

**A Semantic Study
of Yiddish-Origin Lexemes
in English**

Pro gradu

Department of English

University of Helsinki

January 1993

David Landau

Tiedekunta/Osasto — Fakultet/Sektion/ — Faculty		Laitos — Institution — Department	
ARTS		ENGLISH	
Tekijä — Författare — Author DAVID LANDAU			
Työn nimi — Arbetets titel — Title A SEMANTIC STUDY OF YIDDISH-ORIGIN LEXEMES IN ENGLISH			
Oppiaine — Laroaine — Subject SEMANTICS			
Työn laji — Arbetets art — Level PRO GRADU	Aika — Datum — Month and year 1. 1993	Sivumäärä — Sidoantal — Number of Pages 156	
Tiivistelmä — Referat — Abstract			
<p>For somewhat more than a century Yiddish has been in close contact with English. One of the results of this contact has been lexical influence in both directions. The thesis deals with Yiddish-origin lexemes which have become incorporated into English. The emphasis is on areas and uses not directly involved with Jewish life, in other words, on those traits which have become an integral part of the English language and are used and understood by people who are not necessarily Jews.</p> <p>I start with a brief study of languages in contact, primarily following the outlines laid down by Uriel Weinreich in his book <i>Languages in Contact</i> (1953). This chapter is followed by a brief history of Yiddish and the development of Jewish English.</p> <p>The main body of the thesis is a semantic study of words borrowed from Yiddish into English. I follow the descriptive patterns set by Stephen Ullmann in his <i>Semantics: an Introduction to the Science of Meaning</i> (1973). The semantic study mainly examines lexemes found in the international edition of <i>Newsweek</i> and the <i>International Herald Tribune</i> in 1990-1992. The emphasis is thus on lexemes which are in current use.</p> <p>Following a discussion of matters of etymology and orthography I outline the procedures for the semantic study and continue with detailed discussion of the Yiddish-origin lexemes. At the end of the examination I discuss common features of the context in which these lexemes appear and try to determine why English has domesticated these words.</p> <p>I conclude the thesis with some general observations on this field of linguistic studies and suggestions for further topics to be examined as a continuation of this study.</p>			
Avainsanat — Nyckelord — Keywords CHANGE OF MEANING, YIDDISH			
Säilytyspaikka — Forvaringställe — Where deposited			
Muita tietoja — Övriga uppgifter — Further information			

Table of Contents

1. Introduction.....	1
2. Languages in Contact.....	2
3. Jewish Languages	4
3.1. A Short History of Yiddish.....	6
3.2. Jewish English	9
3.2.1. Jewish Settlement in the United States.....	9
3.2.2. Varieties of Jewish English	10
3.2.3. Written Jewish English.....	12
3.2.4. Borrowing from Jewish English into English.....	13
4. A Semantic Study of Lexemes of Yiddish Origin in English.....	14
4.1. Primary Sources	14
4.2. Secondary Sources	17
4.3. Etymology and Orthography.....	19
4.4. Procedures of the Semantic Study	24
4.5. Religio-Cultural Terms	26
4.5.1. kosher, treyfe.....	26
4.5.2. <i>shikse</i>	28
4.5.3. <i>davn</i>	29
4.5.4. to sit shive	31
4.5.5. ghetto, shtetl.....	34
4.5.6. gefilte fish	37
4.5.7. <i>beygl</i>	38
4.5.8. Jewish Holidays	39
4.6. Words and Expressions for General Use	41
4.6.1. khutspe	41
4.6.2. <i>shmooze</i>	47
4.6.3. bottom line, in short.....	51
4.6.4. Enough already, shush	56

4.6.5. dybbuk, Golem.....	59
4.6.6. <i>shm</i> -.....	60
4.6.7. <i>-nik</i>	62
4.6.8. <i>boor</i>	66
4.7. Human Types	69
4.7.1. <i>meyvn, kibitzer</i>	70
4.7.2. <i>mentsh</i>	74
4.7.3. <i>shlemiel et al.</i>	75
4.7.4. <i>meshuge</i>	79
4.7.5. <i>shmok</i>	80
4.7.6. <i>shmate</i>	82
4.7.7. Miscellany.....	83
4.8. Show Business Cant	83
4.8.1. <i>shtik</i>	84
4.8.2. <i>shlep</i>	85
4.8.3. <i>shlok</i>	86
4.8.4. <i>shmaltz</i>	87
4.8.5. <i>hokum</i>	87
4.9. Criminals' Argot.....	89
4.10. Summary.....	90
5. Conclusions.....	93
Notes	94
References.....	95
Appendix.....	99

1. Introduction

Yiddish is a West Germanic language, a geographical 'outpost' to the east on the periphery of continental Germania (Lass 1987: 12). It emerged a millennium ago as a fusion language, with Hebrew, Aramaic, Romance, and Germanic components and later acquired also Slavic components. For a bit more than a century it has been in a close contact with English, following the massive movement of Jews from Eastern Europe to America at the end of the last century.

This thesis deals with the result of this language contact upon English, with emphasis upon areas and uses not directly involved with Jewish life, in other words, upon those traits which have become integral part of the English language and are used and understood not only by Jews.

I start with a brief study of languages in contact, following mostly the outlines laid down by Uriel Weinreich in his book *Languages in Contact* (1953). This chapter is followed by a brief history of Yiddish and the development of Jewish English.

The main body of the study is a semantic study of words borrowed from Yiddish into English. I follow the descriptive patterns set by Stephen Ullmann in his *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning* (1972). The semantic study mainly examines lexemes found in the international edition of *Newsweek* and the *International Herald Tribune* in their 1990-1992 issues. The emphasis is, thus, on lexemes which are presently in use.

Following a discussion of matters of etymology and orthography I outline the procedures for the semantic study and continue with detailed discussion of the lexemes of Yiddish-origin. At the end of the examination I discuss common features of the context in which these lexemes appear and try to determine why English has domesticated these words.

I conclude the thesis with general observations on this field of linguistic studies and suggestions for further topics to be examined as a continuation of this study.

2. Languages in Contact

Uriel Weinreich (1953: 1) defines *languages in contact* as two or more languages used alternately by the same persons. *Interference* is the deviation from the norms of either languages in the speech of the individuals involved - bilinguals - as a result of this contact. One manifestation of linguistic interference is elements that are *borrowed* or *transferred* from one language to another.

David L. Gold (1986a: 133) maintains that *interference* is a pejorative term which may have the sense of 'contaminate'. He suggests instead using the term *influence*, which is a neutral and objective word. Other terms used in this field are *borrowing*, *transfer*, *switching*, *integration*, *domestication*, etc.

Weinreich studied interference in the phonetic, grammatical, and lexical domains. *Phonetic interference* arises when a bilingual reproduces a sound of one system according to the phonetic rules of another language. He does not deal with individual variation from person to person in speech - idiolectal variation - but with communiolectal or ethnolectal ones

Grammatical interference is expressed in outright transfer of morphemes from one language into speech of another, changes of word order as a result of a replication of the relation of another language, application of intonation patterns, and disappearance of grammatical categories. *Lexical interference* is the transfer of simple words and compound lexical elements.

In her study *The language of a bilingual community*, Joan R. Rayfield (1970) examined the English-Yiddish interference of a group of Yiddish-speaking Jews in a low-income suburb of Los Angeles. Essentially following Weinreich's model, she examined linguistic *interference* from these three aspects: phonetic, grammatical and lexical. She noticed that the English spoken by those whose mother tongue was Yiddish, had been subjected to a very high degree of phonetic interference from Yiddish (p.78).

In his study *Bilingualism and dialect mixture among Lubavitcher children* (1981), George Jochnowitz noticed that a failure to distinguish between /ɔ/ and /æ/ was typical of a Yiddish accent in English. Some of the informants did not distinguish *ten* from *tan* or *pen* from *pan* (p.735). Gold (1986a: 130) tells us how a Yiddish-speaker once expressed amazement to him over how a neighbor had given his two children, a boy and a girl, the "same" English names: Allen and Ellen.

Under *structural-phonetic-interference* Rayfield examined stress and intonation patterns. She maintained that the use of Yiddish intonation patterns was perhaps the most striking feature of the English of those whose mother tongue was Yiddish but spoke English almost perfectly. After examining contour changes, she concluded that there was a greater frequency of rising contour in Yiddish (p. 75).

As an illustration of one type of *grammatical interference* U. Weinreich (1953) mentioned the substitution of the sequence of sounds /_m/ for the initial consonant as a morphological device for expressing disagreement, for example *money shmoney* (p.34).

Another example of grammatical influence as a result of the contact between Yiddish and English is the occasional inversion of word order to reproduce Yiddish sentence pattern; along with the appropriate intonation, an English declarative form turns into an interrogative (Sol Steinmetz 1986: 72), for example: "*This Is the New World Order?*" (*Newsweek*, April 6, 1992: 21)

While examining *lexical interference* Rayfield recorded loanwords in each direction, but while the numbers of English loanwords in Yiddish was huge, the number of Yiddish loanwords in the speakers' English was very small. Examples of such loans are: *davenen* 'to pray', the connotation being specifically that of Jewish prayers; *ganev* 'thief'; *shnorer* 'beggar'; etc.

