ، طِفْلاً صَغِيرًا؟ [‘a-lam yakuni r-raǰulu l-kabīru fi yawmin mina l-‘ayyāmi ṭiflan ṣaghīran?] (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 311) (= “Wasn’t the big man, one day, a small child?”).

4. אמר: ועל אודות הפיות שהקיפו סלע בכרמל שבצילו ישבנו, סראיא ואני, חולקים תפוח. قَالَ: وَعَنْ عَرَائِسٍ أَحَطَّنَ: (Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter, p. 21); وَقَالَتْ: [qāla: بِصَحْرَةَ فَوْقَ الْكُرْمِلِ كَمَا تَجْلِسُ فِي ظِلِّهَا تَتَسَاطَرُ، سَرَايَا وَأَنَا، تَفَاحَةً مِنْ تَفَاحَاتِ الْجِنِّ] wa-‘an ‘arāyisa aḥaṭna bi-ṣaḥratin fawqa l-Karmili kunnā najlisu fi zillihā natashāṭaru, Sarāyā wa-anā, tuffāḥātī min [“tuffāḥātī l-jinni”]

(*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 727) (= “He said: And about the fairies that surrounded the rock on Mt. Carmel in whose shade we sat, Sarāyā and me, sharing [an] apple of the ‘apples of the jinnie’”).

5. והם בודקים אותה מלגו, בדיקה מקפת ומדויקת, מחשש שמה הטמנתי בקפל מקפלי 5. وَفَتَّشُوا نَهَا تَفْتِيشًا بَاطِنِيًّا دَقِيقًا حَوْ قَا [wa-yu fattishūnahā ta fūshan bātiniyyan daqīqan khawfan min ‘an akūna ‘akhfaytu fi tayyatīn min tayyātī thawbihā] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 844) (= “They search her from the inside, comprehensively and carefully, out of fear that I may have hidden it in [a] pleat of the pleats of her dress”).

6. ועם רדת החשיכה הוא פורש למיטתו ושוטף אותה מתוך עורה בדמות נימפה מנימפות 6. فَإِذَا جَنَّ اللَّيْلُ أَوَى إِلَى سَرِيرِهِ [fa-‘idhā junna l-laylu ‘awā ‘ilā sarīrihi wa-‘akhrajahā min jildihā hūriyyatan min hūri l-jinānī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 783) (= “When night falls he goes to bed and washes it out of her skin in the form of [a] nymph of the nymphs of Paradise”).

7. ותחת כנפו של אל זה, בתוך מערה אחת ממערותיו, גילה פיתאגורס את הפאנתאיזם 7. وَفِي كَنَفِ هَذَا الْإِلَهِ، مَعَارَةً مِنْ مَعَارِيهِ الْعَبِيدَةِ؛ [wa-fi kanafi hādha l-ilāhi, maghāratun min maghā irihi l-‘adīdati, huclā ‘ilā “wihclati l-kawni” tabī‘atan wa-riyāclatan wa-riyācliyātin] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 752) (= “And under the wing of that god, in one cave of his caves, Pythagoras discovered pantheism”).

8. זולת זו הפעם – ישוב על השינית שלי הייתי בלילה נטול ירח מלילות שלהי הקיץ, 8. إِلَّا فِي هَذِهِ الْمَرَّةِ وَفِي [‘illā fi hādhihi l-marrati wa-fi laylatin min layātī ṣ-ṣayfi wa-d-ḍabābu yaluffanī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 736) (= “Except that this time I was sitting on my sleeping bag on [a] moonless night of the nights of the end of summer, with mist closing in on me”).

9. (The Story of Zalra, p. 83); איבדתי תקווה שאהפוך לאחת מהם ביום מן הימים 9. فَزِدَا مِنْهُمْ<sup>75</sup> تَلَاشَى عِنْدِي كُنْ أَمَلٌ أَنْ أَصْبِحَ يَوْمًا مَا [talāshā ‘indī kullu ‘amalin ‘an ‘uṣbiha yawman mā fardān minhum] (= “I lost all hope that I would become one of them some day”).

<sup>75</sup> The meaning of مَا يَوْمًا is “one day” or “some day”.



10. אם נגזר על דרכינו להצטלב ביום מן הימים, לטלטל ולשבש עד 10. (= “If our paths are fated to cross *one day* [literally: “on [a] *day of the days*], to shake and confuse a witness”) (*Arabesques*, p. 33).

11. בכל פעם שעברתי בדרך לעין חרוד בואכה בית שאן, עלתה בזכרוני תמונה מן 11. (= “Every time I passed on the road to ‘En Harod on the way to Bet She’an I would be reminded of [a] scene of the sarcastic scenes with Amos Kenan depicted in his story ‘On the Road to ‘En Harod’”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 8).

(B) Stressed indefinite forms with slight changes in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors:

12. *The Opsimist*, p. 173); *قَطَعْتُ الْخُدُودَ فِي سَيَّارَةِ دُكْتُورٍ مِنْ جَيْشِ الْإِنْقَادِ* [qata‘tu l-hudūda fī sayyārati duktūrīn min jayshi l-inqādī] (*Al-Mutashā‘il*, p. 173) (= “I crossed the border in the car of [a] physician of the physicians of the Arab Liberation Army”<sup>76</sup>).

13. *Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 22); *كَانَتْ لَيْلَةُ الْكُحْلِيَّةِ تِلْكَ، لَيْلَةٌ مِنْ لَيْلَاتِ الصَّيْفِ* [kānat laylatuhu d-dukhāniyyatu tilka, laylatan min laylāti ṣ-ṣayfi] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 728) (= “That foggy night was one of the nights of summer”).

14. *Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 61); *حَجَرًا انْقَلَبَتْ مِنْ مَوْقِعِهِ فِي قِمَّةٍ مِنْ قِمَمِ الْكَرْمَلِ* [ḥajarani nqalabat min mawqī‘i hi fī qimmatīn min qimami l-Karmilī] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 781) (= “Like a stone that was overturned on the heights of one of the summits of Mt. Carmel”).

15. *Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 76); *إِذَا هُوَ مَائِلٌ أَمَامَ مُخَيَّلِي بَطْلٍ مِنْ أَبْطَالِ تِلْكَ الْقِصَّةِ* [fa-‘idhā huwa mathilun ‘amāma mukhayyilati baṭalan min abṭāli tilka l-qiṣṣati] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 799) (= “The youth’s image now arose before me, in the form of [a] hero of the heroes of the story”).

