Discourse Markers in the Narratives of New York Hasidim
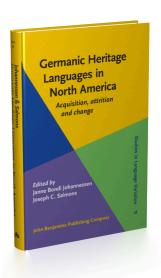
More V2 Attrition

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Lehman College, City University of New York

This paper examines the discourse markers found in the Yiddish narratives of nine Hasidic New York men. It finds one new discourse marker: a grammaticalized use of the word "*shoyn*". Separated intonationally from the two sentences it connects, this new discourse marker helps speakers avoid the subject-verb inversion that marks discoursal continuity in Yiddish. As such, it reinforces a tendency in this community to avoid V2 within a clause and between clauses.

Keywords: discourse markers, V2, grammaticalization

1. Introduction

The informants of this study, the Hasidic speakers of Yiddish in NY, pride themselves on their insularity. They live in a closely-knit community which enforces strict gender division; they adhere to a strict dress code and they maintain their own patterns of religious observance. Because they keep social ties with non-Hasidic Jews as well as non-Jews to a minimum, and are wary of outsiders, their dialect of Yiddish is largely unknown outside their own community.

Assouline (2010: 1–22) and (2014: 163–188) has studied the grammar of Haredi Jerusalemite Yiddish, and the Hebrew sources of Yiddish sermons of ultra-orthodox women, but the former speakers are ideologically as well as geographically different from the informants of this study, and the latter study examines prepared texts, not natural speech. Abugov has studied Yiddish noun plural formation among the children in Kiryat Sanz in Israel, (2014: 9–38), but once again, the informants in Abugov's studies belong to a different group and are exposed to different contact languages than the informants of this study.

Apart from me, only Krogh (2012: 483–506) has studied the language of this community. However, he has not looked at discourse phenomena. What's more, both his work and my own done hitherto have relied on printed texts. And a written language

is necessarily different from its spoken counterpart. This paper examines discourse markers in the spoken narratives of nine Hasidic males. I have put recordings as well as phonetic transcriptions of these narratives online in the hope that other researchers will turn to them to study other aspects of the grammar (or phonology) of this community.[1]

2.   Dialects of Yiddish

Before the Holocaust, when Europe had millions of native Yiddish speakers, linguists divided the dialects of European Yiddish into three major groups: Northeast Yiddish, Central Yiddish and Southeast Yiddish. These divisions paired geographical areas of Europe with phonological patterns of Yiddish speakers. By the early 21st century, when this study was conducted, the only native Yiddish speakers who were part of a vibrant and growing community were the speakers known as Hasidim. (See also Benor, this volume.) Although these speakers for the most part no longer live in Europe, their vowel patterns still conform to those of their European forebears and these patterns determine their dialect assignment. Some of these Hasidim speak what linguists traditionally called the Northeast dialect, but they are in a minority. The overwhelming majority of New York Hasidim are speakers of what has been called Central Yiddish. But this assignment is based only on their vowel system. This paper deals not with phonology, but with one facet of grammar: the use of Discourse Markers.

3.   V2 on three levels

Like all Germanic languages, Yiddish grammar is subject to V2. This rule states that in a declarative sentence, the inflected verb must be in the second position of the main clause. And how can one tell when the second position is to be filled? From a formal syntactic perspective, Weerman (1992: 48) argues that "only one constituent appears in the first position." Proponents of function as an explanatory theory for grammar will say, as Zaretski did, that the first position has been filled when one of the questions who, what, when, where, why, or how, has been addressed (Zaretski 1926: 155–169). Practically speaking, the two approaches are not all that different: each of Zaretski's functional categories is itself one and only one sentence constituent. When that constituent/functional category has been given, the following element of the sentence has to be the inflected verb. In Yiddish, apart from Zarestsky, this rule has been discussed by U. Weinreich (1970: 330–331), Mark (1970: 379–381), Waletzky (1980: 237–315), Kahan Newman (1982: 111–129), Katz (1987: 224–241), Jacobs et al. (1994: 409–411), and Jacobs (2005: 223–226, 262). All of these studies examine the workings of V2 on the sentence level.

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1.   To hear the narratives and see a transcription, go to: www.talkbank.org.

In Yiddish, V2 also operates on the inter-clausal level. This opportunistic use of V2 effectively says: Consider all I have said in the first clause as a topic; what I am telling you now in the following clause is the comment on this topic. Thus, simply by inverting the subject and inflected verb of the second clause, the speaker indicates that the second clause is a subsequence or a consequence of the first clause. For more of this rule on the clausal level, see Taube (2013: 37–46). For example, one can say either:

(1) *Az er kumt   arayn, geyt zi   aroys*
     As he comes in,   goes she out.
     'As soon as he enters, she leaves'

or one can say

(2) *Er kumt   arayn, geyt zi   aroys,*
     He comes in,   goes she out
     'When he enters, she leaves'

The very fact that the second clause begins with an inflected verb is itself an indication of subsequence or consequence; that is why sentence (1) and sentence (2) share a meaning. The adverbial that appears in the sentence-initial position of sentence (1) is, in effect, redundant.

