דברי מבוא
רות א׳ ברמן ודורית רביד

גיליון מיוחד זה של ״מחקרים בלשון״ מוקדש להיבטים שונים של העברית החדשה. זכות לנו להשתתף בבמה יוקרתית וקפדנית זו על מנת להנגיש לקהל חוקרי השפה העברית ואוהדיה מחקרים שבלבם העברית החדשה על גווניה השונים – פונולוגיה (בת־אל, גפטר), מורפולוגיה (לקס, רביד ושות׳), תחביר (ארב וברמן, בר־אשר סיגל, רשף) וניתוח השיח (זיידס ואריאל, מלניק ועוזיאל). מטרתנו הייתה לייצג לא רק היבטי מבנה שונים ורכיבים מגוונים של השפה אלא גם לתת במה לגישות עקרוניות שונות למחקר הבלשני ולעיסוק בחקר העברית.

אנו מודות מקרב לב לעמיתים ולעמיתות שהואילו לשמש קוראים למאמרים השונים: אליצור דטנר, אוון כהן, ליאור לקס, אורי מור, נורית מלניק, איה מלצר, שרון ערמון־לוטם, נעם פאוסט ואורה שוורצולד. המחברים כולם טרחו ותיקנו את כתבי היד שלהם בהתאם למשוב המועיל שסיפקו להם בתחילה קוראים וקוראות אלה, ולאחר מכן עורכות כתב העת עדינה מושבי ויעל רשף. אנו תקווה שקובץ זה יעודד מחקרים נוספים שעניינם העברית בת־ימינו על מרכיביה השונים ומנקודות מבט תיאוריות ועיוניות שונות.

אנו מודות לפרופ׳ יעל רשף מן האוניברסיטה העברית, שהציעה לנו לארח קובץ מאמרים זה בגיליון מיוחד של כתב העת ״מחקרים בלשון״, הרואה אור מטעם המחלקה ללשון העברית באוניברסיטה העברית. תודתנו למכון למדעי היהדות ע״ש ג׳ק, ג׳וזף ומורטון מנדל ולפרופ׳ נח חכם שעמד בראשו על מתן האישור לפרסם את קובץ המאמרים ככרך מיוחד של מחקרים בלשון ועל התמיכה הנדיבה בפרסומו. על עריכת הלשון הופקדה הגברת חנה פורטגנג, ואת הסדר העמידה הגברת אירית נחום – תודתנו לשתיהן על עבודתן הקפדנית, המקצועית והנקייה. הוצאת מאגנס הוציאה מתחת ידה מלאכה מתוקנת – יבואו כולם על הברכה.

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Outi Bat-El Foux

On the Importance of Word Edges

Word edges are privileged positions, with the beginning (left edge) of the word being privileged in adults' languages and the end (right edge) of the word being privileged in children's languages. Privileged positions are considered strong – they tend to resist alternation and escape truncation. In this paper, I discuss the status of word edges in the Hebrew of adults and children, with reference to truncation phenomena. I show that children preserve material from the right edge of the word (e.g., *du* for *kaduʁ* 'ball') while adults preserve material from the left edge (e.g., *lehit* for *lehitʁaot* 'see you'). I argue that the differences between adults and children's privileged positions are due to their different linguistic tasks: while adults are concerned with language processing and word recognition, children are still preoccupied with word perception.

Roey Gafter

Sub-Phonemic Vocalic Variation in Hebrew: An Acoustic Study with a Social Perspective

The investigation of subtle variation in vowel systems has been a major research focus in the field of sociophonetics, particularly in English. In Hebrew, however, there has been little sociophonetic research work on vowels. Most sociolinguistic research on vowels in Hebrew focuses on categorical variables, whereas the extant acoustic studies have generally used a limited number of subjects or were based on participants reading nonce words in a laboratory. Therefore, little to nothing is known about the extent of sub-phonemic socially meaningful variation in Hebrew.

This paper aims to make an initial step in filling this research gap, by adopting a sociophonetic approach and acoustically analyzing the vocalic variation in a corpus of 14 speakers from Greater Tel Aviv. Tokens of all five Hebrew vowels (n=1196) were hand-coded and their formants were extracted. The results show a statistically significant effect of age: younger

speakers in the sample tend to realize /i/ and /o/ with higher F1 values (i.e. lower realizations). These results are taken as "apparent time" evidence for an ongoing sound change, demonstrating that despite the fact that Hebrew has a simple 5-vowel system, socially stratified variation does occur. Therefore, I argue that vocalic variation presents a promising new frontier in Hebrew sociolinguistic research.

