Stress Assignment in Words with *-i* Suffix in Hebrew[*]

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The purpose of this paper is to describe, analyze and explain the stress patterns of words formed with the homonymic suffix -i which conveys a variety of derivational and inflectional morphological functions in Hebrew, e.g. yaldut-i *'childish' (derivation) and 'my childhood' (inflection). The suffix* -i *functions in two inflectional and three derivational categories: (a) second person singular feminine in verbs (e.g.* šví *'sit down! [F.SG]',* takúmi *'you[F.SG] will get up'); (b) first person singular in nouns, prepositions, and several other parts of speech (e.g.* 'aví *'my father',* kamóni *'like me'); (c) adjectival formation (e.g.* 'olamí *'worldwide',* cíni *'cynical'); (d) gentilic affiliation (e.g.* germaní *'German',* síni *'Chinese'); (e) affectionate expression (e.g.* xamúdi *'sweetie'). Polysemy seems to occur in adjectives (c) and gentilic words (d), however, as each of the functions creates different word classes – only adjectives in (c) and both nouns and adjectives in (d), these categories will be differentiated here. The stress in words with the suffix -i is not fixed, as can be seen in the examples above. In most cases the suffix is stressed (except for (e) which is always unstressed). Penultimate stress is determined in each category by various phonological and morphological rules as well as by other non-linguistic factors which will be described and explained in this paper.*

Keywords: *derivation, homonymy, inflection, stress, suffixes, word class*

1. Introduction

Affixes are morphological devices in word formation and in inflection. They are affixed to certain stems in order to indicate features such as person, number, gender, or tense in inflection, and to create substantives from verbal stems, adjectives from nouns and other words in derivation. In general, specific affixes carry certain morphological and semantic loads; some of which prove to be polysemic (Lieber 2005: 403; Efthymiou 2016: 94 ff.).

Stem is defined in this paper as the form to which an affix is attached, and can be one of the allomorphs of a lexical item. Thus, for instance, the past tense stem of a verb like *lišrok* 'to whistle' is *šarak-*, the future and imperative is *-šrok-*, and the present is *šorek-* (e.g. *šarákti* 'I whistled', *šarka* 'she whistled', *tišrok* 'you.M.SG will whistle', *yišreku* 'they will whistle'; *šoréket* 'whistle.PRS.F.SG', *šorkim* 'whistle.PRS.M.PL').[1] All these words are derivatives of the root √*šrk* which take the CaCaC verbal template *pa'al*.[2] *Šarak, šrok* and *šorek* are the inflectional stems; *šorek* can also be the derivational stem (e.g. *šorkani* 'whistling.ADV').

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[1] Stress in not marked when ultimate, excluding the cases where the distinctions between ultimate and penultimate are relevant. The sign √ marks a consonantal root.

[2] Many Hebrew words are derived by a combination of consonantal root and vocalic template, sometimes with additional consonants. For example, the following words can be derived from the root √*kšr* when combined with the templates CaCaC, CéCeC, tiCCóCet, CiCuC, CiCeC: *kašar* 'tie.V; signal operator.N', *késer* 'knot', *tikšóret* 'communication', *kišur* 'connection', *kašur* 'tied, connected.ADJ', *kišer* 'connect.V'.

Most affixation in Hebrew is suffixed. Suffixes are added to different word classes for inflection and to certain stems for derivation. The analysis of suffixes raises two issues to be discussed in this paper: homonymy in suffixes and conditions for suffix stress patterns.

The suffix *-i* demonstrates a clear case of homonymy: it encompasses various syntactic and semantic functions, and can serve to denote inflection as well as derivation. It has five different functions. The stress of these homonymic suffixes is not fixed, thus different words containing the different instances of *-i* suffixes can be either stressed or unstressed as determined by various phonological, morphological, and other linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Whatever the word class, the stem is quite clear when *-i* is suffixed.

2. The suffix -i

The suffix *-i* is unique because it can be attached to stems belonging to various word classes and possess different, unrelated meanings. Apparently, there are other Hebrew suffixes that can be attached to various word classes; however, unlike the suffix *-i*, these carry the same meaning. For instance, the suffixes *-nu* and *-a* can be attached to various word classes, but their meanings are the same in all instances: suffix *-nu* always indicates first person plural, e.g. *lamád-nu* 'we studied.V', *pí-nu* 'our mouth.N', *lá-nu* 'to.PREP us'; suffix *-a* always marks the third person singular feminine, e.g. *lamd-á* 'she studied.V', *pkid-á* 'clerk.N.F', *l-a* 'to.PREP her'.[3]

The suffix *-i* functions in the following cases:

(a)   Second person singular feminine when affixed to a verb in the future tense and the imperative, e.g. *tipl-í* 'you.F.SG will fall', *kúm-i* 'get up.F.SG!' (2.1)

(b)   First person singular marker: possessive when suffixed to singular nouns; pronominal when suffixed to prepositions and other word classes, e.g. *yad-í* 'my hand', *šel-í* 'mine, of me', *kamó-n-i* 'like me' (2.2)

(c)   Adjective, when suffixed to nouns, adjectives and other word classes, e.g. *yaldut-í* 'childish', *rišon-í* 'initial', *ba'albát-i* 'landlord-like' (2.3)

(d)   Gentilic affiliation, when suffixed to names of locations, religions and sources, e.g. *rus-í* 'Russian', *súr-i* 'Syrian', *nocr-í* 'Christian' (2.4)

(e)   Affection and diminution when suffixed to proper names and some adjectives, e.g. *rút-i* 'Ruthie', *xamúd-i* 'cutie' (2.5)

Functions (a) and (b) are inflectional whereas (c)–(e) are derivational.[4] Function (a) is unique in that there is no other way in which to express second person feminine in the future or the imperative. Function (d) is also special because it is the standard way of forming gentilic substantives. In function (b) the suffix *-i* occurs in complementary distribution with *-ay* which is attached to plural nouns and some prepositions (cf. *yad-ay* 'my hands', *'el-ay* 'to me, towards me').[5] Functions (c) and (e) can be formed using other morphological devices. Adjectives can be formed with a consonantal root and template combination as in (1) or by other suffixes as in (2).

