ENCYCLOPEDIA OF HEBREW LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTICS

Volume 1
A–F

General Editor
Geoffrey Khan

Associate Editors
Shmuel Bolokzy
Steven E. Fassberg
Gary A. Rendsburg
Aaron D. Rubin
Ora R. Schwarzwald
Tamar Zewi

BRILL

Table of Contents

——. 2008. "The contribution of the template to verb meaning" (in Hebrew). *Modern Linguistics of Hebrew,* ed. by Galia Hatav, 57–88. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Faust, Noam and Ya'ar Hever. 2010. "Empirical and theoretical arguments in favor of the discontinuous root in Semitic languages". *Brill's Annual of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics* 2:80–118.

GKC = Kautzsch, Emil (ed.). 1910. *Gesenius' Hebrew grammar*, trans. by Arthur E. Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon.

Goldenberg, Gideon. 1994. "Principles of Semitic word-structure". *Semitic and Cushitic studies*, ed. by Gideon Goldenberg and Shlomo Raz, 29–64. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (repr. in Goldenberg 1998, 10–45).

——. 1998. *Studies in Semitic linguistics*. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Izre'el, Shlomo. 2010. "Constructive constructions: Semitic verbal morphology and beyond". *Egyptian, Semitic and General Grammar: Workshop in Memory of H. J. Polotsky (8–12 July 2001)*, ed. by Gideon Goldenberg and Ariel Shisha-Halevy, 106–130. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Joüon, Paul and Takamitsu Muraoka. 2006. *A grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute Press.

Kemmer, Suzanne. 1993. *The middle voice*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Klaiman, M. H. 1991. *Grammatical voice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ornan, Uzzi. 1971. "*Binyanim* and stems, inflection and derivation" (in Hebrew). *Ha-'Universiṭa* 16b:15–17.

Rosén, Haiim B. 1977. *Contemporary Hebrew*. The Hague: Mouton.

Schwarzwald (Rodrigue), Ora. 1984. "Analogy and regularization in morphophonemic change: The case of the weak verbs in Post-Biblical Hebrew and colloquial Modern Hebrew". *AfroAsiatic Linguistics* 9:87–100.

——. 1996. "Syllable structure, alternations and verb complexity: The Modern Hebrew verb patterns reexamined". *Israel Oriental Studies* 16:99–112.

——. 2001. *Modern Hebrew*. Munich: Lincom Europa.

——. 2008. "The special status of *nif'al* in Hebrew". *Current issues in generative Hebrew linguistics,* ed. by Sharon Armon-Lotem, Gabi Danon, and Susan Rothstein, 61–75. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Shatil, Nimrod. 2009. "The synchronic status of the *nitpa'el* form in contemporary language" (in Hebrew). *Balshanut Ivrit* 61:73–101.

Siloni, Tal. 2008. "On the *hitpa'el binyan*" (in Hebrew). *Modern linguistics of Hebrew,* ed. by Galia Hatav, 111–138. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Ussishkin, Adam. 1999. "The inadequacy of the consonantal root: Modern Hebrew denominal verbs and output-output correspondence". *Phonology* 16:301–442.

——. 2000. "Root-and-pattern morphology without roots or patterns". *Proceedings of NELS* 30:655–670.

——. 2003. "Templatic effects as fixed prosody: The verbal system in Semitic". *Research in Afroasiatic Grammar*, vol. 2, ed. by Jacqueline Lecarme, 511–530. Amsterdam: John Benamins.

Waltke, Bruce K. and Michael O'Connor. 1990. *An introduction to Biblical Hebrew syntax*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

EDIT DORON
(The Hebrew University of Jerusalem)

Blends

A blend (Hebrew הלחם *helxem*), also known as a portmanteau word, is formed by combining two independent words into one, like English *tángelo* ⇐ *tangeríne* + *pómelo* and Hebrew פומלית *pomelít* ⇐ פומלה *poméla* + אשכולית *'eškolít* 'a hybrid of pomelo and grapefruit'.

The semantic properties of a blend depend on the relation between its two base words. The relation can be endocentric, where one of the base words functions as a semantic head, or exocentric, where both words have the same semantic status.