16. טען כי מצאה ישנה, עטופה בחיתוליה, במרתף אחד ממרתפי הכרמל ששם היה מחפש 16. وَجَدْنَاهَا نَائِمَةً فِي قِمَاطِهَا فِي وَجَدْنَاهَا نَائِمَةً فِي قِمَاطِهَا فِي *قَبْوٍ مِنْ أَقْبَاءِ الْكَرْمَلِ الَّتِي كَانَ يَبْحَثُ فِي بَطُونِهَا عَنْ كُنُوزِهِ* [wajadnāhā nā‘imatan fī qimāṭihā fī qabwīn min ‘aqbā‘i l-Karmil l-lati kāna yabḥathu fī butūnihā

<sup>76</sup> In the Hebrew version the full construction is used (רופא מרופאי), while in Arabic the phrase “of the physicians” is omitted.



'*an kunūzīhi*] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 815) (= “He claimed to have found her asleep, wrapped in her diapers, in [a] vault of the vaults of Mt. Carmel, inside which he used to search for treasure”).

17. [...] עד שיום אחד התפרץ הדוד איברהים והתחיל לצעוק כי אחד מעשירי חיפה [...] חָטִי אֲתַפְּרֵ עִמִּי אִזְרָהִימְ, יִזְמָא בַלְמֶרָאֵח אֲנִי (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 99); [...] [hattā nṣajara 'ammī Ibrāhīmu yawman bi-s-ṣurākhī 'anna 'ahada athriyā'i Ḥayfā [...]] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 832) (= “Until one day uncle Ibrāhīm exploded and began to shout that one of Haifa's rich men [...]).

18. הוא ודודי מכאיל ושנים (שני ידידים) מידידיו הלבנוניים (= “He, my uncle Mīkhā'il and two of his Lebanese friends”) (*Arabesques*, p. 28).

19. והוא ביקש לשוב אל הכפר, עם עוד איש אחד מאנשי הקבוצה (= “And he asked to go back to the village, with one other man of the men of the group”).

In the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, the Hebrew definite article can be found affixed to proper nouns, including proper nouns in the plural. This is evidence for Arab authors' desire to choose Hebrew constructions that are similar to the corresponding constructions in Arabic, even if the former are rare in both contemporary and archaic Hebrew:

20. אֲחִירְנִי עַן יַעֲדֶיכָ! (The Opsimist, p. 150) ספר לי על אודות היעאד שלך! [ 'akhbirnī 'an Yū'ādika! ] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 362) (= “Tell me about your Yo'ad!”<sup>77</sup>).

21. אוּ מִן עֲרִיְהָ מִן (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 104) או מפי מרימות המרימאט [ 'aw min ḡarīyāhā mina l-Maryamātī ] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 838) (= “Or from other Marys”<sup>78</sup>).

22. אלא שאחד הג'ורג'ים השניים לחש באוזנינו יום אחד שהם מבקשים לשונות ילדינו. [...] [illā 'anna 'ahada l-Jūrjayni 'atānā wa-hamasa fi 'ādhaninā 'annahum yuṭālibūnanā bi-kaffī 'alsinatī 'awlādinā 'an tasmiyatīhi] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 911) (= “But one of the Georges whispered in our ear one day that they ask that our children's tongues stop calling”).

<sup>77</sup> This is a common Hebrew slang expression; however, its appearance as a translation of an Arabic construction may indicate Arabic influence.

<sup>78</sup> In both Hebrew and Arabic the name Mary appears in the plural.

23. אמא שונאת את הפאטמה הזאת שנאת מות (= “Mother really hates *that Fātima*”) (*Dancing Arabs*, p. 138).

24. נזכשו אני נזכר איך הבאסם הזה נעמד מעל המיטה שלי בבית החולים, ושאל (= “Now I remember how *this Bāsīm* stood over my bed in the hospital and asked”) (*ibid.*, p. 86).

## K. The possessive construction

In Arabic the possessive construction (الإضافة [*al-’iḏāfa*]) creates a relationship between two nouns. The second noun (the *nomen regens*, المضافُ إليه [*al-muḏāfu ’ilayhi*]) is always in the genitive case, while the first (the *nomen rectum*, المضاف [*al-muḏāf*]) is assigned case in accordance with the possessive phrase’s function in the sentence, for example:

1. هذا بَيْتُ وَلَدٍ [*hādhā baytu waladin*] (= “This is *the house of a child*”; “This is a *child’s house*”).

2. رَأَيْتُ بَيْتَ وَلَدٍ [*ra’aytu bayta waladin*] (= “I saw *the house of a child*”; “I saw a *child’s house*”).

Possessive constructions are always associated with adjectives, nouns or personal names, such as אנשי הכפר (= “the people of the village”), אחד העם (= “one of the people”). In rare cases a *nomen rectum* can appear before a verb, as in בראשית ברא אלהים (= “In the beginning [of] God created”; Genesis 1:1).<sup>79</sup> In Hebrew the *nomen regens* has no external features that indicate its function, while the *nomen rectum* occasionally does. In a chain of possessive nouns, the *nomen regens* itself consists of a possessive construction:

3. مَطْعَمُ شَارِعِ النَّيْلِ [*maṭ’amu shāri’i n-nīli*] (Literally: “The restaurant of the street of the Nile” = “The Nile Street Restaurant”).

Below are examples of possessive chains in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, in which an attempt is made to make the Hebrew syntactic structure to the one in Arabic (the English translation attempts to reproduce the Semitic structure of the possessive):

<sup>79</sup> This construction has posed great difficulties to medieval exegetes, who proposed to change the vowel pattern of the second word in order to make it easier to understand: בראשית ברא אלהים (= “At the beginning of God’s creation [of] ...”).

4. جَفَّتِ اللَّعَابُ مِنْ<sup>80</sup> [jaffa l-lu 'abu min 'afwāhi junūdi l-'aduwwi] (*Jisr 'alā al-Nahr al-Hazīn*, p. 94) (= “The mouth of the soldiers of the enemy became dry”).

5. اسْتَدْتُ [asnadtū zahrī 'ilā khashabi 'āmūdi l-miṣbāhi] (*Jisr 'alā al-Nahr al-Hazīn*, p. 94) (= “I leaned with my back on the wood of the pole of the streetlight”).

6. قَبِلْتُ [fa-hal qarā'tum 'an taḥqīnā fi ṣuḥufi l-'aḥqāri l-'arabiyyati?] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 350) (= “Did you read about our siege in the papers of the Arab countries?”).

7. وَأَتَمَّ عَمَلَهُ بِقِيَّةِ الْيَوْمِ فِي [40] (*Tears and Ashes*, p. [40]) وَتَفَكِّكَ أَجْزَاءَ الدَّبَابَةِ [wa-'atamma 'amalahu baqiyyata l-yawmi fi tafkiki ajzā'i d-dabābati] (*Dam' wa-Ramād*, p. [31]) (= “And he ended his work for the day by the dismantling of the parts of the tank”).