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[3] In a limited number of cases, an unstressed *-a* serves as a directionality marker, e.g. *'axór-a* 'backwards', *cafón-a* 'to the north' (Hitin-Mashiah 2005).

[4] Ornan (1997) considers (d) to be inflectional, but Schwarzwald (1998a) refutes this.

[5] Phonetically, the suffix *+áy* can also be attached to nominal stems to derive agent nouns, e.g. *bank+áy* 'banker', *xašmal+áy* 'electrician'. However, this suffix is spelled using the letters *aleph* and *yod*, unlike the first person singular suffix which is spelled only with a *yod*.

(1)   √*šmn* + CaCeC > *šamen* 'fat', √*lmd* + meCuCaC > *melumad* 'educated', √*šlm* + muCCaC > *mušlam* 'perfect', √*kdm* + CaCuC > *kadum* 'ancient', √*rgz* + CaCCan > *ragzan* 'grumpy, irritable'

(2)   *zá'af* 'anger, rage' + -*an* > *za'afán* 'quick-tempered', *klum* 'nothing' + -*nik* > *klúm-nik* 'good-for-nothing person'

Affection and diminution (e) can also be expressed by single stems, as in (3), by consonantal root duplication as in (4), or by other diminutive suffixes as in (5) (Bat-El 2005; Bolozky 2013).

(3)   *xamúda* 'cutie.F' (cf. *xamudá* 'cute.F'), *mótek* 'honey'

(4)   *klavlav* 'puppy' (*kélev* 'dog'), *xataltul* 'kitten' (*xatul* 'cat'), *sfamfam* 'small mustache' (*safam* 'mustache')

(5)   *sus-on* 'little horse' (*sus* 'horse'), *kar-it* 'cushion, pad' (*car* 'pillow'), *yáfa-le*, *yáf-inka*, *yáf-ki*, *yáf-čuk* 'Yafa.AFFC', *mótek-le* 'sweetie', *áb-uš* 'Dad-dear' (*'ába* 'Dad'), *sarít-uš* 'Sarít-dear' (cf. Dressler 2005: 274)

Stress is only steady on the stem for function (e) of suffix -*i*. For all other functions (a)–(d) the stress varies. Ultimate stress is mostly unmarked, namely, the suffix is stressed. However, sometimes the stress is penultimate and is placed on the final syllable of the stem. Variations are determined in each case by a range of phonological, morphological, and other factors which will be explained in the following sections.

2.1 *Second person feminine suffix in the future and imperative forms*

The stress of the second person feminine suffix -*i* should be examined together with other verbal system vocalic suffixes in the, past, future and imperative verbal forms: -*a* (PST.3F.SG), -*u* (PST and FUT.3PL; FUT and IMPR2PL).

The distribution of the affixes in the Hebrew verbal system is listed in Table 1 and exemplified below using the verb *šilem* 'pay':

As can be seen in Table 1 and in the following example, a number of person suffixes begin with the consonants *t* or *n*, while others start with a vowel. The suffixes that start with a consonant are always unstressed; the stress stays on the stem vowel, as in (6). The stem form of various verbal templates in the past tense is given before each group of examples shown here.[6]

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[6] There are five active verbal templates in MH into which consonantal roots are interwoven. These are formed as: CaCaC, niCCaC, CiCeC, hiCCiC, and hitCaCeC. Each verbal template is called *binyan*, and they are named *pa'al*, *nif'al*, *pi'el*, *hif'il*, and *hitpa'el*. The passive templates are *pu'al* (CuCaC) and *huf'al* (huCCaC), and are seldom used in speech. It is possible to use the passive templates for the future tense but not for the imperative, e.g. *tešulví* 'you.F.SG will be integrated', *tuxšerí* 'you.F.SG will be trained'.

Table 1: Past, future and imperative verb affixes

Number	Person	Past Tense	Future Tense	Imperative
SG	1M 1F	— -*ti*	ʔ-~*y*- — -Ø	
	2M	— -*ta*	*t*- — -Ø	— -Ø
	2F	— -*t*	*t*- — -*i*	— -*i*
	3M	— -Ø	*y*- — -Ø	
	3F	— -*a*	*t*- — -Ø	
PL	1M 1F	— -*nu*	*n*- — -Ø	
	2M	— -*tem*	*t*- — -*u*	— -*u*
	2F	— (-*ten*)[7]	(*t*- — -*na*)	— (-*na*)
	3M	— -*u*	*y*- — -*u*	
	3F	— -*u*	(*t*- — -*na*)	

Past tense: *šilám-ti, šilám-ta, šilám-t, šilém, šilm-á, šilám-nu, šilám-tem, šilm-ú*
Future tense: *'a-šalém~ye-šalém, te-šalém, te-šalm-í, ye-šalém, te-šalém, ne-šalém, te-šalm-ú, ye-šalm-ú*
Imperative: *šalém, šalm-í, šalm-ú*

(6)   *katav* 'write' (√*ktv, pa'al*): *katáv-ti* 'I wrote', *katáv-tem* 'you.PL wrote'
       šilev 'integrate' (√*šlv, pi'el*): *šiláv-ta* 'you.M.SG integrated', *šiláv-t* 'you.F.SG integrated'
       niršam 'register' (√*ršm, nif'al*): *niršám-nu* 'we registered', *niršám-ti* 'I registered'
       hitxil 'begin' (√*txl, hif'il*): *hitxál-tem* 'you.PL started', *hitxál-ta* 'you.M.SG started'
       hitlabeš 'get dressed' (√*lbš, hitpa'el*): *hitlabáš-ti* 'I got dressed', *hitlabáš-nu* 'we got dressed'
       huksam 'be fascinated' (√*ksm, huf'al*): *huksám-ta* 'you.M.SG were fascinated', *huksám-nu* 'we were fascinated'

The unmarked stress of vowel suffixes is ultimate in most verb templates, and the stem final vowels *e*, *a*, *o* are deleted (Graf & Ussishkin 2003; Bat-El 1993, 2018). A few examples are listed in (7).

