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Title:

Low-Salience Marking

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Abstract

Can speakers explicitly cue addressees to multiple meanings of concepts? In order to address this issue, I examine a set of markers (*bimlo muvan hamila*, *be'emet*, *literal*), as written and pronounced in Hebrew, as well as the negation marker *lo*). On the basis of experimental findings and naturalistic data, I argue that these markers cue addressees to activate low-salience meanings (the low-salience marking hypothesis). On encountering these markers, addressees' attention is drawn to additional meanings of concepts - meanings low on salience, which may otherwise be lost in the comprehension process. Consider the following examples (markers appear in italics and marked concepts in bold, for convenience):

1. In the taxis in New York, the meter *be'emet* **ticks**. 3,000 taxi drivers in the Big Apple activated their meters in an illegal manner and deceived passengers in 8.3 million dollars. (Haaretz, 14/3/10, my translation, S.G.)
2. tov, ma nisgar? o be'ecem, **ma lo nisgar?**
ok, what is closed? Or actually, what neg. is closed?
'What's going on/happening? Or actually what isn't closed?' (Y.M. 29/7/10, uttered in an elevator whose doors kept opening and closing incessantly)

In examples (1) and (2), the Hebrew markers *be'emet* (truly, lit. "in truth") and *lo* (neg.), draw attention to less salient meanings of *ticks* and *ma nisgar*. In addition to the salient meanings of 'runs/works/operates' and 'what's going on/happening?', the less salient meanings 'fooling someone, causing them harm or damage' and 'is closed' are also activated. Salient meanings enjoy cognitive prominence due to experiential familiarity, frequency, conventionality, or prototypicality and get activated instantly when the relevant stimulus is encountered. Less-salient meanings, albeit coded, are less prominent (due to being less familiar, less prototypical, less frequent and/or less conventional and are therefore slower to get activated (The Graded Salience Hypothesis; Giora 1997, 2003). In order to speed up the process of their activation, these meanings can (and sometimes must) be marked.

Two off-line experiments and a corpus-based study were designed to test the low-salience marking hypothesis which falls out of the graded salience hypothesis. In the two off-line experiments, participants were presented with sentences followed by a 7 point scale with different plausible (salient and low-salience) interpretations instantiated at each end of the scale. Participants were asked to rate the proximity of the interpretations presented at the scale's ends to the interpretation of the given sentence. Sentences were presented in isolation, that is, outside of a specific context, and either included a marker (in final position) or not (3-4, translated for convenience):

3. I'll be done with it in a day or two/I'll be done with it in a day or two, literally
4. She is a mother / She is a mother in the full sense of the word

Results show that ratings of items including a marker received lower scores, indicating their distance from the salient meaning (M=3.29, SE=0.29, where

7=salient meaning) compared to items not including a marker, which were closer to the salient meaning ($M=5.61$, $SE=0.18$), $t(23)=9.19$, $p<0.001$. Similar results were obtained in Experiment 2: ($M=2.63$, $SE=0.23$) with a marker and ($M=5.99$, $SE=0.18$) without a marker, $t(23)=9.70$, $p<0.001$.

In the corpus-based study, an additional marker was tested, *tartey mařma* (lit. "double meaning"). The aim of the test was to ascertain whether the marker calls attention to two meanings that are equally salient (as may be deduced from the marker's semantics) or, whether, as naturalistic data suggest, it draws attention to a less salient meaning. All the materials in this study were based on naturally occurring examples in which, originally, concepts were modified by the marker in question. The procedure followed that of Experiment 1 and 2, however, sentences did not include the marker. Results show that concepts were rated as having a preferred (salient) meaning ($M=5.97$, $SE=0.15$), $t(31)=13.37$, $p<0.001$, indicating that in the naturally occurring cases, in which they were modified by *tartey mařma*, the marker was used to draw attention to the other, less-salient meaning.

Taken together, lab results, corpus-based findings, and naturally occurring examples, support the hypothesis that the markers tested here draw attention to less salient meanings.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to offer an answer to the following question: How can speakers draw addressees' awareness to multiple meanings of words or phrases uttered in discourse? Stated in terms of lexical access, can speakers cue addressees to assign an additional meaning to a concept? In order to answer this question, I first present the graded salience hypothesis and the predictions following from it with regards to lexical access of salient and less salient meanings. Working within this cognitive framework, I refer to cueing addressees to additional or multiple meanings of a concept as the mechanism of *low-salience marking*, the mechanism whereby, in addition to a salient meaning, a less salient meaning is also prompted (section 2).

Following this theoretical discussion, I will present the phenomenon of low-salience marking focusing on naturally occurring examples of *explicit* low-salience marking - the use of explicit modifiers to *mark* low-salience. I examine uses of *literally* (in English), *lo*, *bimlo muvan hamila* and *be'emet* (in Hebrew), referring to these as *low-salience markers* on the basis of the mechanism stated above (section 3). In section 4, I present two off-line experiments which tested the predictions of the low-salience marking hypothesis with respect to these markers and evaluate additional lexical access and processing models in light of the results. In section 5, I present a corpus-based study conducted for an additional marker, *tartey mašma*. General discussion and conclusions are presented in section 6.

2. Theoretical framework

The graded salience hypothesis (Giora 1997, 2003) assumes that language comprehension involves two distinct mechanisms that run in parallel: A bottom-up linguistic mechanism (lexical access) that is modular and stimulus driven, and a top-down, contextual mechanism that is inferential and integrative in nature which accumulates information that has already been processed and interfaced with other cognitive processes. For a meaning to be salient – to be foremost on one's mind – it needs to be coded in the mental lexicon and enjoy prominence due to exposure: The more frequent, familiar, conventional, or prototypical a meaning the more salient it is. Salient meanings are computed directly from the mental lexicon, "irrespective of inferences drawn on the basis of contextual information" (Giora 2003: 18). However, access is ordered: Salient meanings get activated instantly when the relevant stimulus is encountered; less-salient meanings, albeit coded, are slower to get activated because they are less prominent (due to being less familiar, less prototypical, less frequent, and/or less conventional). Therefore, at times, their activation may not reach a threshold.

The following example, originally in Hebrew, cited in Giora 2003: 19, illustrates this hierarchy:

Iddo and Omri (both aged 7 years 8 months and both native speakers of Hebrew) are eating supper together. Iddo fetches himself a glass of juice out of the refrigerator.

1. Omri: I want to drink, too.
 Iddo's mother: Iddo, *toci lo et ha-mic*
 [intended, compositional meaning: 'take the juice out (of the refrigerator) for him]
 Iddo (laughingly): ha...ha... **le-hoci lo et ha-mic**
 [non intended, idiomatic meaning: 'to take/squeeze the juice out of him' – meaning 'to drive one crazy']¹

Iddo's response suggests that he accessed the idiomatic meaning of the phrase *le-hoci lo et ha-mic*, in addition to its compositional, literal, one. Note that the idiomatic meaning is not compatible with the context and yet could not be ignored on account of, and indeed attesting to, its salience. In their study on familiar and less familiar figurative language, Giora and Fein (1999) found that participants completed as many fragmented words related to an idiomatic meaning of familiar idioms embedded in literally biasing contexts as they did words related to the compositional meaning. These findings suggest that the idiomatic meanings of familiar idioms are salient. Indeed, Van de Voort and Vonk (1995) found that familiar idioms are automatically processed idiomatically and Gibbs (1980) reported that idioms such as *spill the beans* were read faster in an idiomatically biasing context than in a literally biasing one.

Familiar idioms are but one example of collocations - words which regularly co-occur and which, together, have a fixed meaning, one that has become conventionalized. Additional examples for collocations are (a) familiar, conventionalized metaphors or figurative phrases such as *lišbor et haroš* meaning 'wreck one's brain'/'make an effort/strain oneself [over a problem]' or (b) Situational Bound Utterances (SBUs) such as *talk to you later*. SBUs "are highly conventionalized, prefabricated pragmatic units whose occurrence is tied to standardized communicative situations" (Kecskés 2000: 606). In American English *talk to you later*, uttered on departure, is commonly used in its functional meaning (saying good-bye) without any commitment to its compositional meaning (talking later). Due to the large amount of formulaic and automatic language in discourse (Fillmore 1976) it has been claimed that "[n]owadays speakers in conventional speech situations tend to do more 'remembering' than 'putting together'" (Kecskés 2000: 606). Indeed, "it is always possible to treat even tightly idiomatic phrases as if they were capable of analysis into smaller units" (Partington 2009: 1799), however, because discourse is largely made up of preconstituted blocks of language (not necessarily idiomatic, see for example Bolinger 1972; Erman & Warren 2001), the default mode of interpreting discourse follows a phraseological principle which is less time and effort consuming (on the phraseological principle see Sinclair 1987, 1991, 2004). Indeed, salience is indifferent to either the length of an entry in the lexicon or to its (degree of) literalness. A salient meaning can be literal or figurative because salient meanings of single words as well as collocations are not determined by this factor; rather it is the factors of

¹ Originally noted by Mira Ariel, February 1998.

familiarity, frequency, conventionality, and prototypicality, among others that determine degree of salience.

Unlike homonyms (e.g. the word *bat* which is ambiguous between a 'mammal bat' and a 'baseball bat'), which necessitate an immediate resolution of the ambiguity they give rise to, polysemous meanings contribute to one another, enriching a concept (Frazier & Rayner 1990). Indeed it would be strange for someone who sincerely wishes to state that s/he will *talk to you later* to somehow mean only that s/he will 'talk to you in a while', but NOT 'goodbye'. The situational bound meaning of *talk to you later* and its literal, compositional meaning, or the conventionalized metaphoric meaning of *lišbor et haroš* and its literal, compositional meaning of physically 'breaking one's head', are related to one another and can therefore be referred to as polysemous meanings.

Given the possibility of speakers intending addressees to activate multiple meanings, a pragmatic question arises: How can speakers help addressees to consciously consider a number of intended meanings of a stimulus (i.e., when various, related senses of a concept are contextually appropriate or intended)? Are there linguistic cues that direct attention to intended meaning(s) in discourse? This pragmatic question can also be stated in cognitive terms regarding lexical access. In the event that a salient meaning, accessed automatically, is appropriate in a given context, no further processing of the polysemous concept will be necessary. In other words, less-salient but potentially appropriate meanings are not expected to get activated immediately (if at all). In order to draw attention to less salient meanings, it thus follows, speakers must resort to MARKing these meanings in some way (for a similar view, see Kay 1987; Lakoff 1973 & Rosch 1978). Indeed while the graded salience hypothesis predicts the same graded, salience-based, process of lexical access for homonyms as well as polysemous stimuli, it is the nature of the latter that allows for certain meanings or senses to be lost in comprehension. Consider, for instance, the case of someone uttering *talk to you later* which, in addition to saying 'goodbye' also means 'talk to you in a while'.

Using the same priming techniques used to study the processing of homonyms (see for instance Swinney 1979), Williams (1992) examined whether the various meanings of polysemous adjectives (e.g., *firm* as in 'solid' or *firm* as in 'strict') are functionally independent during processing. Williams found that, for the "central meanings" of the words (*firm* as in 'solid'), effects were visible as long as 1100 msec following the prime onset.² However, no significant priming of targets related to "non- central meanings" (*firm* as in 'strict') was found in *irrelevant* contexts. This happened despite the fact that both types of targets were equally primed when the prime was presented in isolation. Explaining these results in terms of salience, we can state that while

² See also Frazier & Rayner (1990) who found immediate reliable effects of competition for homonyms but not for words with multiple senses and Pickering and Frisson (2001) who found that processing difficulty with the subordinate sense of a polysemous verb relative to the dominant sense did not emerge until much after the critical verb was first encountered.

the salient meaning of a polysemous concept is always accessed immediately, the less-salient meaning is only accessed if necessary, e.g., if the salient meaning fails to meet contextual fit. At this point, one may wonder: If a speaker uses *firm* in its 'solid' meaning but, *in addition*, wishes to refer to the "non-central" meaning 'strict', can she guarantee its access? Speakers have, of course, the costly option of spelling out their intentions such as in the following example:

2. I got your letter and I don't just mean that I received it but that I understood it. (reconstructed from memory)

In (2) the speaker spells out both meanings of *got your letter*; 'received' and 'understood', but is this spelling out the only means available? In the next section I deal with these questions.

3. Low-salience marking

3.1 Drawing attention to less salient meanings

Speakers often exploit the polysemous nature of words and phrases. Consider the following example:

3. When he was sure the street was empty he dodged into the hedge, forcing his way in amidst the jasmine and violets, and stood motionless: If there was a dog in the house – other than its owner, of course – it would now fill the universe with barking. But not a whisper came out of the silence. (Mahfouz, 1961/1984: 49).

Perhaps the most obvious way of directing attention to additional meanings is by adding context. In example (3) the literal meaning of *dog*; 'canine', is salient, foremost on our mind, and therefore gets accessed automatically. However, additional information allows us to also home in on the less salient, metaphoric meaning of this concept. In this way, the remark about the owner of the house being a dog himself is explicit enough to call attention to the figurative meaning of the word. In spoken discourse, another way of ensuring that additional meanings of concepts are accessed is to indicate their correct spelling as in the following commonly attested Hebrew example:

4. hayta li he'ara be-alef
had to me comment in alef [=א] [insight]
'I had a comment, spelled with A' → 'I had an insight'

The word *he'ara* spelled: הַאָרָה, when pronounced by many Hebrew speakers cannot be distinguished from הַעָרָה, because Hebrew glottal stop (א) and pharyngeal fricative (ע) are both pronounced by many as the vowel 'a'. However, the former meaning, 'insight', is less salient than the latter meaning, 'comment' (we have comments quite often but insights are rarer). By notifying the addressee, a listener, of the correct spelling, the speaker ensures that the addressee becomes aware not only of the salient meaning

but also of the less salient meaning of the phonological string *s/he* has heard. In both of the above examples, it is the added *information* which explicitly invites addressees to access the less salient meaning. Would it also be possible to linguistically MARK less salient meanings? In the following section I examine such cases.

3.2 Explicit marking – the case of *literally*

Consider the following example which instantiates explicit low-salience marking:

5. Joakim Noah Critic **eats his words**... *literally*. Two years ago, Chicago Tribune columnist Rick Morrissey wrote that Bulls first-round draft pick Joakim Noah would never become a productive NBA player. In fact, Morrissey was so certain the ex-Gator forward would be an NBA bust that he said he would slather his June 2007 column with salsa and eat it if Noah ever turned out to be a "useful" basketball player. Flash-forward to today, where Noah is averaging 11.4 points and 12.4 rebounds in 32 minutes of action. That's right; a man of his word, Morrissey showed up at the Bulls' practice facility with offending column and salsa in hand, and ate a small chunk of the Tribune newspaper in front of a beaming Noah.
(http://sports.yahoo.com/nba/blog/ball_dont_lie/post/Joakim-Noah-critic-eats-his-words-literally?urn=nba,201747/ By J.E. Skeets Wed Nov 11, 2009)

Example (5) illustrates the classic use of *literally* where the figurative meaning of some expression has to be replaced by a literal one. Here the use of *literally* informs the reader that the meaning of *eats his words* is not intended only in its idiomatic reading ('retract/regret what one has said'); rather, in addition, the marker calls attention to a literal, compositional interpretation wherein the verb "eat" denotes 'chewing, swallowing and digesting'. Stated in terms of salience, *literally* draws attention to a compositional literal meaning which is, in this case, less-salient than the coded idiomatic meaning of the collocation *eat one's words*. Note that both meanings are necessary for a full interpretation of the phrase *eats his words* as it is used in this context. However, only one meaning, the less salient one, must be marked so that the hearer does not remain "stuck" with the idiomatic meaning only.

