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QOTEL AND ITS DYNAMICS (PART 2)

Abstract

The present study (divided into two papers) provides a dynamic – conceptually consistent and typologically plausible – classification of the QOTEL form in the Biblical, Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew languages. While preserving the entire semantic and functional richness of the construction, the author defines the gram as a portion of the imperfective path, which is additionally bifurcated into modal contamination and modal ability clines. The comparison of the dynamic states of the formation in three the diachronic periods furthermore demonstrates that the evolution of the QOTEL pattern may not be equaled to a simple change from a progressive aspect into a present tense. First, the QOTEL (in present and future temporal spheres) fails to suffer any qualitative semantic development, spanning the same section of the posited trajectory over the three historical periods – the modification is generally quantitative. Second, the QOTEL in a past time frame (both as a simple QOTEL morphology and in combination with the auxiliary hayah ‘be’) offers qualitative and quantitative alternations. Most importantly, it has lost progressive senses but acquired modal values of possibility and probability which are prompted by its prominent habitual meaning.

This article constitutes the second part of the series. It introduces the remaining portion of evidence (i.e. the data from the Modern Hebrew language), provides dynamic definitions of the QOTEL in Biblical, Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew and analyzes the modifications of the dynamic states of the gram during these three historical periods.

Keywords: Classification of QOTEL, Biblical, Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew, Comparative linguistics, Qualitative and quantitative alterations, Modality

1. The point where we left our discussion

The present study offers an alternative approach to the question of the meaning of the *qotel* gram in the Hebrew language and its semantic development

from the biblical to modern period through the rabbinic époque. This novel analysis is based upon the understanding of the total meaning of a verbal gram in dynamic terms as defended by cognitive, typological and grammaticalization linguistics. According to this definition, the overall meaning of a verbal formation corresponds to a set-theoretic union of the individual values available in concrete uses, ordered and represented as a portion of universal diachronic templates (paths), additionally enriched by the information concerning the frequency (Andrason 2011: 28-34, 2012 and 2013a). Thus, with respect to the *qotel* form, this dynamic definition signifies that the gram – analyzed separately in the three synchronic periods, i.e. in Biblical (BH), Rabbinic (RH) and Modern (MH) Hebrew – should be portrayed as a map of senses (either prototypical [i.e. frequent] or peripheral [i.e. rare]) chained by means of certain evolutionary clines. These dynamic definitions of the *qotel* offered individually for each one of the three historical periods should, in turn, enable us to provide a more accurate model of its evolution, showing how such dynamic states of the construction (modeled as portions of the cline(s)) have been modified across centuries.

The present article constitutes the second part of the series. In the previously published part 1 (Andrason 2013b), the methodological foundations of the author's approach were meticulously explained and the empirical evidence concerning Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew was introduced. To be precise, as far as the methodological issues are concerned, the procedure of mapping the semantic potentials of verbal grams by means of universal diachronic templates was presented and theoretically substantiated. Next, three templates or clines which are related to the constructions that function as progressives, imperfectives or presents were explained in detail. These clines are the imperfective path, modal contamination path and the modal path of habituals. All of them jointly represent the grammatical life of imperfective formations arisen from participial inputs and account for all the possible values (taxis, aspectual, temporal and modal) displayed by such grams at any moment of their grammatical life. In addition, the evidence concerning the semantic potential of the *qotel* formation in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew was introduced. The provided data demonstrated that static – one label (as an aspect [progressive] or tense [present]) – classifications of the *qotel* formation in these two historical phases conflict with a real state of affairs. As the BH and RH *qotel* grams convey various senses, a dynamic definition based upon the path-templates seems to be more suitable. In a concise and explanatory shape, such a definition preserves the entirety of information concerning the semantic richness of the form, thus enabling scholars to escape drastic oversimplifications.

In this paper – which continues and finalizes the research activities undertaken in the previously published part one – the author is engaged in completing the presentation of the empirical evidence and developing a synthetic – synchronic and diachronic – explanation. Namely, to begin with, the data related

to Modern Hebrew – the third and last historical stage of the Hebrew language will be introduced (cf. section 2). Next, a holistic dynamic classification of the gram in the three diachronic periods will be formulated and the changes in its semantic states (portrayed as portions of paths) across centuries will be discussed (section 3). In this manner, the author will show that in each diachronic period, partially incoherent, semantic and functional characteristics of the Hebrew formation may be rationalized and represented as a coherent phenomenon. By employing the clines introduced in the first article of the series, it is possible to picture the state of the gram (i.e. its entire semantic and functional potential) as a single geometrical object, a portion of a path or a multi-segmental state. This will, in turn, enable us to posit a more accurate model of the evolution of the gram across the three historical periods. To be exact, it will be demonstrated how the state of the formation, i.e. its path representation, was modified from Biblical Hebrew to Modern Hebrew, though the phase of the Rabbinic Hebrew language.

