Language in Society **31**, 243–276. Printed in the United States of America
DOI: 10.1017.S0047404501020176

On the grammaticization of *ke'ilu* 'like', lit. 'as if', in Hebrew talk-in-interaction

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the employment in modern Hebrew of an element having a lexical source involving comparison (*k(e)-*, 'like') that has proliferated over the past decade or so in Israel; *ke'ilu* 'like', lit. 'as if'. The data come from audio recordings of casual conversations of college-educated Israelis with their friends and relatives, totaling approximately 78 minutes of talk among 72 speakers, transcribed in full and segmented into intonation units. A qualitative analysis of talk-in-interaction reveals four nonliteral functions of this expression: hedging, self-rephrasal, focus-marking, and quotation. A quantitative perspective on the distribution of these functions is presented, and these qualitative and quantitative analyses lead to an examination of the functional itinerary of this word in Hebrew discourse. A comparison with two "equivalents" of *ke'ilu*, English *like* and French *genre* leads to a discussion of functional parallelism across languages and yields further support for Hopper's principle of "persistence" in grammaticization. (Hebrew talk-in-interaction, grammaticization, cross-language pragmatics, discourse particles, hedging, self-rephrasal, focus-marking, quotatives.)*

In memory of Suzanne Fleischman

INTRODUCTION

In a recent comparative study of the English discourse marker *like* and its French equivalent, *genre*, Fleischman & Yaguello 1999, forthcoming, address the question, posed by Traugott, of "whether there are cross-language generalizations to be made about the development of discourse particles in terms of both their likely semantic sources and their semantic-pragmatic paths" (Traugott 1997:4). In particular, Fleischman & Yaguello address this question in relation to the phenomenon in which different languages INDEPENDENTLY grammaticize markers with the same range of functions, and with similar lexical sources in their respective languages. In the case of English *like* and French *genre*, this lexical source in-

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https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404501020176 Published online by Cambridge University Press

volves some comparative meaning "whereby an item is considered in relation to a norm or paradigm" (forthcoming).

In the case of Hebrew talk-in-interaction, we find the use of two more elements involving comparative meaning: *kaze* 'like', lit. 'like this', and *ke'ilu* 'like', lit. 'as if'. Examine, for instance, the following excerpt, from a conversation, recorded in Haifa in 1998, between two close friends in their early twenties, David and Dalia. David, while cooking some soup in his student-apartment kitchen, describes to Dalia how, as part of his day at work, he ran after a man whose tractor it was his job to repossess[1]:

(1) Tractor chase.

46	David:	.... *ve'ani kmo metumtám*, and I like an idiot,
47		... *rodéf 'axaràv*. am running after him.
48		... ***ke'ilu*** like
49		.. *barégel*, by foot,
50		*'axarèy tráktor*, after a tractor,
51		*betòx kol habóts haze*? in all the mud this 'in all this mud?'
52		... ***veke'ilu*** *haragláyim sh'xa*, and like the feet your (masc. sg.) 'and like your feet,'
53		*nitka'ot bifním* ***kaze***, get stuck inside like 'get stuck inside like,'
54		{making sounds imitating the sound of feet in the mud}
55		... *bekitsúr vela'inyá--n*, in short and to the point,
56		... *'axaré--y*, after,
57		.. *mirdáf she--*, a chase that,
58		*ne'eràx kemispàr dakó--t*, lasted roughly a few minutes,
59		.... *hitslàxti lehagia 'ad latráktor*, I managed to get to the tractor,

There are two tokens of the utterance *ke'ilu* in this excerpt and one token of *kaze*, both translated into English here as 'like'. Both words begin with the Hebrew preposition of comparison, *k(e)-* 'as', 'like'[2]. In the case of *ke'ilu*, this preposition is attached to the conjunction of hypothetical conditionals, or counterfactual conjunction *'ilu* 'if', irrealis. In the case of *kaze*, it is attached to the demonstrative *ze* 'this', masc. sg. Literally, then, *ke'ilu* is to be translated 'as if, as though', and *kaze* as 'like this'. However, new uses have emerged for these two utterances in Israeli Hebrew talk-in-interaction that are different from their literal meanings.

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This study is concerned with the emergence (Hopper 1987, 1988) of these new meanings, focusing on the case of *ke'ilu*.

Nonliteral uses of *kaze* and *ke'ilu* have become extremely widespread over the past decade or so, particularly in the language of younger Israelis, to the point that they are often stigmatized as "the *kaze ke'ilu* generation" who employ these expressions "too frequently" in prescriptivists' opinion. The *Slang Lexicon* (*Lexicon hasleng* 1993) defines both these words as "void fillers which find their way into the sentence for no reason" (translation mine). In September 1990, an issue of the Israeli magazine *Politika* dealing with Israeli society, policy, and culture (Samet 1990) was devoted to the study of youth from age 16 to 21. The subtitle of that issue was *dor hakaze ke'ilu*, 'the *kaze ke'ilu* generation'.[3] In it, we find an article by Ariel Hirschfeld entitled *'al kaze veke'ilu* ('On *kaze* and *ke'ilu*') in which Hirschfeld, a literary critic at the Hebrew University who also teaches at a prestigious high school in Jerusalem, discusses these expressions from a cultural-philosophical perspective, based, among other things, on his conversations with his students. Hirschfeld's study is often linguistically naïve, but his students provide an angle that complements the present study from a cultural perspective, adding what might be found if one were to conduct playback interviews (Gumperz 1982) with participants. I will, therefore, return to Hirschfeld's findings throughout this study.

Hirschfeld ends his essay with the statement that when these high school students "grow up and graduate from the army, the *kaze* and the *ke'ilu* disappear from their language" (1990:9, translation mine). However, about ten years later, long after these teenagers had completed their army service and become young adults, *kaze* and *ke'ilu* are far from disappearing from the language.

By the year 2000, *kaze* and *ke'ilu* had become associated with a style of speaking called *tsfóni* ('northern') in Israel. The stress on the first syllable of *tsfóni* indicates that the implication is not northern Israel, but rather northern Tel Aviv, the most urban and "yuppie" region in the country. In a recent interview with Shula Modan, a woman in her early fifties – a successful publisher, psychotherapist, and author of novels, children's books, and a "down to earth" cookbook – we find two relevant utterances. She is cited in a weekend issue of the daily newspaper *Ha'aretz*, criticizing the pretentious yuppie culinary style that has swept Israeli society in recent years:

> *hakol* ***kaze-ke'ilu****, lo shayax latarbut shelanu, ba mibaxuts*.
> 'Everything is *kaze-ke'ilu*, doesn't belong in our culture, comes from outside'.

Modan is described by the interviewer as

> *soledet mitarbut hahay vehabay umityaxeset bevuz lanefixut shenotsra sviv nose habishul, bimdorey ha'oxel ba'itonim uvesifrey bishul 'axerim. "hakaze vehake'ilu", hi mexana 'et hatofa'a, kmo bat kfar shebemikre legamrey nikle'a la'ir hagdola*.

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> 'revolted by the culture of the 'hi' and the 'bye' [i.e., by the use of English words constantly punctuating Hebrew speech] and treating with contempt the pompousness created around the topic of cooking, in the food columns of the papers and in other cookbooks. "The ***kaze*** and the ***ke'ilu***," she calls these phenomena, like a villager who happened upon the big city.' (Lori 2000:87–88; translation mine)

There was also a comedy show in the 1990s called *kaze ke'ilu*. In a recent best-seller about charming corners to visit in Israel, a section describing trendy cafés on Shenkin Street – perhaps Tel Aviv's most yuppie street – where one can enjoy a Friday[4] morning breakfast, is entitled "Tel Avivi *kaze ke'ilu*"; one of these cafés is called *kafe kaze* (Zeltzer 200:68–69).

I cite all this to emphasize that the frequent employment of *kaze* and *ke'ilu* has gained attention not only among linguists but also among lay people. Furthermore, the terms "go together" in people's perception, suggesting that they share some properties. Space limitations do not permit a thorough analysis of both words in the present study, so I focus here on *ke'ilu*; the functions of *kaze* are investigated in Maschler 2001.

New uses of *ke'ilu* have emerged not just in the language of youngsters or among yuppies from northern Tel Aviv. For example, in a study of Hebrew–English bilingual conversation, a close comparison was made between the speech of the same two speakers at two time periods, 12 years apart (Maschler 2000b). The first set of data was collected in Jerusalem in 1986 and 1987, and the second set in 1998, when the speakers were in their mid-forties. Occurrence of nonliteral *ke'ilu* rose from zero in the 40-minute 1986 corpus and in the 20 hours of follow-up interviews conducted with these speakers in 1987, to 9 cases in the 33-minute interaction 12 years later; thus, we can clearly see that *ke'ilu* has entered the bilingual grammar emerging in these speakers' talk as well (Maschler 1997b).

Fleischman & Yaguello 1999 mention *ke'ilu* as one "equivalent" of English *like*.[5] *Ke'ilu* was investigated as part of a general study of the system of discourse markers segmenting Israeli Hebrew talk-in-interaction (Maschler 1997a, 1998, 2002). In that study, only those tokens of *ke'ilu* that (i) functioned metalingually in the contexts in which they occurred, and (ii) occurred at intonation-unit-initial position (or in a discourse marker cluster at intonation-unit-initial position) were considered to constitute discourse markers and were investigated. *Ke'ilu* satisfying these two requirements was characterized as a cognitive discourse marker of "realizing the need to rephrase."