(7)   *katav* 'write' (√*ktv, pa'al*): *katv-á* 'she wrote', *yixtev-ú* 'they will write'
       šilem 'pay' (√*šlm, pi'el*): *šilm-ú* 'they paid', *tešalm-í* 'you.F.SG will pay; pay!'
       nixnas 'enter' (√*kns, nif'al*): *tikans-í* 'you.F.SG will enter', *nixnes-ú*[8] 'they entered'
       yašav 'sit' (√*yšv, pa'al*): *šv-í* 'sit down.F.SG!', *yašv-ú* 'they sat'
       natan 'give' (√*ntn, pa'al*): *yitn-ú* 'they will give', *tn-í* 'give.F.SG!'
       hitbayeš 'be embarrassed' (√*byš, hitpa'el*): *titbayš-ú* 'you.PL will be embarrassed; shame on you!'

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[7] The affixes in parentheses are only used in very high registers, not in standard speech, and will therefore not be exemplified here.

[8] The vowel *e* is inserted here between *n* and *s* and between *t* and *v* in *yixtev-ë* above in order to avoid a three consonantal word cluster (Schwarzwald 2004).

kubac 'be gathered' (√*kbc*, *pu'al*): *yekubc-ú* 'they will be gathered', *kubc-á* 'she/it was gathered'

The vowel suffixes *-i*, *-a*, and *-u* are not stressed in the verbal system in two circumstances: (a) the *hif'il* template, as in (8) and (b) bi-consonantal verbs, as in (9).[9] The examples in (10) feature both circumstances. In all cases the stem vowels are never deleted.

(8)   *hitxil* 'begin' (√*txl*): *tatxíl-i* 'you.F.SG will begin', *hitxíl-a* 'she began', *yatxíl-u* 'they will begin', *tatxíl-u* 'you.PL will begin; begin.PL!'
       hirkid 'lead a dance' (√*rkd*): *tarkíd-i* 'you.F.SG will lead a dance', *hirkíd-u* 'they led a dance'
       hipil 'drop' (√*npl*): *hipíl-a* 'she dropped', *tapíl-i* 'you.F.SG will drop'[10]
       hošiv 'seat' (√*yšv*): *hošív-u* 'they seated', *yošív-u* 'they will seat'
       himci 'invent; discover' (√*mc'*): *himcí'-a* 'she invented', *tamcí'-i* 'you.F.SG will invent; discover!'

(9)   *šar* 'sing' : *tašír-i* 'you.F.SG will sing; sing!', *yašír-u* 'they will sing' (√*šr*, *pa'al*)
       kam 'get up' : *kám-a* 'she got up', *kúm-u* 'get up.PL!', *kúm-i* 'get up!' (√*km*, *pa'al*)
       ba 'come' : *bá'-a* 'she came', *bó'-u* 'come.PL!', *tavó'-i* 'you.F.SG will come; come.PL!' (√*b'*, *pa'al*)

(10)   *hekim* 'establish' (√*km*, *hif'il*): *takím-i* 'you.F,SG will establish', *hekím-a* 'she established', *hekím-u* 'they established'
       he'et 'slow down' (√*'t*, hif'il): *ta'ít-i* 'you.F.SG will slow down; slow down!', *he'ét-a* 'she slowed down', *he'ét-u* 'they slowed down'
       hegen 'protect' (√*gn*, *hif'il*): *tagén-i* 'you.F.SG will protect', *hegén-u* 'they protected'

The common feature for both circumstances is that the stem final vowel CVC is not deleted, unlike the cases presented in (7). If we adopt Podolsky's (1991) and Melčuk & Podolsky's (1996) classification regarding mobile (shifting) versus stable (fixed) stress, the explanation is clear. The stem vowels in (7) are classified as mobile and can therefore potentially be deleted so that the suffixed vowel takes the stress. The stem vowels in (8–10) are stable and thus cannot be reduced with the addition of a vowel suffix;[11] in these cases then, the stem vowel is stressed and the suffix is unstressed.

The examples in (11) seem to contradict the circumstances given above. Although they appear to be bi-consonantal and take the *hif'il* template, they nonetheless behave like the examples given in (7), namely, their vowel suffixes are stressed.

(11)   *hikna* 'instill, acquire.TRNS' (√*kny*): *takn-í* 'you.2F.SG will instill', *hikn-ú* 'they instilled'
       her'a 'show' (√*r'y*): *tar'-í* 'you.2F.SG will show, show!', *her'-ú* 'they showed', *yar'-ú* 'they will show'

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[9] Graf & Ussishkin (2003: 252–252) use the name monosyllabic rather than bi-consonantal verbs. These verbs are traditionally identified as CwC/CyC (hollow) or $C_1C_2C_2$ (geminate) roots.

[10] The consonantal root of these apparently two consonantal verbs is clear from other occurrences of the root, e.g. *nafal* 'fall', *yašav* 'sit'.

[11] It should be noted that the stem vowel in the *hif'il* template is high, and that some of the forms in (9) also include the stem high vowels *i* or *u*.

hiška 'water.TRNS' (√*šky*): *tašk-í* 'you.2F.SG will water; IMPR.F.SG!', *tašk-ú* 'you.PL will water; water.PL!',*hišk-ú* 'they watered'
hifna 'turn.TRNS' (√*fny*): *tafn-í* 'you.2F.SG will turn' *yafn-ú* 'they will turn'

The difference between the verbs given in (11) and (8–10) is that the stems in (11) end in a vowel, rather than in a consonant. The stems of all the verbs shown in (8) and (10) end with a CVC syllabic structure rather than a CV one (cf. *hikna*, *her'a*, *hiška*, *hifna* in 11 versus *hitxil*, *hošiv*, *hipil*, *hegen* in 8 and 10).

Thus we can formulate the following generalizations:
G1. Suffixes that start with a consonant in the past, future or imperative forms of a verb are always unstressed.
G2. Suffixes that start with a vowel in the past, future or imperative forms of a verb, are stressed unless the verb ends in CVC and takes the *hif'il* template or is a bi-consonantal verb, in which case the stress remains on the final stem vowel.

The second generalization G2 applies to the suffix *-i* which is the focus of our discussion. In general it is stressed, unless it appears within the *hif'il* template and in the case of a few bi-consonantal verbs which in spite of their paucity are frequently used.