8. أَمَّا لَا السَّكِيمَةَ لَسَبْتِ يَوْمَ مَحْضِي سَعَاةٍ عَمَّ سَبَا بَسَكْتِ عَلَيَّ السَّبَاكِ الْهَرُوكِيمِ [hattā 'anna 'ummi lam tarā'a 'an najlisa 'akthara min niṣfi sā'atin fi khaymati 'awrāqi t-tibghī l-khadrā'i] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 15) (= “Mother did not agree to sit more than half-an-hour with grandfather in the shed of the green leaves of tobacco”).

9. وَرُغْمَ هُذُوءِ [wa-ruḡhma hudū'i ḥayāti d-day'ati 'akhadhātī l-qiṣasu tantashiru] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 166) (= “Rumors began to make the rounds in the calm of the life of the village”).

10. صَنَعْتُ أَرْجُوخَةً بِحَبْلِ قَوِيٍّ رَبَطْتُهَا إِلَى فَرْعِ شَجَرَةِ التَّنِينِ [ṣana'tu 'urjūhatan bi-hablin ḡawwiyyin rabattulu 'ilā far'i shajarati t-tīni] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 32) (= “I built a swing and tied it with a strong rope to a branch of the fig tree”).

11. أَكَلْنَا الْبَيْضَ الْمَسْلُوقَ وَالْفُوكَاةَ وَتَرَكْنَاهَا تَحْلُمُ تَحْتِ [akalnā l-bayda l-maslūqa wa-l-akalnā l-bayda l-maslūqa wa-l-] (*Only Bread*, p. 26) وَأَنَا جَنَّبُهَا أَحْزُسُ نَعْسَهَا [akalnā l-bayda l-maslūqa wa-l-] (= “We ate the boiled egg and the fūka and left it to dream under”).

<sup>80</sup> This type of construction is common in Hebrew as well; however, in this case it occurs as the translation of the same kind of construction in Arabic.

*fawākiha wa-taraktuhā tahlumu tahta zilāli shujayrati tuffāhin wa-'anā janbuhā 'alrusu nu'āsaha*] (*Al-Khubz al-Hāfi*, p. 35) (= “We ate hardboiled eggs and fruit. I let her dream under the shade of an apple tree while I sat next to her and guarded her sleep”).

12. בושה וחרפה, המוכתאר הנפות הזה כנראה חושב לו שאנחנו עומדים כחיל חלוץ על F(= “What a shame. This puffed up Mukhtār appears to think that we stand as an advance troop over the protection of the class of workers”) (*In a New Light*, p. 76).

13. שוטר משמר הגבול עצר אותנו במחסום ליד יריחו והנהג יצא מיד באכזבה (= “An officer of the border guard stopped us at a roadblock near Jericho and the driver immediately came out in disappointment”) (*Walking on the Wind*, p. 46).

It also happens that an adjective serves as *regens* to a definite *nomen regens*. This is very rare in the Bible, but does occur in the Mishna and is very common in medieval Arabized Hebrew, under the influence of Arabic syntax (*Judaica* 16, p. 1632; Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 103; Maman 1991, p. 114):

14. אנוסת אביו ומפותת אביו אנוסת בנו ומפותת בנו (= “the raped [woman] of his father and the seduced [woman] of his father, the raped [woman] of his son and the seduced [woman] of his son”) (Mishna Yevamot 11:1).

15. שחורי הראש (literally: “black of head”) (Mishna Nedarim 3:8).

16. נקיי הדעת (literally: “clean of mind”) (Mishna Gittin 9:8).

17. وَكَذَلِكَ; וכמו כן הצמח, שהוא עבה העצם (On Asthma, Chapter Three, p. 7); وَكَذَلِكَ وَكَذَلِكَ [wa-kadhālika n-nabātu l-ghalīzu l-jawhari] (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Three, p. 17) (= “And also the plant, which is thick of body”).

18. לחבר בו פרקים מעטי המספר, רבי התועלת לכל בני האדם בהנהגת הבריאות ורפואת (= “To compose some chapters on it, few of number, great of benefit, to all men in maintaining their health and healing disease, they will be like a testament”) (On Asthma, Introduction, p. 2).

We may with some confidence conclude that the comparatively frequent use of adjectives as the first part of a possessive construction in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors in translating corresponding structures in Arabic is due to Arabic influence:

19. הסלעים נפרקו לתוך הים ויצרו את שובר הגלים הארוך המגן עד היום על נמלה של 19. وكاثوا يطمون بها البحر مشددين الحاجز (Ikhṭiyye, p. 135); חיפה מפני הנחשולים [wa-kānū yaṭummūna bihā l-baḥra mushayyidīna l-hājiza ṣ-ṣakhrīyya t-tawīla, kāsīḥa l-'amwājī, l-ladhī yahmī l-'āna minā'a Ḥayfā min ghā'ilati l-baḥri] (Ikhṭiyye, p. 684) (= "The rocks were unloaded into the sea and created the long break wave that protects Haifa's port from the violence of the sea to this day").

20. אני אהבתי מאוד להביט למרחקים מעבר לאדמות הקיבוץ ולהתבונן באדמות השכנים. 20. אני אהבתי מאוד להביט למרחקים מעבר לאדמות הקיבוץ ולהתבונן באדמות השכנים. (= "I very much liked to look into the distance, beyond the fields of the kibbutz, and gaze at the land of the featureless neighbors, at the clumps of trees spread over them here and there") (In a New Light, p. 10).

21. ושני האחרים רק הסתכלו, והאם קמוטת הפנים שאלה. 21. ושני האחרים רק הסתכלו, והאם קמוטת הפנים שאלה. (= "and the two others only looked on, and the wrinkle-faced mother asked") (Walking on the Wind, p. 76).

22. כך ורק כך יימלט עמו, ניצול השואה, מכל שואה אפשרית. 22. כך ורק כך יימלט עמו, ניצול השואה, מכל שואה אפשרית. (= "Thus, and only thus, will his nation, survivor of the holocaust, be saved from any possible holocaust") (ibid., p. 26).

23. הייתי הניצונאי היחיד שראה את הפחד בעיני הנשים מכוסות הרעלה שבכו. 23. הייתי הניצונאי היחיד שראה את הפחד בעיני הנשים מכוסות הרעלה שבכו. (= "I was the only journalist who saw the fear in the weeping veil-covered women's eyes") (And It Was Morning, p. 22).

24. כל נושאות המטוסים יישרפו. 24. כל נושאות המטוסים יישרפו. (= All the aircraft carriers will be burned") (Dancing Arabs, p. 77).

## L. Interrogative sentences

(A) Interrogative sentences introduced by the interrogative particles מנין and מאין (= "whence", "from where", "where from")

Such sentences can be found in the Mishna (and in medieval Arabized Hebrew):

1. מניין שהוא חייב באחריותו עד שיביאם להר הבית? 1. מניין שהוא חייב באחריותו עד שיביאם להר הבית? (= "Whence [do we know] that he is responsible for them until he brings them to the Temple Mount?") (Mishna Bikkurim 1:9).