   This inversion of subject and inflected verb to indicate subsequence and consequence can extend beyond the clausal level. Calling this phenomenon "consecutive word order," U. Weinreich (1970: 331) gave the following example:

(3) *mayn tate   iz   geshtorbn, bin   ikh geblibn aleyn,*
     My   father is(infl vb) died,   be(inf vb) I   remain alone,
     'My father died, so I remained alone,

     hob   ikh ungehoybn tsu arbetn
     have(inf vb) I   begun   to work
     so I began to work'

Weinreich's example is one of a concatenated, long sentence. Essentially, what he was speaking of is a discoursal phenomenon. In a Yiddish discourse, one need not connect sentential units with adverbs or discourse markers; one can simply rely on subject-verb inversion. The presence of a sentence-initial inflected verb is itself an indication that what follows is a subsequence or consequence of the preceding narrative. This, then, is the third level of V2 in Yiddish, the discoursal level, which this study deals with.

4. The contact situation: English and Yiddish

In English, once the subject of a declarative sentence has been given, the verb must follow; in Yiddish, once the first 'position' has been filled, the inflected verb must follow. Since this sentence-initial position is reserved for a topic in Yiddish, we could

reformulate our observation by saying that English is a subject-first language, while Yiddish is a topic-first language. When an element that is not the subject of the sentence is moved to sentence-initial position, linguists say it is topicalized. Along with Prince (1981), Jacobs pointed out (2005: 224): "Topicalization is extremely common in Yiddish, occurring with direct objects, indirect objects, adverbials- thus, almost any constituent fronts to [sentence] initial position, with V-2 [inflected verb in second position] reasserting itself." A well-known passage in the story *Motl Peysi Dem Khazns* (Motl, Peysi the Cantor's Son) by Sholem Rabinovich, known to his readers by the pseudonym of Sholem Aleichem (1944: 34), has the nine year old hero-narrator of the story say with obvious glee:

(4) *In   kheyder gey ikh nit; lernen   lern ikh nit;*
     In(to) school go I   not; to-learn learn I   not,
     '[As for school), I don't go, [as for leaning], I don't learn,

  davenen daven ikh nit; zingen, zing ikh nit; poter   fun   altsding.
  to-pray, pray I   not; to-sing, sing I   not; exempt from everything
  [as for praying], I don't pray, [as for singing], I don't sing, I don't have to do anything'

Here we have not only a topicalized sentence-initial prepositional phrase, we also have 3 topicalized verbs (to learn, to pray, to sing). This is a form of topicalization unknown to English. Yet English does have a more limited topicalization operation. Compare the following sentences, the first in English, the second in Yiddish:

(5) a. Him I like, her I don't like.
     b. *Im   glaykh ikh yo; ir   glaykh ikh nisht*
         Him like   I   yes, her like   I   not
         'I like him, but I don't like her'

As these sentences show, while English, like Yiddish, allows fronting of a non-subject to sentence-initial position, unlike Yiddish, it does not require that the very next element be an inflected verb.

   An English Discourse Marker (henceforth DM), placed in sentence-initial position, is no different from other sentence-initial elements; it does not trigger subject-verb inversion. A Yiddish DM, on the other hand, may trigger subject-verb inversion, but it need not do so. In "The Discoursal *iz* of Yiddish" (Kahan Newman 1988), I pointed out that the non-copular *iz* of Yiddish can be used for discourse purposes. This use, which corresponds to Uriel Weinreich's (1968: 34*)* gloss for *iz*: "so, then, consequently, well, (on resuming a story)," essentially makes *iz* into a DM.[2] The speaker who uses *iz* has lots of wiggle room. (S)he can use *iz* three different ways: the first use,

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2. Growing up among Central and Southeast Yiddish speakers, I never heard *iz* used as a DM. Even as a child, I knew that when a speaker used *iz* this way, (s)he was not a member of our (Central and Southeastern Yiddish speaking) family.

as an element that does not occupy a place (and as such can even team up sentence-initially with a second DM to make one non-place-holding unit), the second use, as an element that does occupy the first place, and is therefore followed by an inflected verb, or the third use, between sentence-initial material and the inflected verb, where it reinforces the sense that the topic position has indeed been completely filled. An example of the first use (where *iz* joins another DM sentence-initially, and the two together do not occupy a place) is the following sentence:

(6)   *Iz, heyst es,   fraytik farn tunkl vern*
      So, it's called,   Friday before dark becoming
            0   1
      'And so, Friday before sundown,

      bin ikh ungekumen kayn Yerusholayim
      was I   arrived   in   Jerusalem.
            2
      I arrived in Jerusalem'

Here the 2 DMs together are assigned place number '0' because they do not occupy a place; it is the time adverbial that follows them that occupies first place, and it triggers the appearance of the inflected verb. Now for an example of the second use, in which the sentence-initial *iz* does trigger the inflected verb. In the following passage taken from a novel by Peretz Markish (1966: 124), two characters are discussing the chances of an armed resistance to the Germans who have occupied their city. Tadeush, one of the men, points out that an entire division of potential soldiers is behind bars. His friend replies:

(7)   *Iz darf   men efenen dem pavyak, Tadeush*
      So, must one open   the jail,   Tadeush
      'In that case, Tadeush, we'll have to open the jail'