Blends are somewhat like compounds, but with fewer restrictions. While all Hebrew compounds are left-headed, as in משקה פרות *mašqe perot* 'fruit drink' (literally: 'drink of fruit'), blends can be left-headed, right-headed, or headless:

(1)	Base words				Blend		
	פח 'bin'	*pax*	חתול 'cat'	*xatúl*	פחתול 'alley cat'	*paxtúl*	Endocentric, right-headed
	רכבת 'train'	*rakévet*	כבל 'cable'	*kével*	רכבל 'cable car'	*rakével*	Endocentric, left-headed
	צמה 'braid'	*ṣamá*	קרחת 'baldness'	*qaráxat*	צמחת 'mohawk'	*ṣamáxat*	Exocentric, headless
	מדרכה 'pavement'	*midraxá*	רחוב 'street'	*rexóv*	מדרחוב 'pedestrian mall'	*midrexóv*	Exocentric, headless

Blend formation usually involves the truncation of segmental material from the inner edges of the base words (cf. clipped compounds, where the right edges of the base words are truncated; e.g. סיטקום *sitcom* ⇐ situation + comedy). The amount of truncated material varies from one blend to another. Blend formation must therefore be analyzed using a constraint-based approach, in which the constraints define the observed tendencies.

The two most prominent constraints involved in the formation of blends are *Size* and *Overlap*. The *Size* constraint refers to the tendency of blends to have (at least) as many syllables as there are in the longer base word. However, since Hebrew prefers words with at least two syllables, a base of two monosyllabic words does not undergo truncation, as in רמקול *rámqol* 'loud speaker' ⇐ רם *ram* + קול *qol* 'loud+voice'. The *Overlap* constraint determines the switch point at which the first word ends and the second begins, which is often on the segment(s) shared by the two base words (marked in romanized letters in (2)).

(2)

Base words				Blend		*Size*	*Overlap*
מחזה 'play'	*maxazé*	זמר 'song'	*zémer*	מחזמר 'musical'	*maxazémer*	√	√
חוף 'beach'	*xof*	אופנה 'fashion'	*'ofná*	חופנה 'swimwear'	*xofná*	√	√
דמוקרט 'democrat'	*demoqrát*	דיקטטור 'dictator'	*diqtátor*	דמוקטטור 'a democrat behaving like a dictator'	*demoqtátor*	√	√
שחורה 'black (fs)'	*šxorá*	בלונדינית 'blonde (fs)'	*blondínit*	שחורדינית 'blond-dyed black-haired woman'	*šxordínit*	√	–
תפוז 'orange'	*tapúz*	מנדרינה 'mandarin orange'	*mandarína*	תפוזינה 'a hybrid citrus fruit'	*tapuzína*	√	–

Possible *Overlap* may determine the order of the base words. Thus, in the brand name קלידה *qalída* ⇐ קל *qal* + גלידה *glída*, the adjective קל *qal* appears before the noun, while in the brand name משקר *mašqár* ⇐ משקה *mašqé* + קר *qar* the adjective קר *qar* appears after the noun.

Both constraints maximize the blend's prosodic and segmental faithfulness to its base words, while simultaneously ensuring that it

has the structure of a single word. Since native Hebrew words fit into specific patterns (*mišqal/binyan*), blend formation may involve modification beyond truncation, allowing the blend to have the structure of native word. This is shown in the examples below, where the vocalic pattern (3a) and the number of syllables (3b) are adjusted to meet the structure of a verb (cf. the verb תרגם *tirgém* 'translate').

(3)

	Base words				Blend		
a.	ביזבז 'to spend'	*bizbéz*	זמן 'time'	*zman*	ביזמן 'to spend time'	*bizmén*	(**bizman*)
b.	סינן 'to filter'	*sinén*	אסמס SMS	*ésemes*	סינמס 'to filter SMS messages'	*sinmés*	(**sinemes*)

The formation of blends is contrived, but nevertheless follows some general constraints which reflect not only language-specific tendencies, but also universal principles. For cross-linguistic comparisons, see for example Hubozono (1990) for English and Japanese, Grise (2004) for English, and Piñeros (2004) for Spanish. Studies on Hebrew blends include Berman (1989) and Bat-El (1996).

REFERENCES

Bat-El, Outi. 1996. "Selecting the best of the worst: The grammar of Hebrew blends". *Phonology* 13:283–328.