Originally, Giora proposed to reanalyze *literally* as signaling that a salient meaning should be rejected as the intended meaning in favor of a less salient one, regardless of literality/figurativity (see Ariel 2010: 226, where Ariel first presents Giora's proposal regarding *literally*). I now, suggest to rephrase the original proposal so that it focuses only on the marker's effect on the less salient meaning; *literally* signals to the addressee to pay attention to the less salient meaning; only after this stage will it be possible for the addressee to decide whether to reject the salient meaning as the intended meaning or not. Additional support for this view can be found in examples where *literally* draws attention to a less salient but *non-literal* meaning of a non-literal stimulus. Example (6) is illustrative in this respect:

6. Logan: Basically, he told me to **hit the road**.

Rory: And you took him *literally*. (*Gilmore Girls* TV show, 18/2/10)

In the dialogue in example (6), the first speaker uses *hit the road* in its idiomatic meaning, 'to get going/depart/get on the road'; specifically, here, the first speaker is recounting that he has just been fired from his job. When the second speaker wonders whether the first speaker took it *literally* she does not mean that the first speaker used force to slap the road. Instead, she refers to another non-literal meaning of the idiom; 'begin a journey/drive a long a long distance' to see her. Here, *literally* draws attention to a less salient *figurative* meaning of the idiom, not a literal compositional meaning. Examples such as (6), then, show that *literally* is a low-salience marker, namely, *literally* cues less-salient meanings rather than literal meanings of figurative expressions (see Ariel 2002 and Gibbs 1994 for a critique of the view that literal properties of words and concepts are easily defined).

Following Giora (1997, 2003, personal communication), there seems to be a need for a procedure constraining the choice of meaning, where multi-meanings of a stimulus differ in terms of degree of salience. Such a mechanism signals that the initial outputs of the automatic process of decoding (i.e., the salient meaning retrieved from the lexicon) should undergo a process of 'recoding'. This procedure can be referred to as the mechanism of explicitly cueing *low-salience*. Breaking down the theoretical prediction into three, we can state the following: (a) Linguistic systems should include low-salience markers which are verbal markers that raise awareness to less salient meanings; the underlying assumption, relevant to communication in general, is that cooperative communicators use such modifiers as tools to alert their addressees to meanings which would be otherwise lost due to the automatic nature of processing and so, (b) on encountering these markers, addressees' attention will be drawn to meanings lower in salience; consequently (c) such markers will speed up activation of low-salience meanings, ensuring they are not lost in comprehension. Within a cognitive framework, this process can be analyzed as follows: The marker prompts the activation of low salient meanings which, unlike salient meanings, are not activated immediately without a cue. The present study is limited to testing predictions (a) and (b), using off-line measurements and corpus findings. Further on-line research is needed to establish the feasibility of prediction (c).

3.3 Low-salience markers in Hebrew

As mentioned above, in this study I examine Hebrew markers such as *literali*, equivalent to the English "literally" (as written and pronounced in Hebrew, see section 4), the Hebrew negation marker *lo*, and other Hebrew markers such as *bimlo muvan hamila* ("in the full sense of the word"), *be'emet* ("in truth") and *tartey mašma* ("double meaning"/"double entendre", see section 5). I refer to all of these as low-salience markers following the mechanism of *low-salience marking* and claim that these markers can be used to mark less salient meanings of the stimuli within their scope. For the purpose of this study, these markers make up a functional class and are referred to as such. Having said that, it is important to stress that I do not assume that the

function I discuss here is the sole or even central role of these markers. Indeed, only a thorough corpora search of all attested uses would suffice to make such a claim. I, however, predict that these markers *can* be used in such a way.

Having discussed *literally* in section 2, I will now discuss the markers *lo*, *bimlo muvan hamila* and *be'emet*. The examples presented below exemplify the role of these various markers, relevant to this study, which is to draw attention to an additional meaning of the stimulus within their scope.

3.3.1 The negation marker – *lo*

Before discussing examples of negation drawing attention to less salient meanings, it is first necessary to present the prevailing assumptions in psycholinguistics with regards to negation. It is currently assumed that negation suppresses concepts falling within its scope causing them to be discarded from the mental representation by reducing their accessibility (Hasson & Glucksberg 2006; Kaup, Lüdtke & Zwaan, 2006; MacDonald & Just 1989, among others; for a review, see Giora 2006). Findings show that when enough processing time has been allowed, negated concepts were suppressed and replaced by an opposite concept. For instance, a door that was said to be "not open" was eventually represented as "closed" (Kaup, Lüdtke & Zwaan 2006; Mayo, Schul & Burnstein 2004). It has however, alternatively been suggested that suppression is optional and depends on speakers' goals and discourse requirements (Giora 2006). In addition to its role in rejection and denial, negation can be used for emphatic effects such as intensifying or highlighting the information within its scope (for additional roles of negation and examples see Giora 2006). Thus, under the SUPPRESSION/RETENTION HYPOTHESIS rejection via negation does not obligatorily reduce accessibility of the negated concept which may be retained in the mental representation (Giora, Fein et al. 2007; Giora, Fein et al. 2005 for mitigation effects of negation).

It has further been shown by Giora, Fein et al. (2010) that, rather than suppressing, negation generates the figurativeness of concepts falling within its scope. The study discusses a set of metaphors (such as 7 and 9 below) which behave differently from regular metaphors, whose metaphoricity is communicated in both their affirmative and negative versions (see for instance Hasson & Glucksberg 2006). This unique set of metaphors are understood metaphorically when they appear in their negated versions rather than in their affirmative versions. The two following sets of minimal pairs appeared in the study:

7. You tell me what to do all of the time, what to say, where to hide, and what to do. I am not your wife, **I am not your maid**, I'm not someone that you can lay your demands [on] all of [the] time, I'm sick of this, it's going to stop! (Blige, 2007)
8. No, mum. **I am your maid**. It is you, who picked me. It is my job to attend to you, mum. (Summerfield, 1998)

It is clear that while in (7), the information within the scope of negation is intended nonliterally, it is understood only literally in (8), where it is not preceded or marked by negation. Utterances such as *I am not your maid* can only be understood, claim the authors, if addressees process non-literal interpretations for the concept falling within the scope of negation. In so doing, addressees clearly do not suppress the concept of "maid" falling within the scope of negation; they, however, need to understand it in a figuratively-related way.

Still, rather than conceiving of this difference in terms of degree of (non)literality, we can conceptualize this in terms of degree of salience. In (7) the negation marker draws attention to the less salient meaning of 'being a maid' – i.e., "someone that you can lay your demands [on] all of [the] time" precisely by negating it; it is the less salient meaning that is being rejected or denied rather than the salient, here literal one, related to 'an employed woman hired to do her job'. Again, instead of arguing that negation induces metaphoricity we can contend, more generally, that negation draws attention to the less salient meaning of the concept within its scope. Consider examples (9-10) cited in Giora et al. (2010):

9. "Tell TBS **this is not food**. They should concentrate on checking upon foodstuff imports many of which are expired or sub-standard or unfit for human consumption," said stall holder Saidi Abdallah Umbe. (BBC News, 2003)
10. **This is food**, and this is how you eat it. (Chamberlain, 2005)

Here too the negation marker in (9) draws attention to a less salient, again metaphoric, meaning of food ("foodstuff fit for human consumption"), a meaning not relevant in the affirmative counterpart (10).

However, in order to convincingly show that negation, like the other markers I discuss below, directs attention to *less salient meanings*, be they nonliteral or literal, it is necessary to show that negation can also draw attention to less salient *literal* meanings. Consider the following:³

11. tov, ma nisgar? o be'ecem, **ma lo nisgar?**
 ok, what is closed? Or actually, what neg. is closed?
 'Ok, what's going on? Or actually what isn't closed?'
 (Y.M. 29/7/10, uttered in an elevator whose doors kept opening and closing incessantly)

By adding the negation to the collocation, the less salient, compositional meaning of 'what is *n't* closed', is activated. In addition to the salient meaning of 'what's going on?',⁴ the less salient meanings 'is closed' is also activated.⁵ It

³ Examples of this type appear also in the literature on metalinguistic negation, as in the case of Horn's example (1989: 373): Who was that lady I saw you with last night? That was no lady; that was my wife!

⁴ When used in the past tense the idiom *ma nisgar?* can also mean 'what was the decision?'

could be suggested that it is not the use of negation itself that prompts the less salient meaning, but rather modifying the collocation. Consider, however, the following contrived examples:⁶

12. a. Ok ma nisgar? bircinut! ma la'azazel nisgar?!
ok what is closed? Seriously! What the hell is closed?!
'Ok what's going on? Seriously! What the hell is going on?!'
- b. Ofir has been waiting a long time for his X-ray results. Getting impatient, he mutters:
ma nisgar?
What is closed?
'What's going on?'

Another patient also waiting overhears him and replies:
ata mitkaven ma lo nisgar. ha-eksray lo oved.
You mean what neg. is closed. The X-ray neg. work.
'You mean what isn't going on. The X-ray isn't working.'
'You mean what isn't closed. The X-ray isn't working.'

Example (12a) demonstrates that modifying a collocation does not necessarily entail access of an additional meaning. The use of "la'azazel" merely serves to emphasize the collocation's salient, figurative meaning, not its compositional one. Example (12b) demonstrates that negation can be used in the very same phrase as an operator reversing the affirmative, depending on speakers' intentions and needs. In (11) the use of negation combined with knowledge of the situation of elevator doors closing and opening continuously invites this additional processing of meaning. Note that the affirmative *ma nisgar* on its own was not felt by the speaker to invite an additional meaning; the speaker negated the collocation thereby marking it as a concept that has an additional contextually appropriate meaning.

Another example of negation drawing attention to a less salient meaning is found in the following instance:

13. Brennan: Yeah, **I understand**.
Booth: No, you say you understand but you *don't* (*Bones* TV show, 5/2/10)

Or the shorter version many may have come across: *I understand; No, you don't*. Such examples are cases of negating SBUs (consider also: *I'll talk to you later. No, you won't; I share in your loss. No, you don't*. etc.). In rejecting Brennan's comment, Booth draws attention to the less salient meaning of the SBU, namely, the non ritualized interpretation of "I understand". Brennan may

⁵ Note that *Or actually* acts here as a hedge and suggests the speaker is considering a change in her original utterance. However, the use of this hedge, by itself, would not prompt access of the less-salient meaning.

⁶ See also 4.1 below and the discussion regarding Van de Voort and Vonk's study (1995) which showed that not any insertion within the linear order of a collocation results in a loss of the collocation's meaning.

be genuine in wanting to show empathy but that is not equivalent to understanding. In cases when the show of empathy is all that is called for, the less salient meaning of making sense of what one is saying would not come to mind.

3.3.2 *bimlo muvan hamila* – in the full sense of the word⁷

Consider the following example:

14. When she'd gone he moved into the reception room and flung himself down on one of the sofas. Now he was **alone** *in the full sense of the word*, without even his books, which he'd left with Sheikh Ali. (Mahfouz, 1961/1984: 90).

In the English translation of what is originally an Arabic text, the phrase *in the full sense of the word* calls for the most comprehensive meaning of *alone*, a meaning indicating both the salient meanings ('having no one else around') and the less salient meaning ('being deserted or isolated'). This use can be considered as an instance of low-salience marking because in creating the "full sense of the word", the less salient meaning is also called for. Consider also the following Hebrew example:

15. **keta kore'a** *bi-mlo muvan ha- mila*
piece tearing in-full sense the- word
(<http://www.flix.co.il/tapuz/bezeqint/showVideo.asp?m=3069002>)

This title of a video clip was followed by the explanation: *The mission – to manage to tear up a phone book in 3 seconds*. In this case the marker creates an expectation for a play on the word *kore'a* that has both a salient metaphoric meaning of 'causing extreme laughter' similar to the English idiom 'to split one's sides' as well as a less salient literal meaning of 'tearing apart'. Indeed it is the use of the marker that invites the reference to tearing a book and renders this meaning easier to process than it would have been had the marker not been used. Note that in the absence of a marker, there could still

⁷ Note that additional, similar modifiers exist in Hebrew, such as *bamuvan hamecumcam šel hamila*; 'in the narrow sense of the word'. While similar in form, these modifiers are not used to mark less salient meanings (consider also 'in the wide sense of the word' or 'in the deep sense of the word':

He told her that these were not **letters** *in the narrow sense of the word*, rather pages out of a book that he would like to write. (Márquez, 1989: 325, my translation s.G.)

This example attests to the fact that not any such modifier, meaning any additional linguistic information that refers to semantic meaning, is necessarily a salience shifting device. It is evident that the narrowed down meaning (as opposed to the full one), does not raise awareness to a less salient meaning of 'letters' but rather activates a non-salient (i.e., not coded), new meaning.

be a shift of attention to the less salient meaning. However, as in example (3) section 3.1, the shift could be too subtle, causing temporary confusion.

3.3.3 *be'emet* – truly/in truth

The word *be'emet* ('truly, really, actually', lit. "in truth"), traditionally considered an adverb, has both referential and interactional uses. *Be'emet* can be used both to emphasize something that has happened 'She really left' as well as to show commitment to what has been said 'I really mean it' (on stance taking in Hebrew via *be'emet*, see Maschler and Estlein 2008). Though less common, my corpus findings reveal that *be'emet* can also be used to draw attention to less salient meanings, as can be seen in 16-18 below:

16. In the taxis in New York, the meter *be'emet* **ticks**. 3,000 taxi drivers in the Big Apple activated their meters in an illegal manner and deceived passengers in 8.3 million dollars (Haaretz, 14/3/10, my translation S.G.)

In (16) the marker *be'emet* draws attention to the less salient meaning of ticks (in Hebrew). In addition to the salient meaning 'works/runs/operates',⁸ the less salient, more colloquial meaning of 'screw someone over' is also activated. It is to this latter, less salient meaning of *ticks*, which *be'emet* draws attention to as is attested in the sentence which follows, explaining how passengers were deceived.

17. This physician *be'emet* has no **borders** (*Gossip Girl* TV show, my translation from the Hebrew subtitles S.G.)

The salient meaning of the conventional Hebrew collocation *X has no borders* refers to 'having no boundaries/limits'. In this example the doctor who has just made a sensational public announcement also happens to volunteer for "Physicians without Borders". In (17) *be'emet* draws attention to the less salient meaning of the phrase, a compositional literal meaning. We can see then that when negation is itself part of a figurative collocation, another modifier can be used to bring out the less salient compositional, literal meaning of the phrase.

18. Speaker A: If you have any questions, **I'm here**
Speaker B: That's right, you are *be'emet* here
(G.B. 3/8/10, my translation S.G.)

The salient meaning of *I'm here* is 'I am around/I can assist'. This collocation was uttered by the first speaker after having explained to the second speaker how to fill in a form. The second speaker in the dialogue notes that the first speaker is not only 'there to assist' but is, in fact, physically right beside her.

⁸ Note that this present tense form is pervasive for this type of use, such as in the case of *ha-ša'on dofek*, meaning 'the clock ticks'.

In using *be'emet* the speaker modifies the collocation 'I'm right here', raising awareness to the less salient, but also contextually appropriate, meaning of the utterance.

4. Testing the low-salience marking hypothesis experimentally

The aim of the experimental part of the research was to test readers' response to low-salience markers. The experiments were designed to test the prediction that these markers alert addressees to less salient meanings of the stimuli within their scope. After having looked at what speakers are doing in discourse, the experiments focus on the effect of such markers on addressees' understanding. But first, a few general considerations are in order.

There is no disagreement that context plays an important role in disambiguation and that it can predict oncoming information of even specific lexical items or words (Beeman, Bowden & Gernsbacher 2000; Federmeier 2007; Federmeier & Kutas 1999; Peleg, Giora & Fein 2001). The debate revolves around the question of when, during comprehension, context "kicks in" (for a review, see Giora 2003). In order to show that low-salience markers, on their own, can affect meaning shift, it is necessary to test their effects in a minimally informative context, namely, outside of any biasing, predictive, or priming context. Indeed it is under such circumstances that such a salience shift can be established by native-speakers' judgments.