2.2 *First person marker*

The suffix *-i* is added to singular nouns in order to indicate the possessive pronoun 'mine'. It is also appended to prepositions and to a few other closed class categories as the pronominal first person singular. The suffix is always stressed when attached to nouns (2.2.1) and to most prepositions. It is not stressed when an *-n-* is inserted before the suffix in prepositions and other closed class words (2.2.2). Although the addition of *-i* to nouns and to other closed class categories is partly optional, it is obligatory when added to prepositions.

2.2.1 *Possessive*
There are two ways to express possession in nouns; the synthetic way by adding the pronominal suffixes, and the analytic way by using of inflected *šel* 'of'. The suffix *-i* is part of a set of suffixes presented in Table 2, and this discussion applies to them as well, although the examples given only refer to the suffix *-i*.[12]

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[12] In section 2 I mentioned the suffix *-ay* which is part of another set of bound pronominal suffixes which are added to plural nouns and to some prepositions. I have not listed this here because it is not relevant to the discussion regarding the suffix *-i*. Unlike the person suffixes in the verb discussed above, there is no stress difference between suffixes starting with a consonant or a vowel in this set of suffixes in Table 2. They are always stressed when attached to nouns.

Table 2: Bound pronominal suffixes in Hebrew

	Singular		Plural	
Person	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
1	*-i (-ni)*		*-ánu, -énu*	
2	*-xa*	*-ex, -ax, -x*	*-xem*	*(-xen)*
3		*-a(h) -ha*		
	-o (-no, -nu, -hu)	*(-na)*	*-am, -hem*	*(-an, -en)*

Even though synthetic possession is not very productive in Modern Hebrew due to analytic possession with the inflected preposition *šel* 'of', there are certain categories where it is still actively used. The examples in (12) show parallels between the synthetic (12a) and analytic (12b) possession of nouns which have the same meaning, although the synthetic expression belongs to a higher register.

(12)   a. Synthetic possession: *dod-í* 'my uncle', *roš-í* 'my head', *ba-xalom-i* 'in my dream'

         b. Analytic possession: *dod šel-í* 'my uncle (lit: uncle of-mine)', *ha-roš šel-í* 'my head (lit: the-head of-mine)', *b-a-xalóm šel-í* 'in my dream (lit: in-the-dream of-mine)'

The inflected nouns in the following categories are quite regularly used in everyday speech and writing (Dubnov 2000; Avioz 2004: 179–198; Ravid & Chahana-Amitay 2005):

a.   Family members and close relations, e.g. *'axot-í* 'my sister', *'im-í* 'my mother', *dodat-í* 'my aunt', *'išt-í* 'my wife', *ba'al-í* 'my husband'
b.   Body parts, e.g. *p-í* 'my mouth', *roš-í* 'my head', *lešon-í* 'my tongue', *yad-í* 'my hand', *lib-í* 'my heart'
c.   Judgment and consideration, e.g. *da'at-í* 'my opinion', *haxlatat-í* 'my decision', *'acat-í* 'my advice', *ta'anat-í* 'my argument', *tor-í* 'my turn'
d.   Abstract nouns indicating verbal or adjectival contents, e.g. *bakašat-í* 'my request', *zxut-í* 'my right', *'ezrat-í* 'my help', *'ašmat-í* 'my fault'
e.   Lifetime periods, e.g. *yaldut-í* 'my childhood', *ziknat-í* 'my old age'

         Inflection also occurs in some fossilized expressions, e.g. *le-da'at-í* 'in my opinion' (lit: to-opinion-mine), *le-metav zixron-í* 'as far as I remember' (lit: to-best memory-mine), and the fossilized addressing expressions *'ax-í* 'my brother, friend' and *yakirat-í* 'my dear (feminine friend)'.
         The following generalization summarizes the fact that the possessive suffix *-í* in singular nouns is always stressed:
G3: The possessive first person suffix *-í* is stressed when added to singular nouns.

2.2.2 *Prepositions and other closed lexical categories*
All Hebrew prepositions are inflected to signify person. The stressed suffix *-i* indicates the first person singular,[13] as in (13).

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[13] As mentioned earlier, the suffix *-ay* indicates the same person in several other prepositions, e.g. *'al-ay* 'on me', *'el-ay* 'towards me'.

(13)   *l-í* 'to me', *'ecl-í* 'by me', *b-í* 'in me', *betox-í* 'inside me', *šel-í* 'of me', *biglal-í* 'because of me', *bišvil-í* 'for me', *'ot-í* 'ACC me', *'it-í* 'with me', *negd-í* 'against me', *mul-í* 'in front of me'

There are two prepositions where the consonant *-n-* is inserted before the suffix *-í* and the stress stays on the last syllable of the stem rather than on the suffix, as in (14).

(14)   *kmo* 'like, as' + *-i* > *kamó-n-i* 'like me'; *min* 'from' + *-i* > *mimé-n-i* 'from me'

In classical Hebrew, the *-n-* was regularly inserted into verbs and gentilic substantives ending in a vowel if the suffix *-i* was to be added to them, in order to prevent hiatus.[14] This fact explains the occurrence of *n* in *kmo*, but not in *min* where the inflection is irregular in all regards.

   Very few other words that belong to closed class categories are inflected. The examples in (15) show two quantifying words, *kol* 'all' and *rov* 'most' and the adverbials *levad* 'alone, by oneself' and *le'at* 'slowly', that behave in the same way as regular prepositions.

(15)   *kul-í* 'all of me', *rub-í* 'most of me', *levad-í* 'by myself', *le'it-í* 'I slowly'[15]

In the examples given in (16), inflected synthetic words alternate with analytic ones using the independent personal pronoun. In the examples where *n* is inserted before the suffix *-i*, the stress remains on the stem, except for *hiiení~hinéni* (16c). The examples in (17) demonstrate actual use. These inflected forms belong to a high literary register and are never used in day-to-day, ordinary speech.