Two additional elements are stylistic and paralinguistic influence. Jews have a tendency to answer a question with a question ("Why do Jews always answer a question with a

question? Why not?"), to use more often than others rhetorical questions (Gold 1988: 276), and to use argument as sociability (Deborah Schiffrin 1984). They actively use their body, especially the hands, while talking.

When investigating certain traits of what is considered to be a Jewish stereotype, sometimes one has to resort to what Deborah Tannen (1981: 146) calls 'the aha factor.' In her study of New York Jewish conversational style she concluded that, for example, Jewish speakers tend to overlap and latch. But her findings were based on close observation and interviews with six speakers, which was too small number for generalizing. But when she explained these stylistic features in public or private forums, "a cry of relief goes up from many of my hearers - especially from intermarried couples, of whom only one partner is Jewish and from New York... If the family does not live in New York City, the misunderstanding often extend as well to children who complain that the New York parent does not listen to them and overreacts to their talk."

3. Jewish Languages

The history of Jewish languages (JLs) stretches through more than thirty centuries. Jews have been wandering from place to place and have been exposed to many non-Jewish languages. As a result, Jewish communities have shifted from one language to another.

Judaism makes a distinction between law and custom. Jewish law is sacred but custom is usually left to itself. The vernacular used by Jews appears to be a matter of custom only and therefore Jewish communities usually have had no great difficulties abandoning one language for the sake of another.

Scholars disagree about the number of JLs. Mark Yudel (1981: 120) counts sixteen or seventeen distinctly JLs, only three of them: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish, played a dominant role in the cultural history of the Jews. Gold (1986b: 94) maintains that a JL cannot be defined precisely, the same way as one cannot give an answer to the question of "how many colors" there are.

Since most Jewish languages do not have indigenous names, almost every Jewish lect has been called by more than one name. Leonard Prager (1986: 226) gives a list of 72 recommended English names of Jewish lects. Living in Finland, talking Finnish with my wife and Hebrew with my children, and reading the frequent mail from the Jewish community center in Helsinki, I suggest the addition of Jewish Finnish to the list.

Since Jews have been living in almost all the corners of the world, their languages have existed almost everywhere: the land of Israel with Ancient Hebrew and Ancient West Aramaic; Persia with Parsic; the Caucasus with Tatic, Greece with Yevanic; West Africa with Maaravic; Eastern Europe and countries all over the world with Yiddish; etc. (Birnbaum 1979: 15).

The existence of all these JLs is a striking phenomenon. After examining different elements like race, migration and loyalty, Birnbaum concludes (p.13) that the best explanation for this phenomenon is the group-forming factor. Language is an expression of group life. Since Jews have always endeavored to preserve their religion and communal cohesiveness, they have Judaized the newly adopted language and conversed it into an expression of Jewish culture. Moreover, Jews have always been using Hebrew and Aramaic for religious purposes, such as praying and studying, and all Jewish languages contain elements of Hebrew and Aramaic origin. Almost all JLs are written in Hebrew characters and from right to left. These elements are linguistic evidence that the groups employing them have their basis in religion. (see below 4.5.3. *davn.*)

The sociolinguist Joshua A. Fishman (1981: 5-18) suggests another sociological theory for the genesis of JLs. If, indeed, the prevailing theory is right and the need of the Jews to have a JL as a tool of preserving communal/religious life has resulted in the creation of a Jewish language, why have they constantly changed languages? Why, for example, was Ancient Hebrew replaced by Aramaic and Aramaic by Judeo-Greek and so on?

Fishman argues that since a Jewish society is never homogeneous, some networks within it, which stand closer to the gentile world, acquire the gentile language first and best. Once the newly introduced language is widely accepted among socially aspiring Jews, the requirements of the Jewish tradition then impose themselves.

I find no contradiction between the two models. As a matter of fact, Jews did not always change languages. For example, they have been carrying Yiddish with them for a thousand years now (see below).

To illustrate the need for Jewish vocabulary let us examine two examples. I might say to another Jew: "You are invited to the *bris* on Monday". To a non-Jew, who is unfamiliar with Jewish terminology, I will have to make a 'code-switch': "You're invited to the circumcision ceremony of my son on Monday". Since every Jew is familiar with the term *bris*, it will be unnatural or even redundant to use 'foreign' terminology.

Lowenstein (1989: 200) relates a joke that circulated in the 1960s in Washington Heights, a suburb of New York where Jews of German origin have been living: A German class at George Washington High School recites the days of the week: "Sonntag, Montag, Dienstag, Mittwoch, Donnerstag, Freitag, Schabbes." The last word is obviously a Jewish rather than a German expression and it carries a sense of Jewish experience. The general-English word *Sabbath*, derived from Hebrew *shabat*, is a formal word in Jewish English and felt to lack the warmth which *Shabes* and *Shabat* have.

3.1. A Short History of Yiddish

The prevailing theory of the genesis of Yiddish places the origin of this language on the banks of the Rhine and the Mosel around the 10th century. According to Max Weinreich (1980: 1-9) the language was created by French and Italian Jews who settled in the Rhineland. Three to four centuries later the language had begun to make contact with Slavic languages.

Paul Wexler maintains that "Max Weinreich's model of Yiddish is essentially wrong in most of its details" (1985: 141). Instead, he presents linguistic evidence to show that (Judeo-) Slavic and (Judeo-) Greek elements were also present at the birth of Yiddish and therefore localizes its origin to areas which were under Slavic influence.

M. Weinreich (1894-1969) presented his theory for the first time in 1956. Wexler has had the advantage of time and new research. Nevertheless, it seems that Weinreich's theory still prevails. David Gold (personal communication) writes that he thinks Yiddish had many origins, that is, Jews in many places and in many times first came into contact with German.

The first time we meet with the designation *Yiddish*, which means 'Jewish' in the mouths of Yiddish speakers, is in the year 1597: at the end of a Jewish edition of *Sigemont* we have a remark: "*ous gynumyn fun galxys um ouf Iidis far taict*" i.e., 'taken from Christian [language and script] and translated into Jewish' (Birnbaum 1979: 45).

Earlier evidence of the existence of a Yiddish, without mentioning its name, are a Yiddish sentence in the Worms *Mahazor* (prayer book) of 1272 and several Yiddish glosses in Rashi's (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaqi [1040-1105]) commentaries, dating from c. 1100 (Weinreich 1980: 6).

Weinreich (p.1-9) divides the history of Yiddish into four periods:

Earliest Yiddish - until 1250. It is in this period that Jews from northern France and northern Italy, speaking a language they called *Laaz*, established their first bridgeheads in German-language territory in the kingdom of Loter (i.e., Lotharingia). One linguistic piece of evidence from this era is the verb *bentshn* 'to say the blessing after a meal', from Latin *benedicere* 'to bless'.

Old Yiddish: In this period (1250-1500) Yiddish speakers made contact with Slavs and Slavic-speaking Jews, first in southern Germany and Bohemia, then in Poland and still further east.

Middle Yiddish: The period 1500-1700 is marked by the vigorous expansion of the eastern Ashkenazi (= of Germanic descent) Jewry and consequently by the withdrawal of an increasing proportion of Yiddish speakers from the vicinity of German-speaking cities in the east. Yiddish flourished on Slavic soil and as a result of the contact with local languages, acquired a great number of new words and expressions like *shmate* 'rug' (see below 4.7.6.) or the suffix *-nik* (see below 4.6.7).

Modern Yiddish - after 1700. This era is marked by the decline of Yiddish in the Western part of the Yiddish speaking world of that time, i.e. Holland, Germany, and the emergence of a new standard on an Eastern Yiddish base. In Eastern Europe the use of the language increased and it became a medium of school instruction, of scholarly research and literature.

It is estimated that on the eve of World War II there were 11 million speakers of Yiddish. This number was drastically reduced by the Holocaust and by massive shifts to other primary languages (Uriel Weinreich 1972: 790-8).

When Jews moved eastwards from the area where Yiddish originated, they took with them not only their belongings and religion, but also retained their language and surnames based upon their earlier dwelling area. Among the traditional names of Jewish families we have Shpiro (=Speyer), Trivus (<Treves=Trier), Bach(a)rach (northwest of Bingen near the Rhine), Frankfurt, Epstein (some twenty kilometers west of Frankfurt), Landau (probably the city thirty kilometers southwest of Speyer). (Weinreich M. 1980: 326,440).

1

The imminent demise of Yiddish has already been proclaimed many times and since Yiddish will survive me and certainly this thesis, I will not practice prophecy. For my parents it is a mother tongue and they still use it when they talk between themselves or with relatives. Their children understand this language but can say no more than some basic words and expressions. Their grandchildren, I believe, understand none.

3.2. Jewish English

Jewish English is a collective name for all varieties of English used only or mostly by Jews, which differ phonologically, grammatically, lexically, stylistically, and paralinguistically from non-Jewish English lects (Gold 1986b: 95). In this chapter I will deal mainly with the varieties of Jewish English in the United States.

3.2.1. Jewish Settlement in the United States.

The Jewish settlement in the United States can be divided into three main periods (e.g. Milton Doroshkin 1969):

A) The Sefaradic - 'Spanish' - period which lasted from the second half of the seventeenth century until the second or third decade of the nineteenth. The newcomers were Iberian Jews and their descendants. The first recorded settlement of Jews in the American Colonies is from 1654 when a tiny bark, St. Charles, arrived in Nieuw Amsterdam carrying a cargo of 23 Jews. This era of Jewish immigration left no traces on non-Jewish varieties of English.