2. Modern Hebrew

Although Modern Hebrew is historically disconnected from Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, in the present paper we will regard it as a posterior stage of the two earlier languages. In other words, it will be understood as a systematic and more advanced reflex of the processes that have been detected in the biblical and rabbinic periods. This approximation is based on the following fact: even if Modern Hebrew is regarded as a creolized language with Slavic and Germanic (particularly Yiddish) substrates, its validity for our research – built on the dynamic view – remains firm and intact.¹ Pidgins, creoles and koinés – as any linguistic organizations which emerge due to a language contact phenomenon – regularly display a more profound (“more rapid”) semantic-functional development than their source languages. Consequently, they may be employed to prove or disprove the soundness of the explanation hypothesized for their linguistic inputs (cf. Andrason 2008: 121-140).

In Modern Hebrew grammars, the *qotel* has received two types of analysis which strongly approximate a well-known issue in the biblical studies: the confrontation between the aspectual and temporal views. On the one hand, the

¹ There are wide ranges of opinions on the genetic relation of Modern Hebrew to other languages, cf. for instance the Slavic-Yiddish theory defended by Blanc (1968), Wexler (1990) and Horvath and Wexler (1994: 250-257), the creolization theory of Bar-Adon (1965: 84 and 1975: 42) and Ben-David (1985: 165), and the multi-sources theory posited by Kuzar (2001: 135-136). Consult also Zuckermann (2006: 58-61) and his view whereby the Israeli Hebrew is a hybrid built on Semitic and Indo-European elements. On the other hand, the genetic relation of the Modern Hebrew with the Semitic family has been defended by Rosen (1977: 24) and Saenz-Badillos (1993: 277).

gram has commonly been defined as a present tense (cf. e.g. Berman 1978: 142, Glinert 2005: 20, Coffin and Bolozky 2005: 35-36). On the other hand, however, certain scholars propose an aspectual interpretation of the *qotel* formation, classifying it as an imperfective category (e.g. Tsivoni 1991; see especially Dekel 2010: 132 and 142-143 who determines the nature of the MH verbal system as inherently aspectual and modal, but not temporal, and firmly denies that the *qotel* is a present tense). Facing once again a classification problem, let us analyze in detail the semantic and functional properties of the formation.

In Modern Hebrew, the simple form *qotel* is regularly used as a present tense with a progressive (1.a), habitual (1.b) and durative (gnomic) value (1.c; cf. Coffin and Bolozky 2005: 36 and Glinert 2005: 36; see also Gordon 1982). Analyzing the spoken Modern Hebrew language, Dekel (2010: 122, 124-125, 142-143) classifies the participial form as a prototypical imperfective gram, able to convey progressive, habitual and durative (including, gnomic) activities.

- (1) a. **עובדת** היא לא יכולה לדבר עכשיו בטלפון כי היא **עובדת** (Coffin and Bolozky 2005: 36)
'She cannot come to the phone now because she **is working**'
- b. כל יום **יוצאים** מהבית בשבע (ibid.: 36)
'Every day they **leave** home at seven'
- c. מים **רותחים** ב 100 מעלות (Glinert 2005: 36)
'Water **boils** at 100 degrees'

Nevertheless, the identical morphology may sometimes be employed with an original adjectival force, functioning as an attributive element: טהול 'ardent', רהוז 'shining', וימשם 'fattening, fat' (Glinert 2005: 128-129 and Dekel 2010: 20-22), e.g.:

- (2) a. אני קורא ספר **מרתק**²
'I am reading a **fascinating** book'
- b. נרות **בוערים**
'**Burning** candles'

The *qotel* is, likewise, commonly employed with a circumstantial value (which is typical for participles) in subordinated clauses referring to present, past and future activities. This use is especially notable after the conjunction 'while' (Glinert 2005: 144 and Dekel 2010: 124, 132-133):