In ex. (1), for example, the *ke'ilu* of line 48 manifests this function. In the two preceding lines (46–47), David describes himself running after the man driving the tractor: *ve'ani kmo metumtám, rodéf 'axaràv* 'and I like an idiot, am running after him'. Following this statement comes a rephrasal, further explicating the phrase 'like an idiot' and elaborating on the ridiculousness of the situation: 'by foot, after a tractor, in all this mud?' (lines 49–51). This further elaboration, along

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with the rising question intonation at the end of the utterance, suggests that the motivation for rephrasal here is the need to involve the audience. Preceding this self-rephrasal is the discourse marker *ke'ilu*, fulfilling both requirements for discourse markerhood. First, it functions metalingually, referring to the cognitive processes of the speaker (realizing the need to rephrase), as opposed to referring to something in the extralingual world. In other words, the expression *ke'ilu* ITSELF refers to what is happening in the speaker's mind during verbalization, a process that may be paraphrased as "what I just said should be rephrased/elaborated on." Second, it appears at intonation-unit-initial position (line 48), following final intonation in same-speaker talk (line 47).[6]

Henkin 1999 studies the hedging functions of *kaze* and *ke'ilu*, among other expressions, based on modern Israeli Hebrew informal written discourse.[7] However, her study focuses mostly on *kaze*. Henkin is aware of the "distortion of the spoken language in its representation in literature" (1999:118, n. 2; translation mine). In light of the lack of studies of *ke'ilu* in naturally occurring Hebrew conversation, the present study fills a remaining gap.

Ke'ilu has other functions in discourse besides hedging and self-rephrasal. I investigate here the various uses of *ke'ilu* on the basis of its distribution in a corpus of naturally occurring Israeli Hebrew conversation. I examine all tokens of this word found throughout the database – those considered discourse markers in previous studies as well as those that were not, and those that occur both intonation-unit-initially and noninitially – in hope of further contributing to the elucidation of the grammaticization and functional itinerary of this word, and to answering the question posed in Traugott 1997 concerning implications for cross-language pragmatics.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This study is based on audio recordings of 28 casual Israeli–Hebrew conversations between friends and family relatives, collected over the years 1994–1999. This database is divided into two groups according to time of data collection. Nineteen conversations comprising approximately 52 minutes of talk were collected during 1994–1997; nine conversations comprising approximately 26 minutes of talk were collected during 1998–1999.[8] Altogether, approximately 78 minutes of discourse among 72 different participants have been analyzed for the present study. All 28 conversations were transcribed in full and segmented into intonation units, following Chafe 1994.[9]

All tokens of *ke'ilu* employed throughout the database were considered for this study. Altogether, there were 90 tokens of *ke'ilu*. Table 1 shows only the NONLITERAL tokens, as they were distributed throughout the two time periods of data collection. Altogether, there were 86 tokens of nonliteral *ke'ilu*. The 1998–1999 data show significantly more employment of *ke'ilu* in its nonliteral uses than do the 1994–1997 data, particularly when we consider that the 1998–1999

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TABLE 1. *Distribution of nonliteral tokens of* ke′ilu.

	1994–1997 data	1998–1999 data	Total 1994–1999
Duration	52 minutes	26 minutes	78 minutes
Tokens	21	65	86

corpus is half the size of the 1994–1997 corpus. *Ke′ilu* is employed at an average frequency of one token approximately every 2.48 minutes in the earlier data, as opposed to one token every 0.4 minutes in the later corpus. These data support the general impression that this word has greatly proliferated in the language recently.

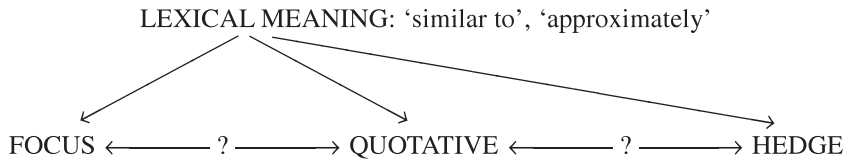
A QUANTITATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON THE DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS OF *KE′ILU*

Surveying several studies of English *like* and examining their own data on *like* and its French equivalent, *genre*, Fleischman & Yaguello 1999, forthcoming, summarize the following pragmatic functions of English *like*:

HEDGE (Schourup 1985, Jucker & Smith 1998, Andersen 1998)
FOCUS MARKER (Underhill 1988, Miller & Weinert 1998)
QUOTATIVE (Blythe et al. 1990; Butters 1982; Schourup 1985; Tannen 1986, 1989; Romaine & Lange 1991; Ferrara & Bell 1995; Fleischman 1995; Haiman 1993; Lucy 1993; Tagliamonte & Hudson 1999).

These functions of English *like* were found relevant for Hebrew *ke′ilu* to differing extents. Table 2 shows that another function – self-rephrasal – not considered as a separate category by Fleischman & Yaguello – is crucial when we consider this expression. Table 2 shows that about half the *ke′ilu* tokens (53%) are employed in self-rephrasals. The second most common use of *ke′ilu* is that of focus marker (23%); next comes its hedging function (14%). Only 4.5% of *ke′ilu* tokens are employed in the literal sense, and this is also the percentage of *ke′ilu* tokens found preceding quotes (4.5%).

Fleischman & Yaguello 1999 suggest the following functional itineraries for English *like* and French *genre*:



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TABLE 2. *Functional distribution of* ke'ilu *tokens*

LITERAL ('as if')	HEDGE	FOCUS	SELF-REPHRASAL	QUOTE	TOTAL
4 (4.5%)	13 (14%)	21 (23%)	48 (53%)	4 (4.5%)	90 (100%)

I turn now to a qualitative analysis of the functions of *ke'ilu* in order to understand the employment and functional itinerary of this utterance in Hebrew.

FUNCTIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF *KE'ILU*: A QUALITATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Ke'ilu *as a conjunction in the literal sense*

Ke'ilu has an additional element of lexical meaning in comparison to English *like*, because it is composed not only of the comparative *k(e)*-, but also of the irrealis conditional *'ilu*. We will see how this affects its functional itinerary. *'Ilu* itself is composed of the conditional conjunction *'im* 'if' plus the hypothetical conditional, or counterfactual, conjunction *lu*. The definitions Even-Shoshan's dictionary (1986) gives for *ke'ilu* are *kmo 'ilu* 'as hypothetical *if*, as though' (i.e., a conjunction), and *dome le-* 'similar to'. I refer to the latter meaning of *ke'ilu* in the next section. As a conjunction in the literal sense, *ke'ilu* is found already in Talmudic Hebrew: *bexol dor vador xayav 'adam lir'ot 'et 'atsmo* ***ke'ilu*** *hu yatsa mimitsrayim* 'In every generation one is obliged to see oneself **as though** he/she him/herself had actually gone forth from Egypt' (Psaxim 10, 5; translation mine).

There are only four tokens of *ke'ilu* throughout the database in this literal conjunction sense ('as if', 'as though'). For instance, in the following excerpt, Roni, a secular Israeli, ridicules the minute details of keeping the Jewish custom of letting the soil rest every seventh year (called "the *shmita* year") by not planting anything in it during that whole year. In the following utterance, he is talking about a plant in a flower pot with a hole in its bottom (i.e., having contact with the soil):

(2) *Shmita* Year.

144 Roni: *'asúr lehaziz 'oto mimkomò bixlal.*
it's forbidden to move it from its place at all
'It's forbidden to move it at all from its place.'

145 .. *ze* ***ke'ilu*** *she'ata shotél 'oto bemakom 'axèr.*
it's **as though** that you plant it in place another
'It's **as though** you plant it in another place.'

Roni says that a flower pot that has contact with the soil may not be moved from its place all *shmita* year (line 144). If one moved it, that would count *ke'ilu* 'as though' one planted it in another place (145), an action that is against the *shmita*

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custom. We see that *ke'ilu* is used here literally at intonation-unit-noninitial position, immediately preceding the subordinator *she-* 'that' and a full accompanying clause, *'ata shotel 'oto bemakom 'axer* 'you plant it in another place'.

Literal *ke'ilu* is found also at intonation-unit-initial position. The following conversation concerning an opera singer takes place between a man, Eyal, and two women, Yonat and Hila:

(3) *Women.*

145 Eyal: .. *hi hayta kazót magnivà*,
she was like this cool,
'she was so cool,'

146 ... *vehi gam shára*,
and she also sang,

147 .. *kol káx magnìv*,
so cool,

148 .. *shepit'óm*,
that suddenly,

149 Yonat: *baxura tse'irá*?
woman young
'a young woman?'

150 Eyal: ... *kén*.
yeah.

151 Yonat: ... *'ani yodá'at mì zot*.
I know who this
'I know who she is.'

152 Eyal: .. *pit'om kaláteti*,
suddenly I got it,

153 *ve'amárti*,
and I said,

154 ... *waí*,
wow

155 Hila: *má 'at yodà'at mì zot*!
what [do you mean] you know who this
'what [do you mean] you know who she is!'

156 .. ***ke'ìlu*** *sheyésh 'eh*,
as if that there is uh
'**as if** there's uh,'

157 .. *zamèret 'opera 'axát*.
singer opera one
'one opera singer.'

Eyal begins to tell about an opera singer he found very attractive (lines 145–147). Yonat overlaps him, asking whether she is young (149). When Eyal answers affirmatively (150), Yonat says she knows who the singer is (151). Hila then objects at 155: 'what [do you mean] you know who she is! *ke'ilu* ('as if') there's uh one opera singer' (155–157). Here, again, the literal meaning of *ke'ilu* is used, and it is followed by the subordinator *she-* 'that' and a full clause (spanning two intonation units). Note that, both here and in the preceding example, the hypothetical condition is ridiculed by the speaker.