B) The period of Western Ashkenazim, i.e. Yiddish speakers and their descendants. After 1700 additional Jews from different parts of Europe: Germany, Holland, Bohemia, Poland, and England started coming and by 1776 the total Jewish population was over 2000. By 1820 the number was about 5000, most of them from Germany or places under the influence of German rulers. This era lasted until the 1870s or the 1880s and left some lexemes in non-Jewish English, like *kosher* (see below 4.5.1.) or *shlemiel* (see below 4.7.3).

C) The period of Eastern Ashkenazim, i.e. Jews from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and their successor states, from the 1870s to the present. Between 1880 and 1910 1.5 million Jews arrived, most of them Yiddish speakers.

These eastern European immigrants pursued many cultural activities, like publication of newspapers and books, maintaining theaters and being involved in the entertainment industry, establishing Yiddish academic studies etc. and they have left their marks in many fields, including non-Jewish English.

In *Notes on Yiddish*, which appeared in *American speech* in 1928 (58-66), H.B. Wells wrote:

Since Yiddish is definitely not an essential to Judaism, its decline or disappearance would have no effect on the ancient religion. There are reasonable doubt that American Yiddish will within a very few years lose its identity, at least as Judeo-German, will turn into Judeo-English, expire quietly, and finally become as delightfully musty and *passé*, a subject for doctor's theses as Anglo-Saxon is today.

Yiddish has not disappeared yet but, other than this, Wells' prophesy was fulfilled. Yiddish language and culture have flourished in the U.S.A. only as long as there have been fresh immigrants whose mother tongue was Yiddish. By the time the new immigrants have assimilated into the new culture, they and subsequently their children have turned to Jewish English (JE), what Wells might have called *Judeo-English*.

3.2.2. Varieties of Jewish English

Steinmetz (1981: 14) defines Jewish English as "a form of Yiddish- and Hebrew-influenced English used by Jews, regardless of the extent of its hybridization." The spectrum of Jewish-English speakers includes in one extreme Modern Orthodox Jews, who might be fluent in Yiddish, and at the other end secularized Jews who may be familiar with Jewish-English but employ it only slightly. Gold (1988: 277) defines *Jewish English* as "a cover term for a continuum of lects whose distance from non-Jewish English (i.e., general English) varies.

There are several reasons why Jewish varieties of English developed. For example, a native speaker of Yiddish who learns English as an adult may speak English which shows Yiddish influence. This influence is passed on to the succeeding generation and becomes fused. When a hearer becomes acquainted with a certain topolect, he would begin hearing the vestiges of a certain substratum in one's speech. In his famous sociolinguistic work *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* (1966) William Labov demonstrated that certain features of New York speech, such as raised [ɹ] in word like *off*, *cough*, are more common among Jewish Americans than among Italian American and Irish Americans.

The American Jewish humorist and dramatist Arthur Kober (1900- ----), using Jewish dialects with a Bronx setting, gave the phenomenon an artistic expression:

Gentlemen of the jury, sure my client is guilty. But hommany people in this room wouldn't have done the same thing in the same circumstances? (1955: 366; emphasis added)

Oh, he's simply movvelous, that Lionel! (p. 367)

In its mildest form JE may be manifested in allolingual influence in the form of phonological patterns passed on from previous generation. The speaker, who probably does not know the 'hidden' language, may even be unaware of such allolingual influence on his or her speech. The difference can be also manifested in intonation pattern and syntactic construction: constructions of Yiddish origin like "great art it isn't" or "this is coffee!?" appeared in the editorial page of the New York Times (Gold 1986b: 118).

Communal variations concern, for example, the speech pattern of members of different religious synagogues (e.g. Orthodox, Conservative, Reform) or between them and secularized Jews (see bellow 4.5.4 *sit shive*). Jewish dietary laws are universally known as *kosher* but a few Sefaradic Jews hold out for *kasher*. This word can serve also as an example for geographical differences. In Jewish American English it is *kosher*, in Jewish British English *kasher*. Native speakers of Israeli Hebrew would more likely say *kasher* when speaking English since the word in Israeli Hebrew is *kasher*. In American Jewish English to *nosh* is 'to nibble, to eat a snack between meals'; in British Jewish English it is 'to eat' in general.

There are different styles. There are American Jews who communicate in vulgar varieties of JE to express swearing and obscenity (see the writings of P. Roth, L. Rosten). Style-shift occurs when one discusses Jewish subjects with a non-Jew (for example invitation to *bris*, see above 3.) or in order to be more cryptic i.e., so that non-Jews will not understand.

Jews may avoid expressions with un-Jewish connotations like the *Old Testament*, *B.C.* 'before Christ', *A.D.* 'anno domini'. Instead they would use the *Hebrew Bible* when

communicating with non-Jews or *Tanakh* with other Jews. *C.E.* 'Common Era' and *B.C.E.* 'before the Common Era' may be substituted for *B.C.* and *A.D.* Paralinguistic markers may be revealed in the form of gesticulation, swaying hands and body etc. It is said the Jews uses hands when talking more than others.

Most speakers of JE use those varieties which are based on Eastern Yiddish and called collectively *Eastern Ashkenazic English*. Most other varieties of JE, for example the variety based on *Judezmo* - a Jewish language based on Spanish, are obsolete or hardly used. Indeed, those JE lexemes which where domesticated in general English are of Yiddish origin.

Jewish English is, in my opinion, a case of *diglossia*. The term was coined by Charles A. Ferguson in his famous article of 1959 to describe a situation where two varieties of a language exist side by side throughout the community, each having a definite role to play. In many respects English and Jewish English indeed fit into Ferguson's model. We have the H "high" variety (English) and the L (low) variety (Jewish English) where H is used in contact with the non-Jewish surrounding and L within the family and among other Jews.

What makes the situation somewhat more complicated is the fact that Jewish English is not yet a very well defined linguistic entity and is still taking shape. As a matter of fact, there are varieties which are very different from non-Jewish English and others which are not. One has also to distinguish between incidental individual influence and a stabilized Jewish English form.

3.2.3. Written Jewish English

A Jew may speak in a different variety of English when talking to another Jew or to a non-Jew. In writing the same principle works: The variety of English to be used depends

on the target readers. The next text is probably incomprehensible to a non-Jew or even to a Jew who is unfamiliar with Yiddish or Hebrew:

We have in our city of about 100,000 Yidden, ken yibu, four great modern orthodox shoofs. Each caters to Bar-mitzvahs on Shabboth, with all the chillul shabboth befarhessia involved (Jewish Life, May 1966, p.60).

In general English:

We have in our city of about 100,000 Jews, thus they shall increase, four great modern synagogues. Each caters to Bar-Mitzvahs on Sabbath, with all the public desecration of the Sabbath involved. (Steinmetz 1986: 86.)

Even in the 'translated' form there are two loan-words: *Sabbath* - "The seventh day of the week considered as the day of religious rest enjoined on the Israelites by the fourth commandment", and *Bar-Mitzvah* - The 'confirmation' ceremony in a synagogue for a Jewish boy who has reached the age of thirteen, which is regarded as the age of religious responsibility (*OED*).

3.2.4. Borrowing from Jewish English into English

The American linguist Leonard Bloomfield (1933: 461) distinguished between *cultural borrowing of speech-forms* which is mutual and *intimate borrowing* which is one-sided, where the *lower* language, "spoken by the subject people, or, as in the United States, by the humble immigrants" borrows from the *upper* or *dominant* language "spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group."

Obviously the 'lower' Yiddish has borrowed extensively from the 'upper' English but, Bloomfield's generalization fails to do justice to the remarkable influence Yiddish has had on English (Steinmetz 1986: 2). American-born Jewish writers have included Yiddishisms they picked up in childhood in their writings and in this way words of Yiddish-origin have entered into general English.

4. A Semantic Study of Lexemes of Yiddish Origin in English

4.1. Primary Sources

As a result of surveying over half a billion running words from United States, British, and Canadian sources - newspapers, magazines, and books published from 1963 to 1972, Clarence L. Barnhart (1973) concluded that two elements in the slang of the 1960s "stand out from the mass of unrelated terms: the preponderant number of terms growing out of the drug culture and the peculiar trend (chiefly in United State writing) of using Yiddish words in slangy contexts or as slang." Barnhart noted that the Yiddish slang words were "probably traceable to New York literary circles, where use of Yiddish terms has long been favored for their expressiveness and as a means of spicing articles aimed at rather sophisticated literary market" (p.106).

This trend started much earlier. In 1852 Charles Dickens used the word *ganef* 'thief' in *Bleak House*; the word *shul* 'synagogue' was cited in the 1873 edition of *The Slang Dictionary* (Steinmetz 1986: 44). O. Henry used the word *Mazuma* 'money, cash' in 1906 and Jack London used the same word in in 1912. Yiddish-origin words appears in James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) (see below 4.8.2. *shlep*), and so on.