- (3) a. הקבוצות צעדו עלפני הצופים, כשהן שרות ומנופפות בדגלונים
'The teams marched past the spectators, while **singing** and **waving** flags' (Glinert 2005: 144)
- b. הקונסול יחזור בקרוב לירושלים, תוך שהוא מותיר מאחוריו המוני מכרים וחברים
'The consul will soon return to Jerusalem, **leaving** behind him hosts of acquaintances and friends' (ibid.)
- c. ראיתי אותו הולך
'I saw him **walking**'
- d. ראיתי את שרה קוראת ספרים
'I saw Sarah **reading** books'

The gram may also function as a future tense introducing both perfective (punctual, unique) and imperfective (progressive, habitual and durative) activities (Lyttleton and Wang 2004: 210, Glinert 2005: 36 and Cook 2008).

- (4) a. מחר אני קם מוקדם (Lyttleton and Wang 2004: 210)
'Tomorrow **I will get up (I am getting up)** early'
- b. באיזו שעה הם קמים מחר?
'At what time **will you get up (are you getting up)** tomorrow?'

The form may additionally appear in conditional periods, being clearly modally colored. In these cases, it introduces future activities which are either hypothetical or depend upon the accomplishment of other actions:²

- (5) אם הוא מגיע, אנחנו הולכים לסרט
'If he **comes**, we **are going** to the movie'

With the auxiliary היה 'be' in the *qatal* (an advanced resultative path gram which in Modern Hebrew functions as a simple general past, acceptable in perfective and imperfective, even progressive, contexts; cf. Andrason 2013a: 127-128, 160), the *qotel* forms an analytic locution *hayah qotel* with a clear habitual sense (Boneh and Doron 2010: 346, Dekel 2010: 129, 143, 153). On the other hand, in contrast to the state of affairs in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, the *hayah qotel* construction does not introduce progressive activities which are conveyed by the simple *qatal* (Glinert 2005: 143; for an opposite view see Piela 2008: 1-12). Thus, the development of the *qotel* in the past time frame, headed by the auxiliary verb, has been slightly distinct from that observed in the

² Glinert (2005: 38 and 144) as well as Lyttleton and Wang (2004: 210) note that the future tense *yiqtol* is commonly used in such future predictions and conditional periods. Nevertheless, examples of the *qotel* following a conditional particle 'if' are also abundant in the colloquial language. In many of these cases, the gram refers to future possible events.

present-future sphere. Namely, the gram has not become acceptable in perfective environments – perfective actions are expressed by the *qatal*. Furthermore, it has lost its progressive meaning, being employed only in the habitual sense corresponding to the English expression ‘I used to’ (Glinert 2005: 142-143 and Boneh and Doron 2010: 344-7).

- (6) a. בשבת הייתי קם בשמונה (Glinert 2005: 142)
‘On Shabbat I **was in the habit of getting up** at eight’
b. יעל היה עובד בגן (Boneh and Doron 2010: 344)
‘Ya’el **used to work** in the garden’

This retrospective habitual value, regularized in the modern language, constitutes the foundation of certain – rather frequent – modal uses of the *hayah qotel* formation, certainly related to the counterfactual essence of the gram (Boneh and Doron 2010: 352-355 and Dekel 2010: 155-156; cf. also the use in conditional periods, below). The fact that a given activity corresponded to a habit or custom, could imply that the agent had the ability to perform it (7.a). In other cases, a past habitual sense may be entirely missing – the gram offers a modal value of epistemic probability (7.b; cf. the modal ability path of habituals in section 2.2.2 in the first article of the series):

- (7) a. דינה היה מעשנת אחרי ארוחת הערב (Boneh and Doron 2010: 353)
‘Dina **would smoke (could smoke)** after the dinner’
b. עלול להיכנס לכאן גנב. הוא היה לוקח קודם כל את המחשב (ibid.)
‘A thief might enter. He **would take (might have taken)** the computer first’

Finally, the construction *hayah qotel* may also appear in conditional periods with a real (i.e. present) counterfactual hypothetical and optative value:

- (8) a. אם היינו יודעים, היינו אומרים (Glinert 2005: 143)
‘If we **knew**, we **would say**’
b. מה היית אומרת במקומי (ibid.)
‘What **would** you **say** in my place?’

