IGDAL 4

International Graduate Student Conference on
Diverse Approaches to Linguistics

October 12, 2015
Bar-Ilan University
Building 604, room 11
Program
09:45–10:15 Registration and coffee

10:15-10:30 Greetings
The organizing committee

Prof. Elinor Salegh-Haddad, Head of the Department of English Literature and Linguistics, Bar Ilan University

10:30-11:30 Invited Speaker
Dr. Lior Laks, Bar Ilan University

Morphological doublets - what triggers their formation and what blocks it?

11:30-11:45 Coffee break

11:45-12:45 Session 1

Chair: Gal Belsitzman, University of Haifa

11:45-12:15 Mátyás Arató (Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences) Linguistic varieties in the Boyash (Romanian speaking Tub-maker) communities in Central Europe

12:15-12:45 Annamária Kresztyankó (ELTE University, Hungary) Gypsies and skinheads – Victims and principals’ discursive categorization conveyed by the Hungarian media

12:45-14:00 Lunch Break

14:00-15:30 Session 2

Chair: Naomi Havron, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

14:00-14:30 Maria Gepner (Bar Ilan University) Motion Verbs in Russian

14:30-15:00 Leon Shor (Tel Aviv University) Referring with third-person pronouns to less-than-fully-activated referents

15:00-15:30 Itamar Shatz (Tel Aviv University) An investigation of native language interference during second language acquisition

15:30-15:50 Coffee Break

15:50-16:50 Session 3

Chair: Tatiana Philippova, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev

15:50-16:20 Danny Kalev (Tel Aviv University) Relative tenses in Hebrew: the posterior and the anterior

16:20-16:50 Noa Epstein Naveh (Bar Ilan University) Pluralization and Mass Nouns - Can they go together in Modern Hebrew?
The organizing committee: Chen Gafni
Bridget Schvarcz
Maya Yablonski

Website: https://igdal.wordpress.com
E-mail: igdaling@gmail.com
Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/IGDALing

* We would like to thank Prof. Susan Rothstein for helpful comments and advice, and the anonymous reviewers for abstract evaluation. We would also like to thank Irit Segal for helping us with the logistics of the conference.

The conference is funded by the Lechter Institute for Literary Research; The Lewis Family Foundation for International Conferences in the Humanities, and the Faculty of Humanities, Bar-Ilan University.

Previous conferences

IGDAL 1 The Hebrew University of Jerusalem (2011)
IGDAL 2 Tel-Aviv University (2012)
IGDAL 3 Ben-Gurion University of the Negev (2013)

And let them keep coming…
There are thousands of Gypsies in Hungary and its neighboring countries living mainly in small settlements or villages; their mother tongue is Romanian or they spoke the language before they had shifted to speaking other languages. They are known as “Vlach”, “tub-makers” or “spoon-carvers”, referring either to their language or their traditional occupation (Kovalcsik 1996:77).

According to earlier research, Boyash were divided into three ethnic subgroups, all self-identifying as Boyash, forming a relatively coherent community, and speaking clearly connected language variants. However, the latest research suggests that none of these statements hold true, since the communities using dialectal Romanian language as their mother tongue are much more heterogeneous and complex (Arató 2013a:5; 2013b:49; Bodó 2009:84).

The aim of my presentation is to introduce and assess preliminary findings from a unique and ongoing dialectological field-based research, conducted among the Boyash communities in Hungary, Croatia, Slovakia, and Ukraine, which began in 2014. Results of this study make two significant contributions: (1) my study makes a contribution to the existing body of literature on language, dialects, and sub-dialects of Boyash people, allowing further cross-country comparison with data describing various Boyash communities residing in different parts of each country; (2) as for Slovakia, it is the first research which aims at identifying and examining the still existing groups since 1965, when the latest literature related to the topic was written. Even in Hungary there are still many uninvestigated or understudied areas where Boyash groups reside.