2. ומניין שלא יהא המוחל אכזרי? (= “And *whence* [do we know] that the one who forgives will not be cruel?”) (Mishna Bava Qama 8:7).

3. ומניין שיקדמו ביכורים לתרומה? (= “And *whence* [do we know] that the first fruits come before the priestly offering?”) (Mishna Terumot 3:7).

The frequent use of the interrogative particles מנין and מאין in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is due to the influence of the Standard Arabic interrogative particle مِنْ أَيْنَ [*min 'ayna*] (= “whence”), or the corresponding colloquial Arabic particle مِنْين [*mnēn*]:

4. אבל מניין לך הדבר הזה? (= “But *from where* do you know this?”) (*Arabesques*, p. 49).

5. יש לזה טעם של דיו, אמרה, וזה מובן, אבל טעם השמן מאין בא? (= “It tastes like ink, she said, which is understandable, but *where does* the taste of oil come *from*?”) (*ibid.*, p. 62).

6. ומניין לי שבעלה לא יקרא את המכתב? (= “And *from where* do I know that her husband won't read the letter?”) (*In a New Light*, p. 49).

7. סלח לי, בחור, אבל מאין אני מכיר אותך? (= “Excuse me, young man, but *from where* do I know you?”) (*ibid.*, p. 57).

8. מניין לך הביטחון הזה? (= “How can you be sure?” [literally: “*From where* do you have this confidence?”]) (*ibid.*, p. 61).

9. לא הצלחתי להבין את לבושו, דיבורו, ומניין לו השפה העברית? (= “I did not succeed in understanding his clothing, his speech, and *from where* he knows Hebrew”) (*ibid.*, p. 83).

10. מניין לי לדעת מה זאת אהבה? (= “*From where* am I supposed to know what love is?”) (*ibid.*, p. 125).

11. ומאיין לך התכונה הזאת של פחד מפני דם? (= “And *from where* do you have this fear of blood?”) (*ibid.*, p. 81).



(B) Demonstrative pronoun זה (= “this”) after the interrogative word מה (= “what”)

Unlike Biblical Hebrew, in medieval Arabized Hebrew the demonstrative pronoun זה was added after the interrogative particle מה, even where it is connected to a preceding preposition, under the influence of the Arabic interrogative particle مَاذَا [*mādhā*, consisting of interrogative *mā* and demonstrative *dhā*] (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 54):

12. למה זה מחיר ביד כסיל – לקנות חכמה, ולב אין? (Guide for the Perplexed, I, p. 158); لِمَاذَا يَكُونُ بِيَدِ الْجَاهِلِ ثَمَنُ لِقَائِئِ الْحَكِيمَةِ وَلَا لُبٌّ لَهُ? [*limā dhā yakūnu bi-yadi l-jāhili thamanun li-qtinā'i l-hikmati wa-lā lubba lahu?*] (*Dalālat al-Hā'irīn*, Part One, p. 80) (= “Why is it that the fool has the price to buy wisdom, but no heart?”).

13. ואפילו נאמר ששמעות אמת היתה, למה זה אותו מישל אבנד, שהוא קרוב מאתנו למקור השמועה, למה זה אין הוא משתדל לחקור את אמיתותה ולהגיע אלינו כמו שאנחנו משתדלין להגיע אליו? (= “And even if we were to say that the rumor was true, why does that same Michel Abīd, who is closer to the rumor’s source than us, why does he not try to discover the truth of the matter and to come to us, just as we try to come to him?”) (*Arabesques*, p. 64).

14. למה זה ירצה מישהו לגלות שכל חמישים שנות חייו לא היה אלא אדם אחר? (שם, עמ' 65)

(= “Why would someone want to discover that during his entire fifty years of life he was but another man?”) (*ibid.*, p. 65).

15. ושם שמענו שאחד מקרוביהם מתרשיחא שוכב בבית החולים של נהריה, וכיון שביקרו? (= “And there we heard that one of their relatives from Tarshīhā was lying in the hospital in Nahariyya, and since they visited him, why should they continue north and meet the other relatives who had been displaced?”).

16. למה זה אתה מתעקש לעשן? (*ibid.*, p. 76)

17. מה זה עניינה? (= “What business of hers is it?”) (*In a New Light*, p. 65).

18. מה זה עניינה אם יש לי אבא או אין? (= “What business of hers is it if I have a father or not?”) (*ibid.*, p. 67).



(C) Rhetorical questions introduced by מה + noun or preposition + noun + ך

Landau (1988, pp. 68-72) discusses at length the issue of rhetorical questions as an important component of argumentative rhetoric. She divides rhetorical questions in political speeches into three main types:<sup>81</sup>

(a) Rhetorical yes/no questions which are introduced by the Hebrew interrogative particle האם or its like, which when positive imply negativity, and vice versa: “Do they have a right to speak in the name of all the people of this land?”.

(b) Rhetorical questions introduced by a *wh*-word, such as מה (= “what”), איך (= “how”) and מדוע (= “why”). In *wh*-questions the answer (affirmative or negative) contains a word that replaces the interrogative word and is either positive or negative. Thus, the interrogative question “Who else made concessions like Israel’s to this day?” implies: “No one has yet made concessions like Israel’s”.

(c) Two-choice questions, which imply negation of the first and emphasis on the second as the correct answer: “Did the Herut Party take care of all of them or of only 150 of them?”.

According to Landau, in the last-mentioned type of rhetorical question the emphasis is the strongest, while the emphatic power of the second type is stronger than that of the first type. It would seem that rhetorical questions introduced by מה + noun or preposition + noun + ך as translations of rhetorical questions in Arabic introduced by ما [mā] + noun or preposition + noun + و [wa-]<sup>82</sup> testify to indirect Arabic influence:

<sup>81</sup> Allon, Grilak & Shilo (2006, p. 61), too, make this three-way distinction. Schlesinger (2000, p. 209) briefly discusses two types of such interrogative sentences: (a) Leading questions, whose purpose is to arouse a virtual dialogue between the author and the reader, as in: “What exactly lit the fuse which led to investing in the dollar?”; (b) rhetorical questions introduced by a particle of contrast, as in: “But how has the time to look at dollar investments in these crazy times?”.