However, even when limiting context to minimum, we are still left with the sentence itself. Could it be that any modification of a collocation would give rise to meaning reanalysis i.e., salience shift (but recall example (12a) above)? Indeed, Van de Voort and Vonk's (1995) study on idioms found that internal modification (e.g., *he let the **fat** cat out of the bag*) inhibits idiomatic processing while external modification does not (e.g., *he **reluctantly** let the cat out of the bag*). Note, however, that modification of an idiom or a collocation is not simply a matter of syntax or the sentential position of the modifier. Rather modification is influenced by the semantics of the modifier. Due to the fact that Van de Voort and Vonk's experiments were conducted in Dutch, the difference found between "external" and "internal" modification could not be attributed to different sentential positions as both *fat* and *reluctantly* followed the VERB immediately, leading the authors to conclude that while "internal modification changes the meaning of part of the idiom, external modification changes the overall meaning of the idiom" (Ibid.: 294). Nonetheless, in order to ensure that the markers themselves cause a shift in salience rather than their position and due to the fact that one of the markers tested is licensed only in sentence final position, sentence *final* position was chosen to be the position in which all markers would appear in the experiments of this study. Such a design ensures controlling of 'marker position'.

In contrast, Katz and Ferretti (2003), who tested moment-by-moment reading times for comprehension, placed *literally speaking* and *proverbially speaking* in sentence *initial* position. Their study found that such explicit markers or "introductory formulae" have a stronger influence in reducing ambiguity associated with the meanings of unfamiliar proverbs than with

familiar (i.e., conventionalized) ones. These results can be explained by the graded salience hypothesis in that salient meanings of familiar proverbs are expected to be figurative rather than literal. Taken together, these and Van de Voort and Vonk's (1995) findings show that external modification cannot affect the idiomatic meaning of a familiar idiom. Indeed, on the basis of these findings I expect that coded proverbial meaning will not be inhibited by external modification regardless of position, i.e., whether the modifier appears in initial, medial or sentence final position. Note, however, that Katz and Ferreti's placing of their modifiers in sentence initial position may have invited a discourse marking role for these markers rather than construing the figurative vs. literal reading of the proverbs tested (i.e., affecting lexical decision). A marker's position *is* relevant if the position it appears in invites a discourse marking role (for a general overview on Discourse Markers (DMs) see Schourup 1999, for Hebrew see Maschler 2009).

While DMs, like low-salience markers, are explicit markers guiding speakers' interpretations of utterances, DMs tend to "mark coherence relations among discourse units, and cue the addressee to the appropriate context (the preceding discourse or some extra-linguistic information) he is to use when interpreting the utterance" (Ariel 1998: 223). While DMs are expressions with sentential scope, low-salience markers of the kind tested here appear in positions *within* the sentential structure, modifying internal units such as NPs or VPs. Indeed, low-salience markers appear in sentential positions that do not favor discourse marking, namely they appear in positions other than sentence initial (Ariel, PC 9/3/10). In her discussion concerning the role of the development of DMs in a theory of grammaticalization, Traugott (1995) claimed that, in cases of growing syntactic freedom, an adverbial phrase (consider *be'emet*) can become a sentential adverb and finally, a discourse marker. In this way, the following adverbial cline is predicted: Clause-internal Adverbial > Sentence Adverbial > Discourse Particle (or DM). It thus follows that some low-salience markers (depending on their syntactic characteristics) can behave both as low-salience markers and discourse markers. Sentential position appears to be the key factor, perhaps among other factors, in determining the role the marker takes in a given utterance. However, this suggestion requires further research which is beyond the scope of this study.⁹

4.1 Experiment 1

Method

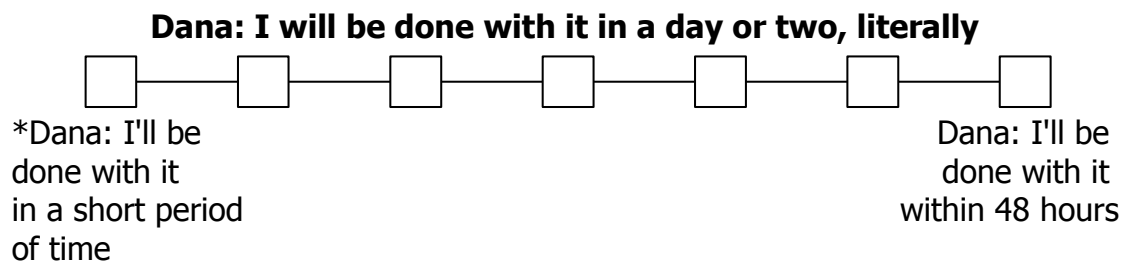
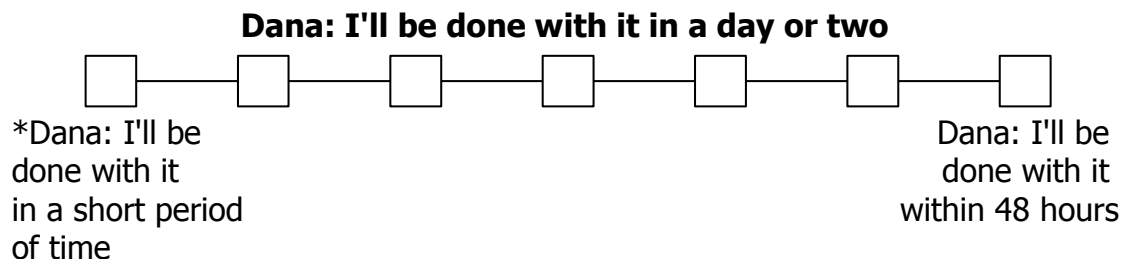
Participants. Forty students of Tel Aviv University served as volunteer participants. All of the participants were native speakers of Hebrew.

⁹ It has been proposed that DMs can also carry instructions for how lexical meanings should be understood, i.e., procedural properties. For a discussion of procedural properties of DMs, see Sperber and Wilson (1993) and references therein, for such an analysis of some Hebrew DMs see, among others, Ariel (1998) on harey and Ziv (1998) on kaze.

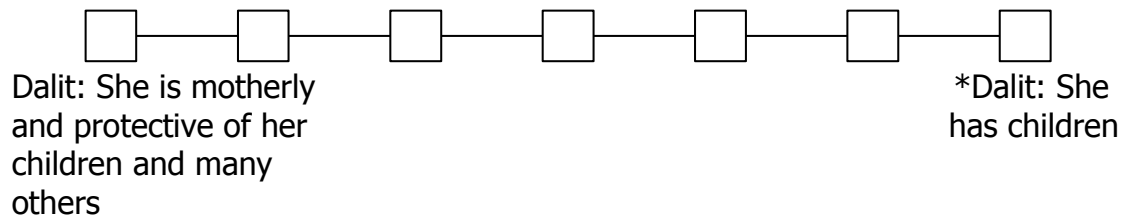
Materials. Materials included 24 sentences or mini dialogues conveying hardly any world knowledge and their minimal-pair counterparts, differing only in that they include a marker in sentence/clause final position (*I'll be done with it in a day or two/I'll be done with it in a day or two, literally, She is a mother/She is a mother in the full sense of the word*). The four markers, *literali, lo, bimlo muvan hamila* and *be'emet*, were each added to 6 of the sentences or mini dialogues. All items were presented in isolation (see Appendix A for all pairs and interpretations, in Hebrew).

Items were chosen on the basis of their polysemous nature. These included conventionalized metaphors or idioms which have a salient figurative, meaning as well as a less salient compositional one (*It is written black on white* – salient meaning: 'the message is stated in the clearest way/terms'; less-salient meaning: 'written in black ink on white background'), SBUs (*I share in your loss* – salient meaning: 'uttered with the purpose of ritually expressing condolences'; less-salient meaning: 'a genuine sharing in the burden of the loss'), phrases with compositional as well as non-compositional meanings (*I'll be done with it in a day or two* – salient meaning: 'I will be done with it in a short period of time'; less-salient meaning: 'I will be done with it within 48 hours'), and words with a salient literal meaning which are associated with figurative traits, (*She is a mother* – salient meaning: 'she has children'; less salient meaning: 'she is motherly and protective of her children and many others').

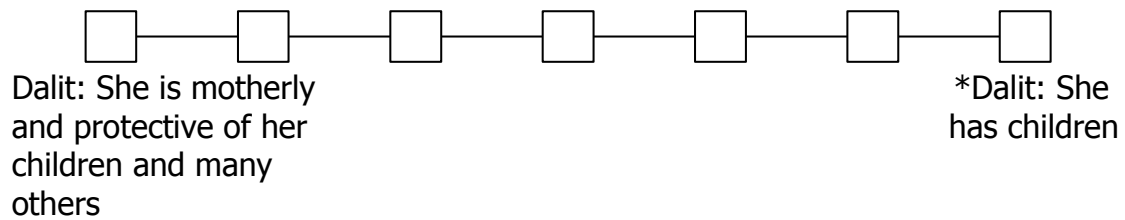
Each item was followed by a 7 point scale which featured two different interpretations – either salient or less salient – presented at each end of the scale (salient meanings are indicated here with * for convenience, see Appendix A for pairs and interpretations, in Hebrew):



Dalit: She is a mother



Dalit: She is a mother in the full sense of the word



A pretest, establishing speakers' intuitions with respect to the meanings given for each item, was conducted so as to ensure that salience ranking for each pair was shared by native speakers. Though salience is an empirical concept (i.e., salient meanings need to be established using on-line measurements) the study reported here was limited to off-line measurements. The pretest was run for all items, appearing without any markers. Twenty additional participants that did not participate in the actual experiments were asked to rank the proximity of the interpretation of the sentence to either of the interpretations offered at the ends of the scale. Here too the two competing interpretations were placed at opposing ends of a 7 point scale. A meaning was considered salient if it received a mean score of 5 and above (7 being the highest score) and 21 of the items chosen for the study met this requirement. 3 additional items for which one interpretation received a score lower than 5 but higher than 4 (a score above half) were also included making a total of 24. Removing these three items from the analysis did not alter the trend of results and they are included in subsequent results and discussion sections.

Two booklets were prepared so that each participant would be presented only with one item of a pair, in such a manner that -/+ marker items were counterbalanced across the booklets. Each booklet included 12 sentences without a marker, 12 sentences including a marker, and 6 filler items, making a total of 30 sentences per booklet. Sides of salient interpretation were counterbalanced across pairs of items.

Procedure. Participants were asked to rate, on a 7 point scale (numbers did not appear on the scale), the proximity of the interpretation of the sentence to either of the interpretations offered at the ends of the scale. They were given two examples along with the instructions to ensure they understood the assignment.

Results and discussion. Mean scores were calculated for each item and each subject in both conditions (-/+ marker). Note that the end of the scale which featured the salient meaning received a score of 7 and its opposite end, featuring the less salient meaning, received a score of 1. Results are presented in Figure 1. Results show that in the +marker condition, mean

scores were lower, indicating low-salience ($M=3.29$, $SE=0.29$), compared to mean scores obtained in the -marker condition ($M=5.61$, $SE=0.18$), $t(23)=9.19$, $p<0.001$. Results were significant in both item (t_1) and subject (t_2) analyses, $t_2(39)=19.78$, $p<0.001$. These results support the low-salience marking hypothesis. They show that, as predicted, comprehenders opted for less salient meanings when presented with items including a marker compared to the same items presented without markers.

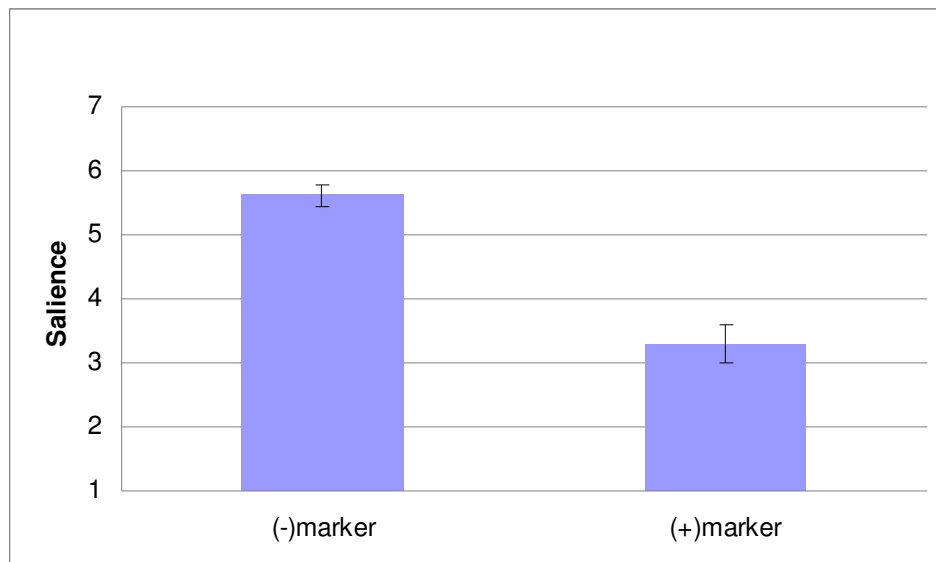


Figure 1: Meaning salience ratings in -/+ marker conditions (Experiment 1)

4.2 Experiment 2

The aim of Experiment 2 was to test the low-salience marking hypothesis in a more constrained design such that allows a direct comparison between the minimal pairs (same items with and without markers) tested in Experiment 1. Unlike Experiment 1, in this experiment, minimal pairs were presented next to each other. We expected this design to enlarge the difference found in Experiment 1 between the scores obtained for items with and without markers. Specifically, we wanted to test the hypothesis that the difference between marked and unmarked items would be greater in Experiment 2, compared to Experiment 1.

Method

Participants. Twenty Tel Aviv University students, all native Hebrew speakers, who did not participate in experiment 1 served as volunteer participants.

Materials. As in Experiment 1, only here the minimal pair items when presented immediately one after the other so that participants saw both versions of each item such that the -marker item always preceded the +marker item. The presence of both conditions, -/+ marker next to each other, was aimed at drawing closer attention to the markers and, as a consequence, to the low-salience meanings that these cues call attention to, expecting the latter to receive lower scores. Only one booklet was prepared,

then, so that each participant saw all 24 pairs and additional 6 filler pairs (see Appendix A for all pairs and interpretations, in Hebrew).

Procedure. Participants were asked to rate the proximity of the interpretations of *each* sentence appearing in a minimal pair to either of the interpretations offered at the ends of the scales. They were given one example written along with the instructions to ensure they understood the assignment.

Results and discussion. Mean scores were calculated for each item and each subject in both conditions (-/+ marker). Note that the end of the scale which featured the salient meaning received a score of 7 and its opposite end, featuring the less salient meaning, received a score of 1. Results are presented in Figure 2. They show that in the +marker condition, mean scores were lower, indicating low-salience ($M=2.63$, $SE=0.23$), compared to mean scores obtained in the -marker condition ($M=5.99$, $SE=0.18$), $t(23)=9.70$, $p<0.001$. Results were significant in both item (t) and subject (t) analyses, $t(19)=15.26$, $p<0.001$. These results support the low-salience marking hypothesis. They show that, as predicted, comprehenders opted for less salient meanings when presented with items including a marker compared to the same items presented without markers.