This research uncovers previously unstudied terrain of Boyash dialects, and due to lacking data, my fieldwork findings truly enrich academic understanding of the subject. My goal is to further classify the dialects, explicitly revealing the relationship between those, as well as compare the Boyash dialects to various Romanian dialects. In my presentation, I rely on data collected during fieldwork; namely, I use audio-recordings of directed conversations, structured around a linguistic questionnaire that I prepared for the documentation of the Boyash dialects, and casual conversations. After discussing my findings regarding the active use of language, these results are juxtaposed with the content of published sources from different countries (grammatical descriptions, dictionaries, folk songs, folk tales, etc.). Overall, my initial results encompass a discussion about phonetics, lexicon, lexical borrowing from Hungarian, Slovakian, Croatian, Ukrainian languages, and syntax. In addition, I go beyond linguistics by shedding light on cultural and social characteristics of the Boyash communities, explaining how and why these groups assimilate linguistically and socially. I found that in places where these communities shift to speaking only the language of the majority, they consequently lose their mother tongue, either Boyash or Hungarian. This, in turn, indicates a slow extinction of minority languages and underlines the importance of codifying and studying those.
References


Gypsies and skinheads – Victims and principals’ discursive categorization conveyed by the Hungarian media

Annamária Kresztyankó
Eötvös Loránd University, Hungary
annamari915@gmail.com

For many centuries, the mapping of the linguistic formation of judicial discourse, the language used in judicial interaction, professional legislative language use, linguistic discrimination, linguistic politeness, manipulation, power and control have been the most important topics of linguistics and legal-sociological research (Vinnai 2010:155). A popular area of discourse analysis is the relationship between language and media, the linguistic norm of the media, analysing the mass media as well as the examination of legal communication in traditional and online media. In the latter, the media-specific characteristics of language use plays an important role. Law and language are considered as two separate disciplines today (Vinnai 2010:145, Sajgál 2007).

After the series of attacks against the Roma in North Hungary, which is regarded as one of the most serious crimes in Hungarian criminalistics, the second instance of the criminal suit took place in Budapest, in May 2015. Crimes claiming the lives of Gypsies occurred in Galgagyörk, Pricse, Nyiradony, Tarnadob, Nagycsécs, Alsószolca, Tatárszentgyörgy, Tiszalök and Kislétá, and were called in the media as ‘Gypsy murders’ or ‘Roma murders’. The focus of the present research is to study the discursive categorization of the victims and culprits through the texts which appeared in the media on these crimes.

The analysis is carried out from a micro-sociolinguistic perspective. The examination is based on the articles appearing in the Hungarian online media (origo.hu, index.hu), accounts and a documentary which uses details of the suit. It creates categories during quantitative content analysis and takes their frequency into account. The research was inspired by a documentary made by the director Eszter Hajdú, called Judgment in Hungary, which focuses on the judge’s personality and language use. During the analysis, I considered the ratio of the categories appearing in the film and on newspapers central. I will present these separately and compare them as well. This work examines the discursive categories concerning both the victims and the culprits within the frames of linguistics, which distances itself from the legal and political aspects.

The research has a qualitative approach. I created three categories as a start, and by comparing their ratio, I identified which category has become the most significant in the media when writing about either the victims or the culprits. The three categories are the following: (1) assertions determining group belonging, (2) expressions regarding inner characteristics, and (3) assertions concerning outer characteristics and looks. The research examines constative statements and assertives following the terminology used by Searle and Austin. In this essay, I used the words of professionals (judge, prosecutor, lawyers) and lay individuals (agents, witnesses, culprits).

The aim of the study is to demonstrate how the participants in the discourse about Gypsy murders create the Gypsy, Roma, skinhead categories, how those who took part in the suit are categorised by the media, and what is the ratio of these categories in newspapers or documentaries.

I also suggest that the press discourse, without exception, creates categories in the case of victims. This is true mostly for the category of group belonging. In case of the culprits, whose guilt had not been proved at that time, the press creates categories less often and mentions usually the outer characteristics or looks of the culprits.
The results show that the suit as well as the media puts emphasis on the inner characteristics of the culprits if the aim is to demonstrate the personality of the offenders. The linguistic construction of the inner characteristics is followed by the emphasis on the outer characteristics. We can also find examples for expressions regarding group belonging. The press and the documentary uses these linguistic categories, expressions in a different ratio. As a result, my hypothesis is only partly justified.