<sup>82</sup> There are also examples of slight changes in the construction: והיתה אומרת, אחרי: ביצוע העבודה: “העבירה היא תענוג. מה אשם הבורא שנשלל ממנו התענוג?” (*Sarāyā the Ghoul’s Daughter*, p. 112); “وكانت تقول، بعد از تكايب الدنبي: “الدنبي متعة. فما ذنب الخالق أن حرمه.” [wa-kānat taqūlu, ba‘da ritkābi dh-dhanbi: “adh-dhanbu mut‘atum, fa-mā dhanbu l-khālīqi ‘an ḥurima minhā?”] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 848) (= “She said, after carrying out the job, ‘Sinning is a pleasure. What fault is it of the Creator that he has been denied this pleasure?’”).

19. הייתי אז בן שמונה עשרה. התווכחתי אתו: "מה לנו ולארצות אחרות?" (*The Story of Zahra*, p. 44); وَكُنْتُ وَسْتَوَاتِي الثَّمَانِي عَشْرَةَ لَا عَيْرَ أَنَاغِشُهُ بِهَذَا الْأَسْلُوبِ: "مَا بَالُنَا [wa-kuntu wa-sanawātī l-thamāniya 'ashrata lā ghayra 'unāqishuhu bi-hādhdhā l-'uslūbi: "mā bālunā wa-ghayrunā mina l-bilādi?"] (*Hikāyat Zahra*, p. 54) (= "I was then eighteen years old. I argued with him: 'What do we care about other countries?'").

20. مَا شَأْنُ مَا لِكْرْمَلٍ وَلَا لَهَا الْمَحْوِوَاتُ? (*Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 42); مَا شَأْنُ الْكَرْمَلِ وَهَذِهِ الدُّوَالِجِي? (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 755) (= "What does Mt. Carmel have to do with these regions?").

## M. Apposition

An apposition is a noun that follows another noun (the nucleus) but does not form a possessive construction with it. In Arabic it agrees with the preceding noun in case. Semantically, it amplifies and explains the previous noun, serving as a kind of complement, similar to an adjective (Becker 1989, p. 192):

1. تَكَلَّمْتُ مَعَ السَّيِّدِ مُحَمَّدٍ وَزَيْرِ الْخَارِجِيَّةِ [takallantu ma'a s-sayyidi Muhammadin waziri l-khārijiyati] (= "I spoke with *Mister Muhammad*, the Foreign Minister"). In this sentence, "Muhammad" is appositive to "Mister", and "Minister" is appositive to "Muhammad".

2. أَكَلْتُ الْخُبْزَ كُلَّهُ [akaltu l-klubza kullahu] (= "I ate *all* the bread"; literally: "I at the bread, *all of it*").

3. وَصَلَتْ الْبِنْتُ نَفْسَهَا [wasalati l-bintu nafsuhā] (= "The girl *herself* came").

4. اشْتَرَكَ الْوُزَرَاءُ جَمِيعُهُمْ [shataraka l-wuzarā'u jamī'uhum] (= "All the ministers participated"; literally: "The ministers participated, *all of them*").

In medieval Arabized Hebrew the words נפש (literally: "soul"), עין (literally: "eye") and עצם (literally: "self"), whose Arabic counterparts have pronominal functions, can appear in apposition constructions (Goshen-Gottstein 2006, p. 93):

5. السَّبَبُ: كَشِيَ الْعَيْنِ بِعِضْمِهِ (Guide for the Perplexed, I, p. 146); الْأَوَّلُ: صُعُوبَةُ الْأَمْرِ فِي نَفْسِهِ [as-sababu l-'awwalu: šu'ūbatu l-'amri fī nafsihī] (*Dalālat al-Ḥā'irīn*, Part One, p. 74) (= "The first reason: The difficulty of the matter *itself*").

6 כשנתחיל בהרחקת התארים, אך ישוב זה כלו לענין אחד, והוא עצמו ית' לבד (Iḏā' aḥadnā fi ṭṭḩī ṣ-ṣifāt, kūf ṭṭḩḩ ḩḩā ḩḩḩ; (Guide for the Perplexed, I, p. 203); [ 'idhā' 'akhadhnā fi na'fī ṣ-ṣifāt, kayfa yarjī u hādhnā kullahu li-mā'nan wāḩid, wa-huwa dhātuhu ta'ālā faqat] (Dalālat al-Hā'irīn, Part One, p. 103) (= “If we begin to deny the attributes, how will all this go back to a single meaning, namely *himself*, May He be glorified, only”).

It would appear that the use of words such as עצם and עין, בפש and in appositive structures in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors is due to Arabic influence:

7. גם אני עצמי איני יודע אודות עצמי הכל (= “I *myself* also don't know everything about me”) (In a New Light, p. 75).

8. מה, אתם לא ראיתם בעצמכם (= “What, you didn't see for yourselves?”) (ibid., p. 78).

9. הזכרתי שהוא עצמו אמר זאת, והוא נעלב (= “I mentioned that *himself* had said so, and he was insulted”) (ibid., p. 90).

## N. Focalization

Focalization in all its forms is a prominent device of the Qur'ānic text. Talmon (2002, pp. 362-363) discusses this phenomenon in the entry in the *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*<sup>83</sup> in all its forms as a general term, including [ 'at-tawkīd] (= “emphasis”).<sup>84</sup> Focalization may be expressed in a number of ways:<sup>85</sup>

(A) Through [innamā] (= “rather”, “nothing but”, “to the contrary”):

1. [ 'innamā l-Bukhturiyyu shā'irun] (= “To the contrary, al-Bukhturī is a poet”).

Here the addresser uses focalization to stress the fact that the person denoted by “al-Bukhturī” is a poet (rather than a member of some other profession, say a physician”).

<sup>83</sup> McAuliffe, Jane Danūnen. (ed.). 2002. *Encyclopedia of the Qur'ān*. Leiden: Brill. pp. 362-363.

<sup>84</sup> Becker 1989, p. 204.

<sup>85</sup> Becker 1989, pp. 204-205; Wright 1967, I, p. 292.

2. إِنَّمَا الْمَقَالُ الْأَوَّلُ هَامٌّ [’innamā l-maqālu l-awwalu hāmmun] (= “The first article is indeed important”).

3. مَا يَمَلَأُ قُلُوبَنَا مِنْ إِيمَانٍ إِنَّمَا هُوَ مُسْتَمَدٌّ مِنْ قُلُوبِكُمْ [mā yamla’u qulūbana min ’imānin ’innamā huwa mustamiddun min qulūbikum] (= “The faith which fills our hearts has its source in nothing but your hearts”).

(B) Through النِّفْيِ وَالْإِسْتِثْنَاءَ [’n-naḥī wa-il-stithnā’] (= “negation and exception”)

4. وَمَا الْحُبُّ إِلَّا لِلْحَبِيبِ الْأَوَّلِ مَتَاعٌ [wa-mā l-hubbu ’illā<sup>86</sup> lil-habībi l-awwali mata’un] (= “Love is not a delight, except to the first beloved”).