In sentence (7) *iz* clearly links the sentence it is in with the preceding narrative, and so is immediately followed by the inflected verb. In the third use of *iz* given above, *iz* is placed between the material that occupies the first place of the sentence and the inflected verb of the sentence. In this case, *iz* reinforces the notion that one sentence unit (the topic) has already been filled. Here is an example of this use:

(8)   *Mit frishe luft, mit muzik un   mit tents   iz*
      With fresh air   with music and with dance topic
      'With fresh air, music and dance,

      kon men zey   makhn gezinter
      can one them make   healthier
      we can make them healthier'

5.   Research questions

The analysis of the discoursal *iz* presented above was based on texts purporting to represent NE Yiddish. A natural question that arose in the present study was whether any of the speakers, most of them Central Yiddish speakers, would use the DM *iz*, and if it were used, whether it would be used with inversion, or without inversion. And if it were used with inversion, would it work alone or would it follow other sentence-initial material to reinforce the fact that the topic had indeed been given? Aware as we are that Yiddish can indicate discoursal connectedness with discourse markers (with or without inversion), or with inversion alone, which option is used by these speakers? If the community does have a preference, is the dominant language (one that has its own discourse marking choices) a factor in this community's choice of options?

6.   Method

I was contacted by one of the regular attendees of a group called Chulent and asked to speak on a topic relating to Yiddish. Chulent is the name of a group of young men and women, who then gathered regularly on Thursday nights at the Millenary synagogue in Manhattan to listen to music, occasionally listen to a lecture, eat, drink, and mix socially. In Jewish law, Friday begins on Thursday night, and on Friday traditional Jews prepare a dish for the Sabbath (Yiddish *shabes*) known as *chulent*. Because *chulent* was regularly served at the Millenary synagogue on Thursday nights, the meeting itself was dubbed Chulent.

I agreed to speak at Chulent about research I did on an Old Yiddish poem. That was how I informally met some of the young men who regularly showed up there. Once these young men got to know me, they readily agreed to be my informants. I made it clear that whatever they told me about their individual/personal issues was between us. In my research, I discuss their language only. In some cases, they told me which Hasidic group they belonged to; in other cases, they didn't. I didn't press them for personal information. I know from the information that they volunteered that three of the nine informants were brought up in the *Satmar* community, one is from the *Tseylemer* Hasidic community, a close relative to the *Satmar*, and one is a descendant of the Chernobyl (or *Skver*) dynasty.

As a rule, it is difficult, if not impossible, for a female to get male informants in this community. The strict gender division that is the rule for this community does not allow men to speak with women on a one-on-one basis. However, the young men who showed up at Chulent were different. Although they were born into the Hasidic community, their loyalty to the community was wavering. Some still dressed as Hasidic young men are expected to dress; others had already abandoned the community dress code. Some of the young men who attended did so unbeknownst to their families. All who attend Chulent are different from the rest of the insular Hasidic world and open to the outside world.

The informants of this paper are nine young men between the ages of 20–40 who were brought up in Hasidic households and speak Yiddish natively. Having gotten written permission from each of them to put their narratives online, I sat with them in a quiet area and said: "Tell me a story – any story you want." They then launched into a narrative. Some gave me a ready-made anecdote and spoke without hesitation; some retold family stories which had known content but no pre-determined form; some spoke of things that happened to them; still others simply made up a story as they went along.

Table 1. DMs and inversion (+) or (−).

	iz	shoyn	al kol punim/ a punim	bekitser/ akitser	anyway	so	you know
Informant #1	2 (+) 2 (−)	1 (−)					
Informant #2		3 (−)	2 (−)				
Informant #3		3 (−)					
Informant #4		1 (−)					
Informant #5						6 (−)	1 (+) 1 (−)
Informant #6					1 (+) 1 (−)		
Informant #7				3 (+) 3 (−)			
Informant #8							
Informant #9		1 (−)			16 (−)	9 (−)	

Table 2. Summary.

Number of DMs + inversion (vb- subj)	7
Number of DMs – inversion (subj- vb)	49
Total number of DMs	56

7.   Discussion of the data

7.1   English DMs

Three out of the seven DM tokens in this study are English: *anyway*, *so* and *you know*. For eight of the nine informants, these tend to behave exactly the way a DM behaves in English: they do not 'occupy a place' and consequently, are not followed by subject-verb inversion. Examples of this are: So*, yeder ot zikh genimen lakhn dortn*, So everyone began laughing there, So *ikh el dir geybm di check*, So I will give you the check, Anyway, *kho nisht gehat kan kar demolts*, Anyway I didn't have a car then, Anyway… *ikh zetst mekh arop in khzey nukh alts i shtil*, Anyway, I sit myself down and see all is quiet.

As we will see below, the Yiddish of New York Hasidim can, and does, borrow an English word-order pattern without ever using English at all. But when it does use English DMs, the sentences containing them tend to follow English word-order. Specifically, the English DM is followed by the (Yiddish) subject of the sentence, which is then followed by the (Yiddish) inflected verb. Thus, once the speaker has chosen an English DM, we get the following schema:

English DM	Yiddish Subject	Yiddish verb
1	2	3

Matras (2000: 514) claimed that by preserving the word order of the language from which the discourse marker originates, speakers "simplify their choices." Later, Matras (2009: 155) came up with the following generalization: "The rules of linear ordering which apply in the donor language will accompany grammatical elements borrowed from that language." It is important to be precise here. What we found is consistent with Matras' generalization (not a hard and fast rule) that sentences that begin with English DMs mostly have English word order.