It should be noted that the hypothetical *hayah qotel* may correspond not only to a real contrary-to-fact (“present”) conditional but also to its unreal (“past”) variant (ibid.: 143):

- (9) a. אם היית אומר לי, הייתי קונה את זה
'If you **had told** me, I **would have bought** it'
- b. לא הייתי סומכת עליו אם הייתי מכירה אותו (Glinert 2005: 143)
I would not have relied on him if I **had known** him

As was the case in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, the MH *qotel* may not be simplified to the label of a present tense or an imperfective aspect. It is a complex and multidimensional form related to various semantic domains and functional types. Although the adjectival and nominal force is sometimes available, the gram is doubtless a central element of the MH verbal organization. The verbal character and its core place in the MH system cannot be questioned. As a verb, under the shape of a simple *qotel*, the construction can be used as a progressive, habitual and durative present (a general present tense) and as an imperfective and perfective future (a general future tense), additionally preserving its circumstantial value of simultaneity which is applicable to the three temporal spheres. It may also appear in certain modal environments, being thus modally colored. While the simple *qotel* has been experiencing the process of specialization as a present-future form, the periphrastic locution *hayah qotel* has been restricted to past iterative values, being additionally regularized in modal (root, epistemic, conditional and hypothetical) uses (for a discussion of possible future uses of the *haya qotel*, see Piela 2008: 12-14).

Again, this semantic and functional complexity as well as a superficial randomness of the gram may be rationalized and the formation classified as a homogenous solid phenomenon if we comprehend it in dynamic terms as a portion of the imperfective, modal contamination and modal ability paths. The circumstantial, progressive, habitual, durative and (if applicable) perfective values correspond to stages on the imperfective cline in the three temporal spheres (i.e., in the past, present and future). All the conditional hypothetical senses reflect stages on the modal contamination track. Finally, the meanings of possibility and probability match phases on the modal ability path that has arisen from the habitual value. In Modern Hebrew, the *qotel* has clearly advanced its semantic and formal grammaticalization: the properly verbal uses are central and two main subtypes built on the *qotel* morphology (i.e. the simple *qotel* and the *hayah qotel*) are specialized with distinct functions and meanings. To conclude, the prototypicality of the MH *qotel* is similar to that provided by its rabbinic counterpart – it is an advanced imperfective diachrony, a broad present tense that spans the entire path (it includes progressive, habitual and durative domains). Likewise regular are its future uses. However, the semantic nucleus of the *hayah qotel* has been modified. This variety fails to include the domain of progressivity and additionally provides various modal nuances. It is thus plausible to assume that the two grams – *qotel* and *hayah qotel* – “have split”. Nowadays, they constitute two distinct (although “genetically” related) grammatical objects.

3. Dynamics of the *qotel* – synchronic and diachronic mapping

The evidence presented above demonstrates that the Hebrew gram *qotel* provides a broad range of meanings in the three historical periods, i.e. during the biblical, rabbinic and modern epochs. This signifies that this morphological pattern neither can be limited to an exclusive function (matching the category of verbs, participles, adjectives or nouns), nor may be reduced to a single semantic value and defined as a tense (present), an aspect (progressive or imperfective) or an expression of circumstantial simultaneity. However, the functional and semantic diversity of the *qotel* does not hinder us from grasping the construction in its totality and formulating its systematic definition. This may be achieved by applying the dynamic framework, i.e. by explaining the synchronic potential of the gram in diachronic terms as a portion of a given evolutionary cline. This identification of the construction with a developmental path enables us to define the formation as a rational and coherent phenomenon, and preserve its entire semantic and functional richness.

First of all, it is evident that the meanings provided by the *qotel* in Biblical, Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew match stages located on the imperfective path (cf. a similar conclusion in Cook 2001: 135, 2002: 269-271 and Joosten 2012: 77-78 who affirm that the *qotel* is a younger imperfective diachrony, the older one being the long *yiqtol*). Namely, circumstantial, progressive, habitual, durative and perfective (when the gram is used as a simple tense) senses may be related and ordered as corresponding to the sequence of phases of the imperfective cline. Furthermore, modal values offered by the formation may be rationalized as acquired following further developmental scenarios, related to the imperfective trajectory: the modal contamination path (uses in conditional periods and in future-imperative contexts) and modal ability path originated in habituals (values of ability, possibility and probability displayed by the simple *qotel* and the *hayah qotel*; this explanation was proposed by Boneh and Doron 2010). These two “lateral” paths – typologically frequent for grams that evolve along the imperfective cline (cf. section 2 in the first article of the series) – constitute well-founded justifications of the modal meanings offered by the *qotel*. They link them, both conceptually and diachronically, to the indicative *core* of the formation, itself defined as a manifestation of the imperfective track.