Many of the earliest Yiddish entries into English were recorded in books written by the Israel Zangwill (1864-1926), especially in *Children of the Ghetto*, published in 1892. Zangwill was born in London, his father being a Russian Jewish refugee who had escaped from Russia in 1848. As a boy he studied at the Jews' free school and after receiving his B.A. degree from London University, he edited a humorous paper for several years. He wrote several books and dramas about the Jews, which were widely read. Through his life, he was a champion of unpopular causes. (Kunitz, Haycraft 1966: 1568-9.)

Zangwill might be considered the pioneer of the use of Yiddish-origin lexemes in English. Citations from his *Children of the Ghetto* often appear in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), in the beginning of the list of examples. The lists are arranged in a chronicle

order. The glossary appended to his book is a revealing list of early orthography practice and the semantic aspects of these words in his time.

An outstanding source of Yiddish-origin words in American English is the writing of Arthur Kober. He was born in Brody, Austria-Hungary, later Poland. At two he came to the United States with his parents. He wrote screen plays while being employed by the Fox and the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer motion picture companies in Hollywood. Sketches in Jewish dialect with a Bronx setting were first published in the *New Yorker* and later collected in a book form. (Kunitz, Haycraft 1966: 771.)

Barnhart's observations may be interpreted as the acceleration and intensifications of a trend already in existence. A new generation of American-born Jewish writers, humorists and movie directors appeared. These people: Saul Bellow, Bernard Malamud, Philip Roth, Woody Allen and others use English as a medium of expression and include in their works Yiddish words they had picked up in childhood. Partly through their work, Yiddish-origin lexemes became known also among non-Jewish readers and were eventually used also by non-Jewish writers.

Choosing the main source for the primary material for my thesis was incidental. When working on a proseminar paper on the influence of Yiddish on English, I occasionally noticed Yiddish-origin lexemes in the international edition of *Newsweek* I have been receiving weekly for some years. I used some quotations as examples and, after having decided to extend my proseminar paper into a pro-gradu thesis I continued to pick up additional examples. After few months of casual scrutinizing, I gradually noticed that the magazine often used Yiddish-origin words and I paid even more attention to this source of primary material. Most of the examples in this essay are indeed from *Newsweek*, starting from the invasion of the Iraqi forces into Kuwait in the summer of 1990, during the time I was working on my proseminar paper, until the inauguration of William Jefferson Clinton as the U.S. president in January 1993, when I submitted my pro gradu thesis. Obviously,

this time frame is arbitrary and carries no linguistic significance except that it is a record of language in actual use at present.

Newsweek International is written and edited for a worldwide audience and is published weekly in Switzerland. Roughly two thirds of it is different from what appears in the domestic edition (*Newsweek*, June 29, 1992: 2). It means that the magazine's readership in any country is expected to be familiar with the words which appear in this publication.

Another source of material has been *The International Herald Tribune*, (*IHT*) published in Paris, which I sometimes read. After establishing the lexemes to be studied, I picked up some examples from *The Wall Street Journal*, (*WSJ*) published in New York, with the help of University of the Helsinki Language Corpus Server (UHLCS), which was prepared in the U.S.A.

The primary material is not free of mistakes. Zangwill, for example, defined *imeshreer* as a corrupt form of the German *ohne beschreiben*. As a matter of fact this "corrupt German" is a Yiddish word (Leonard Prager 1987: 37).

In a review of the language of Bellow's *Herzog*, Leila Goldman (1982: 75) wrote:

Nevertheless, *Herzog* is a hodgepodge of language. Bellow misuses both Hebrew and Yiddish. Those who read this work and do not know these languages, accept his usage as authentic. Those who know better are distressed at his lack of sensitivity to these languages and his unscholarly approach to a scholarly novel with an intellectual protagonist.

It is well known that the English of another Nobel Prize-winning novelist, Isaac Bashevis Singer, was below the level of native speakers and the knowledge in Yiddish of his translators into English was even poorer. As a result, the English translations of his novels cannot be fully trusted, even if he did the translation himself.

As a rule, there is a problem in collecting primary material. One may encounter many quotations in secondary sources but they are short, taken out of context and often too lean

to be used in a semantic study. The original source is not always readily available. I have decided to concentrate on the examples I picked up myself because in this way I am able to study the lexemes more efficiently. As a result, the study somehow concentrates on the contemporary state of the English lexemes of Yiddish-origin and lacks a more thorough diachronical perspective. I am collecting more material and since this paper is not the last word on this subject, certainly not mine, I intend to extend the examination of these lexemes in later papers. (See Appendix)

4.2. Secondary Sources

Another serious obstacle in doing a semantic study of Yiddish-origin lexemes is the abundance of flawed material, both primary and secondary. In the monumental *The American Language*, whose first edition appeared in 1919, H.L. Mencken recorded Yiddish-origin words that had seeped into American English. Since he gave the narrowest possible definitions to the terms, sometimes erroneously, the information he provided is deficient.

The list of publications which purvey incorrect information is long and one of the latest is Gene Bluestein's *English-Yinglish: Yiddish in American Life and Literature* (1989). He writes:

Since there is no accepted system of transliteration, writers often spell the same word differently and in accordance with their dialects or the same spelling conventions of their own languages. Since my own background was Bessarabian Romanian, I tend often to give that dialect. (p.xiii)

Bluestein should have been aware that there are conventions (see below 4.3.) and if everybody continues to ignore them, the chaos will continue indefinitely.

Explaining *CHOOTSpe* [khutzpe], Bluestein (p. 37) tells us that a friend of his visiting in Israel let out a wolf whistle at the sight of a good-looking young woman, who gave him back, loud and clear: "chutsPA!" (emphasis original). Bluestein explains that in Yiddish, as in modern Hebrew, the word is not entirely negative and may also bring about admiration. Apparently, Bluestein and his friend know very little Yiddish or Hebrew (and

even less about Israeli young women). Not only does the word have a negative emotive sense, but it is also used as a response to some kind of provocation.

As an example for this word, Bluestein cites from Singer's *The Penitent*:

Chutzpah is the very essence of modern man, and the modern Jew as well. He has learned so assiduously from the Gentile that he now surpasses him. The truth is that the element of chutzpah was present even among the pious Jews. They have always been a stiff-necked and rebellious people. Well, there is a kind of chutzpah that is necessary, but I won't go into that now.

Initially I thought that Singer used the word in a positive sense and, to be honest, I was quite amazed about it. For me *khutzpe* has only a negative emotive sense and even after dealing with the English usage of the word for so long, I still cannot use it in any positive connotations. Singer certainly knew the original meaning of the word and I wondered how could he use it in such a manner, even in fiction.

After locating *chutzpah* in the original text (New York: Farrar, 1983: 129), I realized that the word appeared in a negative context, where the protagonist contemplated divorcing his wife. In short, out of context *chutzpah* seemed to be positive; in reality, in this case it has a negative connotation.

Most English dictionaries copy uncritically from flawed sources and from each other ¹. The result is an extra mess. In Chapman's *New Dictionary of American Slang* (1986), *chutzpa* is defined as 'extreme and offensive brashness; arrogant presumption; hurbis.' This definition is deficient for at least forty or fifty years (see below 4.6.1.).

In 1979 a group of Jewish scholars established the Association for the study of Jewish Languages whose purpose, among others, has been to put some order in the way Jewish words and terms are treated in different languages. In this thesis I use extensively material from the *Jewish Language Review* (1-7; ed. David L. Gold and Leonard Prager) and *Jewish Linguistic Studies* (1,2; ed. David L. Gold) which are published by this association.

Another reliable source is Saul Steinmetz' *Yiddish and English: A century of Yiddish in America* (1986) and other articles written by the same author.

4.3. Etymology and Orthography.

One source of difficulties in studying Yiddish-origin lexemes in English is due to the fact that many languages are involved. Yiddish has components from different layers of German, ancient and modern Hebrew, Aramaic, assorted Slavic languages and possibly Finno-Ugric languages as well, since there has been Yiddish-speaking Jewish communities in the area of the former Austria-Hungary empire as well as in the area of the present state of Estonia. The first step of a semantic study is a proper discussion about the etymology and orthography of these lexemes.

Many lexemes of Yiddish origin in English are ultimately from Hebrew but they followed this track: Hebrew Æ Yiddish Æ Ashkenazic Jewish English Æ General English. Some Hebrew words came directly from Hebrew. Before the 19th century we find in English words of Hebrew origin due to the influence of Bible translations: *manna*, *jubilee*, *cherub*, *leviathan*, *behemoth*, *shibboleth*, and others. Some religio-cultural terms were also borrowed: *cabbala*, *Talmud*, *Mishna*, etc. There is no evidence of the existence of Yiddish-origin words in English writing before the 1800s (Steinmetz 1986: 41).