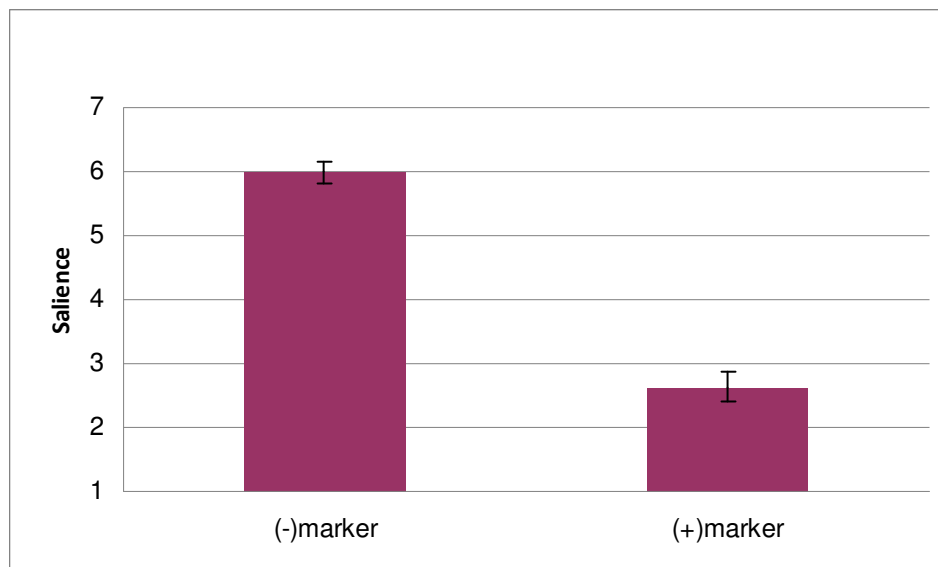


Figure 2: Meaning salience ratings in -/+ marker conditions (Experiment 2)

Comparing Experiment 1 and 2. The data were analyzed using ANOVAs, with the variables of marker (-/+) and experiment (1/2). Results show a main effect of marker (-/+) such that across the two experiments the +marker items were ranked lower ($M=2.96$, $SE=0.23$) than the -marker items ($M=5.80$, $SE=0.16$), $F(1,23)=104.33$, $p<0.001$. Additionally, there was an interaction effect: $F(1,23)=18.64$, $p<0.001$, indicating that the difference between the scores items received in the +marker condition vs. the -marker condition was larger in Experiment 2. As a means of following up on the interaction effect pairwise comparisons were conducted. Results are presented in figure 3. They show that while the scores in the -marker condition were *lower* in Experiment 1 ($M=5.61$, $SE=0.18$) than in experiment 2 ($M=5.99$, $SE=0.18$), $t(23)= -2.50$,

$p=0.02$, the items in the +marker condition scored *higher* in Experiment 1 ($M=3.29$, $SE=0.29$) than in experiment 2 ($M=2.63$, $SE=0.23$), $t(23)=2.90$, $p=.008$. Results for ANOVAs showed the same trends in both item (F_1) and subject (F_2) analyses. For the subject analysis, the variable of -/+ marker was treated as an within subject variable and the variable of experiment (1/2) was treated as a between subjects variable; main effect of marker (-/+): $F_2(1,58)=625.83$, $p<0.001$, interaction effect: $F_2(1,58)=21.01$, $p<0.001$. Results support the low-salience marking hypothesis. As expected, the difference found in Experiment 2 between the scores obtained for items with and without markers was larger than the difference found in Experiment 1. Importantly, as predicted, the presence of the markers in Experiment 2 drew attention to the low-salience meanings which received lower scores compared to Experiment 1.

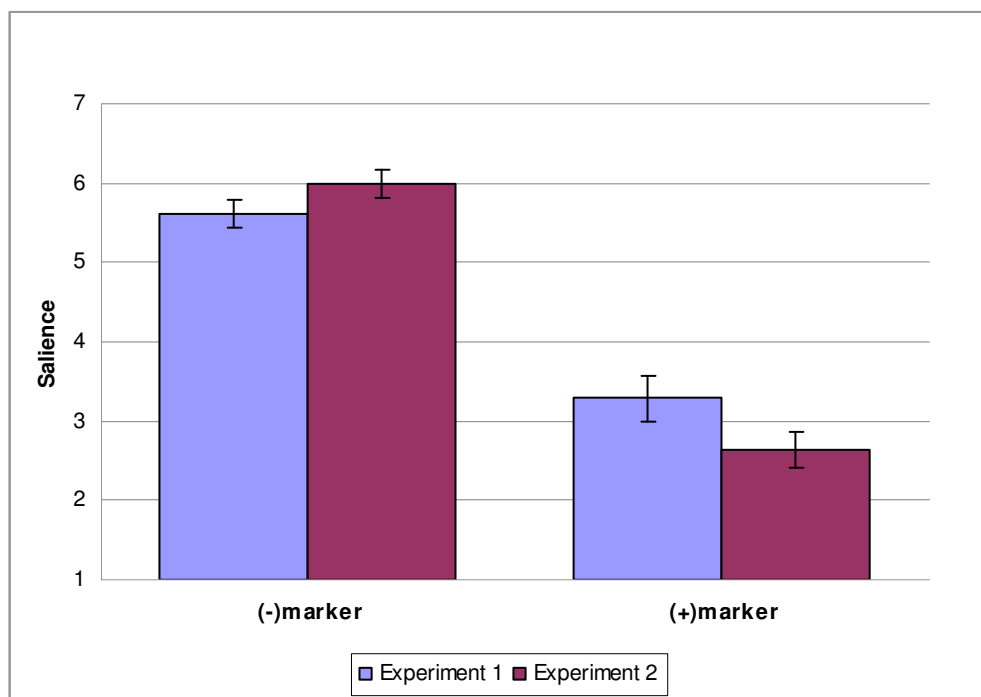


Figure 3: Meaning salience ratings in -/+ marker conditions in Experiments 1-2 (error bars denote one standard error)

4.3 Considering additional processing models

Can other processing models explain these results? Consider, first, the modular view of the mind (Fodor, 1983). According to this view, lexical access is exhaustive: all the meanings of a stimulus are accessed initially, regardless of context. What role, can, on this view, be assigned to markers such as *literali*, *lo*, *bimlo muvan hamila* and *be'emet* and what would be their predicted influence on the concepts they modify? Which processing mechanism or procedure could explain the transition from all meanings to an additionally intended meaning *on the basis of the marker alone*? Recall that it has already been shown that speakers do not rely on the semantics of these markers when processing their modified concepts (consider *literally* in English

or the fact that some items, which appeared with *literali* in the experiments, have no literal meaning whatsoever). If some sort or degree of hierarchy among meanings does not exist, accounting for the results of the experiments under this view does not seem possible.

At the other end of the spectrum is the direct access or interactionist view (Bates 1999; Bates & MacWhinney 1989; MacWhinney 1987; Tabossi 1988; Tabossi et al. 1987; Vu, Kellas and Paul 1998) which considers context effects to be temporally primary in language comprehension. According to this view, rich and constraining contextual information interacts with lexical access and selects contextually appropriate meanings *exclusively*. It follows that this view would predict that such markers as tested here, which constitute another contextual constraint, should mark meanings which are compatible with context. The design of this study cannot tease apart the predictions of this view and those of the graded salience hypothesis given that items were presented outside of context. However, note that in many of the examples presented in section 3, situational context did not favor one of the meanings, in other words, more than one meaning could have been considered contextually appropriate.

An additional theory which is specific to polysemy is the Underspecification Model (Frisson and Pickering 2001) which predicts that for words with multiple senses only the underspecified meaning (i.e., compatible with all senses established in someone's lexicon) is activated initially. After this underspecified meaning has been used to assign a semantic meaning, context helps to home-in on the contextually appropriate sense. It is unclear how the model would account for the fact that the sole use of a marker would give rise to a new sense assignment given that items were presented outside of context. The results obtained cannot be accounted for by this model. In addition, the model does not take into account that no context is also context, i.e., that in minimal context or isolation (such as in the -marker condition) participants showed preference for one *meaning* of a polysemous concept over the other. The graded salience hypothesis alone can account for the findings of experiment 1 and 2.

5. Additional empirical findings

5.1 *tartey mašma* – double meaning

Another marker I wish to discuss here is *tartey mašma* (lit. 'double meaning' or 'double entendre'). A Google search (see section 5.2) revealed that despite its semantics, *tartey mašma* is not used in lexical ambiguity cases; rather in instances of polysemy.¹⁰ Like *literally*, the semantics of *tartey mašma* can be

¹⁰ In two cases the marker was used to draw attention to a syntactic ambiguity such as in the following: *Fall in love in Aladin, tartey mašma* [*Aladin* refers here to a restaurant in Yaffa, S.G.]. The sentence can be read in the following ways: 1) *Aladin* is a restaurant which creates a romantic 'falling in love' atmosphere, i.e., the person with whom we dine there will become the object of our love; 2) *Aladin* is a restaurant that one can fall in love *with* (in Hebrew the

misleading. Naturalistic data reveal that the marker does not simply draw attention to two meanings without distinguishing between them; rather it draws attention to the less salient one. Below I discuss a number of naturally occurring instances which demonstrate that *tartey mašma* is a low-salience marker. Consider, first, the following:

19. Speaker A: I lost 5 kilos.
 Speaker B: I noticed.
 Speaker A: So why didn't you say anything?
 Speaker B: I didn't want to compliment you **šelo titfesi taxat**, *tartey mašma*. (Y.M. 23/11/2010, my translation S.G.)

In this example Speaker B utters the crude idiomatic phrase *šelo titfesi taxat* (literally: 'So that you won't **catch** an ass/won't gain weight'; idiomatically: 'so that you don't think too highly of yourself'). Using this phrase in its salient, idiomatic meaning is appropriate given that speaker B refrained from complimenting speaker A. By adding *tartey mašma* to the phrase, speaker B draws attention to the applicability of another meaning, a less salient meaning which is *also* contextually appropriate and, more importantly, strongly supported by context; 'so that your ass won't grow'/'so that you won't gain weight' as one would *catch a cold* in English or in Hebrew *litfos tnuma* which means 'catch a nap'. Note that this meaning is also a non-literal one, as speaker A is not going to catch anyone else's ass.¹¹ However *tartey mašma* can call attention to less salient, literal meanings of idioms, as in the following:

20. hi hizmina pasta im šokolad ve-
 she ordered pasta with chocolate, and-
 hu **lo yada eix le-exol et ze**, *tartey mašma*.
 he neg. know how to-eat it double meaning.
 'She ordered pasta with chocolate and he didn't know what to do about it,
 double entendre [how to eat it]'. (L.L. 25/11/2009)

Example (20) was uttered by an acquaintance recounting a date, a friend of hers had gone out on. While out at a restaurant that friend ordered pasta with chocolate and her date *lo yada eix le'exol et ze*, (literally: '(He) did not know how to eat it'; idiomatic and salient meaning: '(He) did not know what to do about it'/'did not know how to cope (with it)'). Clearly, in this case the less salient, here literal meaning was also contextually appropriate and hence the speaker marked it, using *tartey mašma*. Like all of the markers discussed in section 3, *tartey mašma* is not limited to drawing attention to literal meanings of figurative language, but rather to any less salient meaning, be it literal or figurative. Example (21) is the title of a newspaper article:

same preposition would be used, *be*), i.e., the restaurant itself will become the object of our love.

¹¹ In addition to their idiomatic and literal meanings, idioms can have figurative, non idiomatic, meanings. See also example 4 above.

21. **Green dollars**, *tartey mašma*.

(<http://www.nrq.co.il/online/1/ART1/001/558.html> retrieved 30/12/2009)

It was followed by the lead: "Billions of dollars a year – that's the extent of the industry of environment friendly products and services in the United States alone. Companies interested in a piece of the pie are beginning to endorse greenish values". Note that in Hebrew, nouns precede adjectives and that *dolarim yerukim* (literally: *Dollars green*) is taken to mean 'their color is green' (*yerukim* on its own is metonymic and means 'dollars' in Hebrew). In this example, *tartey mašma* calls attention to the fact that these dollars are also 'environmentally friendly' in that they are being spent on products and services that are, figuratively, *green*, i.e., 'mindful of the environment'. Finally, consider (22):

22. What a pleasure. What's the date today? Three more days till the month ends and I get out of the shelter. **I get out of the shelter.** *Tartey mašma*. (Talmor, 1999: 65, my translation S.G.)

The person thinking these thoughts is a woman who has been renting an air-raid shelter where she keeps her self-made ceramics. When her husband leaves her, she decides to clear out his at-home studio so as to make room for her ceramics and save the money she was spending on rent. She is thus leaving the shelter both physically and emotionally, as she will no longer keep herself or her work in hiding. By adding *tartey mašma* the writer draws the readers' attention to this duality; it is the less salient, emotional reading, which now becomes clear. Note that the salient, physical reading has already been accessed at this point.

In order to further demonstrate that *tartey mašma* is a low-salience marker, drawing attention to less salient meanings rather than to meanings with similar salience, a controlled experiment was conducted (5.2).

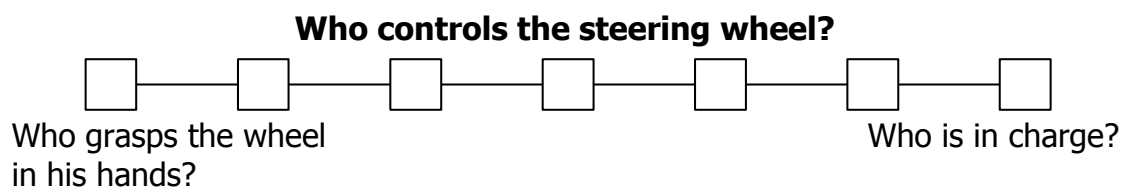
5.2 Google search based experiment

Using naturally occurring examples as the basis for an experiment provides us with the opportunity to test the way *tartey mašma* modifies the concept within its scope. Does the marker draw attention to two meanings that are equally salient or is it utilized to invite a less salient meaning? One way of ascertaining that *tartey mašma* calls for a less salient meaning is to test its effect in isolation. Specifically, items originally appearing in supportive contexts, will now be presented in isolation, that is, without any specific context and without the marker. A preference on part of the participants towards one of two meanings that will be offered would be telling about which of them is more salient. If items outside of context have a preferred meaning, this would support the claim, made on the basis of naturally occurring examples, that *tartey mašma* cues a less salient meaning (5.1). If however, items in isolation receive mid-scale scores this would indicate that *tartey mašma* is used to call attention to meanings similar in salience.

Method

Participants. Ten students of Tel Aviv University, all native speakers of Hebrew, served as volunteer participants.

Materials. Materials included 32 sentences, mini phrases or words, all found through a Google search and appearing, originally, in the scope of the marker *tartey mašma*. For the purpose of the experiment, items were presented in isolation and without a marker (*Green dollars, Big singer, Discovering America*). The items were compiled in the following manner: A Google search was conducted of *tartey mašma* (in Hebrew, as is, no parenthesis). Because *tartey mašma* is also used in Hebrew to refer to "cross word puzzles", all of these uses were ignored. The first 32 items that fit the following criterion were chosen for the experiment: At least two distinct meanings for the phrase/word in the scope of the marker needed to be identified. Cases where only one meaning was clear (i.e., where the context was not strong enough to allow spelling out at least two meanings or when the context did not provide resonance with both meanings) were discarded. Two interpretations were prepared for each item on the basis of the context found in the search. Each item was followed by a 7 point scale which featured these two interpretations at its ends. Presentation at the scale's ends was random (see Appendix B for all items and interpretation and Appendix C for all contexts and URLs, in Hebrew):



Procedure. The participants were asked to rate, on a 7 point scale (with no indication of numerals) the proximity of the interpretation of the phrase/word/sentence to either of the interpretations offered at the ends of the scale. They were given two examples along with the instructions to ensure they understood the assignment.