One cannot help noticing the great divergence between informant #9 and the rest of the informants in this corpus. While the others occasionally use English DMs, his narrative is peppered with them. In addition, unlike the other narratives we elicited, his narrative has many examples of code-switching. This might be due to the great divide between him and the other informants. While the other eight young men are second generation native New Yorkers, this young man is a 6th generation native New Yorker: his family arrived in the New World at the turn of the 20th century. Nevertheless, when he does use English DMs, he uses them with Yiddish word order. In his narrative, all 25 of the English DMs 'take up a place' in the sentence, and so are followed by inversion of the (Yiddish) subject and the (Yiddish) inflected verb.

The need to speak of generalizations rather than rules is underscored by another one of our findings. Of the 11 occurrences of English DMs used by our first eight informants, ten are not followed by the inflected verb, but one time the DM *you know* is unexpectedly followed by the inflected verb. Here, then, is a reminder of the need to steer clear of linguistic rules that brook no exception.

Yet another expected finding that emerges from our data is that when there is any borrowing from English (and not all our informants did in fact borrow from English), it tends to be DMs. This has been noted by Brody (1987: 507–532) for Spanish in Mayan languages, by Salmons (1990: 453–480) for English in German-American dialects, and by Maschler (1994: 279–313; 2000: 529–561) for English in Hebrew.

Matras (1998) attributes this "borrowability" to what he calls "pragmatic detachability." DMs, as he sees it, are often not perceived by speakers as genuine borrowing. Unlike content morphemes (which are noted by speaker and hearer alike), these DMs have a pragmatic role in conversation, and hence are discounted by both speaker and hearer. Consequently, they are natural candidates for borrowing. Another one of our expected findings, then, is that English DMs account for nearly half of the DM types in the narratives of these Yiddish speakers.

7.2   The North-east DM iz

As we noted earlier, although most Hasidim are CY Yiddish speakers, not all are. Surprisingly, one of the young men at Chulent is a native speaker of the Northeast dialect of Yiddish. This is immediately apparent from the pattern of his vowels. Whereas the other (CY Yiddish) speakers say *zimer* for 'summer,' he says *zumer*. His (NE) *mishpokhe* 'family' is their *mishpukhe*, and while he says *heym* for 'home,' they say *haym*. I did not ask him which of the North-eastern Hasidic groups his family belongs to, and he did not volunteer this information. Aside from his use of NE Yiddish vowels, what sets him apart from the other informants is his use of *iz* as a DM.

As we saw earlier, from everything that is known about *iz,* the speaker who uses it sentence-initially, has the option to allow it a place, and so have it followed by the inflected verb, or not allow it a place, and so have it followed by the subject of the sentence. Our data follows this pattern exactly: of this speaker's 4 uses of *iz*, two are followed by the inflected verb, and two are followed by the subject of the sentence. Here are his four sentences:

(9)   *Letste zumer* **iz-**   *bin*   *ikh geveyn in der heym*
       Last   summer   is (topic)   was (ifl. vb.) I   been   in the house
       'Last summer, I was at home'

On the second occasion when this informant uses *iz*, he again places it between the sentence-initial material and the inflected verb, and so highlights the fact that the topic has been given:

(10)   *Kh'gehat a -mayn bester khaver, mayn bester fraynt* **iz** -
       I had a-   my   best friend, my   best friend **topic**
       'I had a friend, a best friend,-[so]

       hob   *ikh im   geshikt a nakhrikht…*
       have (inf vb.) I to-him sent   a message'
       I sent him a message'

Both sentences (9) and (10) follow the third usage discussed earlier, where the topic-marker *iz* is followed by the inflected verb of the sentence.

However, there are two occurrences in the same narrative when the same speaker uses this *iz* without inverting subject and verb:

(11)   **Iz** *s'kumt   dray azeyger in der fri*
       So it-comes three o'clock   in the morning…
       'So at three in the morning …'

The [s] of ***s'kumt*** in sentence (11) is the vestigial part of the dummy subject *es/it*. The *iz* in sentence (11) does not 'occupy a place.' Like sentence adverbials, this element is simply ignored by the putative 'place counter.' Accordingly, the next element in the sentence is the (dummy) subject of the sentence. In this informant's fourth use of *iz,* we

find two independent clauses, connected by *iz*. In his case, *iz* clearly has the meaning of 'and so,' and once again, there is no subject-verb inversion:

(12) *kh'hob gevolt   er zol   geyn oyvn   shlofn,   iz*
      I-have   wanted he should go   upstairs to-sleep **is**
      'I wanted him to go upstairs to sleep, **_and so_**

      kh'hob im geshribn   in a nakhrikht az…
      I-have to-him written in a message   that…
      I wrote him in a message that…'

Sentences (11) and (12) follow the first usage of *iz* discussed earlier: they use an *iz* that does not 'occupy a place' and so is followed by the subject of the sentence. This speaker, too, follows an expected pattern.

