Introduction to Hebrew Linguistics

('Inleiding Hebreeuwse Taalkunde')

UvA, Week 12

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Morphology

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Morphology

- Morphology: studies the inner structure of words.
  Well, what is a word?

- Word: No general definition
  - Syntactic word: basic unit of a sentence.
  - Phonological word: domain of some phonological processes (e.g., stress assignment, vowel harmony).
  - Orthographic word: between two spaces.
  - Clitic: part of the phonological word, but syntactically an independent unit (e.g., articles, French preverbal pronouns, etc.).

Example: *Kaleb*-letters

- What is the status of Hebrew prepositions ב, ל, כ?

  Are they separate words? Prefixes? Clitics?

- Answering a linguistic dilemma:

  search for linguistic phenomena
  that support this or that point.

- To keep constantly in mind:
  - Which language variety? Biblical Hebrew textbook? Rules of the Hebrew Academy? Spoken IH?
  - Which linguistic level? Phonology? Morphology? Syntax? Semantics? Orthography?

Example: *Kaleb*-letters

- What is the status of Hebrew prepositions ב, ל, כ?
- Orthography: single word. Not a linguistic argument.
- Semantics: they mean something very different from what they are attached to. But same for prefixes.
- A syntactic argument: preposition is an autonomous unit in the structure of the sentence that can go apart:

  in Amsterdam; in the town; in the very big town where I live.

- Merges with article (*be+ha* = *ba*), similarly to French *du, German vom.*

Example: *Kaleb*-letters

- What is the status of Hebrew prepositions ב, ל, כ?

- A phonological argument:
  - Take a phenomenon that depends on word beginning: *begat-kefat* allophony: [stop] → [fricative] / V__
  - This rule does not apply across word boundary

    (except optionally in BH – let's ignore it for a moment)
  - בבית: Tiberian H [bevayit], colloquial Israeli H [bebayit].

  So we can argue:
  - in TH/BH: clitic + word = single phonological word.
  - in Colloquial IH: two phonological words.
  - [bevakaša]: <u>lexicalized</u> unit: *diachronically* complex, but *synchronically* in IH <u>monomorphemic</u>.

Morphology

- Morphology: studies the inner structure of words.
  Well, what is a word? No general definition
- Morpheme: Smallest linguistic unit with meaning.
  (*Well, what is meaning?)*
  - Free morphemes: can stand alone.
  - Bound morphemes: affixes and “cranberry”-morphemes.
  - Null morpheme: no phonemic material (e.g., Sg. masc.)
  - Allomorph: alternative forms of the same morpheme.
- Morphology: studies the way morphemes are combined.
  - Morpho-phonology: sound changes during morpheme combination (e.g., *'t kofschip,* V harmony).
  - Morpho-syntax: morpheme combinations in order to enter a sentence (e.g. cases, agreement).

Morphological processes

- Inflection: feminine, plural, construct, *binyanim*, *mishkalim...*
- Derivation:
  - Suffixes: BH *-i* ; RH: *-ut* ; IH: *-nik*, *-izaciya*
  - Prefixes: IH *xad-, du-, tlat-, rav-, bilti-, i-, xoser-* etc.
  - Denominal verbs: root extraction + piel/pual/hitpael
- Compounding:
  - Smichut: replacing compounding in Semitic
    bet (ha-)sefer, *yošev (ha-)roš*
  - Real compounds in IH: *(ha-)yoševroš*
  - Contracted compounds in IH: *ramzor*, *tapuz*
  - Acronyms: *tanax → tanaxi, duax → ledaveax*

(See also slides on vocabulary enrichment)

Nominal morphology

Declension (Proto-Semitic, Ugaritic, Arabic...)

Akkadian:

		Masculinum		*Femininum*	
Sg. Nom.	ilum	šarrum	iltum	šarratum	nārum
Acc.	ilam	šarram	iltam	šarratam	nāram
Gen.	ilim	šarrim	iltim	šarratim	nārim
Du. Nom.	ilān	šarrān	iltān	šarratān	nārān
Acc-Gen.	ilīn	šarrīn	iltīn	šarratīn	nārīn
Pl. Nom.	ilū	šarrū	ilātum	šarrātum	nārātum
Acc-Gen.	ilī	šarrī	ilātim	šarrātim	nārātim

(Old) Semitic languages have typically:
2 genders (masc, fem), 3 numbers (sing, dual, plural), 3 cases (A+G = oblique case) + mimation/nunation.