Lior Laks

Between Ravioli and Raviol: Factors of Vowel Deletion in Loanwords

The study examines final vowel deletion and its absence in Hebrew loanwords as represented in Hebrew orthography (e.g. *ravyoli* ~ *ravyol* 'ravioli'). It is argued that Hebrew vowels are perceived as more servile than consonants, as they tend to carry more grammatical information, and as a result they are also regarded as less lexical part of words, and are more likely to be deleted. The study is based on initiated web-searches with focus on websites where the writing reflects spontaneous speech. The study shows that vowel deletion and its absence can be partially predicted based on the interaction between morpho-phonological, semantic, syntactic and orthographic criteria. From the morpho-phonological point of view, the likelihood of vowel deletion depends on the type of vowel, number of syllables and stress pattern. Orthography also plays a role, as the vowel *a*, which is typically represented by the Hebrew frequent final letter *he*, is less likely to be deleted. On the semantic dimension, vowel deletion is used to derive a singulative form. As for the syntactic factor, vowel deletion is more common in case the loanword is part of a construct state phrase, which is highly typical of Hebrew. Loanwords are less likely to surface as part of this constriction, and when they do, final vowels can be dropped in order to make the words look less non-native. The study reveals that Hebrew loanwords are not treated as a homogenous group, and that speakers show sensitivity to their internal structure and morpho-phonological features. The study sheds light on the degree of loanword adaptation, revealing active grammatical constraints that are taken into consideration.

Dorit Ravid, Shai Karasenti, Orit Ashkenazi

Dual Hebrew Nouns in Mother-Toddler Discourse: A Longitudinal Study of Form and Function

The acquisition of vocabulary is the strongest predictor of grammatical development in many languages. The Hebrew dual forms, ending with the suffix *-áyim* (e.g., *garbáyim* 'socks'), constitute a small morpho-lexical category denoting entities relevant to the toddler's world. The paper traces the acquisition of dual structures in mother-child interaction across the third year of life. Out of 110 dual lemmas in the corpus, 42 appeared in about 2,000 token occurrences, representing almost half of the plural noun tokens in the corpus. From a linguistic perspective, the dual was shown to be a somewhat esoteric Hebrew morphological category. From a developmental psycholinguistic perspective, we have shown the dual is a small but iconic category, cognitively simple and morphologically and semantically robust, predominantly feminine in gender, and serving as a bridge to the acquisition of plural structures. Its full acquisition requires substantial familiarity with written language, literate morpho-lexical abilities, and a rich vocabulary acquired in diverse contexts.

Ittamar Erb and Ruth A. Berman

Prepositional Phrases in Modern Hebrew

This corpus-based study concerns the form and structure of Prepositional Phrases (PPs) in Modern Hebrew in written texts. We analyse PPs as composed of three constituents: a **precursor**: the element that is syntactically expanded and semantically specified by the PP; a **preposition**: the form — specified as prefixal, monolexemic, or phrasal (e.g., *be-* 'in', *be-tox* 'inside', *be-mahalax* 'in-the-course-of') — that indicates the type of relation expressed by the PP; and a **complement** — the noun phrase that follows the preposition and specifies the entity to which the precursor relates (e.g., the underlined element in *hu hityaxes la-be'ayot še-nitkal ba-hen be-mahalax limudav*).

Analysis is applied to all PPs occurring in 40 unedited narrative and expository texts written by native speakers of Hebrew, university graduate students, on the topic of interpersonal conflict. In addition to specifying the lexical category of the precursor and the morpho-lexical composition of the preposition, special attention is paid to complex complements containing coordinated and/or relative clause constructions. Our goal is to explain the conditions motivating and constraining use of these lexical and grammatical elements as reflected in how they function in the context of extended discourse.

Elitzur A. Bar-Asher Siegal

Verbs for Expressing Reciprocity in Modern Hebrew

The article reexamines the commonly accepted claim in linguistic research that there exists a grammatical category of reciprocity in Hebrew. According to this view, verbs in the *hitpa'el* (התפעל) stem are perceived as denoting symmetric and reciprocal situations in the world, and the reciprocity is attributed to this form. The article offers an alternative perspective, arguing that: 1) the verbs in question do not necessarily express reciprocity; 2) they are not derived from other verbs, and thus the existence of a unique grammatical category for reciprocity is not self-evident. Instead, it is suggested that the *hitpa'el* stem functions as a "strategy for expressing reciprocity." This means that while the form itself does not inherently convey reciprocity, it systematically appears in constructions that describe contexts involving symmetric relations. For example, the verb *hitḥabeq* ("hugged") describes an activity that may be reciprocal when occurring between two people, but this is not obligatory (e.g., hugging a pillow). Similarly, the verb *hitmaser* ("to pass") may involve reciprocal relations when referring to an interaction between people, but not when directed toward an inanimate object like a wall. Accordingly, when this verb is used to denote "passing between people" it is reciprocal, but the verb can also be used in a context that a child played catch with the wall, thus in other contexts it is not necessarily a symmetric verb. Another example is the verb *hit'ahav* ("fell in love"), which can describe a reciprocal relationship but does not necessarily

require one. The article also proposes a new classification of four types of reciprocal verbs in Modern Hebrew and demonstrates correlations between their semantic features and the ways in which they express symmetric relations in the world.