Consequently, using the path model, there is no need for simplifying the real state of affairs and for classifying the gram by choosing an exclusive label. Quite the contrary is true: we can conserve all semantic dissimilarities and particularities within a single definition, i.e. the *qotel* form can be viewed as a portion of the imperfective cline additionally bifurcated towards the modal contamination and modal ability paths. This representation of the state of the gram accounts for its entire semantic potential and is typologically and conceptually plausible. We can additionally enrich this qualitative model with quantitative information concerning the frequency of the senses, which enables

us to determine the prototypical sematic nucleus of the form. In this manner, the changes in the statistical prototypicality may represent modifications in the cognitive prototypicality and thus imply the evolution of the meaning of the form as perceived by the speakers: from a circumstantial-progressive to a broad present and future.

Furthermore, having originated in a participial pattern – whose force is available in the three periods in the circumstantial use –, the verbal *qotel* is genetically related to certain attributive adjectives and to some nominal forms. In Biblical Hebrew, due to the fact that the gram is a young formation, the circumstantial value is dominant and thus the proximity between the adjectival-nominal force, on the one hand, and the verbal nature on the other, is significantly more intense. During later periods, since the gram has advanced on the path and its main imperfective-cline function corresponds to typical verbal values (progressive, habitual, durative or perfective), the relation between the *qotel* verb and *qotel* adjective-noun has been weakened. We may even say that nowadays the two paths have split. Nevertheless, the verbal *qotel* still offers a clearly palpable participial use of circumstantial simultaneity – an undoubted vestige of its non-verbal past. Consequently (and similarly to our solution to the semantic characteristics of the construction), there is no need for defining the *qotel* at any particular historical time as *either* a verbal *or* nominal-adjectival form. The same gram, viewed as a continuum of connected stages of grammaticalization, may behave in a verbal, participial, nominal or adjectival manner. The accessibility to such distinct forces and the connection among them are greater at less advanced stages of the development. Thus, with an increase of grammaticalization, the formation undergoes a gradual – but far from ideal and/or total – specialization as a verbal form.

Let us now represent each stage located on the imperfective cline with a digit that symbolizes the historical order of its incorporation into the verbal meaning. The circumstantial value, the most original one, will be designed with number 1, the progressive phase with number 2, etc. Let us also add another segment, numbered 3.1., which reflects a modal development of habituais and thus generation of meanings of ability, possibility and probability (senses that are located on the modal ability path).³ Finally, let us include another section, tagged as 1.1, representing a modal contamination of indicative grams developing along the imperfective path (senses located on the cline of modal contamination).⁴ For simplicity's sake, this segment will be placed at the beginning of the cline, i.e.

³ For the sake of simplicity, all these modal values are grouped under a single label-stage. However, I am aware of the fact that the sense of ability historically precedes the value of root possibility which, in turn, is followed by the meaning of epistemic possibility (probability). In our mapping, the three senses are treated as one conceptual box, viz. number 3.1.

⁴ This conceptual box (1.1) includes all values developed in marked modal environments (especially in conditional clauses) which are both real and factual as well as counterfactual (real or

near circumstantial stage 1.⁵ This numeric representation may be illustrated in the following – certainly approximated and simplified – manner:

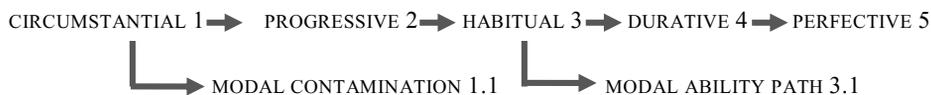


Figure 1: Model of meanings-stages of the *qotel*

With these distinctions made, and keeping in mind the data which were provided in the review of semantic and functional properties of the *qotel* in the three languages, we may offer a dynamic definition of the gram at the three periods as well as a more complex and more accurate model of its evolution. Additionally, the information concerning the frequency will be incorporated into the figures in the way that the most common senses (and thus stages-cells) will be shaded. In this manner, the model will graphically represent the prototypicality of the *qotel*.

The simple *qotel* in a present time frame offers the same scope of semantic potential at the three epochs. The distinction among them clearly resides in the frequency and regularity. In the BH period, the circumstantial value predominates, while in the later languages, the progressive, habitual and durative values are also highly common.