5. لَا تُطَالِعُنَا هَذِهِ الْبَيِّنَاتُ إِلَّا بِالْأَسْبَابِ الظَّاهِرَةِ لِلثَّوْرَةِ [lā tuṭāli’unā hādhihi l-bayyānāti ’illā bi-l-’asbābi z-zāhiriyati li-th-thawrati] (= “These reports do not give us insight except into the external causes of the revolution”).

(C) Through preposing certain sentence parts, for example, placing the direct object before the subject (تقديم المفعول على الفاعل) [taqdimu l-maf’ūli ’alā l-fā’ili].

6. إِيَّاكَ نَعْبُدُ وَإِيَّاكَ نَسْتَعِينُ [’iyyāka na’budu wa-’iyyāka nasta’in] (It is you whom we worship and it is you to whom we turn for help”).

Such constructions are called extraposition structures; their aim is to stress certain sentence constituents (Fruchtmann 1990, pp. 82-87; Borochovsky & Tromer 1993, pp. 54-55).

(D) Through antithesis, according to the pattern لا [lā] / لَيْسَ [laysa] / مَا [mā] (= “not”) ... بَلْ [bal] / لَكِنَّ [lakin] / إِنَّمَا [innamā] (= “but”, “but rather”). This construction contains a subordinate or secondary clause and a main clause (the nucleus), which are mutually contradictory. The addressee has a positive attitude towards the nucleus, which in this case is the thesis. The reader, when encountering the secondary clause, which expresses an idea that is not consistent with that of the nucleus, comes to see the state of affairs in the main clause in an even more positive light (Mann & Thompson 1988, p. 253).

The Arabic word بَلْ [bal] is the dominant word which introduces the nucleus of the antithesis; it denies the state of affairs in the secondary clause and stresses the antithesis’ nucleus. Occasionally the negation word لا [lā] is added to it (Wright 1967, II, p. 334):

<sup>86</sup>إِلَّا [illā] (= “except”) indicates focalization.

7. ואין זה כונת המאמר אחרי שחיברו הרופאים בכל חולה מה שצריך אליו מזה [...] אך [...] **وَلَيْسَ هَذَا عَرَضٌ** (*On Asthma*, Introduction, p. 1) היתה הכוונה במאמר הזה [...] **هَذِهِ الْمَقَالَةُ إِذْ قَدْ وَضَعَتِ الْأَطِبَّاءُ فِي كُلِّ مَرَضٍ مَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ مِنْ هَذَا [...] بَلْ كَانَ الْقَصْدُ بِهِذِهِ** [...] **[wa-laysa hādha gharāḍu hādhihi l-maqālati idh qad waḍa'ati l-'aṭibbā'u fi kulli maraḍin mā yahtāju 'ilayhi min hādha [...] bal kāna l-qaṣḍu bi-hādhihi l-maqālati ...]** (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Introduction, p. 2) (= “The purpose of this essay is *not*, after the physicians have written what every ill person needs, [...] *but rather* the purpose of this essay is...”).

8. דע כי הרפואה חכמה הכרחית לאדם מאוד בכל זמן ובכל מקום, לא בעת החולי לבד, 8. **إِعْلَمُ أَنَّ الطَّبَّ** (*On Asthma*, Chapter Thirteen, p. 38) **أَلَّا أَفِيلُو** בזמן הבריאות **صِنَاعَةٌ ضَرُورِيَّةٌ لِلْإِنْسَانِ جَدًّا فِي كُلِّ زَمَانٍ وَكُلِّ مَكَانٍ لَيْسَ فِي خَالِ الْمَرَضِ فَقَطْ إِلَّا وَفِي خَالِ الصِّحَّةِ** [...] **[i'lām 'anna l-ṭibba' šinā'atun ḍarūriyyatum lil-'insāni jiddan fi kulli zamānin wa-kulli makānin laysa fi ḥālī l-maraḍi faqaṭ 'illā wa-fi ḥālī ṣ-ṣiḥḥati]** (*Maqāla fi l-Rabw*, Chapter Three, p. 92) (= “Know that medicine is a science that is very necessary for everyone at any time and in any place, *not only* when one is ill, *but even* when one is healthy”).

(E) Through the use of **لَا** [lām al-tawkīd] (= “the *l* of emphasis”).

A prefixed **لَا** [lā-] can be attached to any part of speech (except a past verb in an indicative sentence). It does not affect case:

9. **إِنَّ الْمَقَالَ لَهَا مٌ** [‘inna l-maqāla la-hāmmun] (= “The article is *indeed* important”).

10. **إِنَّهُ لَمِنَ الْمُشْرِكِينَ** [‘innahu la-mina l-mushrikīna] (“He is *indeed* of the polytheists”).

(F) Through an extraposed phrase, that is, a sentence one of whose constituents has been placed at the beginning for emphasis. In Arabic, the empty slot from which the extraposed phrase has been moved is filled by a coreferential pronouns, for example, in Hebrew: instead of **פרקי הספר ארוכים** (= “the book’s chapters are long”) one may say: **הספר – פרקיו ארוכים** (= “the book, its chapters are long”):

11. **هَذِهِ الشَّجَرَةُ لَهَا فُرُوعٌ كَثِيرَةٌ** [hādhihi sh-sharjaratu lahā furū’un kathīraturun] (= “This tree, it has many branches”).

12. **الْخُبْزُ أَكَلْنَاهُ فِي الصَّبَاحِ** [al-khubzu akalnāhu fi ṣ-ṣabāhi] (= “The bread, we ate it in the morning”).

(G) Through the pattern **أَمَا** [*ammā*]<sup>87</sup> (= “as for”) ... **فَ** [*fa-*],<sup>88</sup> which always follows a statement, and introduces another, opposing statement for emphasis:

13. **أَنَا كَتَبْتُ أَمَا الْبَنَاتُ فَلَمْ يَكْتُبْنَ** [*'anā katabū 'ammā l-banātu fa-lam yaktubna*] (= “I wrote, *but as for* the girls, they *did* not write”).

14. **هَذَا مَفْهُومٌ وَأَمَا فِيمَا يَتَعَلَّقُ بِكَلَامِهِ فِي الْمُسْتَقْبَلِ فَلَا رَأْيَ لَنَا فِيهَا** [*hādhā mafhūmun wa-'ammā fīmā yata'allaqu bi-kalāmihī fī l-mustaqbali fa-lā ra'ya lanā fihā*] (= “This is understood, *but as for* what he will say in future, we have no opinion on that”).

(H) General emphasis of the sentence by means of **إِنَّ** [*inna*] (= “indeed”, does not always have to be translated).

15. **إِنَّ الْوَلَدَ مَرِيضٌ** [*'inna l-walada marīḍun*] (= “The boy is [indeed] ill”).