Results and discussion. Mean scores were calculated for each item and subject. Once a preference was indicated, this choice determined which of the scale's ends received the highest-score (7) so that scores could be converted in the following manner: From 1 to 7, 2 to 6 and so on. The key point was to determine which items received mean scores of 4. Recall that if items did not receive such a score they indicated a preference.

Results show that out of 32 items, only 3 received scores ranging between 4 to 4.9. These were the *only* cases in which a preferred meaning could not be obtained. Still, even when these 3 cases were included in the analysis, the mean scores obtained were significantly higher ($M=5.97$, $SE=0.15$) than an average of 4, $t(31)=13.37$, $p<0.001$, $t(9)=21.09$, $p<0.001$. These findings, then, show that the items in question were not balanced but had a preferred (salient) meaning and a less preferred one. Given this salience imbalance, it follows that *tartey mašma* could only call

attention to meanings that were not similar in salience. In other words, when the items appeared in their natural settings, the marker drew attention to the less preferred meaning, i.e., the less salient meaning, which could be appropriate, but did not get otherwise activated.

6. General discussion

The aim of this study was to offer an answer to the following question: How can speakers direct addressees' attention to alternative meanings of words or phrases uttered in discourse? Throughout this study, this pragmatic question has been dealt with in cognitive terms, focusing on lexical access. In the event that a salient meaning, accessed automatically, is appropriate in a given context, no further processing is necessary (Giora 1997, 2003). In other words, less-salient but potentially appropriate meanings are not expected to get activated immediately (if at all) resulting in possible misunderstanding, particularly when dealing with polysemous concepts. Looking at naturally occurring examples revealed that speakers resort to MARKing additional meanings. In this way, *literali*, *be'emet*, *bimlo muvan hamila*, *lo* and *tartey mašma* are utilized by speakers to draw attention to less-salient meanings. The prediction that linguistic cues can be used to explicitly direct attention to intended meaning(s) that may be lost in comprehension on account of being less-salient was tested here. The low-salience marking hypothesis further predicts that on encountering the aforementioned markers, addressees' attention would shift towards the less salient meaning of a concept. Two off-line experiments and a corpus-based study were designed to test this low-salience marking hypothesis.

In the two off-line experiments, participants were presented with sentences followed by a 7 point scale with different plausible (salient and low-salience) interpretations instantiated at each end of the scale. Participants were asked to rate the proximity of the interpretations presented at the scale's ends to the interpretation of the given sentence. Sentences were presented in isolation, that is, outside of a specific context, and either included a marker or not. This design ensured that the effect of the markers themselves was tested. Lab results of Experiments 1 & 2 support the low-salience marking hypothesis, as predicted by the graded salience hypothesis.

1. The markers tested (*literali*, *be'emet*, *bimlo muvan hamila* and *lo*) drew attention to less salient meanings.
2. On encountering these markers, addressees' attention was drawn to meanings low in salience.

The aim of the corpus based study was to ascertain whether the marker *tartey mašma* calls attention to two meanings that are equally salient (as may be deduced from the marker's semantics, lit. 'double meaning') or, whether, as naturalistic data suggested throughout, it too draws attention to a less salient meaning. All the materials in this study were based on naturally occurring examples in which, originally, the marker appeared to be modifying

a given concept. The procedure of this test followed that of Experiment 1 and 2. However, here, sentences did not include the marker in order to test if one of the two interpretations was favored. Results show that participants opted for only one of the two meanings, indicating its salience. It thus follows that in the naturally occurring cases, in which concepts were modified by *tartey mašma*, the marker was used to draw attention to the other meaning, the less-salient meaning, as it is this meaning which required marking.

Taken together, lab results and examples from natural data show that speakers can, and do, explicitly mark additional meanings of phrases and words that make up part of their intended meaning by adding these markers to their utterances. Results collected from off-line experiments and studies of naturally occurring discourse, lend further support to the psychological reality of salience as a force in language comprehension and *production*.

Further studies are needed to test on-line processing of these markers and their effects on phrases and words modified while these are being processed. Such studies could use lexical decision techniques to tap initial stages of lexical access of concepts in -/+ marker conditions, testing whether markers speed up activation of less salient meanings.

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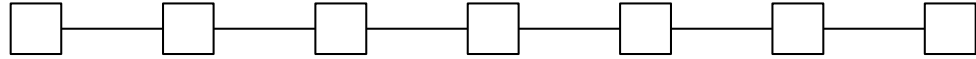
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Appendix A: Item pairs and interpretations (Experiment 1 & 2)

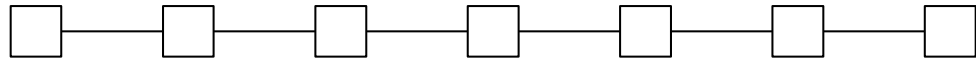
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רון: הכל בסדר



רון: במשפחה,
בעבודה, בלימודים
ובאופן כללי החיים
טובים

רון עונה
תשובה סתמית
לשאלה של דן

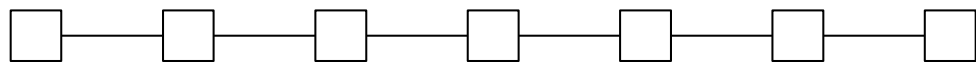
דן: מה נשמע?
רון: לא הכל בסדר



רון: לא הכל
טוב ויש
אפילו בעיות

רון עונה
תשובה סתמית
לשאלה של דן

ליאת: הוא דוגמן



ליאת: הוא
מתפרנס
מדוגמנות

ליאת: הוא
נראה
טוב

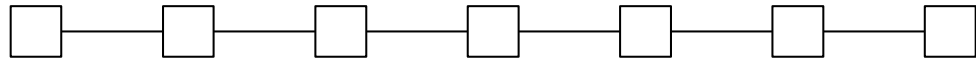
ליאת: הוא דוגמן באמת



ליאת: הוא
מתפרנס
מדוגמנות

ליאת: הוא
נראה
טוב

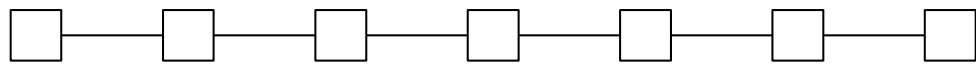
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דנה: אני אסיים
את זה בתוך
48 שעות

דנה: אני
אסיים את
זה תוך
זמן קצר

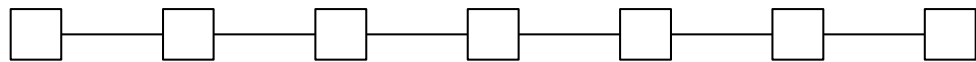
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דנה: אני אסיים
את זה בתוך
48 שעות

דנה: אני
אסיים את
זה תוך
זמן קצר

הוא ג'ינג'י



שערו אדמוני

מזגו חם

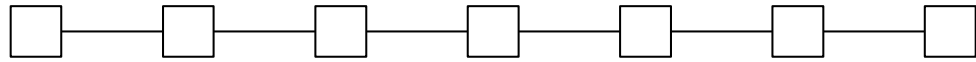
הוא ג'ינג'י במלוא מובן המילה



שערו אדמוני

מזגו חם

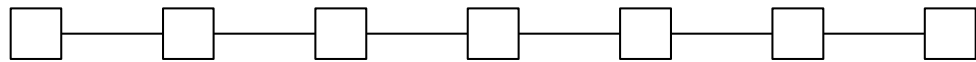
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רונה: כן, מה קרה?**



רונה: כן, אני על
כסא (או מושב
אחר)

רונה: כן, אני
פנויה להקשיב

**יעל: את יושבת?
רונה: לא**



רונה: אני לא על
כסא (או מושב
אחר)

רונה: אני לא
פנויה להקשיב

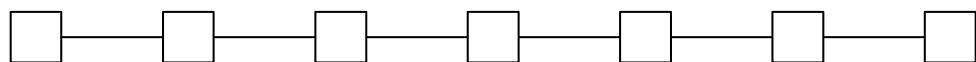
שתהיה שנה טובה!



ברכה
לראש
השנה

שתהיה שנה
שיתרחשו
בה דברים
טובים

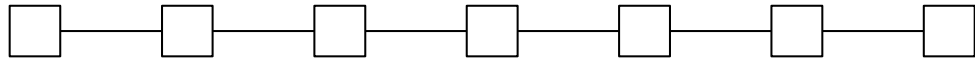
שתהיה שנה טובה באמת!



ברכה
לראש
השנה

שתהיה שנה
שיתרחשו
בה דברים
טובים

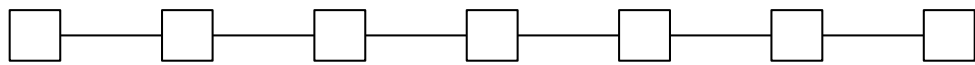
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שרה: קיבלתי
המון מכתבים

שרה: קיבלתי
אלפים אחדים
של מכתבים

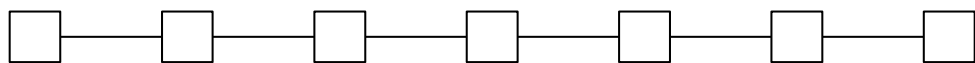
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שרה: קיבלתי
המון מכתבים

שרה: קיבלתי
אלפים אחדים
של מכתבים

דלית: היא אמה



דלית: יש
לה ילדים

דלית: היא אמהית
ומגוננת כלפי
ילדיה וכלפי
רבים אחרים

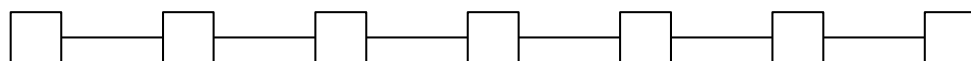
דלית: היא אמה במלוא מובן המילה



דלית: יש
לה ילדים

דלית: היא אמהית
ומגוננת כלפי
ילדיה וכלפי
רבים אחרים

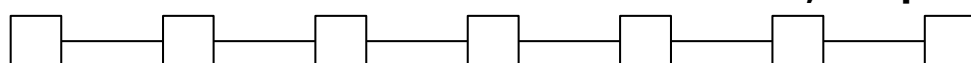
ליאת: אני משתתפת בצערך
שירן: אני מודה לך



שירן: תודה על
הבעת הניחומים

שירן: תודה שאת
מזדהה עם אבדני
וחשה את צערי

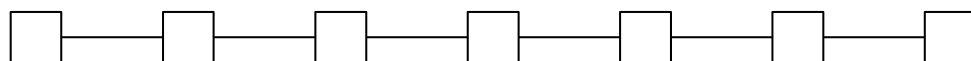
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שירן: לא, לא, את לא



שירן: את לא הגעת
לניחום אבליים

שירן: את לא
מזדהה עם
אבדני ולא חשה
את צערי

אתה יכול לפתוח את החלון?



אתה מסוגל לפתוח
את החלון?

בבקשה תפתח
את החלון

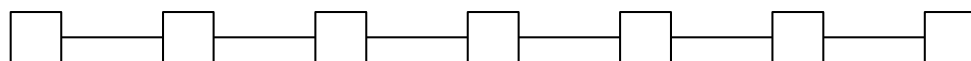
אתה יכול לפתוח את החלון באמת?



אתה מסוגל לפתוח
את החלון?

בבקשה תפתח
את החלון

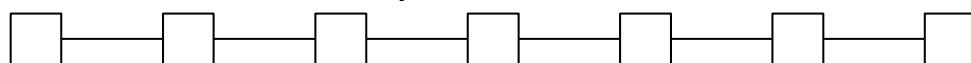
לימור: אני אוהבת את עמוס עוז



לימור: אני אוהבת
את הספרות
של עמוס עוז

לימור: אני
אוהבת
את האיש

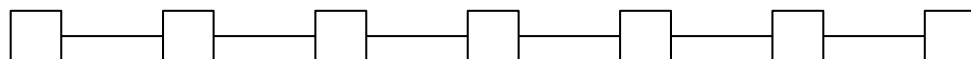
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לימור: אני אוהבת
את הספרות
של עמוס עוז

לימור: אני
אוהבת
את האיש

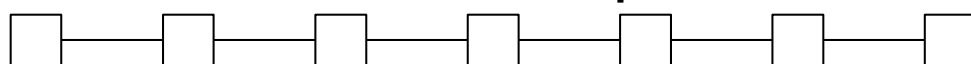
זה צימר



זה חדר לנופש
שמאפשר מנוחה,
התפנקות ורגיעה

זה חדר לנופש

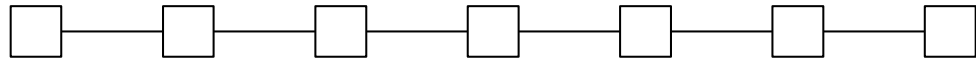
זה צימר במלוא מובן המילה



זה חדר לנופש
שמאפשר מנוחה,
התפנקות ורגיעה

זה חדר לנופש

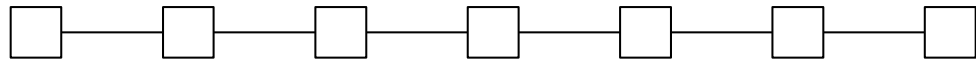
**דנה עונה: אני מבינה
אילת משיבה לה: תודה**



אילת: תודה,
זה מקל עלי

אילת: תודה שאת
משתפת אותי בכך
שהיית במצב דומה
ושאת מסוגלת להבין
את רגשותי

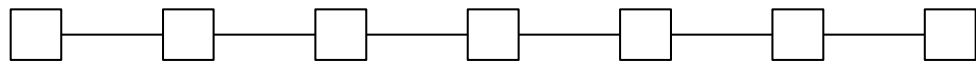
**דנה עונה: אני מבינה
אילת משיבה לה: את לא**



אילת: את לא
מקלה עלי

אילת: את
לא מסוגלת להבין
את רגשותי כי לא
היית במצב כזה

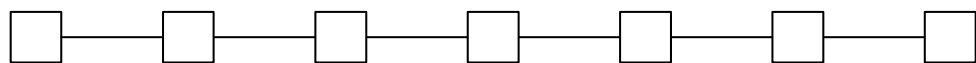
זה כתוב שחור על גבי לבן



אלו אותיות שחורות
על רקע לבן

זה גלוי, והמסר
ידוע וברור

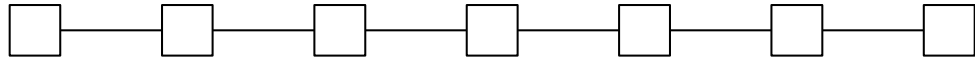
זה כתוב שחור על גבי לבן, באמת



אלו אותיות שחורות
על רקע לבן

זה גלוי, והמסר
ידוע וברור

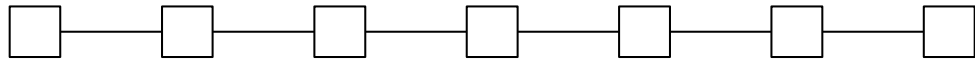
הוא יפה נפש



הוא מתחסד

הוא בעל
תכונות אופי
ראויות

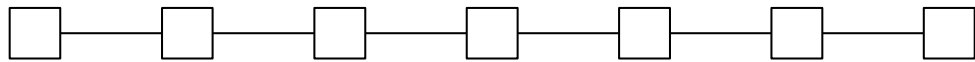
הוא יפה נפש, ליטרלי



הוא מתחסד

הוא בעל
תכונות אופי
ראויות

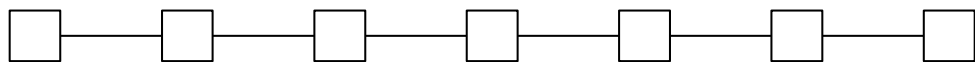
היא עובדת סוציאלית



היא קשובה
לבעיות של
אנשים וזה בסדר
לבכות לה עליהן

היא מטפלת בבעיות
רווחה של אנשים
מתוקף תפקידה

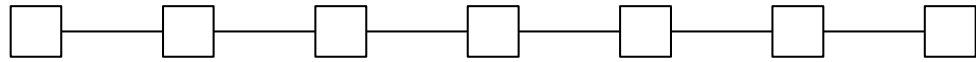
היא עובדת סוציאלית במלוא מובן המילה



היא קשובה
לבעיות של
אנשים וזה בסדר
לבכות לה עליהן

היא מטפלת בבעיות
רווחה של אנשים
מתוקף תפקידה

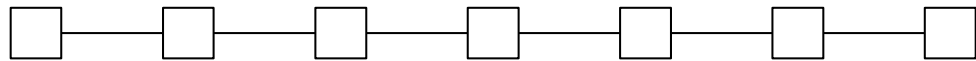
עפרה: כולם נגדנו
יוסי: נכון



יוסי: כן, זה נכון,
אין אף אחד,
אף לא אחד,
שבעדנו

יוסי: כן, זה נכון,
אנחנו לא אהודים

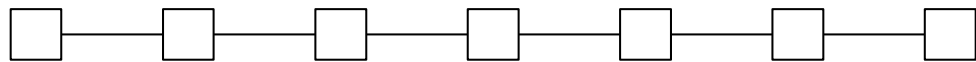
עפרה: כולם נגדנו
יוסי: לא כולם נגדנו



יוסי: זה לא נכון,
לא כולם,
יש כאלו שלא

יוסי: זה לא נכון שאנחנו
לא אהודים

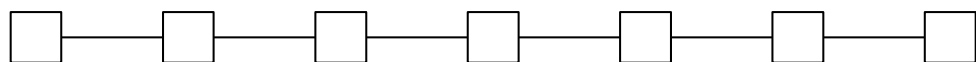
רוני: אז ניפגש בקרוב



רוני נפרד בברכת
"אז נתראה בקרוב"

