

Procedural signals in traditional Yiddish sermon-texts

by

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ב"ה

לזכר נשמות

ששה מיליון אחינו בני ישראל

1939 - 1945

הנאורים והנעיסים בחייהם

ובסוחם לא נערדו.

השם יקום דמם.

[Like non-Jewish languages, o]ur Yiddish also bears the mark of powerful spiritual-literary currents, but these currents flowed from the Bible and, even more so, from the Talmud, from Rashi, from the ethical literature and from the Code of Jewish Law.

- M. Weinreich (1942:110)

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Preface

For over a millenia, in the houses of study of Eastern Europe, the Jewish people delved into 'Torah': The Five Books of Moses, the Prophets, the Writings; the Mishna, the Gemara, the Midrashim; responsa, codes, and pietistic works; tales of wise and saintly men and women. As much as any other institution, the house of study provided the 'raw material' for a national consciousness and set of values that has remained historically continuous in many respects even during periods of great upheaval and innovation.

For the sake of intellectual honesty, the author feels compelled to make the following prefatory remarks:

1. In relation to Torah scholars both in the academic world and (especially) in the yeshiva world, the author is basically a beginner. If this work is judged to be authoritative, that evaluation will be a function of the limited scope of the project rather than of the comprehensive range of the author's knowledge.

2. In the author's judgment, the system of procedural signals in Yiddish sermon-texts is of secondary importance to the eternal, living values of the Jewish people.

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Introduction:

Yiddish and Hebrew sermon-texts in the field of Jewish Studies

Sermons in Jewish Eastern Europe were delivered in Yiddish so that the widest possible audience could understand them; but for the most part, Jewish sermons were 'recorded' in Hebrew (not only in Eastern Europe), because Hebrew was the language of the 'Book', in both the specific and generic senses of the word. From the days of the Enlightenment to the present, cultural historians and literary critics have frequently ignored the existence and significance of Yiddish sermon-texts and studied Hebrew sermon-texts as though they represented the original, traditional sermon of Jewish Eastern Europe. The large number of extant Yiddish sermon-texts and ongoing 'performances' of traditional Yiddish preachers offer possibilities of revising previous studies on the basis of new information.

1. Zunz

Zunz (1832; 1954:200-210) measured 'Jewish-German language and culture' against the standards of the German Enlightenment and found the former in a state of dismal decline, devoid of any virtue; The condition of the Yiddish sermon epitomized the deplorable situation in Jewish Eastern Europe, the 'medieval' way of life that German Jewry was in the process of overcoming. Well into the twentieth century, similar sentiments appear in other works in German on Jewish homiletics; e.g. Norden (1918:7-8)--together with occasional positive evaluations such as Levy (1916:1).

2. American scholarship

American scholarship on the Jewish sermon includes a practical guide to homiletics reflecting the linguistic and cultural assimilation of American Jewry, and a scholarly work identifying the oral-written dichotomy between traditional Hebrew and the vernacular, but concentrating on other issues. Freehof (1941:45,47) ignored the Yiddish sermon; he was dealing with a cultural context a world apart from that of Eastern Europe: 'There are modern rabbis who seem to feel that we are once more coming to a period when the Scriptural sermon will disappear ... The Biblical sermon was based upon the presumption that the people read the Bible but the painful fact is that today the people no longer read the Bible.'

Bettan (1939:ix,317,58,57) placed his own work in the tradition of Zunz, but criticized the latter implicitly for his failure to consider outstanding East European Jewish preachers such as Jonathan Eybeshitz. Though Bettan concentrated on the 'message' of the sermons rather than on language-related questions of structure and style, he prefaced his analysis of the sermons of Jacob Anatoli, c.1194-1256, with an extended remark, of general application, on the problem of language:

While these sermons have been preserved for us in the Hebrew, originally they were spoken in the vernacular. To procure for them a wider reading-public, they were later rendered, by the preachers themselves, into Hebrew, the universal literary language of the Jews in the Middle Ages. It is quite apparent that whether they gained or lost in the process, the sermons emerged in different garb and in much altered mood. The qualities of the essay, rather than those of the address, often shine through their pages. In only a few rare instances have the authors succeeded in blending the vigor, spontaneity and vivacity of the spoken-word with the orderliness,

moderation and accuracy of the written dissertation. Generally, what greets the eye of the reader is something different from what first delighted the ear of the listener. Especially is this true of the philosophical preachers, whose discourses are heavy-laden with thought and afford little suggestion as to what, aside from the deeply ethical and spiritual tone, appealed to the imagination of the popular mind.

3. Encyclopaedia Judaica

An understanding of the problem of language as clear as Bettan's appears but rarely in recent scholarship on the Jewish sermon. While contemporary criticism is uneven in quality, it tends to be inaccurate. Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971:998), a revision by the editorial staff of an article in the Entsiklopediyah haivrit (1949), gives an accurate report of the discrepancy between the written Hebrew text of sermons and the original version, spoken in the vernacular. Jacobs (1971:1004) discusses Yiddish preaching in Eastern Europe in considerable detail, but his references to the greatest Yiddish preachers reveal an ideological bias and a bibliographical rub: Almost all of the

references are to religious-Zionist preachers, and none of the latter's sermons appears in print in Yiddish, at least not according to the Encyclopaedia bibliographies. Ben-Sasson (1971), Dan (1971), and Carlebach (1971), are incomplete, vague, and confusing. Ben-Sasson (1971:699) informs us parenthetically: 'Sometimes the maggid was appointed to a town, with the official title of maggid de-mata, in Yiddish Shtotmagid /sic/ usually a respected and outstanding scholar, until recent times.' On the basis of the information given, the naive reader is entitled to infer only that the preacher had a name in Yiddish, as well as one in Hebrew-Aramaic. Such basic information as the language of discourse of the maggid is left to the reader's imagination. Dan (1971:955) discusses the development of homiletic literature, in general, and the rise of hasidic literature, in particular, over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, without noting that in many cases his texts are written versions of sermons delivered in Yiddish. Once again, given the nature of Dan's earlier presentation, the naive reader is likely to conclude that the original sermons forming the basis for the literature were delivered in the 'Holy Tongue'. This is simply not so. Dan (1972:561)

is only slightly more instructive with regard to this issue, discussing the difference between the oral presentation and the written record but ignoring the possibilities inherent in an examination of Jewish vernacular texts:

It is self-understood that we do not have the instruments in our possession for the esthetic evaluation of homiletic literature as an oral art. The words of the darshanim /preachers/ were not collected and were not written down. What has come into our hands is only a literary remnant of the oral sermon ... Therefore we do not possess even one written sermon, /about/ which we have even the slightest basis to assume, that it corresponds to the way in which it was stated orally.

Carlebach (1971:957,959,958) gives the impression that in the 'Modern Period' Yiddish sermons were limited to the United States:

~~YIDDISH AND HEBREW SERMONS~~
~~Yiddish and Hebrew Sermons.~~ The arrival of large numbers of East European immigrants in England and the U.S., where Yiddish remained their language for at least one generation,

resulted in additional homiletic literature
in tht language [sic] ...

In the U.S.: ... After 1880, there arose [ortho-
genetically?] a large Yiddish-speaking community
whose rabbis and *maggidim used the mode of textual
exposition long developed among Jews. One of
the most famous of the maggidim of this period
was Zevi Hirsh Masliansky, some of whose addresses
were issued, either in Yiddish or in translation ...

An even more serious problem in Carlebach's pre-
sentation is that he lists sermon-texts in languages
other than Yiddish but sends the reader interested
in Yiddish titles from one end to the other of
a two-way dead-end street:

... In those countries [England and the U.S.]
collections of Yiddish sermons were published
more as an aid to preachers than for the general
public (see below) [emphasis added] ... Among
the collections of sermons the following should
be mentioned: in German ... In English,
Best Jewish Sermons (ed. I. Teplitz); G. Zeliko-
vitch's Der Idish-Amerikaner Redner [sic]
(521 sermons in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish,

1922⁴); ... [other sources in English]. For collections of Yiddish sermons see above [emphasis added].

On the following page, there is the reference to Masliansky (cited above), but nothing more.

There are, in fact, a large number of Yiddish sermon-texts. The collections of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, Yeshiva University, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and Hebrew Union College include over 100 titles, either in monolingual editions, or together with Hebrew and/or English sermon-texts. The material in this corpus varies considerably. Much of it has been shaped linguistically by the modernization of Jewish society, transition into American life, and the impulse to germanicization. See, for example, Marton (1954), Selikovitch (19¹⁶~~07~~), and Oshry (1923), respectively. The more traditional material is also heterogeneous in several respects: Genres other than the 'sermon' and its standard constituents frequently appear: a wide variety of oral narratives and shorter forms, such as jokes, proverbs, and notarikon 'numerological exegesis'. See, for example,

Frydman (1945/46) and Kaplan (1940-46), respectively. Some texts are markedly traditional but clearly literary in style, rather than oral; e.g. Rosenstein (1912). Even when the text seems to faithfully record an authentic and traditional homiletic event, different styles emerge. Kohn (1967), for example, is learned, but didactic and exhortative. The text upon which most of the research in the present study is based, Halperin's Vedá ma shetoshiv, is quite different: It reflects the shakle-vetarye 'give and take' of the bes-medresh 'house of study'.