Berman, Ruth. 1989. "The role of blends in Modern Hebrew word formation". *Studia linguistica et orientalia memoriae Haim Blanck dedicta*, ed. by Paul Wexler, Alexander Borg, and Sasson Somekh, 45–61. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Gries, Stefan. 2004. "Shouldn't it be breakfunch? A quantitative analysis of blend structure in English". *Linguistics* 42:639–667.

Kubozono, Haruo. 1990. "Phonological constraints on blending in English as a case for phonology-morphology interface". *Yearbook of Morphology* 3:1–20.

Piñeros, Carlos-Eduardo. 2004. "The creation of portmanteaus in the extragrammatical morphology of Spanish". *Probus* 16:201–238.

OUTI BAT-EL
(Tel-Aviv University)

Bne Hes and Bne Ḵes

Historical sources and linguistic evidence combine to tell us about the existence in the Late Middle Ages of two groups of Ashkenazic Jews. On the one hand, they were distinguished by their religious customs, following the so-called Western and Eastern rites, respectively. On the other hand, there were also major differences in their systems of the pronunciation of Hebrew. The most discussed feature concerns the phonetic value of the letter ח *ḥet*. In the West (the Rhineland, Alsace, Swabia, Switzerland, Franconia, and a large part of Bavaria), it was glottal [h], often reduced to zero if not preceding the stressed vowel, and so identical to the rendition of ה *he*. In the East (Austria, the town of Regensburg, Bohemia-Moravia, Eastern Germany, Hungary, and Poland), it was velar [x], which therefore merged with the reflexes of fricative כ *kaf*. Because of this difference, in the rabbinical literature of the 15th century the two groups are called *Bne Hes* and

Bne Ḵes, respectively, making a pun based on the similar Biblical expression בְּנֵי חֵת *bǝnē ḥēṯ* 'children of Heth, Hittites' (see Gen. 23.3–20).

Several other important differences distinguished *Bne Hes* from *Bne Ḵes* in their pronunciation of the Hebrew component of their German-based vernacular languages. *Bne Ḵes* pronounced שׁ *shin* as [š], but both שׂ *sin* and ס *samekh* as [s] (during the 13th century, this distinction, as well as the velar character of ח *ḥet*, also characterized the pronunciation of Hebrew by Slavic-speaking Jews of Bohemia, from whom Ashkenazic *Bne Ḵes* may have borrowed or inherited these features). Yet for *Bne Hes*, all three letters were read as [s]. For *Bne Hes*, the stressed vowels expressed in the Tiberian tradition by *pataḥ, ḥateph-pataḥ*, and *qameṣ* were pronounced as a front mid-vowel, [e] or [ɛ], when adjacent to *ḥet* or ʿ*ayin*, a phenomenon unknown in the pronunciation of *Bne Ḵes*. Among the examples found in documents using Latin characters are: *ezzit* from עָתִיד *ā̊tiḏ* 'future', *rechmaf* from רַחֲמָיו *raḥǎmā̊w* 'mercy', *ed* עַד *ʿaḏ* 'until', *eza* עָשָׂה *ā̊śā̊* 'he made, did' (manuscript of the 12th century, Swabia) and *hesier* 'swine' (חֲזִיר *ḥǎzīr*) (1384, Zürich).

The phonological peculiarity of this non-Tiberian western oral tradition of Hebrew had two consequences for the orthography of the vernacular language of *Bne Hes*. Firstly, in a number of documents compiled in medieval western Germany using Hebrew letters, we find ח *ḥet* used to express the sounds of the German letter combination "he". Another orthographic convention characteristic to *Bne Hes* involves the use of ע ʿ*ayin* for [e]-colored vowels. Its earliest examples appear in the Rhineland in the 13th century and by the end of the 15th century this spelling convention had become systematic. It remains one of the most distinctive features of Yiddish spelling.

The analysis of several testimonies by early Christian authors about the Jewish pronunciation of Hebrew shows that names of certain letters of the Hebrew alphabet were also pronounced in a different way by the representatives of the two groups of medieval Ashkenazic Jews. *Bne Hes* had *tsadek/tsodek* for צ, *kuf* for ק and, regionally, *yu:s/yus* for י; *Bne Ḵes* had *tsadi, kof*, and *yod/yot*, respectively. These letter names are of particular interest. On the one hand, they provide evidence about the genetic independence of the Hebrew components of the languages of