רוני: הפגישה
הבאה שלנו
תתקיים תוך
זמן קצר

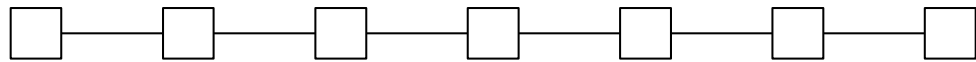
רוני: אז ניפגש בקרוב, באמת



רוני נפרד בברכת
"אז נתראה בקרוב"

רוני: הפגישה
הבאה שלנו
תתקיים תוך
זמן קצר

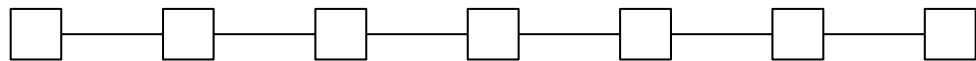
הוא אלוף



הוא זכה
במדליית
זהב

הוא טוב בכל מה שהוא
עושה, הוא מוצלח

הוא אלוף, ליטרלי



הוא זכה
במדליית
זהב

הוא טוב בכל מה שהוא
עושה, הוא מוצלח

הוא תל-אביבי



הוא גר
בתל-אביב

הוא גר בתל-אביב, מכיר
את התרבות שלה ואת
חיי הלילה שלה

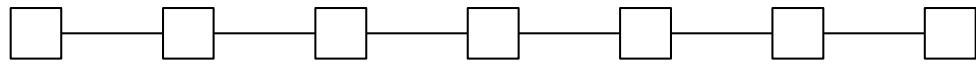
הוא תל-אביבי במלוא מובן המילה



הוא גר
בתל-אביב

הוא גר בתל-אביב,
מכיר את התרבות שלה
ואת חיי הלילה שלה

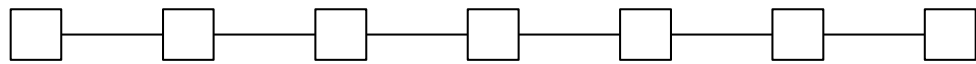
שי: היה נעים להכיר אתכם



שי נפרדת
בברכת פרידה

שי: עבורי, הפגישה
אתכם היתה מהנה

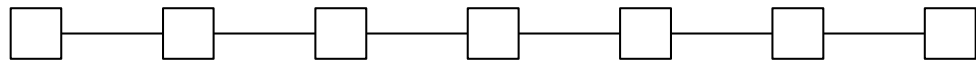
שי: לא היה נעים להכיר אתכם



שי מביעה
אמירת פרידה

שי: עבורי, הפגישה
אתכם לא היתה מהנה

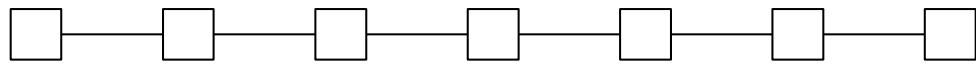
רן: הי דניאל, מה קורה?



רן רוצה לדעת פרטים
על מה שקורה עם דניאל

רן מברך את דניאל
בברכת מפגש

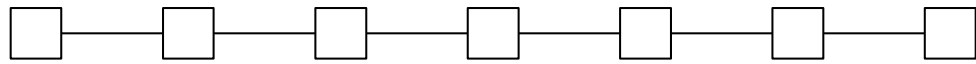
רן: הי דניאל, מה קורה, באמת?



רן רוצה לשמוע פרטים
על מה שקורה עם דניאל

רן מברך את דניאל
בברכת מפגש

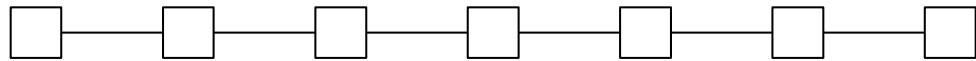
היא צפונית



היא מצפון העיר

היא סנובית

היא צפונית, ליטרלי



היא מצפון העיר

היא סנובית

גיל: הוא כבד



גיל: הוא לוקח הכל
ברצינות והוא גם
כבד משקל

גיל: הוא לא
יודע להנות ולקח
הכל ברצינות

גיל: הוא כבד במלוא מובן המילה

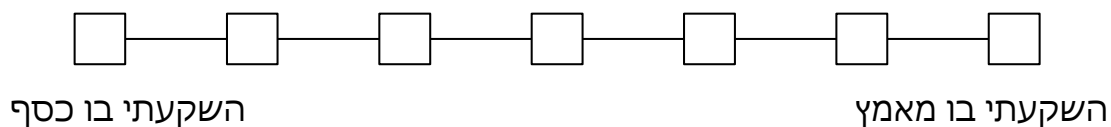


גיל: הוא לוקח הכל
ברצינות והוא גם
כבד משקל

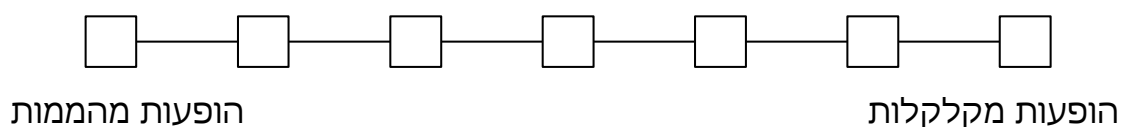
גיל: הוא לא
יודע להנות ולקח
הכל ברצינות

Appendix B: Items and interpretations (Google search experiment)

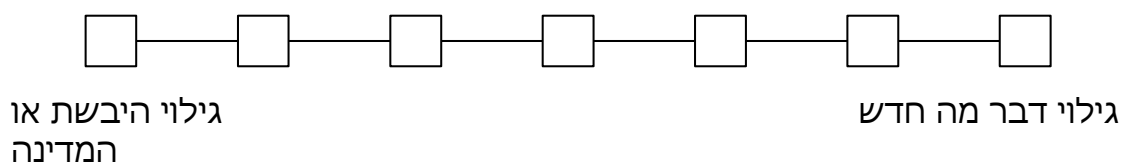
1. בפרויקט הזה השקעתי דמים



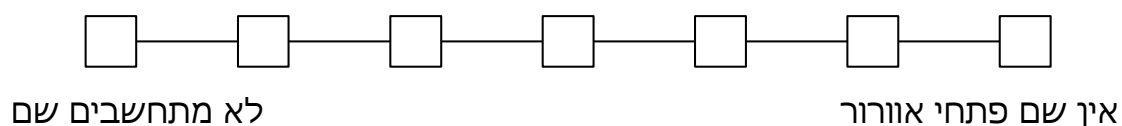
2. הופעות הורסות



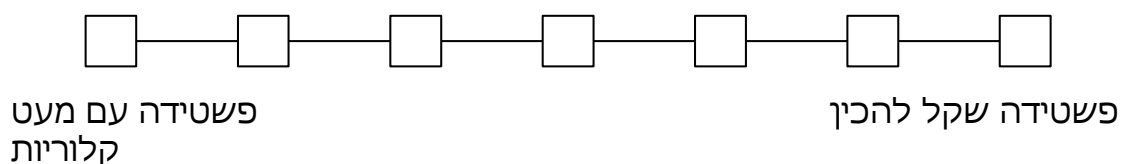
3. גילוי אמריקה



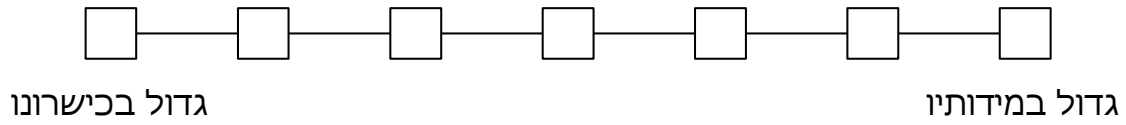
4. בנייני המשלה החדשים - אטימות



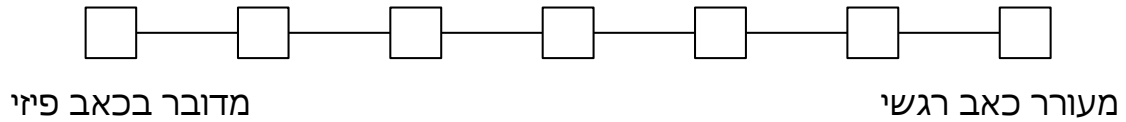
5. לכבוד הקיץ – פשטידת כרובית קלה



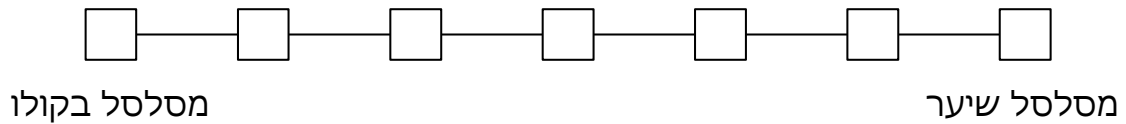
6. זמר גדול



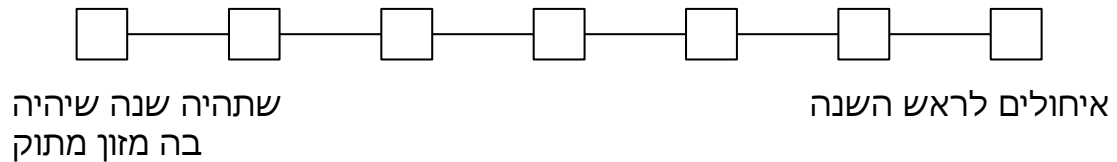
7. נושא כאוב



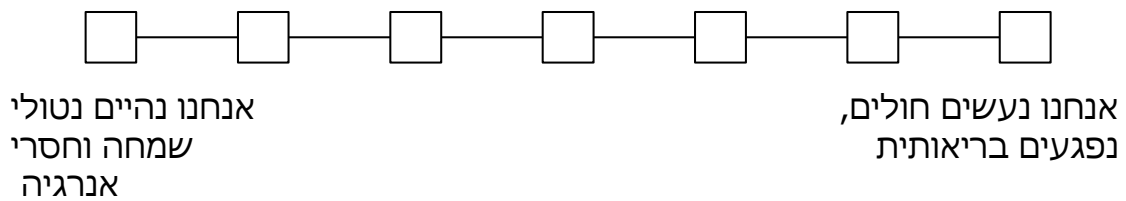
8. הוא מסלסל



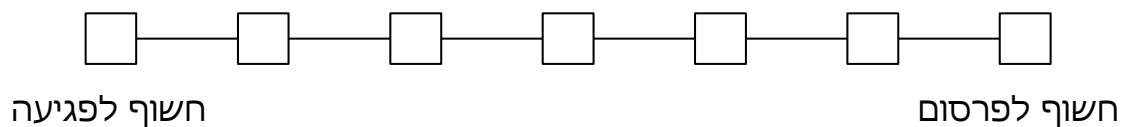
9. שנה טובה ומתוקה



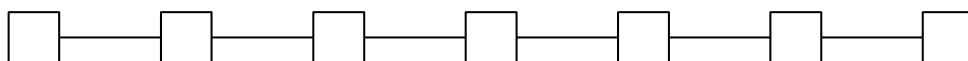
10. ללא הזנה רגשית – אנחנו מתים מבפנים



11. זכויות יוצרים בינלאומיות - חשיפה



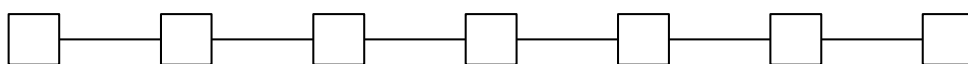
12. ארצנו הקטנטונת



כינוי חיבה לארץ
ישראל הנובע
משטחה המצומצם

דגם קטן מידות של ארץ
ישראל (מהסוג שיש
במיני ישראל)

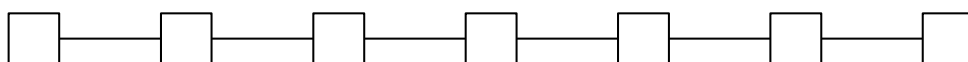
13. המשטרה עוסקת בכיבוי אש



המשטרה מרגיעה
את הרוחות
שהתלהטו עקב
הסקנדל

המשטרה מכבה את
הדליקה

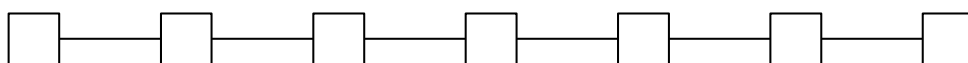
14. עיר הסרטים בראשון לציון



מתחם שבו
מקרנים סרטים
(כמו סינמה סיטי)

מתחם שכולו מעוצב
בהשראת קטעים ודמויות
מסרטים

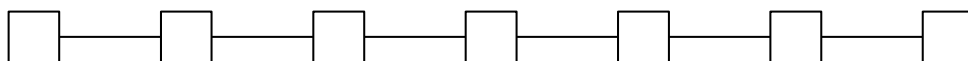
15. התחלה צולעת



התחלה שמעורבת
בה צליעה פיזית

התחלה לא טובה

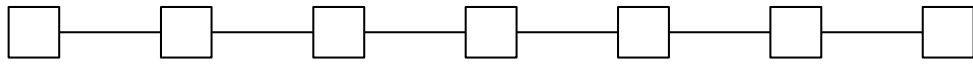
16. קלאסיקה מודרנית



יצירה מפורסמת
מהעבר שחודשה
בעת האחרונה

יצירה מהעת האחרונה
שזכתה למעמד קאנוני

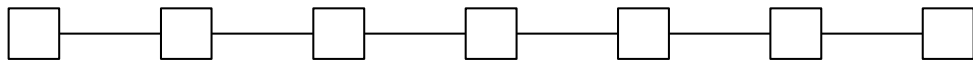
17. מפגש שמשאיר טעם טוב



הרגשה טובה

טעם טוב בפה

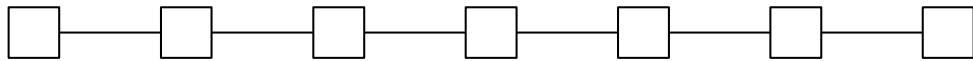
18. ביבי היקר.