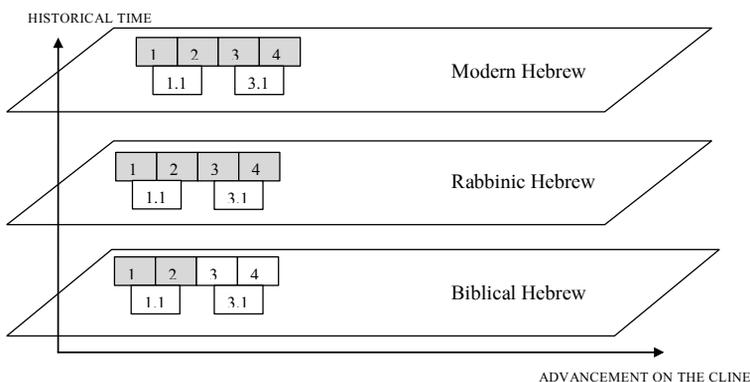


Figure 2: The state space of the *qotel* in the present time sphere

unreal). Thus, we are again making use of a conceptual simplification, by grouping under a single label various senses that, although certainly connected and similar, are not identical.

⁵ We are, however, aware that the modal contamination affects the gram during its entire evolution, and thus is applicable to any meaning displayed on the chart. In other words, also in explicit modal milieus, the *qotel* develops in accordance with the imperfective path.

A similar situation may be observed if we study the *qotel* in a future time frame. The extent of the portion of the path covered by the gram remains unchanged from the BH stage: yet again, the difference between the three periods lies in the frequency and regularization of particular values-stages. On the other hand, it must be noted that, contrary to the present time *qotel*, its variety, employed with the future temporal reference, has reached the perfective stage and may be used as a simple future.⁶

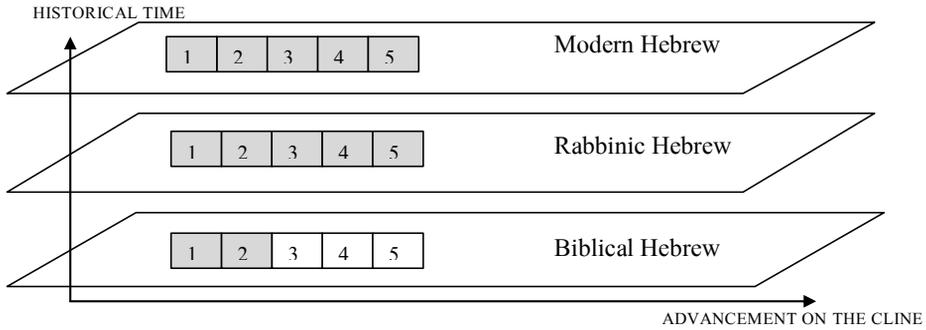


Figure 3: The state space of the *qotel* in the future time sphere

While the status of the present and future *qotel* has not been qualitatively modified (the grams reflect the same portions of the cline – the evolution involves quantitative changes in frequency and thus prototypicality), the position of the past *qotel* has been drastically weakened. Namely, the simple *qotel* as a verbal gram in the past temporal sphere has been lost in Modern Hebrew. It may only be used with a circumstantial force in the past as a participial gerund. This means that the *qotel* in verbal functions (related to stages 2, 3, 4 and 5) has been specialized (yet again, not entirely!) as an expression of the present and future.

While the *qotel* has been experiencing a gradual process of specialization as a present-future form, the *hayah qotel* was regularized as an expression of the past. This fact, observable already in the BH period, has certainly encouraged a gradual (but yet, not total) identification of the simple *qotel* with a non-past temporal reference. The most important change in the state of the *hayah qotel* between Modern Hebrew and the anterior periods – besides modifications in the frequency of specific values-stages – is the acquisition of a patent modal tone in accordance with the modal ability path and the loss of the progressive value. Nowadays, the gram is used as a past habitual, counterfactual conditional and

⁶ In the present chart modal values have been ignored. We consider that modal uses of the present *qotel* also account for the future time reference given the fact that modality and futurity are closely related.

epistemic mood (possibility or probability). This last usage does not appear in the biblical and rabbinic languages.⁷