While collecting material for this thesis, I also picked up Hebrew-origin lexemes, for example *jubilee* which derived from the Biblical Hebrew word *Yovel*:

When news of the Iraqis' rapid retreat hit the White House last February, George Bush and his advisers were jubilant over the allies spectacularly easy victory in Operation Desert Storm. (*Newsweek*, January 20, 1992:1; emphasis added)

Diana, by contrast, seemed positively jubilant, at least when she was out of Charles's presence. (*Newsweek*, November 30, 1992: 15)

The word *behemoth* appeared already in the Wyclif bible (1382) as a direct borrowing from the Hebrew word *b'hemoth* (Job xl. 15). It would mean a big animal probably the hippopotamus (*OED*). In English it has come to mean also 'something very big':

The NBA behemoths fancy a defense where they collapse on their monster alter egos, doubling up under and inviting long shots as just that: long shots. (*Newsweek*, July 6, 1992: 50)

In its form, the word is the plural of the Hebrew word *b'hemah* (in Yiddish *behema*, plural *behemas*) and it means a 'domesticated animal' usually a donkey or a mule. It is often used in both language as a derogatory expression. It seems that whenever the word is used in English, there is some kind of mockery overtone involved:

IBM executives have been struggling themselves to adapt the behemoth company to fast-pace changes in computer technology that made many of its products out-of-date. (*IHT*, January 29, 1992: 1)

Under its legendary chairman Alfred Sloan Jr., GM's divisions were autonomous. But by the 1960s it had grown into a committee-driven and insular behemoth, dominated by financial executives known in Detroit as the bean counters. (*Newsweek*, January 6, 1992: 47)

When that mecca of dinosaur lovers, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, unveil its *Barosaurus* display on Dec. 4, the long-necked behemoth will no longer be planted in the floor like a dining table. (*Newsweek*, October 28, 1991: 45)

Behemoth in a figurative sense of 'extremely big' appears already in 1592:

Will soone finde the hugh Behemoth of conceit to be the spart of a pickle herring. (C. Harvey *Pierces Super.*, [OED]).

Another example is from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*:

Adolf tripped gracefully forward, and Tom, with lumbering tread, went after. He's a perfect behemoth!" said Marie

"Come, now , Marie," said St. Clare, seating himself on a stool beside her sofa, "be gracious, and say something pretty to a fellow." (1852: 245. Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz)

These two early examples lack the ironic overtone to be found in the more recent examples. It seems that whenever the sense is of 'extremely big' but with no extra shade of irony, writers use metaphors such as: *mammoth*, *titanic*, etc.

A Three-judge panel in Milan convicted De Benedetti and 32 other prominent business figures of having been accessories to the mammoth fraud that led to the collapse of Banco Ambrosiano in 1982. (*Newsweek*, April 27, 1992: 39)

...the conflict between Dole's fierce ambition and his inability to rein his humanity is titanic, an unlikely - but perfect - memorial to a tawdry campaign. (*Newsweek*, August 3, 1992: 56)

I suggest that the biblical *behemoth* has gained extra emotive overtone due to Yiddish influence.

A more recent loan from Hebrew is the proper noun *Uzi*, which is used to designate an Israeli type of sub-machine gun designed by Uziel Gal, an Israeli army officer (*OED*). In American English it has become a byword to designate an efficient sub-machine gun/pistol favored by the secret service and members of organized crime. It apparently has other connotations:

James Carville, Bill Clinton's Clausewitz, talks like an Uzi, in bursts. He should do the president-elect a final favor by firing him the story of the traffic lights on Florida Street in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. (George F. Will, *Newsweek*, November 16, 1992: 52)

In the Israeli army, the above mentioned sub-machine gun enjoys very little esteem: it is inaccurate and its effective range is very short. It is, in fact, a standard weapon for female soldiers.

In *More Notes on Maine Dialect*, (1929) Anne E. Perkins M.D., from Gowanda State Hospital, Helmuth, New York, mention *shmutz*:

"You've got a smootch on your dress" referred to a spot resulting from spill or contact. (p.129)

The *OED* defines *schmutz* as 'dirt, filth, rubbish' and gives its origin as "Yiddish or German". The earliest example this dictionary cites is from 1967. From the quotation above, it is obvious that the word was used already much earlier but it is unclear in which way it enter general English, whether via German or Jewish immigrants.

The word *glitch* came into English about 1960 through technological jargon. There is a Yiddish homonym which means 'a slip' (as on a banana). If indeed the Yiddish etymon is the source of the English lexeme, by emulated polisemy (see below 4.4.) the word apparently has acquired corresponding senses of the colloquialism *slip-up* and presently it means 'a mishap or malfunction.' But there is also a similar German homonym and therefore it is difficult to determine for sure, at this moment, which etymon is the origin of the English lexeme. It seems that the word was adopted by the aerospace engineers and through them was transferred into general English. Since it is very unlikely that Yiddish is used in the aerospace industry, the apparent etymon is the German one.

Spiel may be of German, or of Yiddish, or of German and Yiddish origin (Gold 1984b: 253). The English *mensh* derives from Yiddish *mentsh* and not from the German *Mensch*. In many places the two near homonyms are mixed up because of identical spelling. The Yiddish-origin *mentsh*:

"Maybe the supreme gift of Yiddish to the English Language is the word '*mensh*'. Its literal meaning, as in German, from which it came, is 'person,' but in Yiddish it reaches for an essence - character. A *mensh* is someone to emulate, a person of consequence whose character is both rare and undisputed. the question before the U.S. Senate can best be stated in Yiddish: Is William Rehnquist a '*mensh*'?" (Richard Cohen, *Washington Post*, 14 September 1986 [Bluestein 1989])

is different from the German-origin *mensh*:

"New York" is an all-purpose code word among right-wing parties in Germany and Austria for the supposed horrors of multicultural society. Washington is assumed to be in the grip of the "Jewish lobby." Brussels, the home of the EC bureaucracy, is another symbol of what's wrong with the world. Haider [chief of Austria Freedom Party] rails against the "European-unity mensh" who would lead the continent down the path of homogenization, a process that he compares to the "multiethnic experimentation of the Soviet Man." (*Newsweek*, April 27, 1992: 10)

The Yiddish-origin *shmok* is almost always spelled as *schmuck* and its etymon is said to be the German *schmuk* 'jewel'. As a matter of fact, this explanation, which is copied from one dictionary to another, is erroneous (see below 4.7.5.) and the English lexeme has nothing to do with the German word. As a rule, a correct way to spell Yiddish-origin /_/ is 'sh' and not 'sch'.

There are cases where Ashkenazic English words of Yiddish origin "join" an already existing general English word with which it cognates, for example *mishmash* (Gold 1984a: 230). There are records of the use of the verb *mishmash* already in 1585, well before any influence of Yiddish was felt, but according to Steinmetz (1986: 51) it appears that the near-homophone Yiddish word has more or less blended with the English one. Steinmetz cited this example:

It takes considerable experience to put a mish-mosh together and have it come off as anything but a mish-mosh (Nan Ickeringill, *NYT*, August 26, 1966: 39)

Many people mix source-language pronunciations when romanizing Yiddish or Hebrew-origin English forms. Moreover, one word has often more than one pronunciation in the source language. Some even follow German or Slavic pronunciations. Consistency is rare even in Orthodox Jewish publications. Yiddish and Hebrew use the Hebrew alphabet and spell the words common to both identically but pronounce these words differently. For example, *Shabbat* [ʔâbâ] represents the Hebrew pronunciation and *Shabbes* [ʔâb•s] the Yiddish one. Theoretically there should be two different pronunciations but, in practice, many writers will use the more prestigious Hebrew spelling but pronounce the word according to the Yiddish form. (Steinmetz 1981: 13.)

There is an American National Standard Romanization of Yiddish, also known as the YIVO system. There is also an American Standard Romanization of Hebrew to transcribe Modern Hebrew words. The main difference between the two systems is the transcription of the fricative [x]. Yiddish and Hebrew romanization of the phoneme are *kh* and *ch* respectively. The average English-speaker on seeing *kh* for the first time, will not know how to pronounce it. English-speakers will usually take *ch* for /tʃ/. *Chutzpah* [xuts_pa:] follows the Hebrew pronunciation, *khutzpe* [xutsp•] the Yiddish one. Jews may pronounce according to the Yiddish form; non-Jews, unfamiliar with the correct pronunciation, may say *tshutspah*. In my thesis I try to follow both of these official systems, although it is obvious that the double transcription for the same phoneme creates problems.

Sometimes there is a need to emphasize the different spelling and pronunciation forms:

In some 70 cities from Canada to Israel, rabbinical judges (most of them Lubavitchers) issued a joint declaration calling on all Jews to recognize Schneerson as "the Rabbi of all Israel" and to beseech God "that this generation should merit that he be revealed as the Moshiach [Hebrew for Messiah]." (*Newsweek*, April 27, 1992: 45; explanation original)

It seems that English has accepted *l* standing for syllabic [Öl], for example *shtetl* not *shtetel*, and *n* for syllabic [Ön] - *davn*. Yiddish verbs, which were integrated into Jewish English and from there to non-Jewish English, dropped the Yiddish infinitive ending *-n*, *-en*, *-e-en* and the stem became the infinitive, for example: *dav[e]nen* > *davn* (see 4.3.2), *shlep* > *shlep* (see 4.7.2).

4.4. Procedures of the Semantic Study

John Lyons (1981: 42) distinguishes between *lexemes*, which are 'vocabulary-unites of a language' and which are the expressions one would expect to find listed in the dictionary, and *lexically composite expression* which are 'constructed by means of the syntactic rules of the language.' In this thesis I deal mostly with lexemes, simply in order to limit the scope of this study. Yiddish-origin lexically composite expression like *to break own head*, *like a hole in the head*, etc. will have to wait. For that reason I delay any discussion on lexemes of arguably Yiddish origin such as *mishmash*, *spiel*, etc., although I have material and recent examples concerning them. As a rule of thumb, I also delay discussion on some other interesting lexemes which I have not detected while reading recent primary sources. In unabridged dictionaries, there are 500-600 lexemes of Jewish interest but since one has to stop somewhere, I deal only with few dozen.

