

Verbs with Quadrilateral Reduplicated Roots (C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>) – previously proposed semantic characteristics

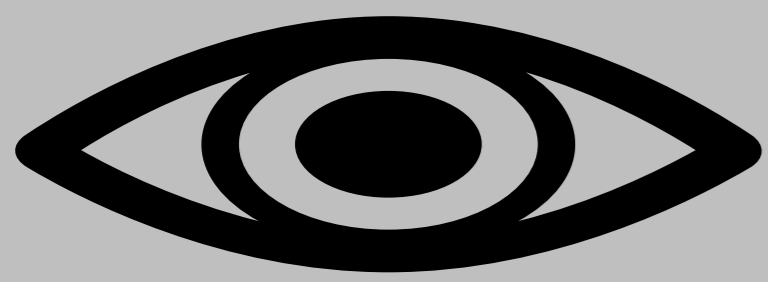
Verbs with C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> roots from all periods of Hebrew

Small group: 138 roots in all periods

- BZBZ – *bizbez* (waste)
- CMCM – *cimcem* (reduce)
- BLBL – *bilbel* (confuse)
- TKTK – *tiktek* (tick)
- KLKL – *kilkel* (spoil)
- DGDG – *digdeg* (tickle)

Previously proposed semantic characteristics:

- There is no clear common denominator, some of them - iteration, repetition. (Bat-El)
- Iteration, repetition, but this is only a subset of these verbs. (Schwarzwald)
- Internal pluractionality, but there are also exceptions – diminution, semelfactive verbs and others. (Greenberg)



The view from coinages and productivity

Verbs introduced in different periods of Hebrew



Verbs with C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> roots introduced in Modern Hebrew

39 roots introduced in Modern Hebrew

- TKTK – *tiktek* (tick)
- HDHD – *hidhed* (resonate, reverberate)
- GXGX – *gixgex* (giggle)
- HNHN – *hinhen* (nod)
- KFKF – *kifkef* (slap repeatably)
- Dfdf – *difdef* (flip through pages)
- RŠRŠ – *rišreš* (rustle)
- CKCK – *cikcek* (click tongue)
- L'L' – *li'le'* (gargle)

Claim:

Verbs with C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> roots

have become the exclusive productive form for

Semelfactive verbs

in Modern Hebrew.

Semelfactive verbs

Small group: I found 125 verbs

- denote extended events und **minimal event/s**
- have **natural atomic structure** (Rothstein)

C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> In Modern Hebrew	Grammatical behavior with modifiers	Events	Structure atomic events	English examples
<i>tiktek</i> (tick) - TKTK	The clock <b>tick</b> ed for an hour.	extended event	~~~~~	<i>cough, kick, knock</i>
	The clock <b>tick</b> ed once/twice/again and again.	extended event	~~~~~	<i>jump, skip, giggle</i>
		minimal event/s	~~~~~	

Compared to regular activity verbs:

- denote **only extended event**
- have **non-atomic structure**

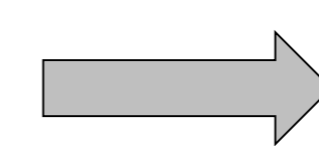
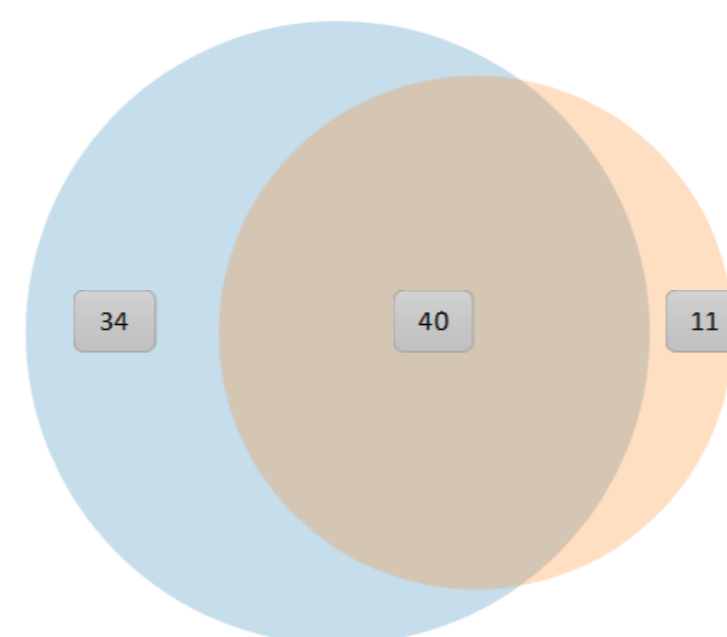
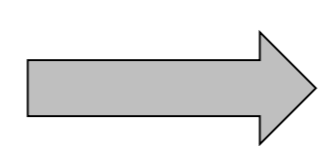
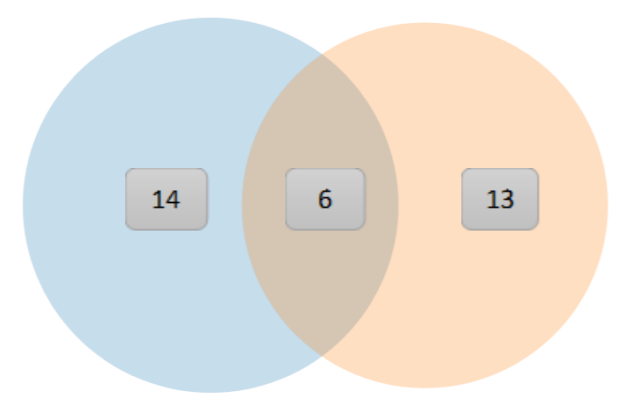
Other roots	Grammatical behavior with modifiers	Events	Structure non-atomic events	English examples
<i>katav</i> (write) - KTV	He wrote for an hour.	extended event	~~~~~	<i>speak, write, sing</i>
	He wrote for once/twice/again and again.	extended event	~~~~~	<i>eat, travel, play</i>