In this database, *ke'ilu* as a conjunction in the literal sense always precedes a full clause, which often begins with the subordinator *she-* 'that'. We have seen

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that this use of *ke'ilu* is extremely limited – only 4.5% of all tokens of *ke'ilu* throughout the database (4 out of 90 tokens).

Ke′ilu *as hedge*

Henkin 1999 examines *ke'ilu* as a hedge in informal written Hebrew discourse. In the present corpus of spoken discourse, we find only 14% of *ke'ilu* tokens functioning as hedges. The hedging function is related to one of the uses of *ke'ilu* listed in Even-Shoshan's dictionary – *dome le-* 'similar to' – and is derived directly from the approximative meaning of the preposition *k(e)-*. When *ke'ilu* functions as a hedge, the speaker acknowledges a mismatch between what is said and "what he/she has in mind or feels ideally might or should be said" (Fleischman & Yaguello forthcoming:3). There is a "loose fit" (Schourup 1985) between the expression and the intended meaning.

Henkin characterizes hedging *ke'ilu* as common mostly in conversation between people of differing status (1999:116). The spoken data on which the present study is based consist mostly of interactions among friends, often very close ones. Status distinctions play no role in their relationships. Nevertheless, their speech is abundant with hedging *ke'ilu*.

The position of hedging *ke'ilu* relative to the element it hedges is flexible. In this corpus, we find it preceding the utterance it modifies, following it, and also in the middle of the modified utterance.

Post-positioned ke′ilu *as hedge.* In ex. (4), the mismatch between the words chosen and the meaning intended is commented on in the continuation of the text:

(4) Family Gossip.

183 Sara: … *'axshav hú--*,
now he
184 …. *tsoxék 'aleha* ***ke'ilu***,
laughs at her sort of,
185 .. *káxa ze hate*
this is the desc
186 .. *te'ùr shel ronít*.
description of Ronit
'this is Ronit's description.'
187 .. *má zot 'omeret hu tsoxèk 'aleha*,
what this says he laughs at her
'what does it mean "he laughs at her",'
188 .. *hu 'omér la*,
he says to her,
189 .. *'an'ló mevin mà lakaxt 'arixà--*,
I don't understand what you took editing
'I don't understand why you took editing,'
190 … *'at me'òd 'ití--t*,
you're very slow,

Sara is discussing a couple, Ronit and her boyfriend. The man is highly critical of Ronit's choice of taking an editing course. Sara uses the verb *tsoxek 'aleha* 'laughs at her/ridicules her' (line 184) to describe this lack of respect for Ronit's deci-

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sion, but she immediately realizes it is not adequate for what she intends. Sara hedges it with *ke'ilu* and continues to relate to the inadequacy of her choice of words: They are Ronit's words, *kaxa ze hate'ur shel ronit* 'this is Ronit's description' (185–186), not Sara's. She further explicates this choice of words – *ma zot 'omeret*[10] *hu tsoxek 'aleha* 'what does it mean "he laughs at her"' (187) – by providing an instantiation of his lack of respect: 'he says to her "I don't understand why you took editing, you're very slow"' (188–190). These further explanations indicate the speaker's lack of satisfaction with her initial word choice.

Pre-positioned ke′ilu *as hedge.* In ex. (5), Eyal describes the type of woman he likes:

(5) Women.

99	Eyal:	*lì gám*,
		to me also
		'I too,'
100		*haytà 'et hahitgalút hazot*.
		there was the revelation this
		'had this revelation.'
101		.. *tamíd 'ani 'ahàvti*,
		always I liked
		'I always used to like'
102		*baxurót* **ke′ilu**,
		young women **like**,
		'young women like,'
103		*shenir'òt mamash fíks*.
		who look really perfect.
104		.. ***ke'ilu***,
		like,
105		.. *'at yoda'at*,
		you know,
106		.. *razót ka'elu*,
		thin like these
		'thin sort of,'
107		.. *'im . . . xazè gadól*,
		with . . . *breasts large,*
		'with large breasts,'
108		.. *ve.. yi . . sheyihiyù norà yafót*,
		and.. the.. they should be terribly pretty,
109		.. *ve--'eh bapaním*,
		and uh in [their] face,
110		.. *vekol miney shtuyót ka'èlu*.
		and all sorts of nonsense like these.

To describe the type of woman he used to like, Eyal uses the expression *nir'ot mamash fiks* 'look really *fiks*' (line 103). *Fiks* is slang for something that is perfect, just the way it should be. The inadequacy of this expression for the present context in Eyal's mind is indicated by the hedge *ke'ilu* immediately preceding the expression (102), as well as by his continuing to elaborate[11] on what this woman should look like (106–110). The feeling of inadequacy may also be related to a certain discomfort Eyal feels about this sexual and not very politically correct

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topic. His point, or the "revelation" he refers to (99–100), is that he discovered that he is not really attracted to this type of woman any more.

Interpersonal constraints on hedging ke'ilu. Hedging *ke'ilu* is often employed at "uncomfortable" moments, such as moments of embarrassment about the topic discussed, or about imposition on the addressee. In ex. (6), a conversation between one unmarried couple about another couple, the woman is described as having asked the man, previously married, to move in with her:

(6) Breaking up.

45	Amir:	.. *hi bikshá mimeno*, she asked him,
46		***ke'ílu***--, **like**,
47		.. *sheya'avrù . . lagur beyáxad*, that they move in to live together 'to move in together,'
48		*ve*-- and
49		.... *bekitsúr*, in short,
50		*lehitmaséd shuv*. to become established again.

The delicate matter of asking a partner to move in is hedged by *ke'ilu* (line 46). Although these words are in the speaker's voice[12] rather than being the constructed dialogue (Tannen 1989) of the woman who had made the request, this is a delicate matter for the speaker, since he is telling this story to his girlfriend, and the issue of getting married is in the background for this couple as well.[13]

In the following part of the conversation "Family Gossip," we find self-mockery about the speaker's own use of hedging *ke'ilu*:

(7) Family Gossip.

264	Sara:	*'az hi 'oméret*, so she says,
265		.. *ma*-- what
266		.. *bikóret notnì--m*, criticism one gives,
267		... *kshemáshehu*, when something,
268		... *boné*. is constructive.
269		... *'aval 'im ben 'adá--m 'eh*, but if a person uh,
270		... *ma'avìr bikóret*, passes criticism 'criticizes,'
271		.. *bebèn zúg*, [one's] partner,

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272 … *she*--,
that,
273 … *xayím* ***ke'ilu*** *beyàxad*,
live **like** together
'one like lives with,'
274 … *ve***ke'ílu** *'ohavím*,
and **like** love
'and like loves,'
275 .. *ve* ***ke'ilu ke'ílu***,
and *ke'ilu ke'ilu*,
276 .... *'az*,
then,
277 … *má habikoret hazot 'osá*,
what the criticism this does
'what does this criticism do,'
278 .. *rak mesaréset*,
only castrates,
279 .. *ve'od moridá 'et habitaxón ha'atsmì*.
and also lowers the confidence the self
'and also lowers one's self-confidence.'

The speaker, Sara, is a parent discussing a couple of the younger generation living together out of wedlock. She is speaking in the voice of the woman, but this voice coincides with her own thoughts on the matter, as we know from the remainder of the conversation. The first two *ke'ilu* tokens (lines 273, 274) are hedges of sensitive or emotional topics: *xayim beyaxad* 'living together' (273) and *'ohavim* 'love' (274). The second two *ke'ilu* tokens (275), however, are a self-mockery of her own abundant use of *ke'ilu*. Line 273 also provides an example of hedging *ke'ilu* occurring at mid-utterance position: *xayim ke'ilu beyaxad* 'live *ke'ilu* together'.

Hedging *ke'ilu* is found not only in self-mockery, but also in actual contexts of parody. I could not find any such instances in the database, but a recent newspaper review of the televised Miss Israel contest, entitled *ke'ilu malkot yofi* '*ke'ilu* Miss Universes', lit. '*ke'ilu* beauty queens', supplies a wealth of examples. The journalist sarcastically describes the 20 participants in the contest – floating in gondolas in a hotel in Las Vegas, of which one floor was reconstructed as Venice – in a show hosted by Nir Xaxlili, who is known, according to the journalist, as "the Israeli Richard Gere":

lo be'emet venetsia, ***ke'ilu.*** *vexaxlili hu* ***ke'ilu*** *richard gir. ve"malkat hayofi" hi* ***ke'ilu*** *malkat yofi. veha'ish baxalifat hadonald dak bedisneylend hu* ***ke'ilu*** *donald dak. kax shelo tsarix lehizda'em mitaxarut malkat hayofi. ze misxak be****ke'ilu.*** *harov yod'im sheha'ish baxalifat hadonald dak 'eyneno donald dak, veshehabaxura hanirgeshet 'im haketer 'al harosh 'eynena malkat hayofi.*

'ela she-20 hamo'amadot hasofiyot lo behexrax yod'ot shehakol ***ke'ilu****. lo yod'ot shehen* ***ke'ilu*** *20 hamo'amadot hasofiyot betaxarut* ***ke'ilu*** *malkat hayofi. ze 'ikron* ***hake'ilu****: kedey lihiyot "****ke'ilu****" yesh lehityaxes 'elav ke'el "be'emet".*

mila ktana, ***ke'ilu.*** *yesh lishkol lehosifa lato'ar: "****ke'ilu*** *malkat hayofi".*

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> Not really Venice, *ke'ilu*. And Xaxlili is *ke'ilu* Richard Gere. And "the beauty queen" is a *ke'ilu* beauty queen. And the man in the Donald Duck suit in Disneyland is *ke'ilu* Donald Duck. So there's no need to become enraged about the beauty queen contest. It's a game of *ke'ilu*. Most people know that the man in the Donald Duck suit is not Donald Duck, and that the ecstatic young woman with the crown on her head is not the beauty queen.
>
> But the final 20 candidates don't necessarily know it's all *ke'ilu*. Don't know that they are *ke'ilu* the final 20 candidates in the *ke'ilu* beauty queen contest. This is the *ke'ilu* principle: In order to be a *ke'ilu* one must relate to it as real.
>
> A tiny word, *ke'ilu*. One should consider adding it to the title: "the *ke'ilu* beauty queen" (Alper 2000, *Ha'aretz* daily newspaper; translation mine[14]).