In the case of the victims, the texts make categorization not only on the basis of race (Gypsy, Roma) but also on the basis of inner (disrespectful, aggressive, threatening, worker) and outer characteristics (black, brown). With reference to group belonging, on the level of discourse, the Gypsy category is created with the expressions Gypsy and Roma while stereotypes concerning complexion, for example, are not typical of the discourse. The offenders also appear as members of a group and are introduced with different inner and outer categories. My surmise that in the description of the culprits their outer characteristics are of primary importance did not prove to be correct. In the studied texts, the stressing of the inner characteristics was frequent (racist, anti-gypsy, Nazi, extreme, still in cold blood).

However, the findings of the research clearly show that the media makes essential suggestions. Accordingly, anybody can be a victim, he only has to be a gypsy, or notably, one who is thought to be one by his surroundings.

References


Motion Verbs in Russian

Maria Gepner
Bar Ilan University
mariia.gepner@gmail.com

I propose a semantic account of Russian motion verbs which throws light on their exceptional behavior with respect to perfectivization. Verbs of motion are a group of paired verbs traditionally opposed to each other according to the directionality of the motion they encode: determinate verbs are one-direction motion verbs (like *idti* “walk”), and indeterminate verbs are not specified for the direction of their motion (like *hodit’* “walk”) (Isačenko 1960). Determinate verbs perfectivize as expected when combined with a prefix (1a). Prefixed indeterminate verbs sometimes perfectivize and sometimes do not (1b-c). Previous accounts either do not discuss the perfectivization facts (Kagan 2007, Janda 2010) or do not connect them to the meaning of the indeterminate (Isačenko 1960). I argue that indeterminate verbs are pluractional predicates, in the sense of Lasersohn 1995, Tovena 2008, Součkova 2011, inherently denoting sets of pluralities of eventualities. The pluractionality of indeterminate verbs explains their behavior with respect to perfectivization.

A. Pluractionality. The pluractionality of indeterminate verbs is supported by two sets of facts: (i) their ability to combine with a degree modifier of cardinality *mnogo* “a lot”. Součkova 2011 shows that combining with degree modifiers is an indication of pluractionality. Determinate verbs do not combine with this expression (2);

(ii) Patterns of combination with different PPs. Modifying determinate and indeterminate verbs with PPs expressing direction and location makes the plural aspect of the meaning of indeterminate verbs explicit. The plural meaning of the indeterminate verbs can be expressed in different ways. Pluractionality can be expressed in bits of movement in different directions (3a). It can also be expressed in multiple repeated events. (3b,c) If (3b,c) have progressive interpretations, they must mean that the subject went past the zoo several times or rolled a log across the yard more than once. (4) proves that if the plurality of the indeterminate verb is not expressed in multiple directions or repetitions, it has to be expressed in another way. For, if the movement expressed by the verb is constrained to be in a straight line, then the plurality is expressed in multiple movements backward and forward along the line.

B. Perfectivization. We assume that perfective verbs denote sets of singular maximal events (Filip & Rothstein 2005). I follow Kagan 2007 who argues that some superlexical prefixes are pluractional operators which apply to pluralities of events in the denotation of a predicate and turn it into a singular event-internally pluractional predicate.

The claim is:

*some* prefixes apply to pluralities of events to give a perfective predicate denoting a set of singular internally pluractional events (5a – many “breaking a cup” events become a singular pluractional event of “breaking all the cups one by one”);

*other* prefixes apply to singularities and give sets of singular (perfective) events (5b – a single completed event of breaking a cup).

This predicts correctly:

*those* prefixes that apply to pluralities do NOT apply to determinate verbs (which denote singularities) but DO apply to indeterminate verbs and give perfective predicates denoting singular (internally pluractional) predicates. In (6a) the prefix *po-* applied to a determinate verb can only mean “start moving”. In (6b) – *po-* has a meaning “for a while”);

prefixes that apply to singular events DO apply to determinates, the result predicate denotes a singular completed event (example 6c), but if they apply to indeterminates, they distribute over the atomic parts of the plural sums, and the result is a set of plural events and thus not perfective – V in (6d) denotes a plurality of approaching events and is imperfective.
EXAMPLES:

(1) a. pavlo běžit (v komnatu), zadýhává
pavlo run-FUTURE(in room) out of breath
Pavel will run into the room out of breath.
b. Ivan (vsegda) vbegayet v auditoriyu
Ivan (always) v-enter-PRESENT running classroom
Ivan (always) runs into the classroom
c. Ivan pobegal po parku
Ivan ran around the park
(2) a. Ivan mnogo hodí
Ivan walked a lot
b.* Ivan mnogo šel
Ivan walked a lot
(3) a. soldat taskal meški pod oknom bolnicy
soldat carry PAST bag under window hospital
The soldier carried bags under the hospital window (in different directions)
b. gid vozil turistov mimo zooparka
guide drive PAST past zoo
The tour guide drove tourists past the zoo
c. sosed kataj brevna/brevno čerez dvor
neighbor roll PAST log across yard
The neighbor rolled the logs/a log across the yard
(4) odnaždy Ivan gonjal motocykl po prjamoj
once Ivan rush PAST motorcycle straight
Ivan has already driven the motorcycle back and forth in a straight line once.
(5) a. misha perebil vse čaški
Misha broke all the cups one by one.
b. misha razbil čašku
Misha broke the cup
(6) a. Ivan pognal motocykl vdol berega
Ivan rushed the motorcycle along the bank.
b. Ivan pogonjal motocykl vdol berega
Ivan rushed the motorcycle along the bank for a while (back and forth)
c. vojsko došlo do reki
The army approached the river
d. vojsko dohodilo do reki, no pereplyt ne polučalos
The army approached (multiple times) the river but did not succeed to cross it

References
Isačenko, A. 1960. Grammaticheskij Stroj Russkogo Jazyka v Sopostovlenii s Slovakim
Tovena, L. & A. Kihm 2008. Nibbling is not many bitings in French and Italian: A morphosemantic
analysis of internal plurality.
Referring with third-person pronouns to less-than-fully-activated referents

Leon Shor
Tel-Aviv University
shor.leon@gmail.com

Many cognitively-oriented accounts of referential choice hold that the choice of a referential device is fundamentally dependent on the referent’s status in the cognitive system, so that the more active the referent is in the speaker’s and addressee’s minds, the more economically it is coded. Accordingly, referring with a reduced referential device, such as a third-person pronoun, usually reflects a high degree of activation status of the referent (Chafe 1994: 75, Ariel 2001: 31, Kibrik 2011: 54). The activation status (accessibility) of the referent is a complex concept which is determined by a combination of different factors, notably, but not exclusively, by the (linear and rhetorical) distance to the nearest antecedent, and by the referent’s saliency (Ariel 2001: 36, Kibrik 2011: 392).

However, each reference instance is usually explained without taking into consideration the referential segment, i.e the utterance in which the referential device is embedded. The referential segment is usually taken to serve a disambiguating role in the context of competing referents. According to Fox (1987: 57), for example, pronominalization in context of same-gender referents is possible, if other linguistic devices, such as the semantic and grammatical structure of the utterance, are utilized to guide the interpretation. I would like to suggest that pronominalization, enabled by linguistics devices present in the utterance, is a broader phenomenon, which may explain seemingly odd cases, where third-person pronouns refer to less-than-fully activated referents. In the process of interpretation, the addressee first tries to coherently integrate the referential segment into the previous discourse as a whole, and only then fully interprets the pronoun (Cornish 2009: 589-590). In that case, the speaker’s choice of a pronoun might reflect not only activation considerations, but also reliance on the referential segment which may place semantic and pragmatic constraints on the anaphor’s potential values.

In my presentation I wish to present examples taken from The Corpus of Spoken Israeli Hebrew (CoSIH), where a third-person pronoun refers to less-than-fully-activated referents. These cases will demonstrate that in spontaneous conversation speakers’ use of third-person pronouns may also be explained by reliance on the interpretation of the referential segment as a whole. The excerpt below exemplifies one such use:

```
sp1_057-058  aχɔ'ʃav  ze  lo  jɛ='pa.am  huɔ-Bold  hiv'tiay-Ø-Bold  la-Bold  I
now  this  not  that=once  he  he_promised  her  I
a'ni  a'marti  la-Bold  I
l  told  her  I

sp2_010  huɔ-Bold  ni'stel-Ø-Bold  ɔ'tac-Bold  I
he  he_used  her  I

sp1_059-067  li  lefa'χɔt  ja'niv-Bold  a'mar-Ø-Bold  I
kʃɛ=hu$_y$  ba-Ø-Bold  I
to me  at least  Yariv  he_said  I
when=he  he_came  I

leha'bia  li  I
offer  me  I
friendship  so to speak  I

kʃɛ=hu$_y$  ba-Ø-Bold  li  bɔj  nat'χil  la'set  be='ja'yad-Ø-Bold  I
when=he  he_came  to offer  me  let’s  start  go.out  together  I

hu$_y$  pa'taγ-Bold  ɔ'tac-Bold  ve='a'mar-Ø-Bold  I
a'ni  ra'le  la'a'zov  et=ha='bajit
he  he_opened  and  he_said  I
I  want  to  leave  the_house

ve='liχɔt  i'taγ  I
and=live  with  you  I
to  her  ERR  he  even  that  not  he_said  I
```
Now, it's not that he had promised her in the past, I told her.