7.3   Central Yiddish DMs: Yiddish compared to English

Among the CY speakers at Chulent, we found three Yiddish DMs: (1) *al kol punim* and *a punim* 'in any case,' (2) *bekitser* and/or *akitser* 'in short,' and (3) *shoyn* 'already.' This last DM exhibits unexpected properties, and so will be discussed in the upcoming section. Not surprisingly, one of the speakers who uses the Yiddish DM *akitser* uses it three times followed by inversion and three times not followed by inversion. Similarly, one of the speakers uses the English DM a*nyway*, sometimes with inversion and sometimes without, and one speaker uses *you know*, sometimes with inversion and sometimes without. This is another one of the expected findings in this study. The fact that both English and Yiddish DMs used by one and the same speaker are occasionally followed by inversion and occasionally not followed by inversion may indicate a phenomenon in flux. Alternatively, it may be that at any one time, the speaker has the option to accord a DM the weight of occupying a place, thereby indicating that (s)he has completed the topic, or alternatively, using the DM as a place marker, a low-on-content element that simply indicates (s)he plans to continue the narrative, but has not yet organized the coming material.

7.4   The innovative DM: Shoyn

The most common Yiddish DM encountered in the narratives of these young men, *shoyn*, was found nine times in the speech of six different informants. It is *shoyn* that is the innovative DM of this corpus. Schematically, the discourses with *shoyn* in them look like this:

Proposition X	*shoyn*	Proposition Y
1	2	3

In each of the cases, the two propositions on either side of *shoyn* are full sentences that end with a sentence-final tonal drop in voice. This is one way that *shoyn* differs from the other DMs in this corpus: all the other DMS are intonationally integrated into the sentences they are found in. *Shoyn,* on the other hand*,* is left intonationally outside of the sentences it connects. For all that *shoyn* is accorded a sentence-intonation all its own and is not itself a part of either of the sentences it connects, it nevertheless does participate in the semantics of the discourse. Let us examine each of the nine occurrences of this *shoyn* to see exactly how it functions.

7.4.1   *As an indicator of a change in illocutionary force*

Of all the uses of *shoyn* in this corpus, this first is the most intuitive. After all, the dictionary definition that U. Weinreich gives of *shoyn* in its use within the verbal phrase is "already," and *un shoyn* means "and that's all" (1968: 397). Thus, when used in this corpus before a question, or after it, in anticipation of an answer, or as an answer, *shoyn* can be seen as reinforcing the expected change in the nature of the discourse that has just given and/or the nature of the discourse that will follow:

(13)   *er hot arosgeshlankt fin bes medresh.*
   He has   slunk-out from study-hall.
   'He slunk out of the study hall.

   Shoyn. *Vi gayt men*
   Shoyn. Where goes one
   [**And now the question**]. Where does a Jew go

   a me ken nisht gayn   in bes medresh,   a yid, vi gayt men?
   if one cannot go   in[to] (the) study-hall, a Jew, where goes one
   if he cannot go to the study-hall, where does he go?'

In sentence (13) the DM *shoyn* lets us know we have finished with a declarative sentence and are about to get an interrogative sentence. The very next sentence in this narrative affords us another look at this same use: *shoyn* that signals a change in the illocutionary force of a sentence in the discourse. Immediately after the question above, we get this second *shoyn*:

(14)   *A yid, vi gayt a yid?*   ***Shoyn.***   *Er gayt*
   A Jew, where goes a Jew?   **Shoyn**.   He goes
   'And as for a Jew, where does he go? [**My answer**] He goes

   in   gast hoz…
   in(to a) guest house
   to a guest-house'

As in sentence (13), the *shoyn* of sentence (14) is at the border of two different kinds of sentences: a question and its answer. This DM, then, simply reinforces what the hearer knows in any case: that the narrative has switched to a sentence with a new illocutionary force.

7.4.2   *As an indicator of a counterfactual*

In this corpus there is only one case of *shoyn* used with a rising tone. Because the following sentence begins with a lowered tone, it is my understanding that the rise-fall created by these two tones is meant to do what the rise-fall tonal combination in Yiddish generally does: indicate a counterfactual situation (Kahan Newman 2000: 314–316, 328–330).[3] This is borne out, I believe by the sense of the discourse in question. Before we give this third example, we need to give a bit of the context of the narrative. The grandmother of the speaker wandered all over the globe during WWII and has finally arrived in New York. She has her family with her, and she intends to enter the subway with them. However, as it happens, she enters the subway car, but they do not; she realizes as the doors close, that she has left them behind. And here the narrative is: "*Reboyne shel oylem d'host mekh gefirt of di gantse velt, in **du** vel ikh farloyren vern?!*" 'Lord of the Universe, you led me all over the world, and **here** will I get lost?!' And here the narrator continues:

(15)   *Iz zi   ungekimen of di   golden   medine. **Shoyn***
          Is she arrived   in the golden land.   **Shoyn**
          'So she arrived in the Golden Land.   **Despite what you'd think**,

          Zi   iz arof of di   nekste treyn…
          She is up-on   the next   train…
          she got on the next train'

The narrative interpreted: She was in the Golden Land [the US in general, NY in particular]. You might think all was well, but it was not. (All this given by *shoyn*.) She got on the next train… .