(16)   a. *'eyn* 'no, there is no' – *'eyn-í~'eyné-n-i ~ 'eyn 'ani* 'I am not' (*'ani* 'I').

       b. *'od* 'still' – *'od-í ~ 'odé-n-i ~ 'od 'ani* 'I am still'

       c. *hine* 'here, behold' – *hine-n-í~hiné-n-i ~ hiné~híne 'ani* 'here I am'

       d. *harey* 'indeed, behold, is it not that' – *haréy-n-i ~ harey 'ani* 'I behold'

(17)   a. *'eyn-i xošév-et ~ 'eyné-n-i xošév-et ~ 'eyn 'ani xošév-et* 'I.F do not think-F'

       b. *be-'od-í mehases ~ be'odé-n-i mehases ~ be'od 'ani mehases* 'while I.M am still hesitating'

       c. *hine-n-í mešalem ~ hine 'ani mešalem* 'I.M hereby pay'

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[14] a. In fact, the suffix *-i* can theoretically be added to verbs to indicate the accusative first pronoun, as in classical Hebrew, e.g. *ra'á-n-i* 'he saw me', *hizkartá-n-i* 'you.M.SG reminded me', but it is hardly used in Modern Hebrew. The analytic way is preferred whereby the inflected accusative is used, namely, *ra'a 'oti, hizkarta 'oti~li*. In these obsolete forms an *n* is inserted before the suffix as in the examples (14) and (16–17).

   b. The *n* is added only before the suffix *-i*, and not before any of the other pronominal suffixes.

[15] Vowel alternations (*u-o, a-i*) occur in many bi-consonantal (geminate) roots to which the words belong (√kl, √rb/v, √'t from historical √kll, √rbb, and √'tt). Alternations of *b–v*, *k–x* and *p–f* are residues of the historical Spirantization Rule in Hebrew (Schwarzwald 2001: 14–16).

d. *haréy-n-i modía* 'I.ᴍ hereby announce' ~ *hare(y) 'ani modía* 'eventually I.ᴍ announce'

All the forms in (14) and (16) which include an additional *-n-* before the suffix are inherited from classical Hebrew. This formation would originally have been phonologically motivated, but today it is simply a remnant of the old processes. While the prepositions in (14) are frequently utilized, the use of the examples in (16-17) is quite rare and needs to be memorized by rote. The following generalization can be stated:

G4: The first person singular pronominal suffix *-i* is stressed when it appears in prepositions and in the words *kol* 'all', *rov* most', *levad* 'alone', and *le'at* 'slowly'.

The prepositions *kmo* 'as' and *min* 'from', as well as the words *'eyn* 'no, there is no', *'od* 'still', *hine* 'here, behold', and *harey* 'indeed, behold' are exceptional because the stress stays on the stem for these words when an *n* is inserted before the suffix *-i*. They are residues of forms inherited from the classical Hebrew periods and need to be memorized by rote.

2.3 *Adjectives*

As stated above, the suffixation of *-i* is only one of the ways in which adjectives are formed (Werner 1983; see examples 1–2 above).[16] The formation of adjectives with the suffix *-i* is very productive, and words from different classes (except for verbs) serve as the base for adjectival stems, although most of these are derived from nouns, as in (18).

(18)   a. From nouns: *'iš-í* 'personal' (*'iš* 'man, person'), *tarbut-í* 'cultural' (*tarbut* 'culture'), *sod-í* 'secretive' (*sod* 'secret'), *pnim-í* 'internal, interior' (*pnim* 'inside, interior'), *keyc-í* 'summery' (*káyic* 'summer')

b. From adjectives: *tipš-í* 'silly [-Aɴɪᴍᴀᴛᴇ]' (*tipeš* 'stupid [+Hᴜᴍᴀɴ]'), *rišon-í* 'basic, elementary' (*rišon* 'first'), *'evil-í* 'silly' (*'evil* 'stupid.ɴ')

c. From adverbs: *'adkan-í* 'updated' (*'ad kan* 'until here'), *yomyom-í* 'daily' (*yom-yom* 'every day'), *'axšav-í* 'contemporary' (*'axšav* 'now')

d. From prepositions: *le'umat-í* 'oppositional' (*le'umat* 'against'), *bil'ad-í* 'exclusive, unique' (*bil'adey* 'without')

Although most adjectives with the suffix *-i* are derived from singular nouns, the stem is occasionally taken from a noun's plural form, as in (19).

(19)   *naš-í* 'feminine' (*naš-im* 'women'; *'iša* 'woman'), *cdad-í* 'sideways.ᴀᴅᴊ, lateral' (*cdad-im* 'sides'; *cad* 'side.ɴ'), *'imah-í* 'maternal' (*'imah-ot* 'mother-s'; *'em* 'mother', *'ima* 'Mom'), *raš-í* 'main, head.ᴀᴅᴊ' (*raš-im* 'heads'; *roš* 'head')

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[16] The only template where the ending *-i* occurs is the adjectival CCiCi which is used to form the ordinal numbers from 3–10 and a few other words, e.g. *šliši* '3ʳᵈ', *revi'i* '4ᵗʰ', *xamiši* '5ᵗʰ', *švi'i* '7ᵗʰ', *šmini* '8ᵗʰ', *tši'i* '9ᵗʰ', *'asiri* '10ᵗʰ', *recini* 'serious', *'ariri* 'alone, childless'. The vowel *e* is added after the first consonant in *revi'i*, *'asiri*, *recini,* and *'ariri* because of a restriction on consonant clusters in word initial position (Schwarzwald 2004). This template is not listed anywhere in any list of noun templates (Bolozky 1999).

In a few very rare cases the stem is not based on a Hebrew lexical item, but is rather modified from a foreign word which does not exist in the Hebrew lexicon, as in (20).

(20) *xad-sitr-í* 'one way (street) (*xad* 'one', Aramaic *sitra* 'side' *-i*), *xakla'-í* 'agricultural' (Aramaic *ḥaqla* 'field'), *siton-í* '(commerce) wholesale' (Greek *sitones* 'grains trader')

Homonyms are sometimes created when the suffix *-i* indicating a first person possessive noun (see 2.2.1 above) and the adjectival suffix *-i* are added to the same nominal stem, e.g. *'arc-í* 'my country; national' (*'érec* 'country, land'). The context always enables speakers to distinguish between these, as the examples in (21) show.