The first step in the semantic study was to find the best available etymon and establish the correct orthography. Neither task is easy. For example, the quest for the origin of the word *ghetto* has intrigued amateurs and professionals from the beginning of this century. It may be taken for certain that the word originated in Venice, but not much else is firmly established (Gold 1984: 142). Orthography also poses problems because the way many lexemes are spelled is wrong but already well established, for example: *Yiddish*, *chutzpa(h)*, *maven*, etc. (The correct spelling would be *Yidish*, *khutzpe*, *mevyn*). Jewish

linguists gave up correcting some errors, like the spelling of the word *Yiddish* but keep on battling for the sake of many others, especially the abandonment of 'sch' for the better 'sh'. I follow suit, although I think that some of the battles have already been lost.

The next step was to sort out among the existing definitions and to examine semantic changes. As I mentioned earlier, the primary and secondary sources are deficient and I just had to use my own judgment when choosing the best definition or to construct one by myself.

To examine the examples I have at hand, I have used several methods of semantic alteration. The first one is Macaulay's method (Ullmann 1972: 211) for the *delimitation of synonyms* in which a lexeme is replaced by a synonym and, through this, a range of different senses is revealed. The second method is to leave the word but to change the sentence in such a way that the perspective move to another direction - *perspective alteration*. For example, I examine what happens when a positive sense is altered into a negative one and vice versa by changing the target readership. (See below *khutzpe* 4.6.1.)

A third alteration method (which I have not used yet) is based upon semantic fields of reference. In this method the examined lexeme is replaced by another one with overlapping sense but not a synonym.

One useful term for examining change of meaning as a result of language contact is *emulated polysemy* (also known as *semantic induction*, *meaning transfer*, or *loan-meaning*). If a lexeme x means 'a' and 'b' and if a lexeme y means 'a', then y can acquire the sense 'b' merely by analogy (Samuel Kroesch 1926: 39; Gold 1986: 104). (See *khutzpe* 4.6.1., *shlep* 4.8.2.).

To compare the Yiddish-origin English lexemes with the Yiddish word, I have used Sholem Aleichem's *Tevye der Milkhiger* and Miriam Katz's translation: *Tevye the Dairyman* (1988). Sholem Aleichem (1859-1916), the pen name of Sholem Rabinowitz,

wrote and published between 1895 and 1916 stories cast as monologues about a wagon driver turned into a dairyman, which were finally brought together under the heading *Tevye the Dairyman*. This story of a modern Job without a happy end, about a rooted Jew who was turned into a wandering Jew, became a classic. Its immense humanity and unique humor have intrigued generations of readers. A shmaltzy musical, based on its content, was opened in Broadway in 1964 and carried the name *Fiddler on the Roof*.

Miriam Katz' translation was published in Moscow before the demise of the Soviet Union and one anachronistic leftover in it is the term *Palestine* which referred to the *Land of Israel*. Tevye never utters *Palestine* and now that the political circumstances have changed, one can only hope that such foolishness is erased.

Katz translates the Yiddish exclamation to prevent a hex *keynehore* as *touch wood*. Only few Jews know that this expression originally referred to the wood of the Cross (Gold 1986: 100). The exclamation occurs often in the text and since Katz uses many original terms and explains them in a glossary, I suggest to use *keynehore* as a calque and explain it in the glossary.

4.5. Religio-Cultural Terms

Jewish religio-cultural terms appears also in non-Jewish publications. It seems that non-Jewish readers are interested in some aspects of Jewish life, and those who write about these subjects use Jewish terminology. Sometimes, the terms appear in a context which is not connected with Jewish life. In this chapter I examine the different uses of some of these terms.

4.5.1. kosher, treyfe

The Collins Cobuild English language Dictionary defines *kosher* as: "Something that is kosher is 1 approved of by the laws of Judaism; used especially of food which Jews are permitted by their laws to eat", and: "2 Right and honest, and behaving or happening in the way which is approved of or expected; an informal use. e.g. *there is something not quite kosher about it, if you know what I mean*".

Originally *kosher* and *treyfe* (nonkosher) were associated only with food but in traditional Jewish life, religion and tradition are involved in every aspect of life. Essentially natural ideas are sometimes expressed in images of the Jewish mode of life. For example, a mother can sing to her child in the crib: "Shut your *kosher* little eyes (M. Weinreich 1972: 200). When Tevye comes home after earning a fortune, he tells his astonished wife:

"God be with you, Golda darling," I exclaimed, "what scared you so? Maybe you are afraid that I stole this money or held up someone? You ought to be ashamed of yourself! You've been Tevye's wife for such a long time, how can you think such things? You little fool, this is *kosher* money, earned honestly by my own wit and toil. (tras. Miriam katz 1988: 48. Italics original.)

Kosher in the sense of food prepared according to the Jewish law is still in use. On July 1, 1991 *Newsweek* ran an article about a boom in the kosher food industry. The magazine wrote that:

Sales of those kosher goods climbed to \$30 billions last year, prompting both Food & Wine magazine and Rolling Stone to declare kosher one of the decade's hot food trends. "It's not [just] gefilte fish and matzo," says Phil Lempert, publisher of the Lempert Report, a food-trends newsletter, "It's everything."

In the *Wall Street Journal* (August 16, 1989: 13) another aspect of the industry was revealed:

But the buying group later backed off from the agreement after Manischewitz declined to discuss development related to a previously disclosed federal investigation of alleged antitrust violation in the Kosher food industry. (wsj33)

In the next example, the subject is indeed food but the connotation is that of defiance. In a review of a new book, *Steel Guitar*, by Linda Barnes, Katrine Ames wrote:

There's some fine fringe in Barnes's fourth novel about Boston PI Calotta Carlyle, a 5-foot-1, Scots-Irish-Jewish volleyball player ("Anything unkosher is one of my favorite food") and part-time cabbie. (*Newsweek*, December 16, 1991: 52)

In an article about an ultra-Orthodox Jewish sect which says the Redeemer is due to arrive any day now - and he might be an American, *Time* (March 16, 1992: 44) wrote:

Eliezer Schach, one of Israel's leading ultra-Orthodox rabbis, has publicly called Schneerson "insane", "an "infidel" and "a false Messiah." Schach even charged,

outlandishly, that Schneerson's followers are "eaters of *trayf*," food such as pork that is forbidden to Jews.

Literally, this accusation is, of course, absurd since no one, not even rabbi Schach, believes that Schneerson and his followers eat anything but the most kosher food (glatt kosher), but the intention with this kind of accusation is to stress very strong indignation over the Lubavicher movement's campaign.

Discussing Biotechnology, *Newsweek* (March 9, 1992:48) writes:

In the early 1970s, when scientists discovered the principles of recombinant DNA, the only miracle that seemed beyond the reach of genetic engineering was the kosher pig.

There is no mentioning, neither before this sentence nor after, of any Jewish food. The 'kosher pig' serves as a humorous trigger; at least I laughed heartily when I read it.

Kosher, with no reference to Jewish food can take many forms of connections. Here are two:

Amid discussions on U.S.-Japanese relations, trade disputed and Japan's response to the gulf war, the Americans pressed the point that, as one diplomat in Tokyo put it, "it's kosher to do business with the Israelis." (*Newsweek*, April 22, 1991: 36)

On the tape, Paul A. Berkman, a Princeton/Newport general partner, told a Merrill Lynch & Co. trader: "The easiest thing to do is I sell you things today and then, over the next couple of days, I buy them back from you in varying amounts, just to make it all look kosher." (Wall Street Journal, wsj36)

4.5.2. *shikse*

This is a derogatory term used by some Jews to denote a gentile woman:

There's a hitch: David is Jewish, a fact that he hides from his Ivy League schoolmates and the shiksa who falls for his sensitive, broad-shouldered charm. (David Ansen, *Newsweek*, October 5, 1992: 49A)

Since my wife is not Jewish, I never use this term and nobody uses it in my presence.

4.5.3. *davn*

In an article about religious revival in the U.S.A., *Newsweek* (December 1990: 45) wrote:

There has been a modest revival of modern Orthodox Jews - congregations of successful, religiously committed Jews can be found from the Upstair Minyn in Los Angeles to Lincoln Square Synagogue in New York City. Reform temples find, often enough, that returnees want a strong dose of tradition, like *davening* in Hebrew. (Italics original)

Webster 3rd defines *daven* as "to recite the prescribe prayers in the daily and festival Jewish liturgies." It is derived from Yiddish *davenen* 'to pray , worship'. Obviously, Jews and Christians have different ways of praying; otherwise there would have been no need for a distinctive Jewish word.

Mordecai Kosover (1964: 364-365; as related by Gold 1985: 163) proposed that the verb *davenen* should be traced to Middle High German *doenen* 'singen spielen, tönen'. Birnbaum (1985: 169-172) rejects this etymon because the phonological development Kosover suggested, was most unlikely and because, semantically, there was not a direct development from 'to sing, play, sound' > 'to sing prayer' > 'to pray'. The cantor (*khazn, bal-tefile*) prays just as everyone else in the congregation does but, in contrast to others, he renders the prayers in a loud voice and musically.