He used her.

At least to me Yariv said, when he came to offer me to be friends, so to speak, when he came to offer me let’s start going out, he said from the beginning: I want to leave my home and live with you. To her, he didn't even say that.

Just prior to this excerpt, sp1 was talking about a man and a woman, both married, who had an affair. The woman ended her marriage expecting that the man would follow suit, however it turned out that he was not interested and ended the affair. In the beginning of the excerpt, after referring to that couple with third-person pronouns ze bɔ fe paam hu hivtiag la “it's not that he had promised her in the past”, the speaker introduces a new referent, ‘Yariv’, a married man with whom she herself once had an affair, and refers to him three times with the 3SGM pronoun hu. This change of topic is made in order to contrast the behaviour of ‘Yariv’ who had told her from the beginning that he was willing to end his marriage for her, to the behaviour of the man she was describing earlier. This contrast is highlighted in the last sentence in the excerpt la hu gam et ze bɔ amau “to her he didn't even say that”. The two pronouns in this sentence refer to the couple whose last mention was seven clauses before. While the bound 3SGF pronoun -a can unambiguously be attributed to the only female referent in the context (‘the woman who is part of the couple’), the 3SGM hu reflects a potential referential conflict, as there are two male referents in that context in varying distances – ‘Yariv’ (one clause) and ‘the man who is part of the couple’ (seven clauses).

What seems to allow the speaker to refer to a less accessible referent with a third-person pronoun is the speaker’s assumption that the addressee first tries to coherently integrate the referential segment into the previous discourse as a whole, and only then fully interprets the pronoun (Cornish 2009: 589-590). The integration of the utterance la hu gam et ze bɔ amau “to her he didn't even say that” is aided by the initial positioning of the indirect object la “to her”. As has already been pointed out, the referent of the bound 3SGF pronoun -a can unambiguously be identified as the ‘woman who is part of the couple’ and thus it can serve as an anchor to the correct integration of the utterance to the main topic of the conversation, and consequently to the interpretation of hu “he”. Moreover, sp1 highlights la “to her” with prosodic prominence, which further strengthens its status as an anchor for the integration of the referential segment. Therefore, using a pronoun to refer to a less-than-fully-activated referent is possible if the speaker assesses that the referential segment can be coherently integrated, through different means, such as linguistic elements that tie, or anchor, the segment with the pronoun as a whole, to the discourse segment that includes the relevant referent.

References
An investigation of native language interference during second language acquisition

Itamar Shatz
Tel Aviv University
itamar@tau.ac.il

Learners’ native language (L1) significantly affects them during the second language (L2) acquisition process. This cross-linguistic effect can manifest through interference of the L1 with learners’ developing L2 knowledge (known as “interlanguage”), leading to specific error patterns (Gudmestad, 2012; Huang, 2009; Sersen, 2011).¹

Currently, most studies on the topic are limited in scope, as they tend to either focus on a small sample, a single L1, or on a narrow range of proficiency levels (Bhela, 1999; Darus & Ching, 2009). One way to overcome these issues is through the use of large scale learner corpora (Römer, 2009), such as the Education First Cambridge Open Language Database (EFCAMDAT).

The EFCAMDAT consists of short essays on a variety of topics, submitted by learners of English as a second language to the EF online English course (Geertzen, Alexopoulou, Baker, Jiang, & Korhonen, 2013). The course spans 16 proficiency levels, which cover the full range of foreign language proficiency, as defined by the Common European Framework of Reference for languages.