(21) *zot   yaldut-í*
      this.F   childhood.F.-1SG
      'This is my childhood'

      be-yaldut-í   gár-nu   be-giv'atáyim
      in-childhood.F-POSS1^{SG} live.PST-1PL in-Givatayim
      'In my childhood we lived in Givatayim'

      ze   yaldut-í
      this.M childhood.F-ADJ
      'It is childish'

      yeš   l-o   parcuf yaldut-i
      there is to-him face   childhood.F-ADJ
      'He has a childish face'

The examples given in (18–21) include adjectives where the suffix *-i* is stressed. The suffix *-i* is not stressed in non-integrated words, especially loan words and acronyms (Schwarzwald 2013), as in (22).

(22) a. Loan stems: *'idyót-i* 'idiotic', *pedagóg-i* 'pedagogical', *didákt-i* 'didactic', *téxn-i* 'technical', *histór-i* 'historical', *'ortodóks-i* 'orthodox', *generatív-i* 'generative', *kolegyál-i* 'collegial', *banal-i* 'banal', *telefón-i* 'telephonic', *ba'albát-i* 'landlord-like' (Yiddish-like formation: *bá'al* 'owner' [*báyit* 'house'], plural *bat-im* 'houses' *-i*)

      b. Acronyms: *mankál-i* 'of chief director' (*MaNKaL* 'general manager' = **me**n*ahel* 'director', **k**lal-i 'general'); *xagám-i* 'lacking person, number and gender' (*XaGáM* = **x**asar 'lack', **g**uf 'person', **m**in 'gender', **m**ispar 'number'), *mafmár-i* 'of supervisor of the center of the subject' (*MaFMaR* 'director of high-school studies in a certain subject' = **m**efakéax **me**rkaz mikcóa 'supervisor of center subject')

There is a clear distinction here between originally Hebrew words and non-integrated words (mainly loan words). In Hebrew stems the suffix *-i* is stressed whereas in non-integrated words the stress remains on the stem. Non-integrated stems need to be marked in the lexicon by the lexical rule L1 to denote penultimate stress when the suffix *-i* is attached. The final syllable of

the stem is stressed, although the basic word may not retain an ultimate stress, e.g. *télefon*, *koléga* 'colleague'.

L1: Non-integrated words are penultimately stressed when the adjectival suffix *-i* is attached to them.

Unmarked stems are Hebrew in origin where the stress is assigned to the suffix *-i*. This is stated by the grammatical rule G5.

G5: Adjectival suffix *-i* is stressed.

2.4 *Gentilic marker*

The category of gentilic substantives indicating ethnic, geographic or religious origin is relatively small considering the number of lexical items which it includes.[17] It is different from adjectival formation with the suffix *-i* described in 2.3 because all the words in this category are both adjectives and nouns whereas words which are adjectives can only occasionally be used syntactically as nouns. Adjectives can be formed as a result of other word formation devices as demonstrated in (1), whereas gentilic words are only formed by suffixation.[18] As nouns, gentilic substantives mark [+HUMAN] entities, whereas as adjectives, like the adjectives in 2.3, they can refer to any feature, human or non-human. The plural inflection of masculine nouns is also different from that of adjectives: masculine nouns are pluralized by adding the suffix *-im* (N-*i* + *-im* > N-*im*), while masculine adjectives are pluralized by the addition of the suffix *-iyim* or *-iim* (ADJ-*i* + *-im* > ADJ-*iyim~iim*), e.g. *yapáni-yapánim* 'Japanese.N.M.SG-PL', *yapáni-yapániyim~yapániim* 'Japanese.ADJ.M.SG-PL'.[19]

Most gentilic substantives are penultimately stressed, as indicated in G6, because they are generally derived from non-Hebrew place names or loan words, and are thus linguistically non-integrated (Melčuk & Podolsky 1996; Schwarzwald 1998b).

G6: Gentilic substantives with suffix *-i* are penultimately stressed.

The feminine suffix for most gentilic substantives is *-t* as exemplified in (25–26) below. For a small number of gentilic words with a final stressed *-i* in the masculine, the feminine noun is not formed in the same way as the feminine adjective: the noun indicating a woman is formed using the suffix *-a*, whereas an adjective takes the suffix *-t* in the feminine,[20] as in (23) (Rosén 1956: 236; Podolsky 1981; Faust 2017). No gentilic word with an unstressed *-i* takes the feminine suffix *-a* in Hebrew.[21] The word *carfati* 'French' was derived from Hebrew *carfat* 'France', and *yehudi* 'Jew' was derived from *Yehuda* 'Judah', both of which differ in their feminine forms. A few more examples of this type of noun are listed in (24).

(23)   a.   *ha-carfati yošev*   *ha-carfatiy-a yošév-et*

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[17] Faust (2017) prefers the name *denomyns* for gentilic substantives.

[18] The loan suffix *-nik* is occasionally used in substandard Hebrew to form gentilic substantives, e.g. *xúl-nik* 'foreigner, someone who came from abroad' (*xul* acronym of **xuc la'arec** 'out of the country'), *ašdod-nik* 'someone from Ashdod', *gúr-nik* 'one who belongs to the Hassidic cycle of Rabbi Gur'. However, the suffix *-nik* is also used in slang expressions to form other substantives, not necessarily gentilic, e.g. *kolboy-nik* 'deep bowl set on a dining table for leftovers; a man of multiple capacities' (*kol-bo* 'all in-it'), *šipuc-nik* 'renovator (of houses and apartments)', and see *klumnik* in example (2) above.

[19] The feminine forms are identical: *yapánit-yapániyot* 'Japanese.f.sg-pl'.

[20] A glide *y* is inserted between *i* and *a*.