Procedural signals in traditional Yiddish sermon-texts

At each step along the way of a structured sermon, the ~~traditional~~ ^{darshner} Yiddish preacher' may use procedural signals to help his audience follow what he is saying. These signals are simply recurrent announcements of one step or another of a structured sermon.

An East European Jewish sermon, droshe, typically consists of

1. the introduction of a text,
 2. the posing of exegetical difficulties about the text,
 3. the resolution of these exegetical difficulties by means of
 4. introduction of further points of reference;
- and
5. further development of these points.

The additional points of reference in 4. may include (though not necessarily in this order)

- 4.1. moshl 'parable',
- 4.2. mayse 'story', fakt 'incident',
- 4.3. other texts from the religious literature,
- 4.4. raye 'proof', formal logical argumentation,
- 4.5. examples.

The further development of each form depends on its particular nature. When the preacher resolves the difficulties of the original text to his satisfaction, he usually ends the sermon with a formal conclusion (6).

The structure of the Yiddish sermon may therefore be schematized as in Table 1. It is suggested that the reader use the schema to guide himself through the analysis that follows, a study of the procedural signals in Halperin's ^{AH}Vedá ma shetoshiv.

Sometimes as many as seven examples illustrate the varying nature of the expressions used for a particular purpose. The reader need not consider all of these examples in order to understand the basic presentation, but they are set forth in detail for those who would like to master them.

1. Introduction of a text

A question based on a biblical citation serves as the point of departure for the eight parabletales of the first section of the book. The citation itself is of an exceptional form that reflects its significance in the work: It has a concluding announcement of citation as well as an introductory one;

1. Text(s)

2. Questions

3. [Resolution:]

4. Discussion with reference to

4.1. moshl

'para

ble'

4.2. mayse, fakt

'story', 'in-

cident'

4.3 other texts

1. basis

for a question

4.4. raye

proof

2. an answer

5. [Further development of the above]

Table 1

Structure of the Yiddish sermon

- 5.1

1. narration

2. comparison
- 5.2. comparison

5.3

1. explanation

2. use as sup-

5.4

1. contrast

2. explanation

port-texts

1. indirect

2. direct

3. multiple

functions

[4. Excursus]

5.5. examples

6. Summation

Table 1

Structure of the Yiddish sermon

and a 'rhetorical question' highlights the logical oppositions of the verse.

in Krishme shteyt,

'It is written in the Recitation of the Shema,'

[abbreviated Hebrew citation:]

"And it will be, if you harken unto My commandments,"

[Yiddish translation of full citation:]

if you will listen to My commandments, I will give you rain for your crops at the right time, you will harvest your fruit and your wheat at the right time, I will give you grass for your animals in the field, you will eat and you will be satisfied.

[rhetorical question:]

What, however, will be, if you do not listen to G-d's words, [if] you serve foreign gods?

[continuation of translation:]

Then G-d will withhold the rain, and the earth will not produce its fruits, and you will quickly disappear from the good earth that

G-d has given you.

azoy shteyt in der parshe fun "vehoye im shamoye".

'So it is written in the portion of "And it will be if you listen".' (pp. 99-100)

The question follows at this point in the text.

2. The posing of exegetical difficulties

(a) ikh vil $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dir} \\ \text{aykh} \end{array} \right\}$ epes fregn,

'I want to ask $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you} \\ \text{you } \underline{\text{respectful}} \end{array} \right\}$ something:'

(pp. 99, 122)

(b) iz dokh a kashe:

'So there is a problem:'

3. Announcement of resolution

ikh vel dir zogn nokh a terets.

'I will give you another solution.' (p. 139)

4. Introduction of further points of reference

This is a major branching point in the schema ^{Table} in ~~Figure~~ 1. After the main text has been introduced and questions about it raised, the resolution of the questions proceeds by means of discussion. The points of reference introduced at this stage of the sermon include the moshl; the mayse or fakt; other texts; and the raye.

4.1. moshl 'parable'.

- (a) nokh a terets ken, kon men zogn mit a moshl:

'Another explanation can be given by way of a parable:' (pp. 103, 105, 108)

- (b) ikh vel $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{dos aykh} \\ \text{es dir} \end{array} \right\}$ gebn tsu farshteyn mit

a moshl:

'I will explain $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{this to you /respectful/} \\ \text{it to you} \end{array} \right\}$

by way of a parable:' (pp. 113, 119)

- (c) ikh vel dir af dayn shayle gebn a moshl, vet farentfert vern dayn shayle.

'I will give you a parable concerning your question; then your question will be resolved.' (p. 101)

4.2. mayse 'story', fakt 'incident'.

- (a) ikh vel dir auf dem ... dertseyln a sheyne
mayse vestu farshteyn, far vos ...

'I will tell you a nice story regarding ...
 so you'll understand why ... ' (p. 121)

- (b) ikh { vel } dir dertseyln a { mayse } ...
 { vil } { fakt }

'I {will } tell you {a story' } ... (pp. 127, 134)
 {want to} {an incident'}

4.3. Other texts.

4.31. As the basis for a question. In order to answer questions about the text under consideration, questions about otherwise unrelated texts can be introduced. The citation below serves as a point of departure for a question, but that question and its answer are used to elucidate an earlier question, the question raised in 1., above.

mir zen [sic] vi es shteyt in posek:

'We see as it says in the verse:' ...

iz dokh a kashe: ...

'So there's a problem: ... '

iz dokh der teyrets: ...

'So the solution is: ... ' (p. 112)

4.32. As an answer. Citations may be given as answers to questions or points of departure for answers to questions. Note that each citation is followed by an announcement of explanation. The latter will be discussed in 5.31., below.

- (a) So I answered him as follows,

es shteyt in di zmires:

'it is written in the Sabbath-songs:'

...

iz der taytsh:

'the meaning being:' (p. 135)

- (b) So the Novellae of the Ri"m answered him:

di Gemore zagt in §habes:

'The Gemara says in [Tractate] Sabbath:'

...

dos heyst:

'This means:' (p. 131)

- (c) We find the same question in Job.

es shteyt in Iyev:

'It is written in Job:'

...

dos heyst:

'That is:'

~~eee~~ (p. 137)

- (d) ... [This] is an entirely natural thing,

vayl es shteyt in der toyre, in Parshes

5. Further development of the sermon

In the actual delivery of a sermon, this section does not follow the preceding one. Rather each of the particular points of reference in the preceding section is developed by the means appropriate to it (indicated in each subsection, below), before the next point of reference is introduced and developed in its turn.

5.1. moshl.

5.1.1. Narration. The narratives in the parables use procedural signals to introduce or advance the plot.

(a) amól [sic]...

'Once upon a time ... ' (p. 139)

(b) makht zikh a fal, az ...

'It just so happened that ... ' (p. 141)

(c) ... s'hot shoyfn getrofn a fal, vos ...

' ... an incident once occurred, in which ... ' (p. 140)

(d) hot zikh getrofn a fakt, ...

'So it once happened [that] ... ' (p. 135)

5.1.2. Comparison. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1975:302-303) has identified the canonical parts of

'the parable in context': the stimulus, the announcement, the parable [-tale], the object of the parable, and the object lesson. The announcement of the nimshl 'the object of the parable' signals the comparison of the homiletic issue with the parable-tale. Most frequently, the simple announcement in (a) appears, but it is also common for the nimshl to consist of or begin with a citation, as in (b) - (f).

(a) der nimshl iz:

'The object of the parable is:'

(pp. 102, 107, 115, ...)

(b) The object of the parable is:

der Ramba^m zagt, azoy vi ale veysn, az ...

'Maimonides says that, as everyone knows,

... '

...

kumt oys,

'In other words,' (p. 102)

(c) der nimshl iz, vu [sic] es shteyt in posek:

'The object of the parable is as it is written in the biblical verse:'

...

Elijah said to Job:

... (p. 142)

(d) As we see in the world,

Shloyme Hameylekh zogt in Mishley:

'King Solomon says in Proverbs:'

...

der pshat funem posek iz:

'the plain meaning of the verse being:'

... (p. 143)

(e) un baym oynesh shteyt:

'And concerning punishment it says:'

(p. 116)

(f) haynt az der novi zogt:

'Given that the prophet says:'

... (p. 120)

5.2. mayse and fakt: comparison.

(a) dos zelbe iz mit { di reshoim,
 undzer shayle:
 dir Napolyon--

'The same thing holds true for

{ 'the wicked,' (p. 102)
 'our question:' (p. 117)
 'you, Napoleon--' (p. 133)

(b) vi iz az ... ,

just as, when ...

dos zelbe iz mit dir khayer Ruvn, ...

'so it is with you, my friend Reuben,

... ' (pp. 137-138)

(c) dos zelbe hob ikh gezokt kegn Rusland, ...

'I said the same thing regarding Russia, ... '

(p. 133)

(d) azoy iz oykh ... mit ...

'So it is also ... with ... ' (p. 136)

(e) ... punkt vi ...

'exactly as ... ' (p. 140)

5.3. Other texts.

5.31. Explanation. Most of the citations in 4.32., 5.12, and 5.32.3 are followed by a simple announcement of explanation. Occasionally, an announcement of explanation can serve, simultaneously, other functions in signalling the progression of the sermon.