16. **إِنَّ التِّلْمِيذَ نَشِيطٌ** [*'inna t-tilmīḍha nashīṭun*] (= “The pupil is [indeed] diligent”).

(I) Through a change in constituent order.

(a) Sentences that begin with a verbal predicate instead of a noun, in the manner of Arabic syntax:

17. **يُخْرَجُ الصَّيَّادُونَ بِالقَوَارِبِ إِلَى عَرْضِ البَحْرِ**; (Sarāyā *the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 24); **الأسودُ مُبتَعِدِينَ عَنِ الشَّاطِئِ كِيلُومِترًا أَوْ أَقَلَّ** [*yakhruju ṣ-ṣayyādūna bil-qawāribi 'ilā 'arḍi l-baḥri l-'aswadi mubta'idīna 'ani sh-shāṭi'i kīlūmitran 'aw 'aḡalla*] (Sarāyā *Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 732) (= “The fishermen go out in their boats into the heart of the black sea, for a distance of one kilometer or less”; literally: “Go out the fishermen...”).

18. **שמעה אמי את קול זעקתי – הפילה את כל שהיה בידה ואצה אלי, מחשש פן אונה רע** **وَسَمِعَتْ الْوَالِدَةُ صَوْتٌ صَرَخَتِي**; (Sarāyā *the Ghoul's Daughter*, p. 72); **فَحَفَّتْ إِلَيَّ فَارِعَةً دَارِعَةً أَنْ سَوْءًا أَلَمَ بِالْمِرْآةِ** [*wa-sami'ati l-wālidatu ṣawta ṣarkhatī fa-khaffat 'ilayya fāri'atan dāri'atan 'anna sū'an 'alamma bi-l-mir'āti*] (Sarāyā *Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 72) (= “My mother heard the sound of my

<sup>87</sup> In Arabic this is called **أَمَا التَّفْصِيلِيَّةُ** [*ammā t-taḥṣīliyya*] (= “The *ammā* of elaboration”) (Wright 1967, I, p. 292).

<sup>88</sup> For more on this construction, see Erez 2005, in which he discusses the structure and function of “as for” in English, and its Hebrew counterpart **בְּאִשֶּׁר**.



scream, let everything she had in her hand fall, and hurried over to me, lest something bad happen to the mirror”; literally: “*Heard* my mother...”).

הלך עמיתנו העיתונאי הצעיר והמודרני אל תחנת המשטרה הראשית של מחוז חיפה. 19. [wa-dhahaba zamīlunā s-ṣaḥafīyyu ilā markazi shurtati Ḥayfā] (*Ikhṭīyye*, p. 628) (= “Our young, modern journalist colleague went to the main police station in Haifa”; literally: “*Went* our young modern...”).

20. הפיץ הסוס וצהל וצהל צהלה ארוכה. (*They Confiscated Joy in My City*, p. [17]); [wa-ḥamḥama l-jawādu wa-ṣahala ṣahūlan ṭawīlan] (*Wa-Sādarū l-Farah fī Madīnatī*, p. [17]); (= “The horse jumped and gave a long neigh”; literally: “*Jumped* the horse ...”).

21. פתח הסוהר את הדלת וקלל את ערוות אמהותיהם. (*They Confiscated Joy in My City*, p. [22]); [fataḥa s-sajjāmu l-bāba wa-shattama ‘awrāti ’ummahātihim] (*Wa-Sādarū l-Farah fī Madīnatī*, p. [19]) (= “The prison guard opened the door and cursed their mothers’ private parts”; literally: “*Opened* the prison guard ...”).

(b) A time adverbial that separates the subject from the predicate

22. הצבא, בעת הכיבוש, הפריד ואסף בצד את כל מי ש “ראש היוטה” הצביע עליו. (*The Opsimist*, p. 61); [wa-kāna al-jaysh, aṭṭā’ al-nṭūwīq, qad ṭakī jāyibā kull man aẓshad ilayhi ra’su al-ḥayshī] (*Al-Mutashā’il*, p. 233) (= “The army, during the siege, separated and put aside everyone indicated by Canvas Head”).

(c) Adverbial of state at the beginning of the sentence

23. ערומים כאדם וחוה עמדנו בבתיים לבקש נדבה. (*Bridge on the Sad River*, p. 95); [urātun ka-Ādama wa-Ḥawwā’a waqafnā bi-d-dūri nastaḥjdi] (*Jisr ‘alā al-Nahr al-Ḥazīn*, p. 93) (= “Naked as Adam and Eve, we stopped by the houses and begged”).

## J. Through extraposition

The use of extraposition in the Hebrew writings of Arab authors when translating extraposed sentences in Arabic testifies to indirect Arabic influence.

24. ואבי, תהי נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים, היתה לו יד במדינה לפני קומה. (*The Opsimist*, p. 15); [wa-wālidī, raḥma lillāh, kānat lū ayādī ‘alī d-dawla qabīl qiyāmā] (*The Opsimist*, p. 15)



*rahimahu Llāhu, kānat lahu 'ayyādin 'alā d-dawlati qabla qiyāmihā*] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 172) (= “And my father, may he rest in peace, played a role in the state before it was founded”).

25. فَأَكْثُرُ (The *Opsimist*, p. 15); رוב השמות שעלו לא בא שמעם, בטרם אותו לילה. [fa-'aktharu hādhihi l-qurā lam 'asma' bihi illā tilka l-laylata] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 178) (= “Most of the names that were mentioned, were never heard before that night”).

26. והצעיר הערבי שפגע במכוניתו במכונית אחרת ברחוב לילינבלום בתל אביב, מה הציל והالشاب العربي، الذي صدّم سيّارته، الذي صدم سيّارته (The *Opsimist*, p. 101) אותו זולת דמינו המזרחי [wa-sh-shābbu l-'arabiyyu l-ladhū šadam bi-sayyāratihī sayyāratan 'ukhrā fī shārī'i Lilienblum fī Tal-Abība, mā kāna yunqidhuku siwā khayālīhi sh-sharqiyyi] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 292) (= “And the Arab youth whose car had struck another car on Lilienblum St., nothing saved him but his oriental imagination”).

K. Focalization through التوكيد [lām al-tawkiḍ] (= “the *l* of emphasis”)

The use of the words ודאי and לבטח (= “certainly”) at the beginning of a result clause in a conditional sentence as the translation of an Arabic conditional sentence in which the result clause begins with the “*l* of emphasis” may testify to indirect Arabic influence:

27. ואילו בחיים היתה דודה סרחאנה היום, ודאי לה שהיתה מצמידה אצבעה לשפתיה: وَلَوْ ظَلَمْتُ عَمَّتِي سَرَخَانَةَ عَائِشَةَ، حَتَّى [wa-law zallat 'ammati Sarḥānātu 'ā'ishatan ḥattā hādihā l-yawmi, la-waḍa'at sabbābatahā 'alā famihā ishāratan lī 'an "luuss"] (*Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl*, p. 841) (= “Had Aunt Sarḥāna been alive today, it is certain that she would have pressed her finger to her lips: ‘Shhh!’”).