The current study analyzes a sample of ~360,000 texts from the EFCAMDAT, written by ~55,000 learners, with seven different dominant L1s, and across all proficiency levels. The study focuses on four error types in order to examine the effect that learners’ L1 has on their interlanguage errors. Comparison of the values for the relevant features for each error was performed using the World Atlas of Language Structures (Dryer & Haspelmath, 2013) for all errors but capitalization errors, where a more qualitative approach was adopted due to structural constraints.

The results of the study show that learners’ L1 significantly affects the makeup of errors in their interlanguage, and that this effect depends on the relationship between the L1 and the target L2. This influence varies across error types; in certain cases, the more dissimilar the L1 from the L2, the higher the rate of interference, so learners make more errors in that area, while in other cases the opposite is true, and the greater the dissimilarity between the L1 and the L2 the lower the rate of interference. The nature of the error and the degree of dissimilarity also influence how this effect varies across the different proficiency levels.

Overall, the scope of the current study in terms of number of learners, diversity of L1s, and wide range of proficiency levels, produces a valuable contribution to the field of L2 acquisition research, by furthering our understanding of the effects of L1 interference on learners’ interlanguage. These findings are valuable not only from a theoretical perspective, but also from an applied viewpoint, as awareness of interference errors has been shown to aid learners during second language acquisition (Huang, 2009; Sersen, 2011).

¹ There are of course additional factors which affect second language acquisition (Gudmestad, 2012; Lekova, 2010).
References


Relative tenses in Hebrew: the posterior and the anterior

Danny Kalev
Tel Aviv University
dannykk@inter.net.il

Hebrew is typologically classified as tense-prominent (Bhat 1999:151) with pa'al and yif'al indicating absolute past and absolute future, respectively. However, it also exhibits relative tenses: an anterior that encodes a temporal upper-bound and a posterior that encodes a temporal lower-bound. Usage-based research suggests that these relative tenses may have prompted the ongoing grammaticalization of Hebrew's perfects, as I will show here.

The Past Posterior

The verb yagi'a in (1) refers to an absolute past event. However, it uses non-past morphology to express relative future:

(1) marshi xika im a hanircax ad sheambulans yagi'a (Channel 2 news, June 2012)
'My client waited with the murder victim until an ambulance arrived [lit. will arrive]'

A past posterior is represented as an event E subsequent to the reference time R. S is the time of speech (Reichenbach 1947). Thus, ((1)) is represented on a timeline as follows:

waiting for an ambulance    the ambulance's arrival
---R-------------------------E------------------S---->

The Future Posterior

A future posterior is represented as an R-E sequence on the right side of S. In (2) the rare use of the English future tense in a conditional clause indicates posteriority:

(2) In a couple of months I'll know if he will make it as a work dog (thedo.do/1LyP0n9)

In Hebrew, future posteriors are formed similarly by a sequence of yif'al:

(3) ha'ax hagadol yodi'a lanu hayom mi ya'azov et habayit maxar
'The big brother will announce today who will leave the house tomorrow'

big brother's announcement    houseguest's leaving
S----R-------------------------------E------------------>
The Future Anterior

Anteriors are characterized by the sequence E-R. In certain constructions, pa'al may denote future anteriority (rather than absolute past). Consider:

(4) lifney cetxem na vad'u ki lo shaxaxtem [sic] xefec kolsheu (Jerusalem light rail)
'Before leaving the train, please make sure that you don't leave anything behind'

shaxaxtem refers to a future event that precedes the passenger's alighting. As such, it expresses relative past (E-R) and absolute future (S-E) at once:

leaving an item on board  alighting from the train
S----E--------------------------------R----------------------------->

The Significance of Relative Tenses

I argue that future anteriors such as (4) in which pa'al refers to a future event with an upper-bound may be the source from which the free resultative (5), the military imperative (6) and the new cohortative (7) have evolved:

'our price: 900. Your saving [will be] (lit. you saved): 300'

(6) שלטיים שנועדו להצלחת את הנרי והחיים פס אחרון ומחסן
'encircle (lit. you encircled) the tree and return (lit. you returned)... in 30 seconds'

(7) התייצא? (פרסומות של נט新生儿. ינואר 2012).
'Let's get out of here! (lit. were we [here]?)'