(a) dos heyst:

'This means; that is:' (pp. 131, 137)

(b) ... in ^O~~o~~ylem-^H~~h~~oelyen heyst dos:

" ... in the ^U~~u~~pper ^W~~w~~orld this means:" (p. 116)

(c) dos meynt men:

'which means:' (p. 105)

(d) iz der taytsh:

'So the meaning is:' (p. 135)

(e) der pshat funem posek iz:

'the simple meaning of the verse is:'

(p. 143)

Each of these expressions has particular nuances determined by contextual use and cultural association.

(i) The most common marker, dos heyst, is frequently abbreviated. It is the least emphatic of the expressions, used formally as a brief connective between a string and its explanation. In this respect, it is like 'i.e.' in English, though it differs from the latter in that it derives from the non-learned component of the language and is used in nonformal, as well as formal discourse.

(ii) The second expression, dos meynt men, is somewhat more emphatic, less simply transitional, than dos heyst. Both expressions appear frequently in Halperin's Vedá in other contexts, unassociated with quotations from the religious literature.

(iii) To some extent, the meanings of expressions (d) and (e) are colored by the association of taytsh and pshat with specific elements of traditional East European Jewish culture: Taytsh refers to the Yiddish translation of the Bible and came to be a

cognomen of Yiddish itself. In this context, however, it connotes simply 'the plain sense of the words', independent of Khumesh-taytsh 'the old-style Yiddish translation of the Bible' but evocative of that translation.

According to the tradition, a verse of scripture can be understood on any one of four levels: pshat 'the simple meaning', remez 'allusion', drush 'interpretation', and sod 'secret'; with the mnemonic parde's 'orchard'. The word pshat has come to mean 'simple meaning' independent of its original use in the context of parde's; but, as with taytsh, there is some association with its original context. In fact, in (e), the 'simple meaning' of the cited verse is not given; a lengthy imaginative interpretation in Yiddish appears instead. Such a substitution could occur only because traditional commentaries sometimes exercised considerable leeway in determining the 'simple meaning of a verse'; their imaginative midrashic expositions came to be associated with pshat. The use of the word pshat in this context is itself inappropriate, but it is even harder to imagine Halperin writing der taytsh funem posek iz to introduce the imaginative interpretation of the citation in (e).

Multiple functions. A given phrase sometimes fulfills more than one function. The procedural signal in (a), which in context is an announcement of citation, also signals the beginning of the explanation of the verse quoted immediately before it.

(a) Eliyohu hot gezogt tsu Iyev:

'Elijah said to Job:' (p. 142)

In (b) and (c), rhetorical figures take the place of announcements of explanation as transitional elements between the initial quotation and its extension or development.

(b) vu [sic] vet ober zayn, az ir vet nisht
tsuheren tsu ^G-ts reyd, ir vet dinen
fremde opgeter?

What, however, will be, if you do not
listen to G-d's words, /If/ you serve foreign
gods? (p. 100)

(c) kumt oys,

'In other words,' (p. 102)

The rhetorical question in (b) serves to highlight the logical oppositions in the Biblical passage under consideration. The phrase kumt oys in (c) does not mean 'it turns out', 'as a result', but rather 'in other words'. The sentence that follows

simply summarizes the material presented before the expression.

5.32. Use as support-texts. Any point of the argument may be strengthened through the introduction of an ^{AH}asmakhte Aram. 'support', a citation from the religious literature that provides corroboration of an independently established point.

5.32.1. Indirect ^{support-texts. Indirect}support-texts require interpretation in order to become applicable to the issue being discussed.

- (a) The ignoramuses that don't understand the Torah ask /questions/ and make fun of the Torah, because they don't understand what is written in the Torah,
vi Dovid-hameleyekh zagt in Tilim:
 'as King David says in Psalms:'
gal eynay veabitah niflaot toratekhah
/Hebrew citation/--open my eyes for me that I should see the wonders of your Torah/exact Yiddish translation/. (p. 115)

A direct ^{support-}~~proof~~text might have been: 'The fool has said in his heart "There is no G-d"', Psalms 14:1. As it is, the cited verse does not offer direct corroboration of the preceding statement. In fact, it seems to show King David himself expressing interest in and respect for the Torah, rather than

an ignorant person making fun of it. The verse is applicable to the statement only through interpretation: 'We see from the verse that only when King David's eyes were open was he able to see the wonders of the Torah. So if a person cannot see the wonders of the Torah that is because his eyes are closed, i.e. because he is a fool.' This line of reasoning, based on the contrapositive of the cited verse, is proof of the original statement, 'The ignoramuses that do not understand the Torah, ask /questions/ and make fun of the Torah because they do not understand what is written in the Torah.'

- (b) We know very well that the world is judged according to the majority, vi di Gemore zagt in Kidushn Daf Mem: 'as the Gemara says in Kidushin, Leaf 40 [Side 2]:'
- When a person performs a commandment, fortunate is he, because he has inclined [himself and] the whole world to the side of merit; when a person performs a sin, woe unto him, because he has inclined [himself and] the whole world to the side of obligation /Yiddish translation only/.
- (p. 111)

On first glance, this citation hardly seems to offer support of the contention that the world is judged according to the majority. Rather, it seems to emphasize the importance of the action of the individual in the universal order. If one person can have such an overwhelming effect on the judgment of the world--a good effect or a bad effect--then it seems that the world is not judged 'according to the majority': The judgment can be radically influenced by one act of one person. The problem arises from the ^{in interpretation} abbreviated nature of the citation. The statement of R. Elazar b. R. Shimon that 'the world is judged according to the majority and the individual is judged according to the majority' is an explanation of why a person has to regard his own deeds as being divided equally between good and evil. A person must see himself and the whole world suspended in moral balance because the world and each individual are judged according to the majority of their deeds, and if everything were exactly balanced, one person's single act of good or evil would make the difference for the judgment of the world. The abbreviated citation given by Halperin may evoke the principle upon which it is based, but only to listeners familiar with the complete discussion in the Talmud. Because, in

itself, it does not offer support of the preceding point, it is a good example of an indirect support-text.

5.32.2. Direct support-texts. Direct support-texts are immediately relevant to the preceding point, in their literal form.

- (a) In other words, the essential reward and punishment is only in the world to come, after a person's death,

azoy vi di Gemore zagt:

'just as the Gemara says:'

AH sekhar mitsves behay alme leyke

[Hebrew-Aramaic citation], There

is no reward for the commandments in this

world [exact Yiddish translation]. (p. 102)

Given the ongoing opposition in rabbinic literature ^{between} ~~of~~ Aram. hay alma, Heb. olam hazeh 'this world', and Heb. olam habah 'the world to come', the text cited provides direct corroboration of the conclusion of the speaker.

- (b) Every letter of the Torah is a map, which shows the upper worlds, how they work.

And all things that were, and what
will be /in the future/.

Just as the Ramban writes:

In the portion 'Give ear' /Deuter-
onomy 32⁷, all the persons of the whole
world are inscribed, as well as what will
happen to them in this world. (p. 115)

The citation from Nachmanides is a direct illustration
of the preceding statement. It is applicable as a
supporting text without further interpretation.

5.32.3. Multiple functions. In addition
to offering corroboration of a previous, independently
established point, a support-text may serve as a
new point of reference or to further the development
of the sermon. (The use of citations for the ^{letter}~~extra~~
purposes only was discussed above in ~~Sections~~ 1.,
4.3, and 5.12.). In Halperin's Vedá, as many indirect
support-texts were used in this way as were used
simply for corroboration. Indirect support-texts
were used to advance the sermon more frequently
than direct ones: three indirect support-texts,
as opposed to one direct one.

(a) ... azoy vi es shteyt bay Yehoshuen:

' ... as it says regarding Joshua:'

...

dos meynt men:

'which means:' (p. 105)

- (b) af dem zogt Dovid-Hameylekh olev
hasholem in Tilim:

'Concerning this, King David of blessed
memory says in Psalms:' (p. 108)

- (c) mir zeen dos [sic] bay Avrom Ovinen shteyt:

^[sic]
'We see this regarding Father Abraham
it says:'

...

zen [sic] mir az ...

'So we see that ... ' (p. 120)

5.32.4. Correlation of form and function in
the presentation of citations. [N.B.: The terminology
of traditional grammar is adopted here and in the
Appendix for the purposes of convenience only.
For a more complete and correct approach to grammar,
see Diver (1978).] In Halperin's Vedá, the outstanding,
formal characteristics of citations used as points
of reference are the 'independent clauses' that
serve to announce the quotation and the announcement
of explanation following the quotation. Simple
direct support-texts are introduced by 'dependent

clauses' beginning with azoy vi 'just as'; simple indirect support-texts, by dependent clauses beginning with vi 'as'. Support-texts that fulfill multiple functions usually have at least one of the forms associated with citations used as independent points. These differences are summarized in Table 2.

Independent points of reference. The two forms associated with independent citations--the independent clause as the announcement of citation and the announcement of explanation following the quotation--usually appear together; as in sentences 4.32.