ביבי מעלה את
עלויות המחיה (יותר
מיסים ופחות
שירותים)

תחילתו של מכתב
לרה"מ

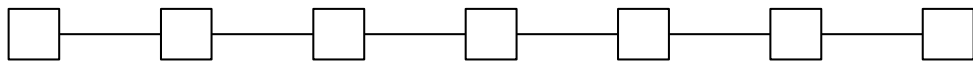
19. מי שולט בהגה?



מי שולט בעניינים?

מי אווז את ההגה
בידיים?

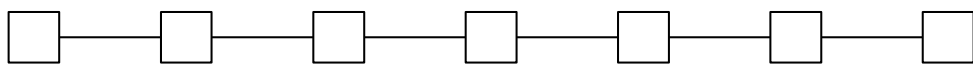
20. טרשתית שקטה



טרשתית בשלביה
הראשונים

טרשתית שלא מדברים
עליה

21. עלייתו ונפילתו של...



הצלחתו ונפילתו
הפיזית של...

הצלחתו וכישלונו של...

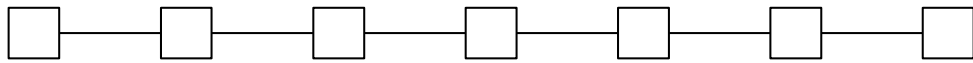
22. טיול אופניים – בין הימים



בין אחה"צ לבוקר
המחרת

בין ים התיכון לים המלח

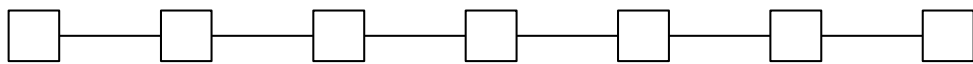
23. אמש עשה רה"מ צעד קדימה



נתניהו התקרב
למפגלת קדימה

נתניהו עשה צעד בכיוון
הנכון

24. גני אירועים בשרון - זיקוקים



יש שם התרגשות
רבה

יש שם זיקוקי די נור

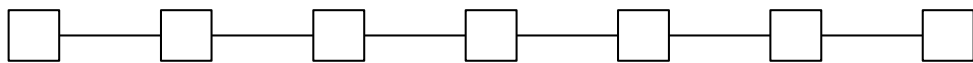
25. ברומא נהג כרומאי



כאשר אתה מבקר
באיטליה, נהג ברכב
איטלקי, לדוגמא
פרארי

כאשר אתה מתארח
במקום כלשהו, עשה כפי
שעושים המקומיים

26. מדליק



חימום באמצעות
השראה מגנטית

מגניב

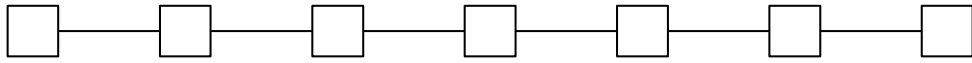
27. דולרים ירוקים



דולרים אמריקאים
(שצבע השטרות
ירוק)

דולרים שמושקעים
במוצרים ייחודיים
לסביבה

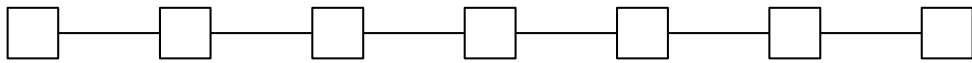
28. אין גיל לאהבה



אפשר להתאהב
בכל עת, גם בגיל
מבוגר

אין חשיבות להפרשי
גילאים בין אוהבים

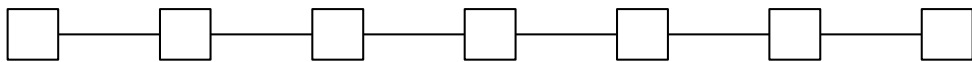
29. תפרכת חיתולים – נושא בוער



אדמומיות מציקה
מאוד

נושא מעסיק מאוד

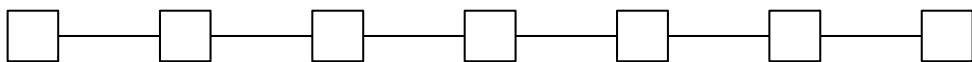
30. תודה מעומק לבי



הבעת תודה על
ביצוע צינטור לב

הבעת תודה כנה ומלאה

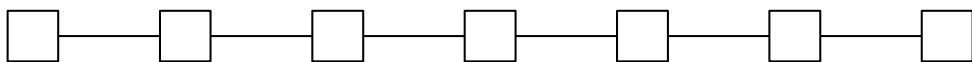
31. הימור כבד



דבר מה שהושקע
בו הרבה כסף

דבר מה מאוד רציני שלא
ברור אם יצליח

32. הזכות לשירותים



הזכות לקבלת
שירותים ציבוריים
(כגון תחבורה
ציבורית)

הזכות לבתי שימוש
ציבוריים

Appendix C: List of URLs and contexts found in Google search

	#
http://he.wiktionary.org/wiki/%D7%93%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%9D_%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99_%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2	1. דָּמִים תְּרַתִּי מְשַׁמֵּעַ דם (או בהשאלה, מאמץ) וכסף גם יחד . בפרויקט הזה השקעתי דמים תרתי משמע.
http://www.tapuz.co.il/blog/ViewEntry.asp?entryID=1800810&r=1	2. הופעות "הורסות" תרתי משמע. מכירות את זה (אני יודעת זה מתחיל קצת כמו סטנד אפ של שחר חסון.. תזרמו איתי (שאתן רואות מישהי לבושה במשהו זוועתי לה, אבל את יודעת שהיא בד"כ לבושה פצצה +.. ואת שואלת את עצמך.. מה היא חשבה לעצמה, אבל עדיין שומרת לה חסד ..כי כולנו טועים לפעמים. אז החלטתי הפעם להראות לכן פעם "כן" ופעם "ממש לא" של כל מיני סלבסיות ששמרתי. תחזיקו חזק.. אולי שווה להביא גם שקית נייר בצד, כי יש תמונות קשות. ומתחילים.
http://www.dorotmagazine.co.il/?CategoryID=165&ArticleID=186	3. דורות בעולם - גילוי אמריקה תרתי משמע מה למדו מנהלי בתי האבות בסיור הלימודי שאורגן על ידי אשל בארצות הברית
http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3434229,00.html	4. בנייני הממשלה החדשים – אטימות תרתי משמע הממשלה שפכה מאות מיליוני שקלים והעבירה את משרדיה לבניינים מודרניים ומפוארים. אבל יש בעיה "קטנה": החלונות בבניינים החדשים אינם נפתחים. נכנסנו לסיור בבניינים, יצאנו עם עיניים צורבות ופגשנו לקוחות שמתלוננים על מחנק ועובדים שמתלוננים על מחלות, כאבים, בחילות וקשיי נשימה. "לא צריך את כל הפאר הזה אם אין אוויר לנשום", אומרים העובדים
http://cafe.mouse.co.il/topic/1611269/	5. לכבוד הקיץ - פשטידת כרובית קלה (תרתי משמע). אוטוטו קיץ, הגוף צריך להתכונן לבגד ים, החלטתי להכין פשטידה קלה ודיאטתית.

<http://www.fresh.co.il/vBulletin/showthread.php?t=520955>

6. אז בשבת הזו ניזכר בדמיס רוסוס, זמר גדול (תרתי משמע) :

<http://www.starmed.co.il/forum-161/msg-2600297>

7. נושא כאוב (תרתי משמע)

הנושא הוא בהחלט נושא כאוב. לפני הלידה של הילד הייתי בחורה מאוד פעילה מינית.... בהריון עליתי 35 קילו (!!), המראה שלי השתנה, העור שלי נמתח והתמלאתי מכף רגל ועד ראש בסימני מתיחה. שנאתי את עצמי! החשק המיני שלי שאף לאפס מאופס, והיותר גרוע.... הגוף שלי מאוד כאב. אני לא הייתי מסוגלת (ועד היום קשה לי) כשבעלי נוגע לי בחזה ובפטמות. זה מרגיש לי לא נעים ואפילו כואב

<http://www.forumix.co.il/showthread.php?t=94031>

8. משה פרץ מסלסל - תרתי משמע

ליאת בלו תפוז הערב ב"רוקדים עם כוכבים" כשעל ראשה מתנוססת תספורת מבית היוצר של הזמר בהווה והספר לשעבר, משה פרץ. איך זה קרה? הוא פשוט עבר במקרה בחדר האיפור, וחש געגוע לימיו כספר

*בשאלון הפריט הופיע בכינוי גוף שלישי על מנת ששמו של הזמר לא יטה את המשמעות של הפועל מסלסל.

<http://www.doctors.co.il/ar/3043/%D7%A9%D7%A0%D7%94+%D7%98%D7%95%D7%91%D7%94+%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%A7%D7%94+%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99+%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2>

9. שנה טובה ומתוקה (תרתי משמע)

עבור כולנו החגים מציבים אתגרים תזונתיים, אבל כשיש סכרת הקשיים גדולים יותר - כמה טיפים חיוניים ועזרה לחג מתוק

<http://www.articles.co.il/article/98955/%D7%9C%D7%9C%D7%90%D7%94%D7%96%D7%A0%D7%94%D7%A8%D7%92%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%AA%20-%D7%90%D7%A0%D7%97%D7%A0%D7%95%20%D7%9E%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%9D%20%D7%9E%D7%91%D7%A4%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D,%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99%20%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2>

10. ללא הזנה רגשית – אנחנו מתים מבפנים, תרתי משמע

הזנה רגשית היא מקור הכוח שממנו אדם מזין את עצמו, את גופו, את נפשו ואת מפלס האנרגיה שלו. כשאומרים הזנה רגשית, מתכוונים לאוכל, אבל במקום אוכל פיזי מדברים על אוכל רגשי. כשאדם מזין את עצמו רגשית הוא מרגיש חזק, בריא, חיובי ושמה בחלקו. טוב לו כי הוא מקבל את "החומרים" ו"המרכיבים" שלהם הוא זקוק. אבל כשאדם אינו מוזן רגשית - הוא בבעיה קשה. אדם שאין לו מקור להזנה רגשית - הופך מהר מאוד לאדם חולה. מגוון המחלות שהוא עלול ללקות בהם הוא עצום ומגוון: החל ממחלות נפשיות כמו דיכאון, חרדה, שעמום, התמכרות, נוקשות, שליליות ופסימיות והמשך במחלות פיזיות. המחלות הפיזיות של אדם ללא הזנה רגשית יכולים לנוע ממחלות

סרטן, מחלות אוטו-אימוניות, מחלות שקשורות למערכת חיסונית חלשה, מחלות כרוניות, ראוטיות, דלקתיות ואקוטיות.

<http://kedem-law.co.il/pages5.asp?id=61>

11. זכויות יוצרים בינלאומיות - חשיפה תרתי משמע
האם יצירה שנוצרה בישראל תהיה מוגנת בזכות יוצרים גם ביתר מדינות העולם? באלו מדינות תחול ההגנה, ובאלו תנאים?

<http://www.oogiga.co.il/page.php?p=33>

12. מדי פעם כשאולם היה ריק, השארתי את יצירותי בידיה האמונות של יעל המקסימה ממינישאל, לקחתי את המצלמה ויצאתי לשוטט בארץ ישראל. ארצנו הקטנטונת תרתי משמע, פרושה על שטח של למעלה מ- 60 דונם, מעוצב כמגן דוד ומחולק על פי אזורים מאפיינים גיאוגרפיים ונושאים, כשבכל איזור יש את האתרים המאפיינים אותו במציאות.

<http://rotter.net/forum/gil/20996.shtml>

13. ערוץ 10: המשטרה אינה מעודכנת ועוסקת בכיבוי אש תרתי משמע
זו היתה תגובת כתבת ערוץ 10 לשאלה בנוגע להודאת המשטרה,
שירוע לה רק על אירוע הצתה אחד, במצפה עדי. לדבריה, המשטרה לא הספיקה לחקור את כל האירועים ועוסקת בכיבוי אש תרתי משמע.

<http://www.hometheater.co.il/article01835.%D7%A2%D7%99%D7%A8-%D7%94%D7%A1%D7%A8%D7%98%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%91%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%9C%D7%A6%D7%99%D7%95%D7%9F-%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99-%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2>

14. עיר הסרטים ברשאון לציון. תרתי משמע
מתחם הסינמה סיטי בראשון לציון, לדברי ליאון אדרי מבעלי ניאו לינאו סינמה המחזיקה במתחמי הסינמה סיטי, הוא המתחם הגדול, הטכנולוגי והמפואר בעולם. המתחם שנבנה בהשקעה של כ-450 מיליון ש"ח על שטח של 45,000 מ"ר, ערוך לקליטת 4000 צופים ב- 26 מבתי הקולנוע שלו כשכל אחד מבית קולנוע זה מעוצב ומיועד לקבוצת צופים אחרת.
אחת הדרכים למשיכת קהל ומתן ערך מוסף לצופה היא בחלוקת בתי הקולנוע על פי ז'אנרים כשבחלקם תהיה חווית אודיו משופרת מכסאות המושב ממש.

<http://www.tapuz.co.il/blog/ViewEntry.asp?EntryId=1899219&r=1>

15. גן עדן לבן – התחלה צולעת תרתי משמע
בבוקר היום הראשון התעוררנו ב-07:30 (לא נוסעים לשם כדי להתבטל במיטה עד מאוחר) ולאחר ארוחת בוקר עשירה (נדרשה שליטה עצמית כדי לא להיסחף עם המבחר העצום של האוכל ולהתמלא יותר מדי) ירדנו לחדר הסקי כדי להתארגן ולהמתין למדריך...
עמדנו על הצד כדי לא להחליק והייתי עסוקה בפיטפוט עם בחור ישראלי נוסף שגיליתי בקבוצה

כשרגע של חוסר תשומת לב בליווי תזוזת גוף ולפתע קלטתי שהרגלים בורחות לי אחורנית במורד בפסוק מפיח שמאיים לחצות אותי לשניים.. ניסיתי בכל כוחי למשוך בחזרה את הרגליים אבל הן העדיפו להישמע לכוח המשיכה. נמתחתי בצורה לא טבעית בפוזה לא אלגנטית בעליל בעוד השאר בוהים בי מבלי לעזור ובצדק, כל אחד היה עסוק בנסיונות לשמור על יציבות בעמידה על המדרון החלק. בסופו של דבר הצלחתי איכשהו למשוך חזרה רגל אחת, אחרי שכבר ירדתי עם הידיים והברכיים לקרקע והצלחתי לשחרר מגלש כבד ומושך כדי לאסוף את האברים שלי שהתפזרו לכל עבר ולעלות מחדש על המגלשיים. הרגשתי מתיחה קלה בשריר, לא יותר מזה והמשכתי לגלוש, מאושרת עם כולם, לא מעלה בדעתי את העתיד לקרות.

<http://cars.walla.co.il/?w=/4713/1520515>

16. קלאסיקה מודרנית, תרתי משמע

סדנת 'ריזק אוטו' האמריקנית מסיימת בימים אלו פרויקט מגובש וראוותני – שחזור מודרני לאסטון מרטין DBR2 משנת 1957. לסדנה מפניקס אריזונה אכישו תמיד יש עודף מזומנים בעו"ש, ומכאן שהמגבלות כמעט ואינן משבשות החלטותיה. מסיבה זו הוסכם כי המכונית הבאה שלה תצא לאחר מסע בארכיון שיפיח חיים מודרניים במכונית עם קלאסה אמיתית.

<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-3577552,00.html>

17. סטון מהסוג שמשאיר טעם טוב – תרתי משמע.