There is an allusion here to a very common activity among young children, pretend play, which in Israel is known as *lesaxek beke'ilu* 'playing *ke'ilu*'.[15] This expression is, of course, directly related to the literal meanings of *ke'ilu* – the conjunction 'as if', as well as the hedging meaning 'close (to reality), but not quite it'.

All hedging *ke'ilu* tokens in the database hedge the predication of the utterance[16] – either the predicate along with some of its complements, as in ex. (4), or the entire clause, as in ex. (6). We have seen that the position of hedging *ke'ilu* is flexible in relation to the utterance it modifies.

Ke'ilu *as focus marker*

In this database, 23% of all tokens of *ke'ilu* function as focus markers. These tokens of *ke'ilu* do not carry any of the meanings specified in the dictionary for this utterance ('as though' or 'similar to'). The concept of focus marking is understood here in the sense developed by Lambrecht: "The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance" (1994: 207). Lambrecht's full definitions are as follows:

> Focus: The semantic component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the assertion differs from the presupposition. (1994:213).
>
> Pragmatic Presupposition: The set of propositions lexicogrammatically evoked in a sentence which the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered.
>
> Pragmatic Assertion: The proposition expressed by a sentence which the hearer is expected to know or take for granted as a result of hearing the sentence uttered. (1994:52).

Although focused information is frequently the accented constituent, Lambrecht (1994:214–57) argues that, at the theoretical level, the two concepts of focus and

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emphasis must be kept distinct. The means for focus marking may be prosodic (as in accentuation), morphological, syntactic, or some combination of these.

Fleischman & Yaguello, citing Underhill 1988, mention that *like* "marks as focal information whatever occurs to the right[17] of it, which can be a word, a phrase, a sentence constituent, or an entire utterance" (forthcoming:4). Focus-marking *ke'ilu*, too, is flexible in terms of its position relative to the focused utterance. In 13 out of 21 cases, *ke'ilu* marks as focal the information immediately following it; in the remaining 8 cases, it marks as focal the information immediately preceding it. In this corpus, it does not occur at mid-utterance position.

Pre-positioned ke′ilu *as focus marker.* In the present database, initial *ke'ilu* focuses phrases, verbs along with their complements, and full clauses. In ex. (8), *ke'ilu* marks a phrase as focused information. This comes from a conversation among four religious Israelis in their early twenties, in which one of them tells an unusual Midrash from the Gemara about Jesus:

(8) Lions.

28 Yo'av: .... *nixnás yeshu . . lekodesh hakodashìm*,
entered Jesus to the holy of holy places
'Jesus entered the most holy place [in the Temple],'
{19 intervening intonation units}
47 ... *lakáx 'et hashem hameforàsh*,
took the name explicit
'took the Name of God,'
48 .. *ra'á 'otò*,
saw it,
49 .. *he'etik 'al xtáv*.
copied [it] out in writing.
50 ... *he'etík*.
copied [it] out.
51 ... *xatàx 'et ha . . yaréx shelo*,
cut the thigh his
'cut his thigh,'
52 ..... *kará*,
tore,
53 ... ***ke'ílu***,
like,
54 ... *'im sakín*.
with [a] knife.
55 Eran: mhm
56 Yo'av: *hixnis 'et hapètek bifnóxo*,
put in the note inside
'put the note inside,'

Yo′av relates Jesus' act of cutting his thigh in order to put the note with the name of God inside the thigh (so as not to forget it when he came out of the most holy place in the Temple). He refers to this act with two verbs, *xatax* 'cut' (line 51), and *kara* 'tore' (52). Whereas one can cut a thigh or tear things without any instrument, in order to further focus this unpredictable information, he adds the method by which Jesus cut it – 'with a knife' (54). This information is prefaced with

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ke'ilu. Thus, *ke'ilu* here marks a phrase as focused information. Indeed, the audience responds to this further focus with the minimal response 'mhm' (55). We see that while hedging *ke'ilu* always hedges the predicate of the utterance (either with or without its complements), focus-marking *ke'ilu* can be found modifying the verbal complement alone.

In ex. (9), *ke'ilu* marks a verb along with its complement as focused information. Ex. (9) consists of the orientation of a narrative (Labov 1972) in which Eynat describes to her friend a burglary in an apartment of a mutual acquaintance:

(9) Burglary.

74	Eynat:	.... *'az 'e--h*,
		so uh,
75		... *higìa habáyta*,
		[she] came home,
76		... *'axarèy hatsohoráyim*,
		after noon
		'in the afternoon,'
77		.... *'olá bamadregòt veze*,
		[she] climbs the stairs and so on (lit. 'and this'),
78		... *ra'atà-- zug garbáyim*,
		[she] saw a pair of socks,
79		.. ***ke'ilu*** *zrukót 'al ha--madregòt*.
		like thrown on the staircase.
80	Meytal:	.. *wow!*

The focused information here is that the pair of socks the friend saw was 'thrown on the staircase' (line 79) leading to her apartment. Not only is this not the place one normally expects to find socks, this was also the friend's first clue to the fact that someone had broken into her apartment. Thus, we find a clause constituent (V+ verbal complement) in focus, preceded by *ke'ilu*. Again, the audience responds to this focus ('wow', line 80).

In ex. (1) above, *ke'ilu* focuses a full clause. Earlier, we have seen how David describes himself running in the mud after the tractor. To enhance his story, he adds the unpredictable information of his feet getting stuck in the mud (lines 52–53), along with the sound they make in this state (line 54). This is focused information, an entire clause preceded by *ke'ilu* (52–53).

Fleischman & Yaguello mention that the scope of *like* is often ambiguous, "being marked in most cases only on the left of a focused segment" (forthcoming:4). One solution to the problem of ambiguity that they mention is repeating *like* at the end of the focused segment. Interestingly, in ex. (1), we find the other element, *kaze*, at the end of the focused segment (line 53). However, *kaze* has additional functions in this context (see Maschler 2001).

Post-positioned ke'ilu *as focus marker.* There are eight cases of *ke'ilu* FOLLOWING the constituent it focuses. In ex. (10), *ke'ilu* focuses a phrase immediately preceding it. This comes from the "Burglary" conversation, toward the end of the narrative. Eynat says that the current mode of operation of thieves is that

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they don't even bother to bring their own gloves when breaking into an apartment. They simply use socks they find in the apartment, and the only thing they touch with their bare hands – the lock of the front door – they take with them:

(10) Burglary.

182	Eynat:		*mistabèr shehayó--m*,
			it turns out that today,
183		.. *hastíl*[18] *hu,*	
		the deal is,	
184		.... *hem lokxìm garbáyim*,	
		they take socks,	
185		.. *shel ha--nignáv*	***ke'ilu***,
		belonging to the [person who was] robbed	**like**,
186		.. *hem /'afilu/ lo megi'ìm 'im ze mehabáyit.*	
		they /even/ don't arrive with it from home	
		'they don't even bother to bring it from home.'	

The focused information here is that the socks used by the thieves belong to the person whose apartment is robbed (and not, as one might predict, to the thief). This information is focused via *ke'ilu* following the focused phrase *shel hanignav* (lit. 'of the one stolen from', 'of the robbed') (line 185). However, this is a borderline case, since here *ke'ilu* can also be functioning as a hedge. The passive participle *nignav* ('the robbed') is not commonly used as an animate noun to refer to a person who was robbed.[19] The speaker may be hedging it with the thought that she perceives some inadequacy in this word (see the discussion of hedges, above).

It is these ambiguous cases that constitute transitional examples for the shift from the hedging meaning to the focus meaning of *ke'ilu*. The functional itinerary here is fairly straightforward, since hedged material is also what is in focus. In other words, the fact that the expression is not a precise "fit" for the present context is judged by the speaker as "unpredictable" or "non-recoverable" for the hearer at the time of utterance.

Post-positioned focus-marking ke'ilu *in aposiopesis.* In ex. (11), Anat describes to Ran the first dive she went on. She was taken on this dive alone by the diving guide for a course that she, Orna (also present in the interaction), and a few other girlfriends took, in order to convince her not to leave the course on the first day.

(11) Diving Course.

91	Anat:	... *sha'á hayinu mitàxat lamàyim.*	
		an hour we were under (the) water.	
92	Ran:	.. *sha'á*?	
		an hour?	
93	Anat:	... *vehaya .. madhí--m!*	
		{———*pp*———}	
		and it was amazing!	

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94 Orna: *sha'à ze harbé--.*
an hour is a lot.
95 .. *vetaxshóv,*
and think (masc. sg.) [about it],
96 Anat: .. *haya madhím.*
it was amazing.
97 Orna: .. *leyòm rishón.*
for a day first
'for a first day.'
98 Ron: mhm.
99 Anat: .. *ve. . le--míshehi,*
and for someone,
100 .. *she'áf pa'am lò haytà,*
who never was
'who had never been,'
101 *mitàxat lamáyim,*
under the water
'under water,'
102 .. ***ke'ilu--***,
I mean,
103 ..... *ve--*,
and,
104 .... *vehu 'asa*
and he did
105 *hu 'amár li,*
he said to me
106 .. *lifnéy ze,*
beforehand,
107 *ta'así ma she'áni 'ose bamàyim.*
do what [ever] I do in the water.