(a) - (c), 5.12. (b) and (d), 5.52 (a) and (b). In example 5.12. (e), an independent clause introduces the quotation but there is no announcement of explanation following. The announcements of citation in 4.31., 4.32.(d), and 5.12.(c) are dependent clauses, but an announcement of explanation follows each citation. Example 5.12.(c) is somewhat anomalous, apparently bearing neither of the forms associated with independent citations but actually, in a larger context, bearing at least one (as explained in 5.31., Multiple functions).

Simple support-texts, direct and indirect. The three direct support-texts in Halperin are introduced by dependent clauses beginning with azoy vi 'just as'; the three indirect support-texts, with dependent

Form

Function	announcement of citation		
	(1) 'dependent clause'	(2) 'independent clause'	(3) announcement of explanation
1. independent point	---	✓	✓
2. support-text	direct <u>azoy</u> <u>vi</u> indirect <u>vi</u>	---	---
3. support-text used to advance argument	alternation and cooccurrence		

Table 2

Correlation of form and function in the presentation of citations

clauses beginning with vi 'as'. There are a number of cases in which indirect support-texts are used to advance the argument (see below); these are frequently followed by an announcement of explanation. But five of the six cases in which direct and indirect support-texts are not used to advance the argument do not have an announcement of explanation following the citation. Only one indirect support-text has an announcement of explanation inserted between the Hebrew citation and the Yiddish translation, d. h. 'i.e.'.

Support-texts with multiple functions. In 5.32.3(a)-(c), the clause introducing the citation has one or both of the two forms associated with citations used as independent logical points: the independent clause and the announcement of explanation.

The support-text in (a) is introduced by a dependent clause, as were all of the simple support-texts discussed in the preceding section. The verse here is cited in Hebrew in quotation marks and followed by an exact translation in Yiddish in parentheses. The announcement of explanation, a sign of independent usage in the argument, together with the imaginative interpretation in Yiddish, extend the function of the support-text: The latter is no longer used simply for corroboration but to develop the sermon as well.

The citation in (b) is not introduced by a dependent clause--the introductory form of simple support-texts--but by an independent clause, a signal of the use of the citation to develop the sermon. The status of the citation as a support-text is signalled by the lexical items af dem 'concerning this' rather than by the 'syntax' of the introduction. The dual function of the citation is divided between a Hebrew citation and a lengthy imaginative interpretation in Yiddish: The citation itself serves to corroborate the preceding point; the extended commentary in Yiddish serves to advance the sermon.

In example (c), both identifying features of the independent citation appear: the independent clause and the announcement of explanation. The independent clause that introduces the citation is syntactically ambiguous. This ambiguity reflects the dual function of the support-text in the sermon. The introduction is actually a combination of separate thoughts:

(i) mir zeen dos bay Avrom Ovinen:

'We see this regarding Father Abraham.'

(ii) mir zeen, az bay Avrom Ovinen shteyt:

'We see that regarding Father Abraham
it is written.'

Thought (i) refers back to the preceding point,

'this', and offers an example from the Bible. If this version actually appeared in the text, it would have paralleled the introduction in 5.32.3., (b). Thought (ii), standing alone, is an announcement of an independent point, without anaphora; it parallels the many examples in 4.3. (and in the Appendix, 1.). As it is, it seems that Halperin introduced his support-text with a reference back to the preceding point and added the word shteyt as an afterthought in order to focus greater attention on the text as an independent point in itself. In this citation, the Hebrew text and a Yiddish translation are followed by an announcement of explanation zen [sic] mir, az ... The text is then used to develop the sermon, but--unlike the other cases in this section--on the basis of logical consequence rather than of imaginative exegesis.

5.4. raye.

5.41. Announcement and assertion of contrast.

(a) ... zeen mir punkt kapoyer ...

' ... we see exactly the opposite ... ' (p. 123)

(b) ... ze ikh punkt farkért:

' ... I see /it/ exactly the opposite:' (p. 141)

- (c) ... farkért nokh ...
 ' ... /not only that/ even the opposite
 /is true/'' (p. 140)
- (d) ... oder farkért ...
 ' ... or the opposite'' (p. 111)
- (e) ... vu iz ...
 'while; whereas' (p. 99)
- (f) fundéstvegn ...
 'Nevertheless ... ' (p. 140)
- (g) áderabe ...
 'To the contrary'' (pp. 124, 124, 125)

5.42. Explanation (along interpretive lines,
 as part of a syllogistic presentation).

- (a) ... iz dokh gedrungen, az ...
 ' ... so it's implied, of course, that ... ' (p. 118)
fun dem iz gedrungen, az ...
 'It follows from this verse that ... ' (p. 118)

In contrast with the expressions signalling 'simple meaning', announcement with the phrase zayn gedrungen (fun) 'to be implied (by)' involve the application of traditional exegetical tools in the interpretation of the verse in order to discover its logical consequences. The context of the procedural signal given above is as follows:

... that our soul lives even after our

death is entirely natural, because it is written in the Torah in the Portion 'After':
 'AH¹veníkresu hanefashos,' [Hebrew citation]
 that the soul [of those who sin] will be cut off from the world; so, it's implied of course that those who do not sin--their soul will remain forever. This verse implies that the soul lives even after our death, because if there were no punishment for the soul after death, what sort of punishment would 'cutting'off' be?

The issue of the afterlife was a major point of contention between the Pharisees and the Sad^ducees: The former maintained that the concept derived from scripture; the latter rejected it entirely. Halperin follows the traditional exegesis of the Talmud, Sanhedrin 90^b. This form of reasoning, part of a raye 'proof', rests on an archetypical syllogism: Things must be one way because of the unacceptability of the logical consequences of the only possible alternative. See 8.1., below.

5.5. Examples.

5.51. Simple announcement.

(a) a shteyger

'For example' (pp. 114, 139)

(b) lemoshl

'For example' (pp. 99, 122, 125, ...)

5.52. Introduction of citation. Citations are offered as examples of mystical allusion in the Bible. Note the announcements of citation following ~~the~~ ^{each} text.

(a) dehayne, in der Toyre shteyt:

'For example, it is written in the Torah:'

...

un in Gylem Hoelyen heyst dos:'and in the ^upper ^world this means:' (p. 116)(b) lemoshl es shteyt:

'For example, it is written:'

...

dos meynt men:

'What is meant is:' (p. 116)

6. Summation

Halperin's summations are far less uniform and rely less heavily on consistent procedural signals than do the other elements of the sermon. Forms of conclusion include:

- (i) repetition and synopsis of the argument;
- (ii) use of clauses introduced by words such as derúm and iber dem 'therefore; for this reason' identifying the given explanation as the cause of the phenomenon being explained;
- (iii) use of phrases appropriate for this purpose, employed more frequently by other traditional Yiddish preachers, but drawn upon by Halperin mostly for transitional and editorial purposes.

6.1. rayes. The three arguments formally designated as rayes 'proofs' constitute an exception to the above generalization. Each ends with the same procedural signal:

iz (dokh) a simen

' ... so this shows that ... ' (pp. 123, 123, 125)

6.2. Transitional elements. Although the ~~expression~~ ~~announcement~~ in (a) is used to announce the logical outcome of an argument, the parallel expressions in (b) and (c), in context, serve a function that is merely transitional.

- (a) ... nor vos den muz men zogn, az ...
 ' ... But what in fact do we have to say?
 That ... ' (p. 137)
- (b) nor vos den? ...
 'What, rather, is the case? ... ' (p. 113)
- (c) tsum sof vos zen /sic/ mir?
 'In the end what do we see?' (p. 137)

Other phrases used to indicate progression are given in (d) and (e).

- (d) vayter ...
 'Further ... ' (p. 130)
- (e) tsu vayter:
 'Furthermore:' (p. 113)

6.3. Time-stalls. Sometimes phrases such as (a)-(c) are used to announce the conclusion or to emphasize the truthfulness of an assertion (See below). More frequently, however, they add nothing to the presentation and are used to take up time and allow the speaker to gather his thoughts. Cf. Rosenberg

1970:9.

- (a) mir zen /sic/
'we see' (numerous examples)
- (b) zen /sic/ mir
' so we see' (numerous examples)
- (c) ... makht zikh
' ... it turns out' (p. 109)

6.4. Corroboration. Again, while there is some overlap with the function of announcing summation, e.g. (a) in both groups below, most of the procedural signals below are of a polemical and exhortative nature, coming before an assertion to stress its reliability and self-understood nature.