Yael Reshef

Deviations from the Rules of Agreement in the Emergence Period of Modern Hebrew: Stability vs. Change

Deviations from the rules of agreement are found to a certain extent in all historical strata of Hebrew, but the range of categories tending to non-normative variation changes from period to period. This article examines the manifestations of the phenomenon and the processes of change that affected it during the emergence period of modern Hebrew in the late 19th- and early 20th centuries. The findings are based on a large-scale corpus of early journalistic texts, which provide continuous documentation of the linguistic habits extant in the period's non-literary writing, enabling us to trace the processes of change involved in modernization.

The textual findings indicated a large degree of regularity in the application of the rules of agreement in the corpus. The deviations from present-day rules evidently do not reflect coincidental mistakes made by non-native writers, since the normative rules are generally followed, and deviations from them are not only few, but also tend to belong to categories reflecting a small set of lexical, morphological, syntactic or semantic factors.

The diachronic examination of the data revealed that the fate of the various categories was influenced by the type of factors undermining the rules of agreement. Categories anchored in performance phenomena tended towards stability, as opposed to noticeable changes in categories that underwent transformation throughout modernization, inter alia the standardization of gender in nouns that were used both as feminine and masculine in previous historical strata, the rejection of linguistic practices that became obsolete since they were patently identified with the linguistic style of previous linguistic stages, or the impact of language-planning activity. These changes occurred gradually, and while some of them accompanied the transformation

of Hebrew into a daily means of communication within the newly-formed speech community, others took place in the written modality already prior to the formation of speech.
Our findings are therefore not limited to the field of agreement, but may contribute to a better understanding of the nature and scope of the processes of change involved in the modernization of Hebrew.

Kristina Zaides and Mira Ariel

Xuc mi-: Detracts a member? Adds a member? Marks a digression? All of the above.

Xuc mi- 'except for' (including various collocations) serves six different functions in present-day Hebrew: pointing to an exception to a generalization, adding an element (similar to *in addition to*), contributing to an 'only'-type emphatic construction (together with absolute negation), and marking three types of digressions (the *xuc mi-ze* 'except for that' collocation): adding an argument which is separate from a previous argument, shifting to a new topic, and prefacing a side-comment. Our first goal is to exemplify and describe *xuc mi-*'s six functions. Our analysis is based on all *xuc mi-* tokens in the Haifa corpus, but also on its occurrences in a corpus we compiled of present-day movie scripts, which have been translated into Russian. Our second goal is to show that the six functions of *xuc mi-* do not result from accidental ambiguity. We explain the connections between the different functions, and propose, based on the Russian translational equivalents, that the functions manifest a motivated set of polysemous uses.

Nurit Melnik & Shlomit Ouziel

"Solecisms Hit Parade": Grassroot Prescriptivism on Social Media

In early June 2021, a post was published on the Facebook page of the Academy of the Hebrew Language asking followers to note "the Hebrew

language mistake that drives you crazy". The post received nearly seven thousand responses, in which respondents noted linguistic phenomena they perceived as annoying errors, provided examples, and expressed their opinions about these solecisms, their origins, the people who make them, the people who correct others, the Academy of the Hebrew Language, the Hebrew language itself, and the changes occurring within it – providing extremely rich material for research.

Through qualitative and quantitative analysis of the responses, we aimed to answer several questions: Which phenomena are perceived as solecisms by this responding audience? What are the main grammatical categories they belong to? What are the main sociolinguistic characteristics of these mistakes or "mistakes"? Are all the linguistic phenomena identified as mistakes actually errors, according to the approaches of the main bodies currently shaping standard Hebrew?

Our analysis of the linguistic phenomena mentioned in the responses reveals that the most frequently cited solecisms fall into two main categories: linguistic reduction (both morphological and lexical) and morphological transfers (non-standard derivations and inflections based on analogy with other paradigms). Alongside linguistic phenomena, our study explores sociolinguistic issues which emerge from the discussion, including attitudes toward "Mizrahi Hebrew," foreign language influence, and gender-inclusive language. The analysis further examines how these complaints align with different concepts of linguistic correctness. Most complaints targeted deviations from educated speakers' language norms rather than strict prescriptive standards, suggesting that prestige-based correctness plays a crucial role in shaping language attitudes.