Birnbaum ends the article by remarking that the riddle of the origin of this word is still unknown. Gold (1985: 173-181) continues the discussion. He accepts Birnbaum's rejection of Kosover's proposed etymon but does not accept the rejection of the suggested semantic change 'to sing, intone' > 'to pray'. Gold suggests that the origin of *dav(e)nen* may be found in other Jewish languages.

Praying has different connotations when applied to Jewish or to Christian practices. Cynthia Ozick described (1983: 1-8) the difficulties she had had finding an English equivalent for the Yiddish term *bal-tefile* while translating a Yiddish poem by Dovid Einhorn. The editor suggested "prayer leader" but to her opinion it was unfit: "It lacks even the smallest smell of Jewishness. It's *empty*-sounding" (p. 5; italics original).

After discarding the phrase "singer in the pulpit" because it might sound as if the "singer wears churchly robes", she tried "singer before the Ark" which had a Jewish whiff, but rejected it because *bal-tfile* is not usually much of a singer. She then mingled with "Reader of the Law" but that would not be wholly equivalent with the original term. "Master of Prayer", a direct translation of the Hebrew term, at least did not sound Protestant, but it inserted elements of authority and majesty which did not go well with *bal-tfile*. After nearly one year of trial and error the final version was this:

The last to sing before the Ark is dead.
 Padlocks hang in the house of the Jews.
 The windows are boarded, and shadows
 huddle in shame in the pews.

Cynthia Ozick wrote the article some years after she did the actual translation of this poem and then, when she read it again, "pews" seemed to her very bad.

A traditional (Orthodox) synagogue differs from a church in almost every aspect. The 'prayer leader' stands on a small stage in the middle of the hall. The "pews" are tall so one can lay the prayer book on them and read while standing. The seats are of hard wood. The *bal-tefile* (always he, women are not allowed in the main hall) recites the prayers and everybody else follows. He is not a leader nor makes any decisions. The pattern of prayer has a tradition of hundreds and even more years and each occasion (morning, evening, Shabbat, holidays) has its own set of prayers recited always in the same order.

Throughout their history, Jews have been tenacious with respect to the use of Hebrew as their liturgical language and, therefore, praying in Hebrew is an indispensable part of *davn*. As the example in the beginning of this chapter suggests, some groups have adopted different languages, in this case English, as a language of praying. But, then, what they practice is no longer *davning*.

4.5.4. to sit shive

Traditional Jews observe a period of seven days' mourning for the dead. The count starts immediately after the funeral which takes place the same day the death occurs or the day after. 'To sit shive' literally means 'to sit seven' (in Yiddish *zitsn shive*) and is a partial translation of the Talmudic expression *yashav shiv'a* (Gold 1985: 368).

According to the *OED*, this expression appeared in English for the first time in 1892 in I. Zangwill's book *Children of the Ghetto* (I.177):

If you had come round when he was sitting *Shivah* for Benjamin - peace be upon him! - you would have known.

Another example the *OED* cites, gives some idea of what actually this custom includes:

For seven days from the day of the funeral onwards a Jewish family sits Shiva. They sit on low stools in the drawing-room...and they sort of receive their friends and relations and get their sympathy. (1964. D. Gray *Devil wore Scarlet* vi.41)

To sit shive can be used also not only in association with physical death. In an article about intermarrying among Jews *Newsweek* (July 22, 1991: 54) wrote:

Intermarriage, of course, is inevitable in the American melting pot, but 20 years ago many Jewish parents still sat *shiva* mourning the "death" of any child who married a gentile. Some Orthodox still do.

I doubt whether 20 years ago 'many' Jewish parents indeed expressed their sorrow over intermarriage in such an ultimate venting and that some still do it these days, but a hundred years ago, it was indeed a custom among observing Jews to consider a marriage to a non-jew as a death. In the musical *Fiddler on the Roof*, which takes place in a small village in Russia in 1905, there is a scene where Tevye, after hearing that his daughter Chava got married to Fyedka, says to his wife Golde: "Chava is dead to us! we will forget her. Go home" (Stein, Joseph 1965:147). The musical is based on Sholom Aleichem's stories and in the original text the family is actually sitting Shiva:

Get up, my wife, take off your shoes and let us sit down on the floor and mourn our child for seven days, as God has commanded. (p. 128)

Bluestein (1989:84) gives an example from Malamud's story "Black is my Favorite Color":

I sat shive for a week and remembered how she sold paper bags on her pushcart."

In 'proper' English this sentence can be rendered as "I sat seven days' mourning" for a week..." which may sound a bit ridiculous or at least redundant, but there is no mistake in it. (Malamud certainly knew what *Shive* meant.)

Gold (1985, 1986c) observed paid obituaries in the *New York Times* for 1981 and 1982 and found that the announcements of mourning period ranged from the most Jewish to the most un-Jewish. The closest expression to Yiddish was in the form of: "The family will sit shive at 123 Jupiter Lane." An example of an innovative form was "Shive will be sat at the home of -----" because the Yiddish expression is never used in passive. Another innovation was "The family will observe shive at -----" because the Yiddish verb means 'sit' not 'observe'.

A less observant family announced that "Shive Wednesday evening at ----- ". "The family will observe the memorial week at ----- " is further de-Judaized because there was no mentioning of *shive*. A further step is "The family will observe a period of mourning at --- --" but still there is reference to a Jewish practice because non-Jewish obituaries do not contain the collocations *mourning period* or *memorial period*. Expressions like: "The family will be in mourning at ----," "The family will receive (friends) at ----" or "The Family will be at home after 4 PM Sunday" are fully general English.

Gold wrote that the innovative expressions were not to be found in the everyday language and claimed that they had been invented by non-Jewish funeral home personnel in order to make the announcement sound more American and 'fancy'. This is part of the process in which Jewish funeral has, for all but the most traditional families, already become highly Americanized with all that it involves: funeral homes, funeral directors etc., which are not traditionally Jewish.

The linguistic innovations Gold observed were the use of passive ("Shive will be sat at the home of -----."), the use of the verbs 'observe', 'held', 'commence' instead of 'sit', or such expression as *shive services*, *shive week*, *pay a shive call* etc. If indeed Gold is right, the question is what makes these expressions more American and 'fancier' than the simple rendering of the original Yiddish term.

Following the discussion on passive voice in Quirk et al.'s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985: 159-171) I would like to make these observations:

Meaning constraints: Active and passive sentences do not always have the same meaning:

Beavers build dams.

carries a different meaning than

?Dams are built by beavers.

In subject position, a generic phrase tend to be interpreted universally: 'All beavers ... ' and 'All dams ...' which in this case is incorrect. Therefore:

The family sits shive at

is equivalent to

Shive will be sat at ...

or

Shive will be held at ...

since there is no universal interpretation involved. It is only the immediate family which sit shive.

Agent constraint: The agent *by*-phrase is generally optional. The omission occurs when the agent is irrelevant or unknown. In some cases, when the agent phrase is left unexpressed, the identity of the agent may be irrecoverable. In our case the agent is obvious: the immediate family. Therefore, the active and the passive sentences carry the same meaning.

Verb constraints: *To sit shive* is an intransitive verb and it cannot take an object. The expression is inseparable and we cannot ask: Sit what? It is therefore ungrammatical to say

Shive will be sat ...

Shive without *to sit* is, as far as Yiddish is concerned, meaningless. It means 'seven'.

Frequency constraints: There is a stylistic factor in the usage of active or passive forms. The passive is more commonly used in informative, objective and impersonal style of, for example, scientific articles and news reporting.

The announcement of a mourning period is a highly personal matter and the use of the passive voice in this occasion carries a connotation of distance, as if the announcer is not involved in the event. According to Gold, the passive mode was invented by funeral homes, which apparently deliver the announcements to the newspapers. Every expression but *to sit shive* is an English innovation and does not follow the traditional Jewish terminology. When a passive form is used, one may assume with high certainty that the family no longer follows closely Jewish tradition.

I examined the obituaries in the Sunday issues of *The New York Times* from August 2 till November 1, 1992 and despite the fact that many announcements concerning Jewish people appeared, only in three cases it was announced that the family would sit shive. The form of the announcements was passive: "Shiva at the home of.....", "Shiva will be held at his home", and "Shiva will be at"

4.5.5. ghetto, shtetl

The word *ghetto* has acquired such negative connotations that nowadays it is almost never used with a Jewish association. Before the Nazi political apparatus gave the German-made Jewish quarters of World War II the name ghetto in order to obscure their extermination practices, the word could have had positive emotive overtones. In a letter to Judge Sulzberger of Philadelphia, written by Israel Zangwill and published in the Forward

of a new edition (1909) of the latter's book *Children of the Ghetto* (first published 1892) we read:

There is, however, a more important reason why I desire your name to be attached to this book. It is to supply a gap in these 'pictures of a Peculiar People' to supplement the portrait-gallery by a sketch - however shadowy and inadequate - of a modern Jew of universal learning and infinitive humour, who feels at once the charm of the ghetto and the call of the Future.

While collecting examples from *Newsweek*, I found the word to be used in connection with the inner cities of the United States (December 23, 1991: 42), the slums of Kingston, Jamaica (April 6, 1992: 23), the 'Muslim Europe' (January 27, 1992: 16) and the 'Untouchable' *Burakumin* of Japan (*Newsweek*, June 22, 1992: 53). It appeared in the meaning of 'a quarter of a city inhabited by a segregated minority group, usually as a result of economic or social pressures' (*OED*).