Anat describes their being under water for a whole hour (line 91) and evaluates how 'amazing' it was (*madhim*, line 93). Orna, who also participated in this diving course, further points out to the main addressee of this story, Ran, that 'an hour is a lot,' particularly 'for a first day [of diving]' (94–95, 97). Overlapping Orna (and therefore probably not completely aware of Orna's utterance), Anat, to further involve her audience, repeats the predicate *madhim* 'amazing' at 96, and adds the information 'and for someone who had never been under water' (99–101) to focus on how unusual this experience is. This information can be viewed as non-recoverable at the time of utterance in a very local sense. Anat's story up to this point has been very long and involved. It began over 10 minutes beforehand and was punctuated by many digressions. This may be contributing to her assumption (as well as to Orna's) that, at this point in the discourse, Ran may not be thinking about this being Anat's first dive. In other words, the speaker can assume the hearer is not ready to take this information for granted at the time the sentence is uttered. Following this focused information we find *ke'ilu*.[20]

Here *ke'ilu* focuses a sentence constituent, the noun *mishehi*, 'someone' fem. sg., along with a relative clause modifying it, *she'af pa'am lo hayta mitaxat lamayim* 'who had never been under water'. Beginning with the preposition *le-* 'for', we see that this entire sentence constituent functions as indirect object of a

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sentence that was never completed. Furthermore, *ke'ilu* is uttered in continuing intonation, but the speaker, following a longer-than-average pause (line 102), never completes it and moves on to a different matter – what the guide had told her before the dive (103–107). This is a case of the trope, or figure of speech, that rhetoricians term "aposiopesis" (Quinn 1982); its function is "suddenly discontinuing speech as if one is unable or unwilling to continue (for example, rendered speechless by emotion)" (Tannen 1989:25). Post-positioned *ke'ilu* is often found in such contexts in the interactions.

This particular context fits well with Hirschfeld's description concerning the place of *ke'ilu* in the sentence: "The main thing is the gaps in the sentence: *ke'ilu* requires a continuation. *ke'ilu* what? And here the *ke'ilu* appears by itself, as if it were something in and of itself and not a component, a scaffolding for another floor in the sentence" (1990:6; translation mine).

Interpersonal constraints on focus-marking ke′ilu. The question arises as to why a speaker would point out to the addressee something that is unpredictable or non-recoverable at the time of utterance. In his study of narrative discourse, Chafe writes that "a narrative that fails to conflict with expectations is no narrative at all" (1994:122). In order to ward off the threatening "so what?" question (Labov 1972), people usually tell narratives about topics they judge their interlocutors will find interesting in some way. "The topics worth verbalizing are those that have a point, which is usually to say that they conflict with expectations" (Chafe 1994:122). Thus, one reason to point out unpredictable information is precisely in order to involve the audience. Indeed, in all our focus-marking examples involving *ke'ilu*, the motivation to put things in focus in the discourse has to do with interpersonal involvement. It stems either from the speaker's need further to involve the audience (as in all the examples of this section), or, less frequently, from the speaker's own involvement with the text. In the former case, the audience often responds to this involvement-creating strategy with an utterance showing involvement, such as *mhm* (ex. 8, line 55), *wow* (ex. 9, line 80), or a longer utterance such as *madhim* 'amazing'.

Ex. (12), from a conversation between two young women, best friends discussing their intimate relationships, illustrates the speaker's own involvement with the text. Merav tells Tali that there are times when she clearly feels that she loves the man she is involved with, but that she has difficulty telling him so explicitly:

(12) Best Friends.

85	Merav:	. . . *vekén yesh pe'amìm*, and yes there are times, and there *are* times,
86		. . *she'ani--*, that I,
87		. . . *sheze--* that this

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88 … ***ke'ílu***,
like,
89 *'ani kol k'áx margishà 'et ze*,
I so much feel it,
'I feel it *so* deeply,'
90 .. *shehu 'e*
that he uh
91 .. *hu yodéa*,
he knows,
92 … *vehu shoméa*,
and he hears,

This token of *ke'ilu* focuses information that the speaker clearly feels very emotional about: *'ani kol k'áx margisha 'et ze* 'I feel it so deeply' (line 89). The fumbling at line 87 and the expressive prosody of these lines further contributes to the interpretation that she is deeply involved in her utterance, to the point of losing her train of thought. Thus, the motivation for focus-marking here seems related more to the speaker's involvement with the text than to her need to involve the audience.

We have seen, then, that both the focus-marking and the hedging functions of *ke'ilu* are often associated with the evaluative aspect of discourse (Labov 1972, Tannen 1989). They are frequently employed around topics that are sensitive or emotional for the speaker and/or addressee. These empirical findings fit well with Hirschfeld's cultural-philosophical analysis:

> How would a real boy tell a real girl something that really goes from the heart and to the heart despite the fact he is not a poet? He will lead her to the edge of language, to the place from which one sees what one doesn't see from the center of language. The *kaze* and the *ke'ilu* point to whatever is beyond what was said, to the non-language. . . .
>
> *kaze* and *ke'ilu* have to do with emotion and they proliferate with the increase of feelings. There are moments in which there is perhaps only *kaze* and *ke'ilu* – and this is where language goes completely bankrupt. . . .
>
> If one listens carefully, one hears that the *kaze* and the *ke'ilu* are in fact the expressive parts of the sentence, and not just a verbal connecting tissue. (1990:8–9; translation mine).

However, ex. (12) also involves self-rephrasal, as Merav switches to a new direction and to a new grammatical construction, not continuing the "subordinate" clause she began at line 86 or 87 with the complementizer *she-* 'that'. Being ambiguous, this token of *ke'ilu* therefore constitutes another transitional example, this time for the shift between the focus-marking use and the self-rephrasal use. Again, the functional itinerary is rather straightforward, since what is self-rephrased in the discourse is also what is in focus. In other words, it is precisely the reformulation of the utterance that the speaker judges unpredictable or non-recoverable at the time of verbalization. This leads us to the next function of *ke'ilu*.

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Ke′ilu *as discourse marker of self-rephrasal*

The majority of *ke'ilu* tokens throughout the data (53%) function as discourse markers opening self-rephrasals.[21] Fleischman & Yaguello, too, mention that English *like* often "connect[s] two utterances the second of which offers an explanation, example, justification, or elaboration of the first" (forthcoming:7). For them, this is a subcategory of the hedging function of *like*. I consider these two cases separately because of the different levels of discourse at which they operate – the lingual and the metalingual (Maschler 1994).

As mentioned earlier, previous studies of discourse markers in Hebrew talk-in-interaction (Maschler 1998, 2002) have shown that intonation-unit-initial *ke'ilu* often functions metalingually as a discourse marker of "realizing the need to rephrase." We have seen one example in ex. (1), line 48.

This use of *ke'ilu* is different from previous uses we have seen because it is metalingual. Rather than referring to something in the extralingual world, such as some hypothetical condition, some unpredictable information, or the inadequacy of the words chosen to describe some state of affairs, metalingual utterances refer to the text, to the interaction between conversational participants, and/or to the cognitive processes taking place in their minds during verbalization (Maschler 1998). As we have seen, *ke'ilu* in ex. (1), line 48, refers to the speaker's realization that his previous utterance should for some reason be rephrased. This reason, too, often has something to do with the need to involve the addressee.

In ex. (1), line 48, *ke'ilu* appears following SENTENCE-FINAL intonation in the immediately preceding intonation unit (line 47), as do 94% of the discourse markers in the database (Maschler 1998). However, the discourse marker *ke'ilu* belongs in the same category as 6% of the discourse markers throughout the database, which may also follow CONTINUING intonation in the immediately preceding intonation unit. Of the 48 tokens of the discourse marker *ke'ilu* in the database, 36 occur following non-continuing intonation in the immediately preceding intonation unit (as in the preceding example), whereas 11 occur following continuing intonation.[22]

For example, earlier on in the orientation to this story, David tells about the place and participating characters:

(13) Tractor Chase.

11	David:	*haxokér hapratí 'amar*, the investigator private said 'the private investigator said,'
12		*shehu nimtsa be'eyze makóm*, that he is located in some place 'that he [the defaulting purchaser] can be found in some place,
13		… *géshem zal'afót baxuts*, rain raging outside 'it's raining cats and dogs outside,'
14		***ke'ílu***, **I mean**,

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15 … *má ze gèshem*,
what is rain
'what [do I mean by] rain,'
16 … *shexavál 'al hazmàn*.
that it's a waste of time.
'unimaginable rain.'

David mentions that it was raining very heavily outside (line 13). He elaborates: *ma ze geshem* 'what [do I mean by] rain', *shexaval 'al hazman* 'unimaginable rain'.[23] Preceding this self-rephrasal is the discourse marker *ke'ilu* (14), following continuing intonation in the immediately preceding intonation unit (13).

Chafe 1994 ties prosodic phenomena such as types of intonation contour to cognitive processes taking place during verbalization. For instance, he notes that, once speakers judge that the scanning of a center of interest (such as a subepisode in a story-episode) has been completed, they express that judgment with a sentence-final intonation contour. The realization that one's utterance is in need of rephrasal is, of course, independent of one's decision concerning whether or not a center of interest has been completed. Therefore, we find both continuing and non-continuing intonation preceding self-rephrasals that begin with *ke'ilu*.