Historical development – verbs introduced in each period

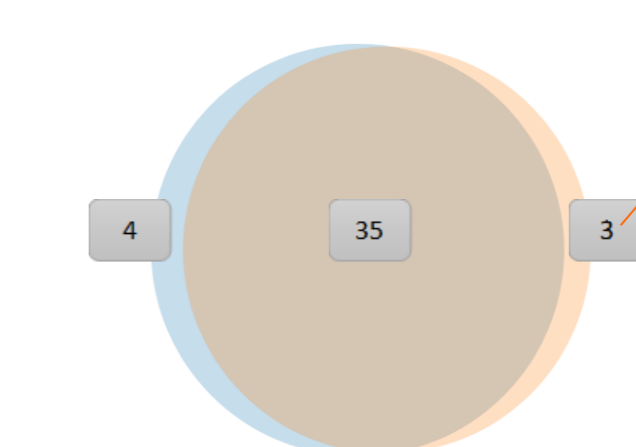
Sources:  
Etymological dictionaries  
The slang dictionary of Modern Hebrew  
Lists of semelfactive verbs in English, Hungarian, Russian

Rabbinic and Medieval Hebrew

Biblical Hebrew



Modern Hebrew



The exceptions are principled - they are all denominal verbs.

Verbs with C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> roots gradually have become the exclusive encoding for Semelfactive verbs.

Factors that influenced this process

Iconicity: Reduplication + Onomatopoeia in the single verb

- tiktek* (tk-tk)
- zimzem* (zm-zm)
- xirxer* (xr-xr)
- cikcek* (ck-ck)
- himhem* (hm-hm)
- rišreš* (rš-rš)

Special characteristics of Hebrew verb system.

1. 'well suited' for **reduplication**, which iconically represents repetition: C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>.
2. 'ill suited' for **onomatopoeia**, which iconically represents a sound. Hebrew vowels are determined by template and inflection, so it can not consistently retain syllable patterns → the onomatopoeic effect is weakened:  
zm → lazum, zamti, tazum / lizmot, zamiti, tizme / lezamzem, zimzami

Verb system 'ill suited' to represent sounds → Representation of repetition is enhanced

Russian Influence in the Revival Period

1. Russian morphology highlights **Semelfactive pairs** → The speakers created a parallel category in Hebrew.
2. Hebrew borrowed consonant base from Russian Semelfactive pairs, mostly onomatopoeic verbs.

Russian	Hebrew	Translation
<i>bormotat'</i> / <i>bormotnut'</i>	<i>birber</i>	babble (br-br)
<i>gogotat'</i> / <i>gogotnut'</i>	<i>gi'ge'</i>	make noises ga-ga (duck)
<i>hmykat'</i> / <i>hmyknut'</i>	<i>himhem</i>	make noises gm-gm
<i>harkat'</i> / <i>harknut'</i>	<i>xirxer</i>	clear a throat, cough (xr-xr)
<i>cykat'</i> / <i>cyknut'</i>	<i>cikcek</i>	click tongue (ck-ck)
<i>cokat'</i> / <i>coknut'</i>	<i>cikcek</i>	make noises ck-ck (hills)
<i>tikat'</i> / <i>tiknut'</i>	<i>tiktek</i>	tick (tk-tk)
<i>basit'</i>	<i>bisbes</i>	speak in a low voice (bass)

**Conclusion:** In Modern Hebrew, verbs with Quadrilateral Reduplicated Roots have become the almost exclusive productive way for new Semelfactive verbs. The process began in the earlier periods of Hebrew probably because the Hebrew verb system allows iconic representation of repetition and because of the inclusion of onomatopoeia in this root pattern. It was increased by the influence of Russian substrate in the Revival Period of Modern Hebrew.

Selected references:

Bat-El, O. (2006) *Consonant identity and consonantal copy: The segmental and prosodic structure of Hebrew reduplication*. Linguistic Inquiry 37/2: 179 – 210. Bat-El, O. (2011) *Reduplication*. Encyclopedia of Hebrew Language and Linguistics 3 (ed. Khan Geoffrey), Brill Comrie, B. (1976) *Aspect*. Cambridge University Press. Greenberg, Y. (2010) *Event Internal Pluractionality in Modern Hebrew: A Semantic Analysis of One Verbal Reduplication Pattern*, Brill's Annual of Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics 2, 119 – 164. Rothstein, S. (2008) *Two puzzles for a theory of lexical aspect: semelfactives and degree achievements*, Event Structures in Linguistic Form and Interpretation, Dölling J., Heyde-Zybatow T., Schäfer M., eds., Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 175–198. Schwarzwald, O. R. (2017) *New Verb Formations in Hebrew: Duplication and Addition of Initial*, Chelkat Lashon 50, 207 – 223 [In Hebrew]. Smith, C. S. (1997) *The Parameter of Aspect*, 2nd ed., Dordrecht: Kluwer.