7.4.3   *To mean 'and so'*

Of all the uses of *shoyn* in this corpus, this use is the one least tied to the dictionary entry for *shoyn*. According to the dictionary, *shoyn* means 'already/finally' and it conveys a sense of finality in its standard use as a modal within the verb phrase. However, as a DM in this corpus, *shoyn* definitely conveys a sense of continuity. In 6 of 9 occurrences, *shoyn* is best translated as 'and so':

(16)   *S'kumt   dray azeyger in der fri.   **Shoyn**. Mayn tate   geyt shoyn shlofn.*
          It comes 3   o'clock   in the morning. **Shoyn**. My   father goes finally to sleep.
          'Three AM arrives, **and so** my father finally goes to sleep'

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3.   For the intonation pattern for counterfactuals in spoken Yiddish, as opposed to texts, see 314–16 and 328–330. Since this is the only case of the DM *shoyn* used in this way, I am ready to admit that more evidence is needed before this case is made for certain. I would hope that future researchers will be on the look-out for this rising-toned *shoyn* so that we can be certain if there is indeed a pattern here.

(17)   *in 'vayisuyi':*   *me furt vayter.* **Shoyn.**
       "And 'they traveled' [Biblical Hebrew]": one travels on. **Shoyn.**
       'And [as it says in the Bible:] 'they traveled.' One travels on. **And so**,

       Kayn probleym nisht.
       No   problem not.
       there was no problem'

(18)   *Gayt nisht dorekh kmat a mes les vus a   shadkhn*
       Goes not   by   almost a 24 hour period [during] which a matchmaker
       'Hardly a day goes by without a matchmaker

       zol   mir nisht upshteln in   veln matsi'a zan   a shidekh. Shoyn
       should me not   stop   and want to   offer a match. **Shoyn**.
       stopping me and wanting to offer me a match. **And so**,

       Ikn bin shoyn   tsigevoynt tse dem
       I   am already used   to that
       I am used to it'

(19)   *Kh'hob zay genik   in bore park.* **Shoyn.** *Ikh hob probirt dus beste zikh*
       I have them enough in Boro Park. **Shoyn**. I   have tried   the best reflexive to
       'I have enough [matchmakers] in Boro Park. **And so**, I did the best I could

       arosdrayen fin   ir.
       slip out   from her
       to get out from under her [grip]'

(20)   *Zi vil   zikh   trefn   mit mir, di parsishe shadkhnte.   Shoyn.*
       She wants (reflex.) to meet with me, the Persian matchmaker. **Shoyn**
       'She, the Persian matchmaker, wants to meet up with me. **And so**,

       Kh'hob zikh   getrofn mit ir
       I have reflexive met   with her
       I met up with her'

Our last example needs a bit of comment before it is given. Of all the narratives in this corpus, the one in which this example is found is the most coherent and least interrupted. The speaker clearly had this story ready-made. He never hesitated in his delivery, and the structure he uses is as good as it would be had the narrative been written instead of spoken. The story consists of eighteen clauses, and the DM *shoyn* is found smack in the middle: between the ninth and the tenth clause. The speaker introduces the main character of his story, one *badkhn* 'a joker' in the first sentence. After this character is introduced, every major development in the narrative is signaled by inversion. Put differently, this speaker conveys subsequence and consequence in this narrative by inverting the subject and its inflected verb fourteen (!) times in a narrative that lasts fourteen lines. Midway in this narrative we find *shoyn*:

(21)   *Ot   er gevolt   bigln   mitn bigl-azn. **Shoyn.***
       Have he wanted to iron with the iron. **Shoyn**.
       'So he wanted to iron [his shirt] with the iron. **And so**,

       Er ot gehaltn di   bigl-azn in di   hent
       He has held   the iron   in his hands
       he held the iron in his hands…'

The DM *shoyn* is innovative in yet another way. The other DMs, Yiddish and English alike, are sometimes followed by inversion and sometimes not followed by inversion. Unlike them, *shoyn* is **never** followed by inversion. Indeed, the very reason *shoyn* is kept intonationally aloof from the two sentences it connects, I contend, is so that the sentence that follows it can have subject-verb word order, in line with the preferred word-order pattern of English.

We noted earlier that the cohesive tie suggested by *shoyn* is merely suggested by the speaker. Its exact meaning needs to be inferred by the hearer. This is precisely what Blakemore noted (1989: 232) when she said "even when two sentences are related by a cohesive [Discourse Marker] tie, hearers have to go beyond the linguistic resources in order to recover an interpretation."

Looking at the check-list that Jucker and Ziv (1998: 3) reviewed for pragmatic markers, we see that some of the features they mention are shared by all the DMs in our data, but in some cases, *shoyn* is a clear exception to the general rule.

7.4.3.1 *Phonological and lexical features*. Markers are short and phonologically reduced. While we found this in some of the Yiddish DMs (Recall *apunim* for *al kol punim* and *akitser* for *be-kitser*), we did not find this to be true for the relatively new DM: *shoyn*. Nevertheless, phonological reduction may be expected in time. Markers form a separate tonal group. Here the innovation in our data is exceptional among known DMs in that *shoyn* not only forms a separate tonal group; it also exists in total tonal isolation from the sentences it supposedly connects. Markers are marginal, and hence difficult to place in traditional word classes. This is certainly true of *shoyn*. While it is ordinarily a modal, in its use as a DM, it is most certainly not a modal.