Ke'ilu *in self-rephrasals of clarification sequences.* Sometimes the need for rephrasal is not first realized by the speaker but instead originates from the addressee. A common case of the discourse marker *ke'ilu* following continuing intonation occurs in sequences of request for clarification, schematized as follows:

(1) A: utterance
(2) B: request for clarification
(3) A: repetition of problematic utterance (in continuing intonation contour)
(4) *ke'ilu*
(5) rephrasal of problematic utterance

For example, in the same conversation, David tells how he pulled 'it' [24] out of the mud, and the hearer requests clarification concerning the identity of 'it':

(14) Tractor-Chase.

91 David: … *higía hagràr*.
arrived the towtruck
'the towtruck arrived.'
92 … *shaláf 'oto*,
pulled out him/it
'pulled him/it out,'
93 *'axarey 'eyze . . sha'á shel 'avoda sham*,
after about an hour of work there
94 *betox habóts*,
in the mud,
95 . . *'et ha'emét*?
the truth?
96 Dalia: *má*,
what,

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97 *shalàf má*?
pulled out what?
98 David: .. *shaláf 'to*,
pulled out him/it
'pulled him/it out,'
99 ***ke'ílu***,
like,
100 ... *garár 'oto haxútsa*.
towed him/it out [of the mud].

Following Dalia's request for clarification (lines 96–97), David repeats the problematic utterance *shalaf'to*[25] 'pulled him/it out' (98) in continuing intonation, and then rephrases it: *garar 'oto haxutsa* 'towed him/it out' (100). This self-rephrasal is preceded by *ke'ilu*. David still does not specify in his clarification (98–100) what *'oto* 'him/it' refers to, but the verb *garar* 'towed' seems sufficient to disambiguate the reference for Dalia, since it is usually vehicles that are towed, not people.

In a related use of *ke'ilu*, A's response to the request for clarification proceeds directly to *ke'ilu* + self-rephrasal, skipping stage 3 in the scheme above, the repetition of the problematic utterance, as in ex. (15):

(15) Sex Shop.
50 Yosi: ... *'az hi 'oméret lah--ì*,
so she says to the other one,
51 .. *hù mishelánu*,
he's of ours
'he's one of our people,'
52 .. *ze beséder*,
it's okay,
53 .. *'efshár lesapèr lo*.
{———*laughing*———}
'it's okay to tell him.'
54 {laughter}
55 Tali: ... *má ze shelànu*?
what is 'ours'?
56 Yosi: .... ***ke'ílu*** *'ani mishelahém*,
like I'm one of theirs,
'like I'm one of their people,'
57 .. *she'efshár le--*
that it's okay to
58 Tali: */nu/*.
{*laughing*}
/go on/.
59 Yosi: ... *'at ló makira 'et habitùy ba'árets*,
you don't know the expression in the country,
don't you know the Israeli expression,
60 .. *hu mishelánu*?
'he's one of ours'?

Tali requests clarification of the utterance *hù mishelánu* 'he's one of ours' (line 51). Yosi's self-rephrasal here occurs immediately following the request for clarification – *ma ze shelanu*? 'what is "ours"?' (55) – without repetition of the problematic utterance (i.e., skipping stage 3 of the scheme above). It is preceded by *ke'ilu* (56).

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The function of "realizing the need to rephrase" is performed not only by the discourse marker *ke'ilu*, but also by several other overlapping discourse markers throughout the database, such as *s'tomeret* (lit., 'this means'; 9 tokens), *klomar* (lit. 'that is to say'; 1 token), *ya'ani* (1 token) and *ya'anu* (2 tokens); these last two forms are from Arabic[26] 'it means'. However, *ke'ilu* is by far the most common discourse marker employed for this purpose (48 tokens).

Self-rephrasal ke'ilu *tokens as fillers.* As one realizes the need to rephrase, one is often also groping for the right word. It is in this sense that *ke'ilu* can also function as a "filler" (cf. *Lexicon hasleng* 1993). This filler function of *ke'ilu* is illustrated in ex. (16), which will lead us to a very recent development in the employment of *ke'ilu* in Hebrew talk-in-interaction. In the continuation of ex. (1), David says:

(16) Tractor-Chase.

55	David:	… *bekitsúr vela'inyá--n*,
		in short and to the point,
		'in short,'
56		… *'axaré--y*,
		after,
57		.. *mirdáf she--*,
		a chase that,
58		*ne'eràx kemispàr dakó--t*,
		lasted roughly a few minutes,
59		…. *hitslàxti lehagia 'ad latráktor*,
		I managed to get all the way to the tractor,
60		.. *lisgór lo ta*
		to close for him the
		'to close his'
61		***ke'ilu*** *lexabót ta'manòa*,
		like to turn off the engine
		'like to turn off his engine,'
62		*lakáxti ta'maftèax*.
		I took the key.
63		.. *'ani omér lo*,
		I say to him,
64	Dalia:	*'í 'efshar leta'èr*.
		it's not possible to imagine
		'one cannot imagine.'
65	David:	***ke'ílu***,
		like,
66		.. *'ani omér lo*,
		{———*laughing*———}
		I say to him,
67		.. *léx le'azazèl*,
		go to hell,
68		.. *tamút*.
		die
		'I wish you dead.'

In line 60, David begins with the verb *lisgor* 'to close', but then self-corrects to *lexabot* 'to turn off', a more appropriate verb in the context of switching off the

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engine of a tractor. This is a straightforward case of the discourse marker *ke'ilu* (61) beginning self-rephrasal. The more interesting case for our purpose here, however, starts at line 63, when David begins to tell what, upon finally getting hold of the tractor, he said to the owner who had tried to escape: *'ani omer lo* 'I say to him'. He is overlapped by Dalia (64), still showing involvement in the previous episode: *'i 'efshar leta'er* 'one cannot imagine', or 'incredible'. David then repeats his previous utterance – *'ani omer lo*, 'I say to him' (66) – but not before he precedes his repetition with *ke'ilu* (65). Presumably, Dalia's overlap distracted him for a moment, and *ke'ilu* is employed here as a filler, while he takes a split second to return to his line of thought. This brings us to the final use of *ke'ilu* found in the interactions – *ke'ilu* in quotations.

Ke'ilu *in quotations*

I found only four instances of *ke'ilu* in quotations (4.5% of all tokens in the database). This is a relatively new use of *ke'ilu*, as indicated also by the fact that all four tokens come from the only two interactions recorded in 1999, in spite of the fact that the database abounds in instances of constructed dialogue (Maschler 2002).

In ex. (17), Uriel tells three women about an incident in which he had told a friend that he was feeling somewhat depressed. A few hours later, this friend's friend, Orit (whom he barely knows), called him up to ask him how he was feeling. Uriel was amazed that such an incident could happen in 'today's alienated age.' We find a token of *ke'ilu* introducing constructed dialogue, as well as the overlapping marker *ya'anu* (from Arabic 'I mean'):

(17) Intruding on One's Privacy.

172	Uriel:	… *'aval 'amárti* **ke'ilu**,
		but I said **like**,
173		… *ba'idán*,
		in the age,
174		… *ba'idàn hamodérni* **ya'anu**.
		in the age the modern **like**.
		'in the modern age like.'
175		… *ha . . ha . . ha'adam haxàd meymadí shel merkúza*,
		the . . the. . the individual the one dimensional of Marcuse
		'the . . the . . the One Dimensional Man of Marcuse,'
176	Dalit:	*ze ki orìt xamudá.*
		that's cause Orit is nice.
177	Uriel:	… *'az 'e--h*,
		so uh,
178		… *ze kéta*[27],
		it's a segment
		'it's a thing,'
179		… *pashút 'e--h*,
		simply uh,
180		… *madlík*.
		cool
		'[it's just a] cool [thing].'

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The statement on lines 173–175 lacks an ending. The implication is that, in the alienated age described in Marcuse's 1968 book *One Dimensional Man*, one wouldn't expect a phone call from a person one barely knows, inquiring about how one is feeling. In line 172, we find *ke'ilu* following the verb of speaking *'amarti* 'I said', immediately preceding constructed dialogue[28] of Uriel to himself in the story world. This is similar to the quotative function found for English *like*. The connection between *ke'ilu* as a hedge and *ke'ilu* in quotes is straightforward: In the strategy of constructed dialogue, the actual dialogue is seldom repeated verbatim; it is always an approximation of what was actually said, always a hedge.

Notice the "equivalent" *ya'anu* 'like' in Uriel's constructed dialogue to himself (174). Here, *ya'anu* hedges the expression *ba'idan hamoderni* 'in the modern age', which the speaker seems to judge not completely fit for the present context, as his further elaboration of the expression indicates: *ha'adam haxad meymadi shel merkuza* 'Marcuse's One Dimensional Man' (175); in contrast, *ke'ilu* (172) is employed to hedge the entire constructed dialogue.[29] Another possible reason for Uriel's judgment concerning the unsuitability of this expression for the present context has to do with the "academic" register to which the words *ba'idan hamoderni* 'in the modern age' belong. This is Uriel's ironic comment on his employing such an academic register in this highly casual conversation among friends.[30]

Nevertheless, *ke'ilu* as a quotative is different from English *like* in this function, in that, at least in the present database, it does not occur UNACCOMPANIED by a verb of speaking, as the English "equivalent" often does. An example of the latter is

> *And I'm like: "What the hell's going on here?"* (Fleischman & Yaguello forthcoming:9).

Ke'ilu *in double-voiced ironic quotations.* Fleischman & Yaguello mention a related use of English *like* and French *genre*, the double-voiced ironic quotation (1999; forthcoming:11): "*Like* and *genre* enable dual-voiced utterances in which narrators can use the form of direct quotes to report thoughts they attribute to participants in their narratives while at the same time superimposing onto those thought quotations their own evaluative judgments" (forthcoming:11–12). Note Haiman's example, *Yeah, sure, like I haven't heard that one before* (1998:53).