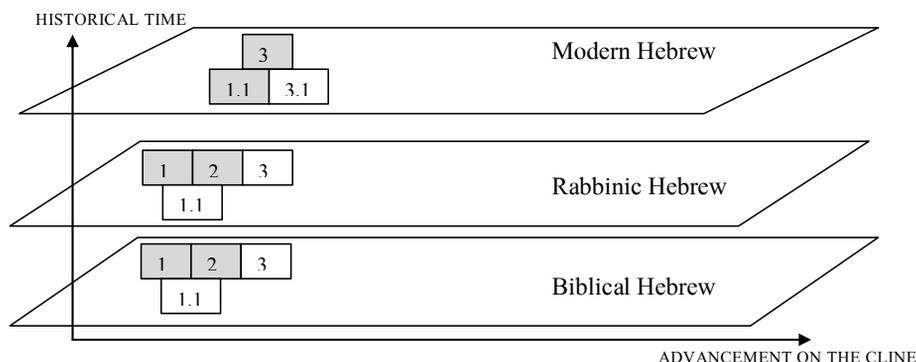


Figure 4: The state space of the *hayah qotel*

Our interpretation of the evolution of the *qotel* also demonstrates that the proximity between the adjectival-nominal, participial and verbal facets of the gram is more intense in the biblical language than in Modern Hebrew. Since the MH *qotel* and *hayah qotel* increased the frequency of properly verbal stages, decreasing the regularity of an original participial sense, the connection with the non-verbal (participial and adjectival) sides of the morphology has been weakened. This, however, does not imply that it has entirely been lost. On the contrary, the participial function is still available in the simple *qotel* formation and circumstantial uses are abundant. Moreover, although with various restrictions, the attributive use may also be encountered in the modern language. Both senses are clear remnants of the gram’s “prehistory” and may be incorporated into its potential at the three periods by employing the dynamic definition.

4. Conclusion

Our proposal to the classification problem of the BH *qotel* offers a unifying definition of gram as a portion of the imperfective path bifurcated additionally into modal contamination and modal ability clines. This definition presents the gram as a conceptually logical and homogeneous phenomenon, respecting its entire semantic and functional complexity. Our classification of the *qotel* accounts for the entire empirical evidence – it virtually tolerates and explains all the uses of the *qotel*, be they frequent or rare. Additionally, respecting and – to a great extent – assuming the grammatical tradition, to which the author is

⁷ The *yihyeh qotel* is very seldom employed and may be omitted as a residual form.

entirely indebted, the definition presented above incorporates the majority of important findings available in the theories formulated thus far. It shows that all the models may be treated as complementary – each one of them emphasizes a given portion of the semantic potential and functional load of the gram. Such a global and reconciling view was obtained by employing a dynamic type of categorization, i.e. a map of senses that were connected by means of universal diachronic templates.

Furthermore, as for the evolution of the construction in Rabbinic and Modern Hebrew, the dynamic classifications of the gram in the two posterior languages demonstrate that the development of the *qotel* may not be equaled with its plain transformation into a general present form. Quite the reverse, as far as the simple *qotel* is concerned, the main change is not qualitative but rather quantitative – it involves the increase in frequency and regularization of values already available during the BH period. These changes in frequency suggest modifications in prototypicality and thus in the users' perception of the *qotel* form. Only in the past temporal sphere can qualitative modifications be detected. They correspond to a reduction of the uses of the gram as a past imperfective form. Likewise, the *hayah qotel* formation shows qualitative changes, suffering a gradual loss of circumstantial and progressive meanings.

With respect to the “schizophrenic” nominal-adjectival-participial-verbal nature of the *qotel*, we again face quantitative – but not qualitative – modifications. This signifies that the statistical distribution among verbal and non-verbal functions has been altered but the availability to such uses has not.

It should be observed that our classification of the *qotel* – despite its benefits – has certain deficiencies which, however, can easily be overcome. The path definition of the gram accounts for its total semantic and functional diversity: it includes all values displayed by the formation. Nevertheless, we are aware of the fact that the weight of such meaning-stages is not equal within the gram's potential. Some of them are common while others appear as residual. Consequently, a detailed analysis of the frequency of all values-stages offered by the *qotel* must be provided. In the present paper, following classical studies and their conclusions with regard to the commonness or rareness of determined values, we generally and superficially stated that a given sense was frequent or peripheral. These general – but certainly correct – observations must be supported by a meticulous and purely numerical examination. Such a detailed statistical analysis of the frequency of the senses of the *qotel* constitutes one of the future research plans of the author (cf. already Cook 2012 and his data concerning the verbal uses of the participle in Late Biblical Hebrew).

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Qotel and its dynamics (part 2)

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