הלוואי שהייתי יכולה לספר לכם שהחלפנו טלפונים ועכשיו אנחנו עובדים על היכרות מעמיקה. זה היה אחד מאותם מפגשים שמשאירים טעם טוב בפה (תרתי משמע) בזכות היותם חד-פעמיים.

http://www.haimhz.com/2011/02/blog-post_14.html

18. ביבי היקר. תרתי משמע

ביבי שלום,

אני אמור להגיד לך תודה, ברמת העיקרון. הודעת בסוף השבוע האחרון שאתה מוריד את המס על הדלק, ונותן תקצוב לתחבורה ציבורית בפריפריה (אגב - ירושלים נחשבת?), ואתה מסדר שהחשמל לא יעלה, והופך את המים לעניין פרוגרסיבי שבו העניים ישלמו פחות. אבל משהו נורא גדול מעיק עליי, ביבי. משהו שאני לא מצליח להתחמק ממנו, כמה שאני לא מנסה לפרגן לך. המשהו הזה היא העובדה ששיקרת.

<http://saloon.co.il/keshher/?p=144>

19. מי שולט בהגה? תרתי משמע

מתקן ילדים ציבורי, רכבת עם הגה
היא נגשה ראשונה להגה, הוא אחריה,

הם לא מכירים
הוא נדנד, דחף לה בשמלה, צווח
נדנד, דחף אותה ובכה בקול רם מאד
ילד יחיד להורים.

<http://www.camoni.co.il/?idr=402&pid=6144>

20. טרשתית שקטה תרתי משמע
אני טרשתית ללא התקפים מה שנקרה הדרדרות ראשונית מוגבלת ברגל שמאל אך משתדלת לתפקד כרגיל-מלבד בעלי אף אחד לא מודע למחלתי וכך אני עושה מהלימון לימונדה.....

<http://www.haaretz.co.il/hasite/spages/1099442.html>

21. קריקט: עלייתו, נפילתו (תרתי משמע) וחזרתו של אנדרו פלינטוף

<http://www.groopy.co.il/tripinfo.aspx?tid=12500>

22. טיול אופניים – בין הימים תרתי משמע
בין ים תיכון לים המלח ובין יום חמישי ליום שישי.

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Qva2LvA-FH8>

23. "אמש עשה נתניהו צעד בכיוון הנכון, צעד קדימה, תרתי משמע" לבני.

http://www.terra-c.co.il/wedding_distillation.aspx

24. גני אירועים בשרון – זיקוקים תרתי משמע
אז נכון שמאסתם במופעי זיקוקים מכל סוג שהוא, ובכל פעם שמדברים על זיקוקים בחתונה, האסוטיאציה הראשונה שעולה היא עוד מופע אש נדוש ודביק. אבל הפעם המאמר מדבר על הדבר האמיתי זיקוקי ההתרגשות שלפני החתונה, אותם פרפרים שהופכים לנו את הבטן ולאף אחד אין הסבר מדוייק לתחושה, מלבד אותה קלישאה ישנה שאומרת שעד שלא תחוה את זה בעצמך לעולם לא תבין וכקלישאות טובות אחרות סופה להתממש ולגרום לך להשתמש בה כמה שעות אחרי החתונה.

<http://www.carsforum.co.il/vb/showthread.php?t=61725>

25. ברומא נהג כרומאי (תרתי משמע).

ציטוט:

"פרארי אדומה במקום אוטובוס תיירים מכוניות הפרארי מחכות באיטליה לנופשים...
אם יש לכם 17 אלף יורו ואת התשוקה המתאימה, אולי זו תהיה החופשה הבאה שלכם:
חברת "אופיר טורס" מציעה שבוע טיול באיטליה עם מכוניות פרארי.

הטיול המאורגן מיועד לשלושה זוגות כל פעם, והם יבקרו ברומא, סיינה, אסיזי, פירנצה ופיזה, בלוויית 3 אנשי צוות. הלינה היא במלונות יוקרה, ובסדר היום כלולות גם ארוחות במסעדות בעלות שם עולמי.

לרשות 6 התיירים עומדים שלושה דגמים של פרארי:
360 מודנה, F1 ו F1 ספיידר, ו 550 מרגלו מי שמדקדק יוכל תמורת תשלום נוסף,
להזמין את הדגם החדש F1 F430 הטילים יצאו מידי שבוע, החל מה 26 במרץ. המחיר 8,500 יורו
לאדם בחדר זוגי - כולל טיסות, העברות, מיסי נמל, וטיפים את המכוניות כולל ביטוח ודלק. שלוש
ארוחות במסעדות מובחרות וטיפולי ספא".

<http://www.ranlevi.com/2009/08/30/%D7%9E%D7%93%D7%9C%D7%99%D7%A7-%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99-%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2-%D7%91%D7%99%D7%A9%D7%95%D7%9C-%D7%91%D7%90%D7%9E%D7%A6%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%A-%D7%94%D7%A9%D7%A8%D7%90%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%9E>

<http://www.nrg.co.il/online/35/ART1/001/558.html>

<http://www.blogspot.co.il/blog-125390/%D7%90%D7%99%D7%9F+%D7%92%D7%99%D7%9C+%D7%9C%D7%90%D7%94%D7%91%D7%94-%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99+%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2>

<http://www.bparent.co.il/hebrew/Link.aspx?link=421>

26. מדליק, תרתי משמע: בישול באמצעות השראות מגנטית
הצעקה האחרונה בתחום הבישול היא, באופן מפתיע, לא צעקה של מישהו שנכווה מהכיריים. זה
מכיוון שטכנולוגיה חדשה חודרת אל המטבח: כיריים שמחממות באמצעות השראה מגנטית. אני מתנצל
מראש על הגיקיות (היי, אני מהנדס חשמל) אבל זו ממש טכנולוגיה סקסית (התנצלתי כבר)

27. דולרים ירוקים, תרתי משמע
מאות מיליארדי דולרים בשנה - זהו היקף שוק המוצרים והשירותים הידיוניים לסביבה בארה"ב
לבדה. גופים כלכליים המעוניינים בנתח מהעוגה מתחילים להפנים ערכים ירקקים. כתבה (אופטימית)
ראשונה בסדרה

28. אין גיל לאהבה-תרתי משמע
תשמעו סיפור-נישואים שניים לגבר צעיר יותר(רק כרונולוגית ב-12 שנה ואני ממש לא
"קוגרית"), מסע בדרך לתינוק מפונדקאית בהודו, ילד בן 19 מנישואים ראשונים שהיו קשים בלשון
המעטה ויחסיו המופלאים עם האבא שבחר...את כל הניצחונות והפחדים שפוגשת בדרך -רוצה לחלוק
איתכם הכל על יחסים ומה שביניהם

29. תפרחת חיתולים - נושא בוער תרתי משמע 17:59 | 14/12/2007 מאמר מצצה בנושא - סיבות
לתפרחת חיתולים, טיפול, מה עושים ואיך. תפרחת חיתולים היא נושא שמעסיק המון הורים בגילאים
מגוונים.

<http://www.beok.co.il/Forums/Message/3697571%D7%AA%D7%95%D7%93%D7%94+%D7%9E%D7%A2%D7%95%D7%9E%D7%A7+%D7%9C%D7%91%D7%99%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99+%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2>

30. תודה מעומק לבי(תרתי משמע)
דר אריאל היקר!
אני מודה מאד על התיחסותך ותשובתך
והתודה כאמור מעוק הלב
עלה והצלח תמיד
בני
* לקוח מפורום צינטור

<http://www.globes.co.il/news/article.aspx?did=257023>

31. הימור כבד תרתי משמע.
הציפיות שנבנו לסדרת "הדינוזאורים" הגיעו לגובהו של טי-רקס. הסדרה עטורת הפרסים זכתה לרייטינג גבוה בכל מקום בו הוקרנה, איכויות ההפקה וההשקעה העצומה נראו בכל פריים על המסך. גם התזמון היה מושלם. הסרט "דינוזאור" של דיסני השתלב מצויין, וגל המיסחור המקביל של הסדרה והסרט, ששטף את שוק מוצרי הצריכה, לא יכול היה להזיק.
אבל הרייטינג, הרייטינג...
הסדרה רשמה ממוצע של 15.2% בלבד, רייטינג נמוך להכאיב בלב הפריים-טיים, נמוך גם מהרייטינג של אותה שעת-שידור בימי חול (18.1%). ברוב קהלי היעד נרשמה ירידה לעומת ימי החול באותה שעה. יוצאים מכלל זה ילדים בני 4-11, שרשמו 8.5% לעומת 6% בני נוער, 12-17 עם 6.9% לעומת 6.3%, ובני 35-44 (כנראה הוריהם) עם 10.5% לעומת 9.9% בימי חול באותה רצועת-זמן. קהל אוהד נוסף נרשם אצל גבוהי-המצח בעלי השכלה גבוהה, שרשמו 9.3% לעומת 8.7%.
אבי ניר: "לקחנו פה הימור. זו סדרה דוקמנטרית כבדה, תרתי משמע, שהחלטנו לשדר באמצע הפריים-טיים של ערוץ 2. ההצלחה היתה בינונית, אבל זה חלק מהמדיניות של קשת. לא רק להיות מספר 1, אלא גם לפרוץ דרכים. ניסינו ז'אנר לא אופייני, כמעט חינוכי."

<http://www.yossikoren.com/08/%D7%94%D7%96%D7%9B%D7%95%D7%AA-%D7%9C%D7%A9%D7%99%D7%A8%D7%95%D7%AA%D7%99%D7%9D-%D7%AA%D7%A8%D7%AA%D7%99-%D7%9E%D7%A9%D7%9E%D7%A2/>

32. הזכות לשירותים (תרתי משמע)
בביקור בברלין ראיתי כיצד עיר מודרנית **בוחרת** להתייחס לתושביה ולמבקרים בה. קודם כל הזכות לשירותים (תרתי משמע). כמעט בכל מקום, ברחובות המרכזיים יש שירותים ציבוריים... הנקודה השניה, הזכות למידע... הנקודה השלישית, בתחנת האוטובוס והרכבת יש שלט המודיע תוך כמה דקות מגיע האוטובוס. מדהים. ניסיתי לחשוב למה זה קורה? מדוע השירותים הכול כך בסיסים קיימים של ולא כאן.

תקציר

האם דוברות יכולות לסמן בצורה מפורשת לנמענים לשים לב לרב משמעות של מושגים? מחקר זה מציג תשובה אפשרית לשאלה באמצעות דיון בהשפעתם של קבוצת סמנים (באמת, במלוא מובן המילה, ליטרלי וכך סמן השלילה לא). על בסיס ממצאים מניסויים ונתונים טבעיים, אטען כי סמנים אלו מאותתים לנמענים לעשות אקטיביזיה למשמעויות **פחות בולטות** של המושגים המאויכים. כאשר נמענים נתקלים בסמנים אלו, תשומת ליבם מוסבת למשמעות נוספת, פחות בולטת של המושג המאויך, משמעות שאלמלא סימונה היתה אובדת בתהליך העיבוד הקוגניטיבי-לקסיקלי. כך לדוגמא (סמנים מופיעים בכתב נטוי ומושגים מאויכים בקו תחתון, לצורכי נוחות):

1. במוניות בניו יורק המונה באמת דופק. 3,000 נהגים בתפוח הגדול הפעילו את המונים באופן לא חוקי והונו נוסעים ב-8.3 מיליון דולר. (הארץ, 14.3.10)
2. טוב מה נסגר? או בעצם, מה לא נסגר? (י.מ. 29.7.2010, נאמר בתוך מעלית שדלתותיה נסגרו ונפתחו ללא הפסקה)

בדוגמאות (1) ו-(2) הסמנים באמת ולא מסבים את תשומת לב הנמענים למשמעויות נוספות, פחות בולטות, עבור המושגים דופק ו-מה נסגר. בנוסף למשמעויות הבולטות 'פועם/עובד', ו-'מה קורה?', מתעוררות המשמעויות הפחות בולטות 'גורם נזק ל/עובד על' ו-'ההפך מנפתח'. בעוד שמשמעויות בולטות נהנות מפרומיננטיות קוגניטיבית בשל גורמים כגון מוכרות, תדירות, קונבנציונליות, או פרוטוטיפיות, ועל כן "זוכות" לאקטיביזיה מיידית עם היחשפות לגירוי המילולי, הרי שהגשתן של משמעויות פחות בולטות (פחות מוכרות, פחות תדירות, או פחות פרוטוטיפיות), הינה פחות מהירה (היפותזת הבולטות המדורגת, גיורא, 1997, 2003) ולעיתים על מנת להחישן, יש לסמן. שני ניסויי אוף-ליין וכן מחקר מבוסס קורפוס תוכנו על מנת לבדוק את ההיפותזה בדבר סימון בולטות נמוכה, אשר נובעת מהיפותזת הבולטות המדורגת. בשני הניסויים הראשונים הוצגו לנבדקים מבעים שלאחריהם הופיע סרגל כך שבכל אחת מקצותיו הופיעה אינטרפטציה אפשרית עבור אותו המבע. נבדקים נתבקשו לדרג את מידת הקירבה של המשמעות של המבע לכל אחת מהפרשנויות שהוצגו בקצות הסרגל. מבעים הוצגו במבודד, כלומר מחוץ לקונטקסט, והופיעו או עם או ללא סמן:

3. אני אסיים עם זה תוך יום יומיים/ אני אסיים עם זה תוך יום יומיים, ליטרלי
4. היא אמא / היא אמא במלוא מובן המילה

ממצאי הניסויים מראים כי פריטים עם סמן קיבלו דירוג נמוך יותר, המעיד על מרחקן מהמשמעות הבולטת ($M=3.29$, $SE=0.29$, ציון 7 מעיד על בולטות) בהשוואה לאותם פריטים כאשר אלו הופיעו ללא-סמן ($M=5.61$, $SE=0.18$), $p < 0.001$, $t(23)=9.19$. תוצאות דומות הושגו בניסוי 2: ($M=2.63$, $SE=0.23$) עם סמן ו- ($M=5.99$, $SE=0.18$) ללא סמן, $p < 0.001$, $t(23)=9.70$. מטרת הניסוי היתה לבדוק אם הסמן מסב תשומת לב לשתי משמעויות שבולטות באותה מידה (כפי שלכאורה ניתן להסיק מהסמנטיקה של הסמן) או שמא, כפי שמעידות דוגמאות טבעיות, משמש סמן זה לסימון המשמעות הפחות בולטת מבין השתיים. כל פריטי הניסוי נלקחו מדוגמאות אמיתיות בהן, במקור, אויכו מושגים או משפטים אלו על-ידי הסמן *תרתי משמע*. הליך המחקר דמה לאלו של ניסוי 1 ו-2 אלא

שהפעם הוצגו המושגים ללא סמך כלל. תוצאות הניסוי מראות כי פריטים דורגו כך שאחת מהמשעויות היתה מועדפת (בולטת) על פניה השניה, בקונטקסטים המקוריים, שימש שם הסמך להסבת תשומת הלב למשמעות האחרת, הפחות בולטת מבין השתיים. $(M=5.97, SE=0.15), t(31)=13.37, p<0.001$ - עדות לכך שכאשר הופיעו ממצאי הניסויים וכן דוגמאות טבעיות, תומכים בהיפותזה המוצעת, לפיה הסמנים שנבדקו מסבים את תשומת הלב למשמעויות פחות בולטות.

אוניברסיטת תל-אביב
הפקולטה למדעי הרוח ע"ש לסטר וסאלי אנטין
החוג לבלשנות

הנושא:

סימון בולטות נמוכה

חיבור זה הוגש כעבודת גמר לקראת התואר
מוסמך אוניברסיטה **M.A.** - באוניברסיטת ת"א

על ידי:

שיר גבעוני

העבודה הוכנה בהדרכת:

פרופ' רחל גיורא

ודר' דפנה ברגרבסט

תאריך:

אוקטובר 2011