7.4.3.2 *Syntactic features*. Markers are, according to this understanding, restricted to sentence-initial position. While they are generally either outside sentence structures or only loosely attached to sentence structure, they are tonally a part of some sentence. Here is where *shoyn* is truly unique. *Shoyn* stands alone tonally and is simply detached from sentences it connects. Markers are optional. Indeed this is the case in our corpus.

7.4.3.3 *Semantic features*. Markers have little or no propositional meaning. This is especially true of the innovative *shoyn* found in our corpus. Markers are multifunctional. Moreover, they operate on several linguistic levels simultaneously.

7.4.3.4 *Sociolinguistic and stylistic features*. Markers are a feature of oral, rather than written discourse. This is why there is no mention of *shoyn* in the linguistic literature. Those who study the written texts of this community simply have not encountered

shoyn; it is simply not found in written discourse. Markers appear with high frequency. Interestingly, of all the DMs in our corpus, it is the innovative one, *shoyn*, that is most common among our informants. Markers are stylistically stigmatized. This explains why the innovative DM in our corpus, *shoyn*, has not appeared in a written corpus. Markers are often gender specific. This community is known for its gender strict separation; the language patterns of men may well not be the same as those of women. A follow-up to this study would be the examination of DMs among Hasidic women. That remains to be done.

8.   Conclusions and explanations

One of the research questions we posed was whether these speakers combine their DMs with inversion. A second question we posed was whether the contact language of the community in any way affects the way this community uses DMs. Finally, we asked whether this community relies at all on inversion alone to convey discourse connectedness. We are now in a position to answer all these questions. The answer to our first question is that while both the English and the standard Yiddish DMs are used both with and without inversion, the new DM that has emerged among these speakers, *shoyn*, is placed where it is in the discourse so that it obviates the need for inversion. The answer to our second question is that it is indeed the nature of English word order that is at work here: once *shoyn* is used, the Yiddish sentence that follows can and does have its subject (not its topic) trigger the inflected verb.

What has happened to *shoyn,* I contend*,* is that it has undergone grammaticalization. A grammaticalized element is one that has undergone semantic bleaching and is no longer a part of the syntactic category that it belongs to in its standard usage. As such, the non-copular DM *iz* is also a grammaticalized element. As a grammaticalized element, *iz* does not mean '(s)he is,' and it is not part of the verb phrase. Similarly, when grammaticalized, *shoyn* does not mean 'already' and it is not part of the sentence's verb phrase.

Of the four parameters of grammaticalization listed by Heine and Kuteva (2005: 15), three apply to the NE DM *iz* as well as to the CY DM *shoyn*:

a.   Extension: The copular *iz* that means '(s)he is' in Standard Yiddish comes to mean 'and so,' while the modal *shoyn*, whose standard meaning is 'already/finally,' is generally also reinterpreted to mean 'and so' when it occurs between two sentences of a discourse.

b.   Desemanticization: Also called 'semantic bleaching,' this parameter suggests there is a loss of conventional meaning. Clearly, this is what has happened to both *iz* and *shoyn*. As DMs, they no longer have the meaning(s) they had when they appeared within a verb-phrase. Indeed, like its NE counterpart *iz*, the DM *shoyn* is almost devoid of meaning.

c. Decategorialization: When the DMs *iz* and *shoyn* occur in a discourse, they are not members of the verb-phrase, and it is not subject to the constraints of elements in a verb phrase.

The fourth parameter, phonetic erosion, did not occur with *iz* and has not (yet) occurred with *shoyn*. If indeed, this is the sort of contact-induced grammaticalized element that Heine and Kuteva speak of, a reasonable prediction is that, in time, this *shoyn* will become phonetically reduced.

But unlike its NE counterpart *iz*, the grammaticalized DM *shoyn* is contact-induced: it is the contact language, English, that is responsible for the quirk of this DM. Most DMs are found in the sentence-initial position of an utterance. At the very least, they participate in the intonational structure of the sentence they are in. But in the narratives of these young men, *shoyn* is **not** a part of any sentence at all; it stands between 2 sentences and is a part of neither of them. *Shoyn* stays within its own sentence boundary, it seems, so that the following sentence can have English, rather than Standard Yiddish, word order.

Heine and Kuteva suggest (2005: 61) that "it is the word-order arrangement that is present in the model language [the pragmatically dominant language: here English-ZKN] that bilingual speakers of the replica language [the native, but less practical language- Yiddish – ZKN] tend to select, thereby narrowing down the range of syntactic options open to them." Clearly, the Hasidic young men in our study have narrowed their word-order options by using the innovative DM, *shoyn*.

Heine and Kuteva suggested (2005: 97) that the creation of what they call "text markers" (our DMs) is an area "that has not been studied in great detail." They went on to say (ibid) that "there are a few findings that suggest the way texts, in particular narrative texts, are organized, is determined, to some extent, by grammaticalization. Paradigm cases concern markers of boundaries, in particular, the beginning and the end of a text, significant units within the text, such as paragraphs and topic change, but also of continuity of narrative discourse. There is a not uncommon pattern whereby transparent expressions such as clausal propositions are grammaticalized to markers of text organization." This study, then, constitutes one more example of the grammaticalization of a modal particle and its transformation into a marker of textual organization.