28. ואלמלא זוג עיניים שנעצו בי חיוך אילם יסודי של עידוד, ואלמלא יד שלחצה את ידי באומרה “חזק ואמץ” – ודאי לי שהייתי מתייחס לגוף השרוע לידי כאל גופה נטולת רוח וְלَوْلَا عَيْنَانِ اثْنَتَانِ صَوَّبَتَا نَحْوِي بِلَا جِرَاكَ الْبَيْسَامَةَ تَشْجِيعِ; (The *Opsimist*, p. 131) חיים [wa-lawlā 'aynāni thnatanī šawwabatā nahwī bi-lā ḥirākini btisāmata tashji' in sirriyyatin, wa-lawlā yadun tashuddu 'alā yadī 'an 'ashtadda, la-ḥasibtu 'anna l-jisma l-mumtadda 'ilā yasārī juththatun bilā ḥayātin] (*Al-Mutashā'il*, p. 236) (= “And were it not for a pair of eyes that directed a mute smile of encouragement at me, and were it not for a hand that shook

my hand as if saying ‘Be strong’, I would *certainly* have treated the body lying next to me as a lifeless corpse”).

29. שאם היה הארון עדיין בביתנו, ודאי לה שהיתה לוקחת אותו על אפי והמתו של נהג ולוֹ גֵאֲנֵת מוֹגֵדֶה (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 74); [wa-law kānat la-fa'alat wa-lammā statā'a sāhibu tilka sh-shāhinati l-la'īnati 'an yamtani'a 'an talbiyati talabilhā] (Sarāyā Bint al-Ghūl, p. 797) (= “That had the cupboard still been in our house, it is *certain* that she would have taken it over the protests of the driver of that accursed truck”).

30. עד מתי תבקשו ממני, יקירי הנוכחים והנפקדים שלא להיפזז ... שאילמלא ידעתי כי פֵאֵלִי מֵתִי תִּפְלְטוּן מִנִּי, יָא אֲבִיָאֵי אֲחֵיָא מִהֶם וְאֶלְגַּיִינִי, אֲתֻמְּלִי ... קָלוּלָא (Sarāyā the Ghoul's Daughter, p. 92); [fa-ilā matā taṭlubūna minnī, yā 'ahibbā'ī l-'ahyā'a minhum wal-ghā'ibīna, t-tamahhula ... fa-lawlā 'idrākī 'anna l-mawta haqqun la-maḍaytu fi t-tamahhuli hattā l-'adami] (Sarāyā and departed, ask me to be patient ... for had I not known that death is justice, I would *certainly* have tarried to infinity”).

31. ונפשי רועשת וגועשת בתוכי, שאילו היה יעקב שומע את הדיאלוג הזה ודאי לו שהיה פֵיִיבִיחַ חָאֲפֵרִי אִן לֹוּ סִמַּע יַעֲקֹובְּ הֵדָּא (The Opsimist, p. 92); [fa-yahūju khāfirī 'an law sami'a Ya'qūbu hādhā l-hiwāra la-t-tahamānī bi-d-da'wati sh-shuyū'iyyati] (= “I feel a tempest in my soul, for if Ya'qūb had heard this dialogue, he would *certainly* have accused me of making Communist propaganda”).

32. They Confiscated Joy in My City, p. [21]; [wa-l-lāhi law kāna himārī ma'ī la-'arafa hādhā l-'ajūza] (Wa-Ṣādarū l-Farah fi Madīnati, p. [18]) (= “If my donkey had been with me, it would *certainly* have become acquainted with this old man”).

## Summary

The phenomenon of Israeli Arab authors writing original works of literature, or translating literature from Arabic into Hebrew, has emerged relatively recently. The number of Arabs who compose texts directly in Hebrew is constantly on the rise. At the time of writing there are eight such writers: Anton Shammas, Naim Araydi, Sayyid Qashu, Atallah Mansour, Gerries Tannous, Muhammad Ghanayim, Usama Abu Ghush and Salman Natour. The present study has shown quite decisively that the

influence of Arabic on their Hebrew writings is conscious; cases of unconscious influence are very rare. Arabic words and expressions occur throughout the Hebrew text, in order to evoke an atmosphere of Arab culture.

The study showed clear Arabic influences in both syntax and the lexicon. The lexical influence is mostly quite obvious: Arabic words and expressions, loan translations, borrowed meanings, and neologisms in Hebrew under Arabic influence, especially that of colloquial Arabic, which plays a dominant role in the Hebrew works of Arab writers, despite the fact that in Arab society there is a demand to speak and write in a language as close as possible to Standard Arabic, which is perceived as the "pure" form of the language. However, less obvious lexical influences are also in play: Revival of biblical collocations and verbs by imbuing them with meaning taken from Arabic, and the creation of new verbal forms in Hebrew under the influence of Arabic, when confronted with lexical lacunae in Hebrew.

In the domain of syntax, Arab writers' fluency in and mastery of both modern and classical Hebrew has enabled them to choose classical syntactic patterns identical to those of Arabic, in order to retain the latter's syntactic structures in their Hebrew texts. This conscious influence does not involve any deviation from the rules of Hebrew, since most of the structures chosen by Arab writers in Hebrew have roots in archaic stages of the language. The syntactic influence of Arabic can be divided into two:

(A) Direct influence: Changes in object types, for example direct by indirect, or one indirect by another; or the use of typical Arabic structures such as "clarification and specification", previously encountered only in medieval Arabized Hebrew, under Arabic influence.

(B) Indirect influence: A tendency in texts written directly in Hebrew to use syntactic structures that are typical of ancient Hebrew but are rare in the modern language, such as preposing the demonstrative adjective to the noun, use of the quantity modifier הרבה after the noun it modifies, and state clauses introduced by the ן of state. These structures, which are very similar to the corresponding ones in Arabic, were consciously chosen in order to adhere to the Arabic text. Their use seems to constitute a stylistic feature that typifies the Hebrew writings of Arab authors.

The study did not find that the Arabic influence on works translated into Hebrew was greater than in works composed directly in Hebrew, whether in the lexicon or in syntax. Anton Shammas uses more biblical and other

archaic forms than other authors, both in translated and original Hebrew works, apparently due to his education and his expert knowledge of biblical and post-biblical Hebrew literature.

I hope that this study, in addition to providing the reader with an opportunity to become acquainted with influence of Arabic on the Hebrew writings of Arab authors, will also provide an impetus for further research into the mutual influences of Hebrew and Arabic.

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