6.41. With farshteyn 'to understand'.

- (a) ... farshteyt men: az ...
' ... so it's understood that ... ' (p. 114)
- (b) oykh farshteyt yederer az ...
'Everyone also understands that ... '
(p. 102)
- (c) ... iz iberik tsu dertseyln, ir farshteyt
aleyn, az ...
' ... doesn't have to be told; you yourself
know/can figure out ... ' (p. 106)

- (d) ... dos farshtéyt yeder farshtendlekher
mentsh--az ...
 '... every reasonable person understands
 this--that ... ' (p. 118)
- (e) yeder farshtendlekher mentsh farshtéyt vi ...
 'Every reasonable person understands what
 [sic] ... ' (p. 136)
- (f) zelbstfarshtendlekh, az ...
 'It is self-evident that ... ' (p. 102)
- (g) ... iz farshtendlekh:
 '... is clear/self-evident:' (p. 104)

6.42. With other lexical items.

- (a) haynt, az mir zeen, az ...
 'Since we see that ... '
muz dokh zayn, az ...
 'it really must be that ... ' (p. 134)
- (b) dos iz bavúst, az ...
 'It is well known that ... ' (p. 109)
- (c) es iz bavúst af der velt, az ...
 'It is well known in the world that ... '
 i.e. 'Everyone knows that ... ' (p. 139)
- (d) mir veysn gants gut, az ...
 'We know rather well that ... ' (p. 111)
- (e) ... ale veysn, az ...
 ... everyone knows that ... ' (p. 102)

- (f) beemes /iz/ dokh take /azoy geven/ ...
 'Actually, in fact, /it was/ really /so/
 ... ' (p. 125)
- (g) der seykhl zagt ...
 'Logic has it ... ' (p. 123)

The use of these forms to corroborate and reinforce the presentation appears to contrast vividly with Halperin's frequent assertion that human understanding is inadequate to deal with the problems he is discussing. However, what Halperin means by 'self-evident' is 'self-evident within the particular context of the revelation of the Torah'.

But as long as the soul is in the body, a person cannot understand /farshteyn/ the reward and punishment that the soul can sense; so the Torah couldn't indicate the reward and punishment of the world-to-come, because it is incomprehensible /umfarshtendlekh/ for a living person. Therefore the Torah said only those things that everyone can understand /farshteyn/.
 (p. 105)

... everything you see in life you don't understand /farshteyt/ at all, ... everything you see in life is absolutely extraordinary

... (p. 125)

The 'intellect' /seykhl/ doesn't understand
/farshtéyt/ it at all, because what G-d has created
according to his laws--that, human intellect
/der mentshlekher seykhl/ cannot understand
/farshtéyn/ (p. 126).

7. Miscellaneous functions

7.1. Title and raison d'etre. The same system of recurrent announcements is to be found in the sharblat 'title page', which includes the quotation from the Ethics of the Fathers that inspired the title and the work itself.

di ^Mmishne zagt in ^Mmasekhes ^Ooves ^Pperek
^{beyz} ^Mmishne yud ^{tes} tes:

'The Mishna says in Tractate Fathers,
 Chapter 2, Mishna 19:

"Ved^á ma shetoshiv leapikoyres" [Hebrew;
 large letters]

'Know what to respond to a heretic.'

[Modestly interpretive Yiddish translation:]

'Every Jew must know what to answer the
 heretic. Therefore we have written this
 book, in which the attentive reader will
 find enough material against heresy ... '

7.2. Narrative frame. For the most part, Halperin's arguments are set in a narrative frame consisting of an exchange of questions and answers.

The participants in the dialogue are Ruvn 'Reuben' and Shimen 'Simon', the prototypical male 'so and so's' of rabbinic literature, x and y, a non-pejorative Tom and Dick (The Jewish 'Harry' would be Leyvi 'Levi', the latter three being the first three sons of the Patriarch Jacob). Their female counterparts are the three (or when necessary, four) Matriarchs: Sore 'Sarah', Rivke 'Rebecca', Rokhl 'Rachel' and Leye 'Leah', e.g. Pietruszka (1966:4).

Phrases such as (a)-(e) occur in other contexts--oral contexts--in manufactured incidents designed to illustrate issues of the halokhe 'Jewish religious-ethical law'. The dialogue between Ruvn and Shimen contributes to the informal tone of the presentation, allowing for the introduction of questions, answers, or narrations that would derive, otherwise, simply from the sermon itself.

(a) fregt Ruvn:

'So Reuben asks:' (pp. 99, 118)

(b) entfert Shimen:

'So Simon answers:' (p. 101, 119)

(c) zagt Shimen:

'So ^{Simon}~~Shimen~~ says:' (p. 122)

(d) zagt Shimen tsu ^Rruvenen:

'So ^{Simon}~~Shimen~~ says to Reuben:' (p. 134)

- (e) ... zagt Shimen ...
 ' ... ^{Simon}~~Shimen~~ says, ... ' (pp. 109, 113)

7.3. Direct address. Reuven and Shimen address each other directly, and there is a sense in which they simultaneously address Halperin's audience. When Halperin ends the dialogue near the conclusion of the work and assumes the first person voice, he addresses his audience directly, but not as frequently as other traditional Yiddish preachers. Cf. 9.4., below.

- (a) her oys khaver!
 'Listen, friend!' (pp. 101, 122)
- (b) ... liber khaver, ... zog mir ...
 ' ... dear friend, ... tell me ... ' (p. 118)
- (c) hert oys ^Yidn ...
 'Listen, Jews [i.e. people] ... ' (p. 131)
- (d) shtelt aykh for ...
 'Just imagine ... ' (p. 135)

8. Procedural signals *and citation in context*

8.1. Excerpts from a complete parable (pp. 114-116).

[3., 7.12.] nokh a terets, zogt Shimen,
kon men zogn mit a moshl:

'Another solution, says ^{Simon}~~Shimen~~,
 can be given by way of a parable:'

... [parable-tale]

[6.42.] dos iz dokh bavúst, az ...

'^of course, it's well known that ... '

[5.11.] amól [sic]

'Once upon a time'

...

[5.12.] der nimshl iz:

'The object of the parable is:'

--The ignoramuses that do not understand the Torah, ask [questions] and make fun of the Torah, because they don't understand

[Appendix] vos in der Toyre shteyt,

'what is written in the Torah,'

[5.32.1.] vi Dovid-hameylekh zogt in Tilim:

'as King David says in Psalms:'

"gal eynay veabitah nifl²⁰at toratekah"

-- open my eyes for me so that I
can see the wonders of your Torah.

Every letter of the Torah is a map which shows
the upper worlds, how they work.

And every thing that was and what will be.

[5.32.2.] ^azoy vi der Rambá"n shraybt:

'Just as Nahmanides writes:'

In the [Biblical] Portion Haazinu ['Give ear',
Deuteronomy 32] all of the persons in the entire
world are inscribed, as well as what will happen
to them in this world.

Thus only those who can study and understand
the letters of the Torah, with all the crowns of the
Holy Torah, [only] they know the pshat 'simple
meaning' of the Torah [~~1.25., 3.1.~~ ^{5.31.}].

[5.52] dehayne

'For example,'

[Appendix] in der Toyre shteyt:

'in the Torah it is written:'

"dagan tirosh veyitshar"

corn, wine, oil,
and in the upper world

[5.31.] heyst dos:

'this means:'

"hohmah, binah veda'at".

'wisdom, understanding, knowledge'.

...

8.2. A raye (p. 123).

[4.4.] nokh a raye vel ikh dir gebn,
az di Toyre iz min-hashomayim, mit a fakt
fun der Toyre.

'I will give you [yet] another proof
 that the Torah is of divine origin, with an incident
 from the Torah.'

When Moses was about to die, he called Joshua
 to him and made him ruler over the Jews;

[5.41.] in lebm zeen mir punkt kapoyer,
 'in life we see exactly the opposite,'
 every person first wants to take care
 of his own children, [and only]
 afterwards he takes care of
 outsiders;

[5.41.] in der Toyre zeen mir farkért,
 'in the Torah we see the opposite,'
 that Moses completely distanced his
 own children from leadership,
 he chose Joshua, and Joshua took
 Moses' place; he led the Jews
 to the Land of Israel.

[6.11.] iz a simen--

'So this is a clear indication--'
that the Torah is of divine origin; G-d wanted it
this way and Moses did not oppose Him.

9. Comparison with other sermon-texts

Other traditional Yiddish texts of sermons, stories, and divrey Toyre 'words of Torah' make extensive use of procedural signals. For the most part, it will be left as an exercise for the reader to explore more fully the texts discussed below and to note the similarities to and differences from the system of procedural signals used in Halperin's Vedá. In sections 9.1. and 9.2., the subheadings correspond to the sections in the analysis of Halperin's Vedá.

9.1. Rubin's ^{AH}Á'aves Toyre

2. The posing of exegetical difficulties/

- (a) iz a kashe, farvos [sic] ...

'So there's a question, why ... ' (p. 7)

- (b) iz es kashe [ksh cf. ksy?]:

'So this text presents a difficulty:' (p. 9)

- (c) nokh a kashe ken men fregn:

'Another question can be asked:' (p. 12)

- (d) oyb azoy, iz a kashe af Rashen.

'If so, this presents a difficulty for
Rashi['s statement]. (p. 12)

- (e) iz faran do etvas vos fodert derklerung. [!]

'So there is something here that requires
explanation.' (p. 12)

Note the variant spelling of kashe in (b); the use of
the preposition af in (c); the germanicization etvas
for epes 'something' and the modernistic ending,
in (e).

3., 4.2., 4.3. Announcement of resolution,
introduction of stories and ^{of} other ^{citations.} ~~quotes~~

- (a) mir hobn geleynt in di heylike sforim
a mayse vegn ...

'We have read in the holy books
a story about ... ' (p. 12)

- (b) ken men farentfern mit dem vos es vert
dertseylt in der Gemore 'Sanhedrin' ...