Fem. Sg. Proto-Semitic *-*at* > BH *abs. -ā, constr. -at*, or *-(e)t.*

Fem. Pl. *Proto-Semitic* *-*āt* > BH -ōt. (Canaanite sound shift)

Dual *-*ān* > *-*ayn* (diphthongization) > *-*ayin* (vowel insertion to avoid diphthong) > *-*ayim* (by analogy of the plural suffix)

Three cases in Semitic

- Nominative: noun alone, e.g. subject.
- Accusative: noun dependent on verb (object, location)
    - *He-locale:* remnant of Acc? Ugaritic: phenomenon apart.
- Genitive: noun dependent on noun (possessor following possessed noun, and noun following preposition;
  NB: prepositions were originally nouns).

- Additionally in Semitic language:
  status absolutus and *status constructus*.
- Aramaic: also *status emphaticus*.
- Arabic and Hebrew: definite article: **han-,* with [n]-assimilation (or **hal-*, with [l]-assimilation), thus gemination.

Dual and productivity

- In Classical Arabic: dual is fully productive.
- Not in Hebrew, even not in Biblical Hebrew.
- Fossilized forms:
  - Body parts: *yadayim, raglayim, eynayim, tsipornayim, šinayim...* NB: also plural meaning!
  - Time units: *yomayim, šnatayim, šaatayim.*
  - Numbers: *štayim, šnayim, ma(a)tayim, alpayim, paamayim*.
  - *mayim, šamayim* (but not *xayim*).
- Semi-productivity in IH:

  mixnasayim, garbayim, miškafayim, misparayim.

Irregular mishkalim

historically originate from regular patterns

- Stress: in Proto-Semitic, stress on penultimate syllable = syllable before case ending. When case endings were deleted, the stressed syllable found itself in final position. Exception:
- Segolates (e.g. segolate suffixes, such as feminine *-et*)
  - * *málkum* (Ugaritic *malku*) 'king' > **malk* > epenthesis of unstressed vowel [e] to avoid word-final consonant cluster: *málek* (BH, in pausal position) > vowel assimilation: *mélek.* Cf. *malkē, malka*
  - ** síprum* > *séper, siprē; * qódšum* > ** qódeš* 'holiness'
  - Gutturals prefer low vowels: **náᶜr* > *náᶜar* 'boy'
  - * báytum > *bayt > 3 strategies: *báyit* (epenthesis), *bét* (monophthongization), *batím* (glide deletion).
- *Bat, banot*: *bintum, binātum > (*bant, banāt ?) > bat, banōt

Verbal morphology

Pronouns, verbal suffixes

		héber	arab	arámi	geez
*anāku > BH anoxi > BH, RH ani	*-ku	> -ti	-tu	-et	-kū
*antā > attā > ata	*-ta	> -ta	-ta	-t	-ka
*anti > att > at	*-ti	> -t	-ti	-ti	-ki
*huwa > hu	Ø				
*hiya > hi	*-at	> -a			

Perfect form: in Proto-Semitic (also in Akkadian, Egyptian) originally expressed static meaning > West-Sem: perfect aspect > modern West-Semitic languages: past tense meaning.

Adjectival form + pronoun > suffix conjugation.

Null morpheme in Sg3m.

Proto-Hebrew *hiwa* > TibH *hi* ? Therefore *qere perpetuum* הִוא?

Consonant of suffix Sg. 1&2: analogy = paradigmatic leveling:

NW-Semitic and Arabic: [t],

SW-Semitic: [k] (analogy effect by Sg2 possessive suffixes?)

Pronouns, verbal suffixes

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*huwa > hu	Ø				
*hiya > hi	*-at	> -a			

Language is a system (de Saussure, 1916): one change in the system may cause a chain of further changes in the system.

Hebrew (one possible story, based on Joshua Blau):

**anāku* > undergoes Canaanite sound shift: **anōku* > forcing vowel dissimilation (due to preceding [o], and/or due to analogy to pronominal suffixes *-i/-ni*): **anōki*.
This change, in turns, motivates analogical change in Sg1 verbal suffix: Proto-NW-Semitic **-tu* > *-ti.*
This change then triggers change of Sg2 suffix **-ti* > *-t*, to avoid ambiguity in the paradigm.

Prefix conjugations

- West-Semitic: prefix conjugation = imperfect.
- Originally probably expressed aspect, and not tense.
- Hence, waw-consecutive.
- Three moods within prefix-conjugation: -u/-a/Ø suffix
  - Indicative: **yaqtulu* > BH *yiqtōl*
  - Iussive: **yaqtul* > BH *yiqtōl,* also *wayyiqtōl?*
  - Conjunctive, subjunctive: **yaqtula* > BH cohortative *yiqtōla*
- Theme vowel: vowel between 2nd and 3rd root consonant in Qal. The default case is: perfect [a] / imperfect [o].
  Gutturals (and a few verbs, e.g., *lamad*): [a]/[a].
  Stative verbs: [e]/[a] and [o]/[a]

Biblical H vs Israeli H

- Differences:
  - Moods disappear. Waw-consecutive disappears.