This use was not found in the present database, but in our household, a recent interaction between an eleven-year-old and her parents provides a lively example. Our eldest daughter was asked to do her part in helping with the preparations for dinner and the bedtime routine. When she objected, she was told by her father that there would be no dessert unless she kept her part of the deal. Storming out of the room on her way to perform the task, she shouted bitingly[31]:

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(18) 1 *hu me'ayém 'alay*,
he's threatening me,
2 *she'ani ló 'akabel dessèrt.*
that I won't get [any] dessert.
3 ***ke'ilu** 'eize mamtakím*,
like what sweets,
4 *yesh babáyit haze*!
there are in the house this
'there are in this house!'

This young teenager is ridiculing her father for the admittedly poor strategy of threatening to withhold sweets (lines 1–2), and she is attributing to him the thought that there is a wide array of tasty sweets around the house (3–4). Prefacing this attribution with *ke'ilu* and employing very marked prosody (cf. Günthner 1999), at the same time she expresses her own evaluative judgment about the quality of these sweets.

DISCUSSION: THE FUNCTIONAL ITINERARY OF *KE'ILU*

We have seen, then, five different uses of *ke'ilu*. Three of these uses are more directly related to its literal meaning – the conjunction 'as though', hedging, and quotation; two are more distant, focus-marking and self-rephrasal. I suggest two functional itineraries: One, in the lingual realm, originates more from the comparative element in *ke'ilu*; the other, in the metalingual realm, originates more from its irrealis conditional component. Of course, without a corpus providing diachronic perspective, the following comments concerning the path of development of *ke'ilu* can only be hypothesized.[32]

In the lingual realm, we start out with the lexical element of comparison and approximation, *k(e)-*. From the lexical meaning of this preposition to the HEDGING use of *ke'ilu*, the itinerary is rather direct: What is intended is 'like, but not quite what was said'. This fact often requires elaboration ('how is what was said different from what was intended?'), whence the SELF-REPHRASAL function of *ke'ilu*, and the common juxtaposition of *ke'ilu* in these two functions, as seen, for example, in ex. (5) and in ex. (19), a continuation of ex. (9):

(19) Burglary.
74 Eynat: .... *'az 'e--h*,
so uh,
75 ... *higìa habáyta*,
[she] came home,
76 ... *'axarèy hatsohoráyim*,
after noon
in the afternoon,
77 .... *'olá bamadregòt veze*,
[she]climbs the stairs and so on (lit. 'and this'),
78 [Eynat:] ... *ra'atà-- zug garbáyim*,
[she] saw a pair of socks,
79 .. ***ke'ilu** zrukòt 'al ha--madregót.*
sort of like thrown on the staircase.

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80 Meytal: .. *wów!*
81 'Eynat: .. *yeshanót* ***ke'ilu***,
old **like**,
82 ... ***ke'ilu***,
like,
83 .. *shehi mizmàn kvar lo halxá 'itam*,
that she for a long time already didn't go with them,
'that she hadn't worn for a while,'
84 .. *spórt ka'ele*.
sport like these
'sporty sort of.'

In line 79, we see the focus-marking *ke'ilu* with which Eynat describes the socks her friend found thrown on the staircase. Eynat further describes them as *yeshanot ke'ilu* 'old sort of' (81); this is hedging *ke'ilu*. Immediately following this hedge, Eynat adds a further elaboration on the socks: *shehi mizman kvar lo halxa 'itam*[33] 'that she hadn't worn for a while' (83). In other words, the socks are 'old' not in the usual sense, but in the sense that they hadn't been used for a while. This elaboration is preceded by the discourse marker of self-rephrasal, *ke'ilu* (82). Thus, we see how a hedge is naturally followed by a case of elaboration and self-rephrasal. Furthermore, ex. (19) provides us with examples of three of the functions of *ke'ilu* in close proximity – focus-marking (79), hedge (81), and self-rephrasal (82)) – further supporting the functional itinerary described here.

When a speaker is constructing someone else's speech, the report is never verbatim but always an approximation, whence *ke'ilu* in QUOTATIONS: 'like what was actually said, but not quite'. Thus, we see the contribution of the lexical element of similarity and approximation *k(e)-* to the discourse functions of *ke'ilu*. The hypothetical conditional component *'ilu*, of course, also adds to the hedging-based functions: A condition, and a hypothetical condition in particular, is at a modal distance from the reality described (Fleischman 1989:2).

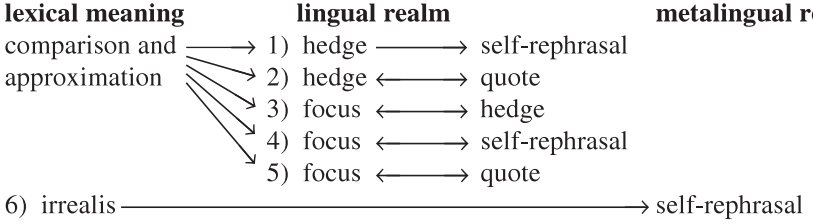
We have seen that a self-rephrased utterance (ex. 12) and a hedged utterance (ex. 10) are generally also what is in focus. However, a more direct route to focus-marking was studied by Haiman, who noted a universal link between comparison and focus: "A comparative construction is one which contrasts, and hence, focuses the elements which are compared; ... the element compared ... [being] more highlighted" (1988:310, cited in Fleischman & Yaguello forthcoming:13). From the lexical component of comparison *k(e)-*, then, the FOCUS-MARKING function can also be derived, though less directly. Fleischman & Yaguello also note that a direct quote is always necessarily the focus of the utterance in which it occurs: "The QUOTATIVE function ... thus represents a natural extension of an item already operating as a FOCUS marker" (forthcoming:14).

In the metalingual realm, we relate particularly to the lexical element of the irrealis conditional *'ilu* 'as if', 'as though', with which *ke'ilu* is composed. Employed in the literal sense, this conjunction would require a full clause following it. A paraphrase of the SELF-REPHRASAL function of *ke'ilu* would be something like *ke'ilu 'amarti* 'AS IF I were saying' or *ke'ilu lomar* 'AS IF to say'. In other words,

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when a speaker rephrases an utterance, he prefaces it with *ke'ilu*, which may "stand for" (in a way that is no longer apparent to the speaker) a longer metalingual utterance such as 'AS IF I were saying, AS IF (I were) to say'. This functions metalingually, in the realm of the text, the interaction, and the cognitive processes in the mind of the speaker, rather than referring to the extralingual world.

The most common function of *ke'ilu* is that of self-rephrasal (53% of all tokens). Fleischman & Yaguello's study is not quantitative, but it seems to me that English *like* is much less common in self-rephrasals than is *ke'ilu*. We have seen that the function of self-rephrasal is arrived at by three paths (paths 1, 4, and 6 schematized in the list below), both in the metalingual realm and in the lingual one. We can hypothesize the development of *ke'ilu*'s pragmatic functions as follows:



Comparing this display with Fleischman & Yaguello's itineraries for *like* reproduced earlier in this article, we see that there is a difference in the number of realms involved, but there are also many similarities between the two. The present study provides additional evidence for the functional itinerary paths between the focus-marking, quotative, and hedging functions suggested with question marks in the previous display.

GRAMMATICIZATION IN CROSS-LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

We return, finally, to Traugott's question concerning cross-language generalizations made about the development of discourse particles in terms of both their likely semantic sources and their semantic-pragmatic paths. In the conclusion of their study of English *like* and French *genre*, Fleischman & Yaguello write:

> The interest of our data for cross-language pragmatics lies in presenting a case-study in which similarly functioning discourse markers in two languages have evolved, independently, from similar lexical sources and have followed relatively parallel paths of development, particularly once they came to function as pragmatic operators. If additional cases of the same parallelisms can be found, these might be used to identify lexical sources and pathways of grammaticalization[34] for discourse markers in the same way as we have identified lexical sources and pathways of grammaticalization for many grammatical categories. We might then be able to predict that, e.g., expressions of comparison/approximation may give rise to focus markers, hedges, and/or quotatives. (forthcoming:15)

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The data presented in this study, from a language unrelated to English or French, provide further evidence for this prediction. Close analysis of Hebrew *ke'ilu* tokens in context further supports the affinity between the discourse functions of hedging, focus-marking, and quotation across languages, as well as the claim concerning the development of these particular discourse functions from expressions of comparison/approximation. The case of Hebrew constitutes an example of a system in which one of the functions (quotation) has only recently begun to develop. This allows investigation of a discourse function in emergence, and it suggests the secondary nature of the function of quotation in relation to those of hedging and focus-marking in this particular functional itinerary.

More generally, this study supports the claim that there exist parallel pathways of grammaticization for discourse markers in various unrelated languages. Moreover, according to Hopper's principle of "persistence" in grammaticization, "when a form undergoes grammaticalization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution" (1991:22). We find further support here that the nature of the lexical sources influences the uses of the markers that derive from them. Since the lexical source of *ke'ilu* involves the additional semantic element of the hypothetical condition *'ilu*, and not only the comparative element *ke-*, we should not be surprised to find a widespread additional function of *ke'ilu* in comparison to the functions of English *like* and French *genre* – the function of self-rephrasal.

NOTES

*I wish to express my gratitude to Wally Chafe, Jane Hill, Tamar Katriel, Elizabeth Traugott, Paul Woodward, and an anonymous referee for detailed comments and useful suggestions concerning these ideas. Any errors in analysis or interpretation are of course my own. I thank my colleagues and friends at the Communication Department, Faith Gleicher Boninger, Jonathan Cohen, and Rivki Ribak, for pointing out several tokens of *ke'ilu* in written discourse. My thanks to Tal Dori and Tamar Mencher for their help with transcription. However, the person who most influenced this study is unfortunately no longer with us. It was at a reception at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem during the PRAGMA 1999 conference, that Suzanne Fleischman enthusiastically encouraged me to work on *ke'ilu*. I dedicate this study to Suzanne's memory in hope that it would have lived up to her high standards.