'So [the problem] can be solved with what is
told in the Gemara, [Tractate] Sanhedrin ... '
(p. 7)

- (c) didozike ^[sic] tsvey kashes ken men farentfern
loyt dos ^[sic] vos es shteyt in der
Gemore Brokhes:

'These two difficulties can be resolved according to what's written in the Gemara [Tractate] 'Blessings:' (p. 13)

(d) nor der terets iz, vi es shteyt in Tilim:

'Rather the explanation is, as [i.e. what] it says in Psalms:' (p. 9)

(e) un dos iz der terets vos shteyt in Tilim ...

'And this is the explanation recorded in Psalms ... ' (p. 9)

Note the joining together in one clause of the 'announcement of resolution' and 'introduction of further points of reference' in all examples except (a).

5.3. Announcement of explanation.

(a) ... dos heyst ...

' ... this means ... ' (pp. 9, 13, 15)

(b) dos meynt ...

'This means ... ' (p. 16)

(c) ... dos meynt men ...

' ... what's meant is ... ' (p. 11)

(d) anshtot ... ken ~~+++~~ vayifgeu vo fartaytsht vern:

'Instead of ... vayifgeu vo can be translated:' (p. 17)

6. Summation.

- (a)
- fun dem álemen iz klor az ...

'From all of this it's clear that ... '

(p. 18)

- (b)
- fun dem ken men farshteyn az ...

'From this it can be understood that ... "

(p. 10)

- (c)
- farshteyt^{en} mir shoyn itst az ...

'So now we finally understand that ... '

(p. 14)

- (d)
- dos bavayzt az ...

'This shows that ... ' (p. 8)

9.2. AH Mayses meyhagedoylim vehatsadikim

In AH Mayses (? :1-3) the following procedural signals appear, paralleling those listed in the sections indicated.

1. The introduction of a text [--here, a statement].

- (a)
- der Balg^{Hat} Tanya zy"o [zekhusoy yogeyn oleynu]
-
- flegt zogn:

'The Author of the Tanya, may his merit protect us, used to say:' (p. 1)

- (b)
- in seyfer AH arvey nakhl shteyt

- In Willows of the Brook it is written (p. 2)
- (c) in der Tsvoe fun hagoen hakodoysh ... shteyt
geshribn az

In the will of the illustrious and holy master
 ... it stands written that (p. 2)

4.2. introduction of a mayse 'story'.

- (a) in seyfer ... fun ... vert gebrengt a mayse vos
 (b) beseyfer ... vert gebrengt a mayse az

'In the [holy] book ... by ... a story
 is brought which (p. 1)

'In the [holy] book ... a story is brought,
 that (p. 2)

5.3. Development of an earlier statement: explanation;

- (a) der Abudrahám zagt a tam, vayl ...
 'Abudraham gives [lit. says] a reason--
 because ... ' (p. 1)
- (b) der Pshiskher zy"o flogt zogn a tam, vayl ...
 'The Pshiskher Rebbe, may his merit protect

us, used to give a reason--because ... '

(p. 1)

(c) ... un hot gezogt dem tam: vayl...

'and explained why: Because ... '

(p. 2)

(d) dehayne

'namely' (p. 3)

5.32.1. Direct support-text.

vi es shteyt:

as it is written: [Psalms 24:1] (p. 1)

6. Summation.

der emes iz ober az ...

The truth is, however, that ... (p. 3)

9.3. I.J. Schneersohn's Seyfer maymarim (pp. 29-31)
AH

In this work, the following procedural signals
(given in sequence) frame the development of the maymar
'essay':

1. ... Dovid Hameylekh zogt ...

' ... King David says ... ' (p. 29)

2. ... badarfn [sic] farshteyn far vos ...
 ' ... s^o [we] have to understand why ... '
 (p. 29)
3. badarfn [sic] farshteyn vos iz der yisroyn ...
 [We have] to understand what the advantage
 is ... (p. 30)
4. farshteyn dos darf men frier farshteyn
dos vos men hot erklert [sic] az ...
 'In order to understand this, one must first
 understand that which was explained, [earlier]
 that ... (p. 30)
5. der tam-hadover iz vayl ...
 'The rationale is because ... ' (p. 30)
6. ... vi es shteyt ...
 ' ... as it is written ... ' (p. 30)
7. ... un es shteyt der [sic] vort ^{AH}timtse ...
 ' ... and the word ^{AH}timtse is written ... '
 (p. 30)
8. ... dos heyst ...
 ' ... that is ... ' (p. 30)
9. heyst dos
 ' ... which means ... ' (p. 30)
10. ... dos heyst ... (p. 31)
11. ... vos mit dem vet men farshteyn dem maymer
raza"l ...

' ... through which the statement of our rabbis of blessed memory will be understood ... ' (p. 31)

12. dos heyst (p. 31, twice)

13. iz der emes

'So the truth is ... ' (p. 31)

14. dos heyst (p. 31)

9.4. Zalmanowitz's ~~(1929)~~ *AN Croches far ale*

1. moray-veraboysay!

'My teachers and masters!' i.e. 'Gentlemen!' (p. 5)

2. ... рабоysay ...

... Gentlemen ... (p. 5, twice)

3. es farshteyt zikh ...

It is self-evident ... (p. 5)

4. nor farkert nokh...

Rather the opposite [is true] ... (p. 5)

5. mir veysn dokh gants gut, az ...

We all know very well of course that ... (p. 5)

6. ober es iz dokh a kashe ...

But there's a problem ... (p. 5)

7. mir viln [sic] nokh mer di umgerékhtikeyt
fun undzer farlang farshteyn durkh a moshl.
 We will understand even more the injustice
 of our demand by means of a parable. (p. 6)
8. dos zelbe iz oykh mit undz, raboysay.
 The same [thing holds true] for us too,
 Gentlemen. (p. 6)

See also M. ~~M.~~ Schneersohn ^{an Sikhes} ~~(1978)~~.

10. Suggestions for further work

For a discussion of 'psycho-ostensive' expressions, used extensively in Yiddish sermon-texts, e.g. Rakhmane litslán! 'May the Merciful One preserve us!', see Matisoff (1973). A good starting point for diachronic consideration of procedural signals in Yiddish would be Carmell (1975:7-32,6) which lists 'those words and phrases which recur with considerable frequency in the Gemorrah [sic], and which are in fact the "operator words" of the Talmudic argument'. Other features of traditional Yiddish sermon-texts worthy of analysis include:

- (i) repetition and parallelism in individual lines of the substantive presentation, cf. Rosenberg (1969:77);
- (ii) 'rhetorical questions' of a variety of forms and functions;
- (iii) canonical 'syntactic' patterns that constitute standard elements of the rabbinic syllogism, e.g., kal vekhoymer 'a fortiori argument'.
- (iv) other distinctive metrical and intonational

patterns.

Appendix

Signalling the source of citations (and other information)

Traditional Yiddish sermon-texts make extensive use of citations from basic texts: the Bible, the Talmud, and later classical religious works. Whether or not a source is mentioned explicitly, a citation is usually preceded by an introductory statement that both announces the citation and signals implicitly either its source in the literature or some other important information about it.

In Halperin's Veda, the two verbs most commonly used in statements introducing citations are shteyn lit. 'to stand' but probably a shortened form of shteyn geshribn 'to stand written', and zogn 'to say'. References with shteyn refer overwhelmingly to the books of the Bible. References with zogn, on the other hand, refer most frequently to the Mishna and the Gemara and Maimonides, i.e. to rabbinic and post-rabbinic 'literature'. This lexical dichotomy appears to correspond significantly to a fundamental distinction in Judaism between torah šebiktav and torah šeba'al-peh 'the written Torah' and 'the oral Torah', i.e. the Bible, and the oral law and lore

that only later came to constitute rabbinic literature. The major exception to the rule is readily explicable: References with zogn that refer to Psalms, Proverbs, and Prophets seem to be the result of 'rearticulation', defined here as the citation in a sermon-text of a statement in a classical work or in oral lore as though repeated by the original speaker. ~~Other less frequent~~
^E ^{to the rule} exceptions suggest the possibility that signal-meaning pairs other than the above may be used in parallel contexts for similar purposes. As in the body of ^{this} ~~the~~ work, the terminology of traditional grammar is adopted in the Appendix for purposes of convenience only. For a more complete and correct approach to grammar see Diver (1978).

1. shteyn

1.1. Presentation and discussion of the data.

Eight of the eleven citations with shteyn in Halperin's Vedá (1926/27) are from the Pentateuch; one, (c), appears to be from Joshua, but is actually from Malachi; another, (d), is from Job; and another, (e), is from the zmires 'traditional sabbath-songs'.