[21] Faust (2017) has a theoretical explanation for the choice of *-a* as the feminine formation suffix, but his analysis does not account for the exceptions stated below.

the-French.M sit   the-French-F sit-F
'The Frenchman sits'   'The Frenchwoman sits'

léxem carfati   *nešika carfati-t* (no **carfatiya*)
bread.M French   kiss.F French-F
'Baguette, French bread'   'French kiss (mouth to mouth)'

   b.   *hu yehudi*   *hi yehudiy-a*
        he Jew   she Jew-ess
        'He is a Jew'   'She is a Jewess'

        ha-minhag ha-yehudi   *ha-'emuna ha-yehudit-t* (no **yehudiya*)
        the-custom.M the-Jewish.M   the-faith.F the-Jewish-F
        'the Jewish custom'   'the Jewish faith'

(24)   *'italki-'italkit, 'italkiya* 'Italian', *germani-germanit, germaniya* 'German', *dati-datit, datiya* 'religious', *'ivri* 'Hebrew', *'aravi* 'Arab', *polani* 'Polish', *co'ani* 'gypsy', *rusi* 'Russian', *teymani* 'Yemenite', *xiloni* 'secular', *sfaradi* 'Spanish, Sephardi', *romani* 'Romanian', *'aškenazi* 'Ashkenazi', *parsí* 'Iranian'

However, not all gentilic words with a final stressed *-i* have two feminine forms, as the examples in (25) demonstrate.

(25)   a. *lita'í-lita'ít* 'Lithuanian.M-F' (*líta* 'Lithuania'; no **lita'iyá*), *vina'í-vina'ít* 'Viennese' (*vína* 'Vienna'), *roma'í* 'Roman' (*róma* 'Rome'), *xeyfa'í* 'man from Haifa'

       b. *yisre'elí-yisre'elít* 'Israeli.M-F' (no **yisre'eliya*), *pariza'í-pariza'ít* 'Parisian.M-F' (no **parisa'iya*), *pliští* 'Philistine' (no **plištiya*), *'ašurí* 'Assyrian', *'aramí* 'Aramaic', *mizraxí* 'oriental'

The nouns from which gentilic words are derived in (25a), end with the vowel *a*, and this seems to have produced a phonological restriction on the formation of two feminine forms, nominal and adjectival. However, the other examples in (25b) do not form any phonological group. Moreover, the examples in (26b) show that the suffix *-i* is not stressed although some place names end in *a* (*súrya, 'amérika, kánada, 'áfrika*).
       Many other penultimately stressed gentilic nouns and adjectives, only utilize the suffix *-t* to signify the feminine form for both nouns and adjectives, e.g.

(26)   a. *yapáni-yapánit* 'Japanese.M-F' (*yapan* 'Japan'; no **yapaniya*), *lúbi-lúbit ~ lúvi-lúvit* 'Lybian' (*luv* 'Lybia'), *síni-sínit* 'Chinese' (*sin* 'China'), *holándi* 'Dutch' (*hóland* 'Holland')

       b. *súri-súrit* 'Syrian.M-F' (*súrya* 'Syria'; no **suriya*), *bélgi* 'Belgian' (*bélgya* 'Belgium'), *kanádi* 'Canadian' (*kánada* 'Canada'), *'afriká'i-'afriká'it* 'African.m-f' (*'áfrika* 'Africa'; no **'afrika'iya*), *'ameriká'i ~ 'amerikáni* 'American' (*'amérika* 'America')

c. *brazilá'i-brazilá'it* 'Brazilian.M-F' (*brazil* 'Brazil'; no **brazíliya*)

d. *meksiká'i-meksiká'it ~ meksikáni-meksikánit* 'Mexican.M-F' (*méksiko* 'Mexico'; no **meksika'iya*, **meksikaniya*), *maroká'i* 'Moroccan' (*maróko* 'Morocco')

The examples in (26a) include gentilic substantives in which the suffix-*i* is added to the noun after a consonant and the stress stays on the stem; in (26b) the suffix -*i* is added to the final vowel *a* of the country's name, similar to (25a), but the stress is penultimate rather than ultimate. In the examples in (26c) and (26d) -*a* is added before -*i* (as -*á'i*), by analogy to the forms in (25a) and (26b), either after a consonant in (26c) or after a vowel in (26d), but without the stress on the suffix -*i* (cf. 25a). The choice of suffix -*i* (or -*á'i*) seems arbitrary and cannot be accounted for by any phonological rule. The stress in these cases is penultimate.

Some of the nouns in (24) and (25) have been inherited from classical Hebrew, but not all of them. New gentilic nouns are only penultimately stressed and the nominal and adjectival feminine forms are indistinguishable. Ultimate suffix stress was typical of classical Hebrew and featured heavily in the formation of new gentilic words during the early days of Hebrew speech revival.[22] Words were ultimately stressed if inherited or if coined at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century when normative standards were set by the classical language (Mor 2017). While some of these words stuck to the normative classical distinction of *'ivriyá* 'Hebrew.F.N' and *'ivrít* 'Hebrew.F.ADJ; the language name'[23] as a precedence, most of them did not, not only because they did not appear in any classical sources (the Bible, the Mishna, etc.), but also because they were perceived as loan words which are typified by non-final stress. In this way, non-linguistic, sociological and historic factors determine most gentilic word stress assignment and feminine inflection.

Gentilic words of the types presented in (23–25) must be lexically assigned for the stressed suffix -*i* with the following lexical rule L2 which is different from the grammatical rule G6 stated above:
L2: Gentilic substantives are stressed on the final syllable.

The feminine nominal and adjectival distinctions presented above can be accounted for by the minor lexical rule L3 which states:
L3: Gentilic substantives with final stress in the masculine take the feminine suffix -*a* to form a [+HUMAN] noun, and -*t* to form an adjective.

This rule only applies to words such as those given in (23) and (24). The words listed in (25a) as well as those demonstrated in (26c) and (26d) must be lexically marked for their formation and need further consideration elsewhere.

2.5 *Affection*

Expression of affection determines a diminutive formation in which the palatal front high vowel is used, as in many other languages (Jespersen 1965; Bauer 1996; Dressler & Merlini

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[22] An exception is the biblical word *kuší* 'Ethiopian, from Kush', which is penultimately stressed in Modern Hebrew, *kúši*, and has been changed to derogatively mean 'black', and therefore belongs to group (e) (see 2.5 below).

[23] The suffix -*it* is typical of language names, e.g. *yapánit* 'Japanese (language)', *swahílit* 'Swahili'. It is also typical of adverbials, e.g. *'ekroní* 'in principle', *téxnit* 'technically'.