Examples (5)-(7) share a common trait, namely an E-R sequence, or a perfect aspect (Comrie, 1976: 53), on the right side of S. I therefore argue that relative tenses may be the "missing link" in the grammaticalization of what seems as new perfect constructions in Hebrew.

References


This talk examines plurality of mass nouns in Hebrew. It is known and accepted that mass nouns do not normally pluralize and that the issue of pluralization serves as a crucial difference between mass and count nouns. Some cases of pluralization of mass nouns are described in the literature, and can convey a kind meaning (as in three wines-three kinds of wine) or a standard serving meaning (as in three beers-three cups of beer). These are the canonical mass nouns. These canonical meanings can also come with a number and thus, behave almost count like.

However, other plural mass nouns are found in Hebrew, as well as other languages. These plural mass nouns are 'non-canonical' and can be divided into two groups. One group is of non-canonical mass nouns that keep the mass meaning of the noun. These non-canonical mass nouns can be the abundance plural that can be seen in Doron and Müller (2013) and the definite plural in Persian in Ghaniabadi (2012), as well as plural mass noun in Greek, as described by Tsoulas (2006).

Some natural examples show how the known explanations in the literature are not sufficient in explaining these plural nouns. In (1) I show that some plural mass noun may have a meaning of a little N or no N, thus, contradicting the idea of abundance plural which talks about a lot of N such that the plural form necessarily relates to big quantity of the noun.

(1) *lema'ase, be-rov yemi ha-xoref lo yordim gesam-im be-israel*
   actually, in-most days the-winter not raining rains-pl in-Israel
   "Actually, on most winter days, it does not rain in Israel"

The data I present is different than the nouns discussed by Tsoulas (2006) and Ghaniabadi (2012) since the plural marker or morpheme indicates that some actual process of pluralization has happened. This led to the interest in the second group of non-canonical mass nouns, that are in fact quasi-mass nouns. These nouns do not keep their mass meaning, while still not allowing a complete shift to a count meaning, since they cannot be combined with numerals. It is clear that some individuated units must be accessible in order to allow pluralization and in fact, these quasi-mass nouns in Hebrew bear some meaning of individuation. I will present a meaning of events of N (2) and a meaning of location of N (3).

(2) *az axaryi ha-gešam-im ha-rabim hetxila pluma šel yarok*
   so after the-rain-pl the-many started down of green
   "After the rains, a down of green started growing"

(3) *yeladyinu sfunim be-šaot elu be-bateihem, ba-xadarim ha-memuganim,*
   our-kids confined in-hours these in-their-houses, in-rooms the-shielded,
   *bimkom lehitrozez ba-dšayim ve-levalot be-brexot ha-sxiya*
   instead to-run in-grasses and-to-have fun in-pools the-swimming
   *ba-xofeš ha-gadol*
   in-vacation the-big
   "Our kids are sitting at their homes and safe rooms instead of running around in the grasses and have fun in the swimming pools in the summer vacation"

---

3 [https://www.facebook.com/orlyya/posts/519043148146021](https://www.facebook.com/orlyya/posts/519043148146021)
4 [http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4556749,00.html](http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4556749,00.html)
The talk will present the three groups of quasi-mass nouns I was able to find. The first two groups consist of different nouns that have a plural meaning accessible. They are grouped according to the meaning they present. The nouns presented in both of these groups cannot be combined with numerals, thus making them quasi mass nouns, and not count nouns.

Following these two groups, the third group of nouns consists of nouns that are also plural mass nouns in Hebrew, but they are not grouped according to their semantic meanings. They are presented as a third group since they all show how flexible the Hebrew language is in creating new plural nouns. Unlike the nouns in the previous two groups, these newly created nouns are more likely to be mass nouns that are slowly becoming count nouns in the spoken language. These nouns are also considered to be part of a lower, maybe younger, register. It is crucial to point out here that the nouns with the event meaning and the ones with the location reading are not going through the same process, but are true mass nouns that are acceptable to all native speakers of all ages and registers.

References


Doron, E & Müller, A. (2013). *The cognitive basis of the mass-count distinction: evidence from bare nouns*. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and University of Sao Paolo