(a) un baym oynesh shteyt:

'And regarding punishment it is written:'

(p. 116)

(b) ... bay Avrom-Ovinen shteyt:

' ... regarding Father Abraham it's written:'

(p. 120)

(c) ... azoy vi es shteyt bay Yehoshuen:

' ... just as it is written concerning

Joshua:' (p. 105)

* * *

(d) ... es shteyt in Iyev:

' ... it is written in Job:' (p. 137)

(e) ... es shteyt in di zmires:

' ... it is written in the Sabbath songs:'

(p. 135)

(f) in Krishme shteyt,

'In the Recitation of Shema it is written,'

(p. 99)

(g) ~~azoy~~ shteyt in der parshe fun Vehoye im Shamoye

'So it is written in the Portion of "It shall be if you will listen":' (p. 100)

(h) ... vayl es shteyt in der Toyre in Parshes Akhrey:

'because it is written in the Torah in the Portion "After":' (p. 118)

(i) in der Toyre shteyt

'In the Torah it is written' (pp. 124, 116)

* * *

(j) ... es shteyt in posek

' ... it is written in the biblical verse:' (pp. 142, 112)

(k) ... es shteyt:

' ... it is written:' (p. 116)

In examples (d)-(j), shteyn takes the preposition in 'in', identifying a written source. In examples (a)-(c), however, the preposition bay 'regarding' is used to identify a topic of discussion. Identification

of the source, a sign of learnedness, seems to be preferred to the identification of a topic of discussion.

The references to the Pentateuch as a source vary in degree of specificity: The most specific, (f) and (g), refer to the prayer Shema and one of its sections, respectively. Example (h) refers to a particular weekly portion of the Torah, Parshes Akhrey 'After /the death/', Leviticus 16:1-18:30. The use of the phrase Parshes Akhrey makes the preceding phrase redundant: It is common knowledge in traditional Jewish culture that Parshes Akhrey is in der Toyre 'in the Torah'. Rather, the appearance of in der Toyre in (h) seems to be a continuation of the most common, almost generic statement presented in (i). In fact, it is the overwhelming use of shteyn for passages in the Pentateuch that allows for the use of the abbreviatory expressions in (j) and (k) to signal citation from the Pentateuch without so specifying.

The verb shteyn is also used in indirect reference to the religious literature, in cases of allusion without citation.

- (a) ... dos vos se 'shteyt in der Toyre,
' ... that which is written in the Torah,'

dos [sic] guts kayt fun der erd ...

'the goodness of the earth ... ' (p. 113)

(b) un in der Toyre shteyt

'And in the Torah [there] is written'

nor skhar veeynesh vos iz far ale glaykh ...

'only reward and punishment that [applies to] everyone equally' ... (p. 113)

(c) un dos vos in der Toyre shteyt:

'And what it says in the Torah:'

...

dos iz nisht ...

'this is not ... '

dos meynt men alts az ...

'all this means is that ... ' (p. 102)

(d) ... un dortn zol shteyn azoy:

... and there [in the Recitation of Shema]

it should say as follows:' (p. 100)

In (a) and (b), topics discussed previously are identified, 'the goodness of the earth' and 'reward and punishment that [applies to] everyone equally'. Examples (c) and (d) provide reiterations of earlier statements.

1.2. Probable historical antecedent. The use

of the verb shteyn in Halperin's ^{Veda'}~~(1926/27)~~ in two different but parallel contexts offers evidence that expressions with shteyn can be traced to the phrase es shteyt geshribn 'it stands written'. The first collection of additional data is a set of references to the law-books of a king, in a parable relating to the Torah and G-d. As in references to the religious literature, the verb shteyn is used. Unlike the latter however, the former always involve an 'adjectival participial complement', either farshribn 'inscribed' or oysgerekhnt 'enumerated', as in (a)-(c). The 'verb' shteyn appears in the singular even with a plural subject.

- (a) ... in di gezetsn shteyt oykh farshribn ...
 ' ... in the laws it also stands inscribed ... '
 (p. 109)
- (b) ... fartike gezets-bikher vu es shteyt
 [sic!] oysgerekhnt ale gezetsn, zoln mir
nokhkukn, vos dort shteyt farshribn ...
 ' ... complete law-books in which all the
 laws stand enumerated; so we should check,
 what stands inscribed there ... ' (p. 110)
- (c) ... dortn in di bikher shteyt farshribn ...
 ' ... there in the books stand inscribed ... '

(p. 110)

A parallel form may be postulated for the religious context; namely, es shteyt geyshribn 'it stands written'. This form, with the verb 'write', has a parallel in rabbinic literature, kemo shekatuv 'as it is written', and would also explain the second collection of additional data, references to the Torah using some form of aroyshteyn 'to stand out' [?!] i.e. 'to state explicitly' as in representative examples (d) and (e).

(d) ... dos shteyt nisht aroys in der Toyre ...

' ... that isn't stated explicitly in the Torah ... ' (p. 114)

(e) ... kon dokh nisht aroys shteyn [sic] in der Toyre der skhar mitn oynesh ...

' ... So accordingly, reward and punishment cannot be stated explicitly in the Torah ... ' (p. 113)

The parallel earlier form, shteyn aroýsgeshribn 'to stand written explicitly' has its reflex in contemporary Yiddish: aroýsshraybn 'to write explicitly'; Harkavy 1928:88. The formation aroyshteyn as well as the set of expressions with shteyn would thus appear to be the result of an ellipsis. In fact, the phrase

es shteyt geshribn is attested to in other sermon-texts, e.g. Rubin's ^{AH}Á'aves ^Tzoyre (8,11,13).

2. zogn

Statements introducing citations from rabbinic literature and early post-rabbinic literature rely overwhelmingly on the verb zogn 'to say', as in (a)-(b), (c)-(e), and (f); ^{announcing}~~signalling~~, respectively, citations from the Mishna, the Gemara, and Maimonides. Note, incidentally, that all of the introductory statements point to the location of the citation rather than to a topic; cf. above.

- (a) ... azoy vi di Mishne zogn in Oves:
' ... just as the Mishna says in Fathers:'
(p. 103)
- (b) di Mishne zogn in Masekhes Oves Perek
B[eyz] Mishne Y[ud-]"T[es]:
'The Mishna says in Tractate Fathers,
Chapter 2, Mishna 19:' (p. 97)
- (c) ... azoy vi di Gemore zogn:
' ... just as the Gemara says:' (p. 102)
- (d) ^Gdi gemore zogn in Shabes:
'The Gemara says in Sabbath:' (p. 131)

- (e) ... azoy vi di ^Gemore zocht in Kidushn Daf
M' [em]:
 ' ... just as the Gemara says in Kidushin,
 Leaf 40:' (p. 111)
- (f) der Ramba"m zocht, az ...
 'Maimonides says that ... ' (p. 102)

Different degrees of specificity appear; cf. (f) and (c) as against (a) and (d), as against (b) and (e). The exactness of reference, as in (b) and (e), results from the popular value attached to the study of an extensive religious literature. 'Pin-men' could go even further in the specification of location: They could identify all the words in a volume of the Gemara that would be pierced by a pin set through it at any given point.

3. 'Rearticulations'

Citations from Psalms and Proverbs are placed in the mouths of the folk-heroes identified by the tradition as the authors of these works: King David and King Solomon, respectively. This procedure enhances the authority of the citation.

- (a) ... Dovid-Hameylekh zocht in Tilim:

' ... King David says in Psalms:' (p. 115)

- (b) af dem zocht Dovid-Hameylekh o[lev-]"h[asholem]
in Tilim:

'On this, King David of blessed memory
says in Psalms:' (p. 108)

- (c) Shloyme-Hameylekh zocht in Mishley:

'King Solomon says in Proverbs:' (p. 143)

Similarly, introductions to statements from the prophets sometimes use zogn in order to reenact the original act of enunciation and to bring to mind the theological status of the citation as 'the word of G-d through his prophets'.

- (a) haynt az der novi zocht:

'Since the Prophet says:' (p. 120)

- (b) ... vi der novi zocht:

' ... as the Prophet says:' (p. 142)

However, the words of the Torah are not cited as the sayings of Moses because unlike David, Solomon, and the prophets, Moses seems to have been a potential candidate for divine worship. To help avoid the problem of a man turned G-d, Moses' role was kept in its place. That, according to the rabbis, is one reason that his gravesite is unknown and the major cause of the omission of his name from the Haggadah, even in its denial of human divinity: "And the

L-ord brought us forth out of Egypt": not by the hands of an angel, not by the hands of a seraph, and not by the hands of a messenger, but the Holy One, blessed be he, himself, in his own glory and in his own person.' Glatzer (1969:37).

Finally, at least in the case of Psalms, there seems to be extensive cultural precedence for regarding Psalms as an oral phenomenon rather than a written one and, consequently, for using zogn rather than shteyn. The Jewish tradition views prayer as a form of speech and requires movement of the lips even during the so-called 'silent prayer'. The statement 'Let us pray' followed by silence and bowed heads, typical of many Christian denominations, is foreign to Judaism. Within this context, the 'songs of praise' of King David, i.e. Psalms, epitomize prayer. This viewpoint finds its expression in the Sabbath morning service. Birnbaum (1949:334,336; 332):

By the mouth of the upright thou art
praised;

By the speech of the righteous thou art
blessed;

By the tongue of the faithful thou art
extolled;

Inside the holy thou art sanctified.

In the assemblies of the tens of thousands of thy people, the house of Israel, with ringing song shall thy name, our King, be glorified in every generation; for this is the duty of all creatures towards thee, L-ord our G-d and G-d of our fathers, to thank and praise, laud and glorify, extol and honor, bless and exalt and acclaim thee, even beyond all the songs of praise by David, son of Jesse thy anointed servant.