  Commands: imperative only with frequent (and irregular) verbs.

  Other verbs: future form used, with “iussive” meaning (*tamšix*, but not **tamšex*).
  - CBH: 2 aspects + participle > LBH, RH: 3 tenses.

    (with aspectual and modal additional meanings)
  - Paradigmatic leveling of unusual forms:
    - 2&3 fem plural of future disappear
    - *kᵊtavtém* > *katávtem* (stress pattern and syllable structure become analogical to rest of paradigm)
    - Irregular forms, e.g. *havinoti* > *hevanti.*
- Israeli substandard: imperative = future – prefix (*ptax!* > *ftax!*)

Binyanim

- Non-concatenative morphology: root + pattern (mishkal)
  Typical for Semitic (and Afroasiatic) languages.
- Nominal mishkalim
  - BH: *maCCiC, taCCiC...*
  - *RH: CaCCan...*
  - *Shem peula* for the 5 binyanim.

- Verbal paradigms: hypothetical proto-Semitic binyanim:
  - G = Grund, D = reduplicative (geminate), Š = causative
  - Gu, Du, Šu: passive of G, D, Š
  - tG, tD, Št, ŠtG: reflexive / medio-passive of G, D, Š
  - N: reciprocal or passive of G.

Binyanim = stems

- Proto-Semitic binyanim:

  G = Grund, D = reduplicative (geminating), Š = causative

  Gu, Du, Šu: passive of G, D, Š

  tG, tD, Št, ŠtG: reflexive / medio-passive of G, D, Š

  N: reciprocal or passive of G.

- Hebrew:
  - G = Qal. N = Niphal
  - Was there Gu (Ex. 3,2: *ukkal; luqqax, etc.*)? Passive participle?
  - D = Piel, Du = Pual, tD = Hitpael
  - Š: initial [š] > Hebrew [h] > Arabic, Aramaic [?]
    - Š > Hiphil, Šu > Hophal
    - Late Akkadian > RH > IH: *šaphel* causative.

Smaller binyanim

- *Šaphel*, *polel, hitpolel, nitpael*, etc.: are they 8th, 9th, 10th stems? Rather piel/hitpael stem with minor changes:
  - Šaphel: first root C is [š], then quadriliteral paradigm.

    RH: שעבד‘to enslave’, שחרר‘to liberate’

    lH: שכתב‘to rewrite’, שנטע‘to replant’

    (Suggested reading: Nurit Dekel: 'The Šif'el Binyan in Israeli Hebrew: Fiction of Reality? dare.uva.nl/document/164274)

  - Polel, hitpolel: in lieu of piel/hitpael of ayin”waw verbs.
  - Nitpael: passive/reflexive binyan in RH, synonym of hitpael (probably due to analogy: [n] = passive, [h] = causative; hence a passive must have [n], not [h]).

Irregular verbs

(Usually similar phenomena in other Semitic languages, too.)

- Pe-nun verbs: [n]-assimilation, similarly to prefix-forms of niphal, the preposition מן, the verb *latet*, etc.
- Methatesis of pe-ש/שׂ/ס/ז/ צ
    - Additionally: assimilation in being voiced and emphatic
- Gutturals: prefer [a] to other vowels (as theme vowel), prefer chatef to shwa, and they trigger <u>compensatory lengthening</u>.
- Pe-yod: most of them originally pe-waw.
- Lamed-he verbs: originally lamed-yod. (ל״ה: just orthography!)

    **banaytu > baniti* (A case for seeing them lamed-tav?)
- Real lamed-he verbs (with <u>mapiq-he</u>; not pronounced in IH):
  גבה'to be tall', תמה'be astonished' כמה'to long, to yearn'.

Periphrastic tenses, conditional

- *Haya* + participle:
  - Mishnaic Hebrew: frequency
    rabbi X haya omer... = 'rabbi X used to say'
  - Israeli Hebrew: habitual,

    as well as conditional:
    - *Ilu / lu* + *perfect or hayiti/haya...*+participle
    - *Ilule / lule / ilmale* + *perfect or hayiti/haya...*+participle
    - Also used for expressing politeness in a Standard Average European way?

Last meeting this Friday: syntax (and some phonology).

Assignment: on the website.

Read handout of J. Junger on the website.

Final exam:

Monday, June 18, 11:00, in PCH 3.31

Mock exam to come.