Barbaresi 1994, 2001). The suffix *-i* is never stressed in this function as the following examples show; the stress remains intact on the stem.[24]

(27)   *oríti* 'Orít~Órit', *matóki* 'sweetie' (*matók* 'sweet'), *'ésti* 'Esther' (*Éster~Estér*), *xamúdi* 'cutie' (*xamúd* 'cute'), *tipšóni* 'silly little fool' (*tipšon* 'little fool'), *xáni* 'Hanna' (*Xána*), *li'óri* 'Lior', *Siváni* 'Sivan', *Yósi, Yoséfi* 'Joseph' (*Yósef~Yoséf*), *nó'ami~no'ámi* 'Noam' (*Nó'am*)

Unlike the four functions of the suffix *-i* listed above which existed in classical Hebrew and continue to be used productively in the Modern language, this affectionate suffix is a new phenomenon and seems to have been adopted from a similar usage in various European languages (see for instance Beard & Volpe 2005; Stump 2005; Dressler & Merlini Barbaresi 1994; Jespersen 1965: 215–220). Moreover, it is mainly attached to personal names which are non-integrated Hebrew words. Its stress follows the non-Hebrew stress pattern, in a similar way to other non-integrated Hebrew words (Schwarzwald 2013).

　　The unstressed suffix *-i* in this function is different from the original diminutive-affectionate Hebrew suffixes *-on* and *-it* which retain the stress on these suffixes (e.g. *sus-ón* 'small horse' [<*sus* 'horse'], *dugm-ít* 'small sample' [<*dugma* 'example, sample']). The stress in words with suffix *-i* which mean affection and diminution behaves in a similar way to the other penultimately stressed loan suffixes given in (4) above.

3. Conclusion

The distribution of the homonymic suffix *-i* shows that the unmarked stress is ultimate for the following functions: two inflectional suffixes (second person feminine in verbs and first person in non-verbs), derivational adjectives, and some derivational gentilic substantives. The suffix *-i* is always unstressed in the formation of affectionate nouns and in most gentilic new nouns derived from loan place names where the stress remains on the stem.

　　The inflectional second person feminine singular verbal suffix *-i* is mostly stressed ultimately; the penultimate stress can be determined by a morphological rule, which is common to other vowel suffixes in the verb system. The inflectional first person suffix *-i*, either possessive or pronominal is always stressed, excluding the prepositions *kmo* and *min* and four rarely used closed class words in which an *-n-* is inserted before the suffix in which the stress is penultimate. These few exceptions are residues of historical processes which are no longer active in Modern Hebrew and therefore need to be lexically marked and memorized by rote.

　　The stress of the two derivational *-i* suffixes, adverbial and gentilic, are determined by different factors. The adjectival *-i* suffix stress is determined by stem profile: the suffix *-i* is stressed in Hebrew stems which are the majority; in non-integrated stems, mainly loan words and acronyms, the stress remains on the stem. Namely, words are recognized by the speakers as original and non-original according to phonological, morphological and syllabic considerations (Schwarzwald 2013).

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[24] Diminution and affectionate formation involves other phonological phenomena such as vowel alternations or vowel truncation which are discussed elsewhere, e.g. Benjamin [binyamin] > *béni*, Abraham [avram] > *'ávi* or *rami*, Esther ['ester] > *'esti*, Shoshana < *šóši* (Bat-El 2004).

The gentilic final stressed *-i* typifies both nouns and adjectives inherited from classical periods of Hebrew or formed before the 1950s. Modern gentilic nouns derived from names of foreign countries or place names are penultimately stressed as are other loan words. Stress assignment is therefore determined by historical and sociological factors. Some ultimately stressed gentilic nouns in their feminine form must be accounted for by a lexical rule (L3).

Homonymy in affixes is not exclusively typical to Hebrew, as it occurs in other languages as well. For example, the suffix *-s* in English resembles the suffix *-i* in Hebrew in that it serves as an inflection for different word classes (Plag, Homann & Kunter 2017).[25] It functions as the plural noun marker, as the third person singular in the present tense, and as noun possession. Two characteristics distinguish these suffixes in English and in Hebrew:

a. The English suffix *-s* behaves phonetically in the same way for all its inflectional functions, e.g. *dogs*, *gives*, *dog's* [-z]; *cats*, *cuts*, *cat's* [-s]; *bosses*, *judges*.∨, *boss's* [-əz or -ɪz].[26] The Hebrew suffix *-i* behaves differently for each inflectional function because its stress varies for different reasons, as demonstrated above in sections 2.1 and 2.2.

b. The English suffix *-s* is only used for inflection whereas the Hebrew suffix *-i* is also productively used for derivation.

The suffixes *-ed* and *-ing* in English bear more resemblance to the Hebrew suffix *-i* in that they are both used for inflection and derivation (Jespersen 1965: 377–380, 425–435). Although they are part of the verbal system, independent adjectives and nouns can be derived from them, e.g. *headed*, *coded*, *specified*, *shaped*, *attested*; *interesting*, *setting*, *findings*, *meeting*, *meaning*, *building*. Whereas these English suffixes are always unstressed, the suffix *-i* is primarily stressed in Hebrew.

The suffixes *-ness*, *-ity*, *-ment*, and *-ation* form abstract nouns in English, the suffixes *-er* and *-or* create agent nouns, and the suffix *-al* creates adjectives. Hebrew uses a variety of devices in order to form words, the two most prominent of which are (a) consonantal root and template, and (b) stem linear derivation with an affix. Verbs are only formed by root and template. Nouns and adjectives are produced by either way as well as by compounding, blending, and base formation. As mentioned earlier, adjectives, diminutive and affectionate expressions are formed in a variety of ways in addition to the stem+*-i* formation.

Multiple functions of specific affixes are not unique to any language. It is the stress assignments and its occurrence in each case that is special and intriguing to Hebrew.

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[25] Plag, Homann & Kunter (2017) added an acoustic study of the non-morphemic abbreviation of *is* and *has*.to the above suffixes.

[26] Cases like *Jesus' house* are excluded because the suffix is not added.

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