Were our mouth filled with song as the sea /is with water/, and our tongue with ringing praise as the roaring waves; were our lips full of adoration as the wide expanse of heaven, and our eyes sparkling like the sun or the moon; were our hands spread out in prayer as the eagles of the sky, and our feet as swift as the deer-- we should still be unable to thank thee and bless thy name ...

These passages appear in all traditional Jewish liturgies but the attitude expressed is incorporated further into the language and folklore of East European Jewry: One does not 'read' psalms; one 'says' psalms.

~~As~~ ^A folk saying warns: Yidn, farlózt zikh nisht

af ken nisim--zogt tilim! 'Jews, don't rely on miracles--say /recite/ Psalms!' The tilim-zoger is one who recites Psalms for a sick person or for someone who has died. The zogerke/firzogern is a woman who knows how to read the prayers and prompts the other women who do not.

4. Exceptions

Introductory statements that are anomolous with respect to the system described above suggest the lines along which other systems may be constituted. In addition, these special cases show that a given sermon-text can rely on an integrated system of signal-meaning pairs and still use anomolous forms in isolated instances.

(i) ... der Rambán shraybt: ' ... ~~Nach~~manides writes:' (p. 115) points to the possibility of a three-way contrast, with formations with shteyn signalling Bible ; zogn, rabbinic literature and earlier or more classical post-rabbinic literature; and shraybn, later or less classical post-rabbinic literature.

(ii) dos iz der gedánk fun pos²yk: 'This is the thought of the verse:' (p. 136) points to the

possibility that forms other than 'verbs' can be used to carry the load of the signalling of the source. This particular phrase is used to introduce the coda to a long narrative, and the preacher may have wanted to stress the fact that he was providing a summation to his presentation.

(iii) Vi der posuk^e zagt: 'As the [Biblical] verse says:' (p. 116) may simply be an anomaly in terms of Halperin's system.

5. Comparison with other texts

As stated above, the lexical dichotomy in Halperin's Veda in 'verbs of citation' corresponds significantly to the religio-cultural dichotomy between 'the written Torah' and 'the oral Torah', i.e. the Bible and rabbinic literature: The source itself is largely determinative of the verb, and the lexical dichotomy corresponds directly to the religio-cultural one. In other works, however (not all of which are sermon-texts but all of which utilize parallel systems of signals), different possibilities are realized: The verbs shteyn and zogn, originally associated with the oppositions between the Bible and rabbinic literature,

~~have~~ become independent of ^{these} ~~the~~ sources and signal instead contrasting secondary characteristics of the sources, in reference to later works.

It is very difficult to formulate accurately the attitude of the tradition toward the Torah šebiktav - Torah šeba'alpeh dichotomy. The modest attempt that follows is no substitute for the lengthy consideration required but should suffice to indicate the broad contours of the essential points.

According to the tradition, although Torah šebiktav and Torah šeba'alpeh were both given at Mount Sinai and are inextricably bound together (and although both appear in written form today), there is a sense in which the following contrasts apply:

<u>Bible</u>		<u>rabbinic 'literature'</u>
(1) written	<u>vs.</u>	oral
(2) earlier and authoritative	<u>vs.</u>	later and interpretative
(3) essential	<u>vs.</u>	less essential

¶ The writing down of the Mishna and Gemara was undertaken during a period of attrition in order to prevent the loss of what would otherwise have been irretrievable knowledge. This act contravened the dicta of earlier ages requiring the maintenance

of strict boundaries between the written and the oral. The essential distinction remains.

¶ Although many sections of the Bible cannot be understood at all without the oral law, much of the oral law that was taught to Moses at Sinai and passed along through each generation (either in specific or in general terms) was articulated for the record by sages who lived much later, frequently disagreed, but reached in their consensuses the law as it was originally taught or intended.

¶ Every letter and dot of the Torah is considered to be the word of G-d and deserving of study, interpretation, and obedience while not all of the statements of the rabbis have the same degree of legal force, in particular minority opinions and statements of aggadah, rabbinic dicta of an extra-*halakhic* nature. See Rashi's comments on Exodus 1:5 and Numbers 11:8 for ^{examples of} the respectful disagreement of a later commentator with earlier authorities.

Within these limitations, there is a real contrast between the Bible as written, earlier and authoritative, and essential, and the Talmud and Midrash as oral, later and interpretative, and 'less' essential. In the traditional Yiddish texts

under consideration, these characteristics have become dissociated from their 'objects' and adhere independently to the corresponding verbs of citation. The 'anomolous cases' in Halperin's Vedá, 4., above, are in fact more fully developed in these other texts: Verbs other than shteyn and zogn are used to identify additional kinds of material; and forms other than verbs are used for these purposes.

Table 3 summarizes the differences in the systems of signal-meaning pairs used in each text to indicate the source of each citation and/or other information about it. The lexical items used most commonly in each system are marked by heavy shading of the boxes enclosing them. Items used infrequently have their page number indicated. In Landau's ^{AH}Hadrás (5-9), as in Halperin's Vedá, zogn is used for rabbinic literature and, in addition, for statements of contemporaries; shraybn, used extensively, refers to books written by contemporaries. In this system shteyt geshribn is used for an esoteric Midrash and fertseyln for an anecdote. In ^{AH}Mayses (1-3), shteyn and zogn are no longer tied to particular texts such as the Bible and the Talmud. Rather, they simply define the categories 'written' and 'oral' respectively.

1		2
Halperin, <u>Vedá</u>		AH <u>Hadrás E-1st-ohu</u> (5-9)
verb or other form	signals	<u>shteyn geshribn</u>
<u>shteyn</u>	Pentateuch	esoteric Midrash (p. 6)
<u>zogn</u>	rabbinic literature; earlier or more classical post- rabbinic literature	<u>zogn</u> rabbinic literature
	rearticulations; Psalms, Proverbs Prophets, (Pentateuch)	statements of contem- poraries
<u>shraybn/</u> other 'verbs'	later or less classical post- rabbinic literature (p. 115)	<u>shraybn</u> books of contemporaries
		<u>fartseyln</u> 'tells' story (p. 9)
other forms	<u>der gedáńk fun posuk</u> ... 'the thought of the verse ... ' (p. 136)	

3	4	5
AH <u>Mayses</u> (1-3)	Schneersohn's (1-5) (1-5)	AH <u>Seyfer hamaymarim</u> (6-11)
<u>shteyn</u> (<u>geshribn</u>) written: 1. <u>sforim</u> 'books' 2. <u>tsvoe</u> 'will'	<u>shteyn</u> 1. basic text 2. authoritative (Bible, Midrash)	→ (Psalms, <i>Isaiah</i>) (pp. 8, 10)
(<u>flegn</u>) <u>zogn</u> : oral: explanation of a written state- ment	<u>zogn</u> 1. later interpre- tation 2. relaxed, casual (Midrash, Gemara, Rashi)	→
teaching of a contem- porary	Pentateuch, Baal Hatanya, the author	Jews: prayers; Song of Songs
stories 1. <u>vern gebrengt</u> 2. \emptyset	<u>taytshn</u> 'explains' Rashi (p. 5, twice) [cf. Rubin (1943) <u>makhn</u> ; pp. 7, 12, 16, 17]	<u>meynen</u> 'means' Gemara (p. 9)
<u>besheym</u> ^m 'In the name of [a contemporary]' (p. 3)	<u>ukhemaymer khazal</u> af <u>dem</u> <u>posuk</u> 'and like the say- ing of [our] r[abbis of] b[lessed]"m[emory] on the verse' (p. 3)	<u>ukhemaymer hayedue</u> 'and as the well- known saying [goes]' (p. 8); <u>un dos iz</u> <u>der maymer hagemore</u> (p. 8)

Verbs of citation in traditional Yiddish sermon-texts

Table 3

Stories are told without introduction or introduced by statements with vern gebréngt. The word besheým standing on its own introduces the statement of a contemporary of the author. The system in two essays of I.J. Schneersohn's ^{AH}Seyfer hamaymarim is basically consistent, but in the first essay, citations with shteyn predominate and in the second, citations with zogn. This contrast reflects a difference in style occasioned by a difference in function: The first text is the first essay in a large collection and is meant to be a strong beginning: It is characterized by extensive use of citation and an intensely exhortative tone. The second piece is philosophical and reflective; its fewer citations are low-keyed and relatively extraneous to the presentation. In each case, the verb signals the nature of the text rather than its source. Note that in each text, rearticulations with zogn are used for purposes similar to those discussed in 3., above. In many cases, zogn is used to indicate either actual immediacy in time or perceived immediacy in viewpoint, e.g. statements by 'contemporaries', 'the speaker', or ~~to~~ spiritual predecessors such as 'the Ba'al Hatanya' in I.J. Schneersohn's Seyfer hamaymarim. Needless

^{AH}

to say, the kinds of oppositions discussed here may not apply to all traditional Yiddish texts or may escape easy analysis. The reader is invited to examine Rubin's ^{AH}A'aves Toyre and Berekh Avrom [*author unknown*] and to attempt to formulate generalizations about the system of signal-meaning pairs used to identify the source of and/or convey other information about particular citations.

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