8.1   V2 attrition on all three fronts

The final, seemingly ancillary, research question was whether inversion alone is used to convey the notion of consequence or subsequence on the discourse level in this corpus. The answer to this question, it turns out, brings us back to the beginning of this paper. I noted that according to the rules of Standard Yiddish, V2 applies on three levels: on the sentence level within one clause, inter-clausally and within a discourse. The data of this study has shown that in order to align their Yiddish with their English,

these speakers choose a DM that will allow them to avoid V2 on the discourse level. But this tendency to be more like English and avoid subject-verb inversion after the topic has been given is taking place on more than one front in this community. Some of the other evidence for this shift can be found in the data of this corpus.

Recall that in Standard Yiddish, sentence-initial time adverbials, locative adverbials and sentence adverbials occupy the first place of a sentence. Since this place is the place accorded to a topic in Yiddish, according to the rule of Standard Yiddish, these sentence-initial elements must be followed by the inflected verb of the sentence. However, the speakers of this corpus do not always invert subject and verb after adverbials. What follows is the data on non-inversion after adverbials in this corpus:
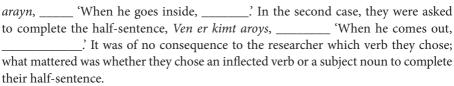
Table 3. Non inversion.

	After a time adverbial	After a locative adverbial	After a sentence adverbial
Informant #1	1		
Informant #2	1		
Informant #3	3	1	
Informant #4	–		
Informant #5	1		1
Informant #6	1		
Informant #7	–		
Informant #8	–		
Informant #9	1	2	1

Table 3 shows us that this group is slowly moving away from V2 within a clause. More commonly after a time adverbial, less commonly after a locative adverbial and still less commonly after a sentence adverbial, there simply is no inversion, despite what the Standard rule predicts.

We have data from the Satmar Hasidic community, albeit from women and girls, and not from young men, of non-inversion across clausal boundaries within the same sentence.[4] As it happens, we did not encounter this sort of cross-clausal non-inversion in the present corpus. Nevertheless, it is worth our while to consider the data obtained from interviews conducted among the Satmar women and their daughters. They, too, speak Hasidic Yiddish, and they, too, are subjected to the pressures of the English that surrounds them.

The following data were obtained when the informants were shown two photos. The first was of a young girl exiting her house while her younger brother (whose pants were wet) entered it, and the second showed the two children exiting the house together. The informants were asked to complete a half-sentence begun by the researcher. In the first case, they were asked to complete the half-sentence: *Az er geyt*

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4.   This is data from an unpublished study that I did 8 years ago.

arayn, _____ 'When he goes inside, _____?' In the second case, they were asked to complete the half-sentence, *Ven er kimt aroys*, _____ 'When he comes out, _____?' It was of no consequence to the researcher which verb they chose; what mattered was whether they chose an inflected verb or a subject noun to complete their half-sentence.

Standard Yiddish demands that the second clause of such sentences begin with an inflected verb. In these cases, the first, dependent, clause, serves as the topic, so to speak, of the second, independent clause. Accordingly, that second clause needs to begin with an inflected verb. As we see in Table 4, the younger Yiddish speakers are moving away from Standard Yiddish and conforming more to the Standard English norm.[5]

Table 4. Inter-clausal non-inversion.

	Satmar mothers	Satmar daughters
Clausal Consequence ([az])	1/11	4/10
Clausal Subsequence ([ven])	1/11	5/10

By now we have seen non-inversion in Hasidic New York Yiddish within a clause (Table 3, based on findings in the present corpus) and inter-clausally within one sentence (Table 4, based on the speech of Hasidic women and their daughters). Our findings for the use of *shoyn*, used as a DM, have shown that non-inversion between sentences of a discourse also occurs in this population. The use of *shoyn* forestalls this option:

Table 5. Only inversion for subsequence and/or consequence.

Informant #1	4 times
Informant #2	14 times
Informant #3	4 times
Informant #4	5 times
Informant #5	19 times
Informant #6	7 times
Informant #7	5 times
Informant #8	6 times
Informant #9	6 times

Table 5 shows the frequency with which inversion alone is used sentence-initially in the present corpus. On the discourse level, this inversion is an option, not a rule-bound requirement. Nevertheless, we note that two of the nine informants (informant #2 and informant #5) account for more than half (33/50) of the cases of inversion

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5.   One of the mothers was also a daughter. This explains the apparent discrepancy in informant numbers.

found in this corpus; seven of the remaining informants use inversion infrequently. What we have, then, is not a rule, but it is a trend: most of these speakers steer away from using inversion alone to convey subsequence and/or consequence in a discourse.

In all three cases, then, within a clause, across clauses but within one sentence, and between sentences within a discourse, Yiddish, because of its topic-first nature, either demands or allows for inversion. In all of these three cases, English, a subject-first language, does not have inversion. Hasidic New York Yiddish, subjected as it is to the pressures of English, is moving away from the Yiddish norm, and towards the English norm. To be sure, this is a slow process, but the indications of syntactic change and the increasing conformity of this community to English norms are evident.

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