[1] Details concerning the corpus are found in the next section.

Transcription Method: Each line denotes an intonation unit and is followed by an English gloss. In the cases in which this gloss is not close enough to an English utterance, it is followed by a third line supplying a usually literal (but sometimes functional) translation. Utterances under consideration (generally *ke'ilu*) are given in boldface. Transcription basically follows Chafe 1994, with a few additions. Conventions are as follows:

. . .	half second pause (each extra dot = another 1/2 second)
. .	perceptible pause of less than half a second
(3.22)	measured pause of 3.22 seconds
´	primary stress
`	secondary stress
´´	particularly marked primary stress

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,	comma at end of line – clause final intonation ('more to come')
.	period at end of line – sentence final falling intonation
?	question mark at end of line – sentence final rising intonation
!	exclamation mark at end of line – sentence final exclamatory intonation
ø	lack of punctuation at end of line – a fragmentary intonation unit, one which never reached completion.
--	two hyphens elongation of preceding vowel sound
[	square bracket to the left of two consecutive lines indicates overlapping speech, two speakers talking at once; alignment such that the right of the top line is placed over the left of the bottom line indicates latching, no interturn pause
/??????/	transcription impossible
/word/	indicates uncertain transcription
pp	pianissimo, very softly
[xxx]	material within square brackets IN THE GLOSS indicates exuberances (Becker 1995) in translation (what is not there in the original).
{in curly brackets}	transcriber's comments concerning paralinguistics and prosody, which do not have an agreed upon symbol in this transcription system.

[2] The element of comparison *k(e)-* is apparent also in line 46, in the preposition ***k**mo* 'like'.

[3] I thank Tamar Katriel for showing me this issue.

[4] The weekend spans Fridays and Saturdays for most Israelis. Friday morning, when the kids are in daycare or at school but the shops are open, is a time many young adults enjoy leisure activities not involving children, such as relaxing with the weekend paper in a café.

[5] Given the fact that the Israelis of this corpus are quite fluent in English (it is the most prominent second language among the Jewish population of the country and is learned at schools starting from around fourth grade), we must consider the possibility that the grammaticization of Hebrew *ke'ilu* was influenced by that of English *like*. This possibility is highly unlikely, first, because there are some significant differences in the grammaticization of the two (see below), and second, because, as the editor points out, Israelis speaking English do not use *like* in the American way.

[6] However, Maschler (2002) found that *ke'ilu* differs from other discourse markers in the database in that it often follows NON-final intonation in same speaker talk as well (see below).

[7] A few tokens of *ke'ilu* in Henkin's study consist of isolated utterances collected on a kibbutz (1999:120, n. 21).

[8] Only two conversations from 1999 are included in this database.

[9] Most of the conversations were recorded by students in my discourse analysis classes throughout the years. The recordings were submitted as part of the course requirements, and usually some segment of each recording (not necessarily the one included in the present database) was handed in as the text analyzed for the final paper. This analysis included information concerning the prior text (Becker 1979) of the interaction and the nature of the interpersonal relations between participants. Only those interactions for which consent was obtained from participants were transcribed (again) and included in the database. My thanks to the students for their generosity with the data.

[10] Note here the metalingual utterance *ma zot 'omeret* 'what does it mean'. This, I think, is the origin of one equivalent of the discourse marker *ke'ilu*, *s'tomeret* 'I mean', lit. 'this means'; see below.

[11] This elaboration is also preceded by *ke'ilu* (104), a case of self-rephrasal dealt with below.

[12] The distinction between "direct" and "indirect" speech in Hebrew is quite clear, as the latter always involves some "subordinating" element such as *she-*. In the beginning of line 47, we find this element of subordination, *she-*. In addition, the verb of line 47 is in third person: *ya'avru* 'they will move in'.

[13] The employment of *ke'ilu* here may also be related to the fact that we are dealing with a case of reported speech. The speaker is reporting on the speech of someone else, and this is always only an approximation of what was actually said. Furthermore, *ke'ilu* may be hedging not only the request itself, but also the verb *biksha* 'asked' introducing it, since the request was perhaps not made explicitly. However, the interpersonal constraints seem to me more acute here.

[14] I thank Rivki Ribak for showing me this passage.

[15] Henkin 1991 argues that, in order to mark their play as "pretend play," Israeli children employ the past tense in utterances referring to the present. This, she argues, has to do with the fact that the

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counterfactual conditional *('i)lu* 'if, irrealis' must combine with a verb in the past tense (in adult speech – as in *Fiddler on the Roof*'s famous song *lu* ***hayiti*** *rotshild* 'if I were a rich man', lit. 'if I **were** a Rothschild'. The verb *hayiti* 'I were' is in simple past tense (lit. 'I was'). The past tense here represents a modal distance from reality.

[16] Most tokens of *ke'ilu* in the newspaper passage above (Alper 2000) are different from the tokens appearing in the spoken database, in that they hedge nominal nuclei as opposed to predications, e.g., *ke'ilu malkat hayofi* 'the *ke'ilu* beauty queen'.

[17] The written- (and formal syntax-) biased expressions 'to the right of' and 'to the left of' are of course irrelevant for Hebrew, which is written right to left. In any event, I agree with Auer, who concludes that "the supposed parallel between 'left' and 'right' in syntax … is fundamentally mistaken when applied to spoken syntax; in speaking, there is no 'left' and 'right', but only 'earlier' and 'later'. At least for an approach to syntax which takes the in-time ('on-line') emergence of (particularly) oral language units seriously, what is dealt with first and what is taken care of later cannot be seen as a decision between two logical equivalents (as between 'right' and 'left'). Rather, it involves one of the most basic and far-reaching decisions a speaker can make, with all kinds of cognitive, interactional and structural repercussions" (2000:31).

[18] The slang expression *stil* was explained to me by the participant who recorded the interaction as a blending of the Englishisms 'style' and 'deal'.

[19] The participle *nignav* (from the root g.n.v. in the *nif'al* (passive) pattern) would generally refer to the property stolen.

[20] I translate this token with English 'I mean,' which seems to better capture the function of *ke'ilu* here.

[21] For another look at this discourse marker relating to the ways it fits in the system of discourse markers negotiating frame shifts (Goffman 1981) in Hebrew talk-in-interaction, see Maschler (2002).

[22] One case of *ke'ilu* appears at intonation-unit-FINAL position. Since it functions metalingually, I counted it as a discourse marker, even though it does not appear at intonation-unit-initial position.

[23] The expression *xaval 'al hazman* literally means 'it's a pity on the time', or 'it's a waste of time'. Originally it was used in the more literal meaning of 'not worth wasting time on/paying attention to'. Recently (over the past four years or so), the expression has gained a slang meaning and is used also to intensify the property attributed (to take the present context, 'it was raining so hard that it's a waste of time to waste words describing it', whence the translation 'unimaginable rain'). In this new use, and by influence of the many acronyms originating in Israeli army slang, the expression has also become an acronym in casual spoken Hebrew: *xavlaz*, an acronym of sorts of *xaval 'al hazman*, taking the first two consonants, /x/ and /v/, from the first word *xaval* 'pity', the middle consonant /l/ either from the preposition *'al* or from the third consonant of *xaval*, and the final consonant /z/ from the word *zman* 'time'.

[24] Since there is no neuter in Hebrew, there is no way of knowing whether this 'it' (*'oto*, ex. 14, lines 92) refers to an animate or inanimate entity (whence the ambiguity in the translation: 'him/it'). In other words, David may be referring here to pulling out the tractor, or the owner of the tractor (who was perhaps sitting inside the tractor). This is the source of the request for clarification in line 96.

[25] In fast speech, the initial glottal stop + vowel *'o* of *'oto* are often dropped.

[26] For the phenomenon of language alternation at discourse markers leading to borrowing phenomena, see Goss & Salmons 2000 and Maschler 2000a, 2000c.

[27] For the use of the word *keta* in Israeli Hebrew talk-in-interaction, see Maschler 1998.

[28] The lack of a "subordinator" such as *she-* 'that' is evidence that this is "direct speech."

[29] However, in other parts of this text, *ya'anu* functions as an equivalent of *ke'ilu* not only in the hedging function, but also in the self-rephrasal and quotative functions.

[30] I thank Tamar Katriel for suggesting this point to me.

[31] I transcribed this excerpt immediately after it happened. However, as I do not have a recording of it, I was not able to obtain the minute details of transcription, such as information about pauses between intonation units.

[32] I thank Elizabeth Traugott for pointing this out to me.

[33] Here, as in many other spoken contexts, agreement of fem. pl. is no longer maintained in discourse, and we find the masc. sg. resumptive pronoun *'itam* 'with them', masc., rather than feminine *'itan*, referring to a feminine plural entity *garbayim* 'socks'. For a study of Hebrew resumptive pronouns, see Ariel 1999.

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[34] I have used the term "grammaticization" rather than "grammaticalization" throughout this study (except in quotations), in order to move away from the notion of grammaticality. In addition, I wish to focus on the continually changing meanings from a discourse-pragmatic (synchronic) rather than a historical-diachronic perspective, as the terms "grammaticization" and "grammaticalization" sometimes imply, respectively (Hopper & Traugott 1993: xvi).

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(Received 15 June 2000, revision accepted 15 December 2000)

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404501020176 Published online by Cambridge University Press