In a Jewish sense, I encountered it twice. In a review of a new book, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland*, By Christopher R. Browning, *Newsweek's* correspondent Andrew Nagorsky wrote:

Some exhibited delight at the terror they could inspire; one officer proudly brought his new bride along to witness ghetto-clearing operations. (June 8, 1992: 51)

In the Opinion column (*Newsweek*, August 31, 1992: 4) Pierre Lellouche commented on the situation in torn Yugoslavia in this manner:

Moral disaster: Morally, the disaster is even greater. Governments are taking pride in their humanitarian actions. But what use is it to take food and medicine to besieged populations if one leaves them to be slaughtered once the convoys have left? On that logic Hitler could have been a perfectly decent member of today's international community as long as he had let the red Cross visit the Warsaw ghetto!

According to M. Weinreich (1980: 103-107), the term *ghetto*, which originated in Venice in the sixteenth century and spread from there to other Italian cities, was never used, neither in a derogatory nor in a matter-of-fact manner, to designate local Jewish living quarters in Central or Eastern Europe. In the middle ages Jews were typical urban settlers and in order to pursue their religious code, they, of their own wish, lived together long

before segregated living quarters were imposed upon them, for example, by the Lateran church council of 1215. Separated Jewish streets had existed all along ever since the Jews appeared in Loter (Middle-Rhine-Moselle territory). In Western Yiddish they were called *di yidngas* and in Eastern Yiddish *di yidishe gas*. The term *ghetto*, was never used to designate the local Jewish living quarters in Central or Eastern Europe before the 19th century. The ghetto concept, according to which the Jews were pressed into the ghettos as a result of growing religious intolerance, was invented in the late 18th century, as Jewish historians and public figures, influenced by French rationalism and awakened by the repercussions of the French revolution, started to demand emancipation e.g. from restrictions in housing.

M. Weinreich (1980) rejects the view displayed above and cites a famous rabbinical scholar to show that the Jewish living quarters were quite open (p.106). In contrast, he argued, the ghettos set up by the Germans during World War II were "grandiose concentration camps in which several million Jews were rounded up on short notice so that they be ready for the 'final solution of the Jewish question'."

It seems that there is a great confusion about the nature of the *ghetto* before World War II. In an article about the ceremony in the besieged city of Sarajevo to commemorate the 500th anniversary of the expulsion of Jews from Spain, IHT (September 12-13, 1992: 2) wrote:

Sarajevo was one of the few cities in Europe in which Jews were not required to live together in ghetto, he [Mr. Ceresnjes, the president of the local Jewish community] said, noting that about 100 local Jews are fighting in the Bosnian army or serving the police. (name added)

The *Shtetl* of Eastern Europe was an independent village community entirely, or almost entirely Jewish, often on the outskirts of large cities (Prager 1987: 41-42). It was neither village nor town, but something in between (Arthur Ruppin *The Sociology of the Jews* as related by Prager 1987: 38).

In November 18, 1991: 13, *Newsweek* wrote:

Maxwell was an overflowing bundle of contradictions. He was a socialist who busted unions; a fervent Zionist who once renounced Judaism; a devoted father who fired his own son. In his 68 years, he traveled all the way from the wretched, impoverished *shtetl* in the Carpathian Mountains to the stuffy heart of the City of London to the canyons of Wall Street. (Italics original)

According to *The International Who's Who 1990-91* (Europa Publications Limited) Maxwell, (Ian) Robert was born in 1923 in Selo Slatina, Czechoslovakia. I searched for the place on a contemporary map of that country and found 'Slatina' in the mountainous Sudeten region not in the Carpathian Mountains. If this is indeed the place Maxwell (Ne Leslie du Maurier, ne Leslie Jones, ne Ludvik Hoch) was born, it is very unlikely it was a real shtetl since there is no big city around. It is hard to believe that there was a small town of Jews or mostly Jewish people just somewhere in the mountains. Maxwell may have added this detail to his biography to give an extra Jewish dimension to his success. As *Newsweek* commented in the same article: "...Maxwell sometimes regarded the truth as just another commodity." The *shtetl* roots might have also been an invention.

4.5.6. gefilte fish

When Jews immigrated to the U.S.A., they brought with them not only their languages but also their culinary habits. Gefilte fish is a fish cake or a fish loaf made of various fishes which are chopped or ground and mixed with eggs, salt, onions and pepper (Sometime with sugar). This is a traditional Ashkenazic Friday night dish.

The cuisine name is of German origin. In German it is *gefülte* and indeed the word is sometimes rendered in English in this form. The *OED* cites these examples:

There is even *gefülte Fisch*, which is stuffed fish without bones. (1892 I. Zangwill *Children of the Ghetto*. i.iv.114)

Don't your Old Lady make *gefülte* fish any more for Shabbath dinner? (1941 L.g. Blochman *See You at Morgue* [1946] ix 61)

This orthography follows the German spelling. In Yiddish there is no /y/ sound. In very early Bavarian *ö*, *ü*, *iu* were unrounded and it is possible that this feature came from

there to Yiddish (Birnbaum 1979: 75). Therefore, a better English transcription of this word is *gefilte* as in the following example, taken from the *OED*:

The nicest piece of gefilte fish you could wish to find on a plate.(1959H. Pinter *Birthday Party* II 26)

In the story 'Butch minds the baby', Damon Runyon writes:

One evening along about seven o'clock I am sitting in Mindy's restaurant putting on the gefilte fish, which is a dish I am very fond of, when in come three parties from Brooklyn... and Little Isadore reaches out and spears himself a big chunk of my gefilte fish with his fingers, but I overlook this, as I am using the only knife on the table.

Among Jews, gefilte fish is a controversial dish. For some it is a gourmet; many for others (like myself) it is not. Neither the narrator nor Little Isadore is Jewish and the fact that both love it and eat it with such a relish, gives the text a highly comical nuance. Had the author used for example 'liver', which is a controversial dish in many societies, he would not have got the same comic effect.

In addition, gefilte fish is usually served with some kind of gravy, which make it a bit slippery and, unlike for example pizza or chicken, hard to eat with the fingers. The effect the author creates is not of disgust but of parody. It serves as an introduction for a funny story about breaking into an office and blowing a safe, all in the company of a small baby who "keeps on snoozing away first rate" or "mumbles", "squirms around" etc.

4.5.7. *beygl*

When the word *beygl* appeared in an article in *The New York Times* on February 4, 1956, the writer felt that he had to explain it (Gold 1982: 34). In 1962 it was apparently more familiar:

He [Arthur Goldberg] followed this up, a few days after his induction, with a Sunday-morning brunch at his house for his fellow Cabinet members, at which he introduced them to the delight of scramble eggs with bagels and lox (Robert Shaplen, *New Yorker*, April 14, 1962: 68 [Steinmetz 1986: 51])

When a Pentagon officer, describing the air-bombardment pattern used around Haiphong used it, he assumed that his listeners were familiar with the term. He said:

You might call it the bagel strategy. (*Newsweek*, September 25: 1967 [Rosten 1968: xxv])

Writing about new generation of children's books, *Newsweek* (January 25; 1993: 44) wrote:

Befriending neighbors is also the theme of Patricia Polacco's *Mrs. Katz and Tush*, in which a black boy gives a scrawny kitten to a lonely widow. The pair discovered that blacks and Jews have much in common. A Yiddish accent helps in reading this one aloud. ("Such a kugel I baked for you today, Larnel!")

4.5.8. Jewish Holidays

Jewish holidays appear as news items when something unusual happens in them, naturally. The most known example is probably the Yom Kippur War of 1973 which started in the middle of the day of Atonement, when almost all the Jewish population of Israel was either in the synagogues or at home, praying and fasting. Apparently, the attacking forces did not even notice to what day they had fixed their assault.

Insensitivity to Jewish important days is not an exclusive trait of the Jews' enemies; even their best friends do not always notice it:

Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Jerusalem last week with a promising new formula for Mideast peace talks, but it did little to bolster his own tattered image among Israelis. Baker landed during Tisha Be-Av, a religious holiday marking the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Many Israelis regarded the timing as insensitive - one more callous gesture from an administration they don't trust. (*Newsweek*, August 5, 1991: 5)

If one expected Baker to learn something from this experience, one was wrong. The Americans invited the participants of the peace conference for negotiations in Washington in December 4 of the same year during the Chanuka holiday, which marks the victory of the Jews over the Greeks in the second century before the Common Era. Writing about the Israeli government's decision to arrive a week later (the holiday lasts 8 days), Helsingin Sanomat wrote (November 28, 1991) that: "Israel perustelee sitä sillä, että heidän mielestään neuvottelut voidaan aloittaa vasta juutalaisten Hanukka-juhlan jälkeen" ('The Israeli government maintains that, in its opinion, the negotiations can start after the Jewish holiday of Chanuka')

Chanuka, the Feast of Lights, is a minor holiday in Jewish tradition. Among Americanized Jews it had become a major Jewish holiday. It falls at about the same time of the year as Christmas and some Jews, endeavoring to imitate the neighbors, 'Christinized' it. Thus we find *Chanuka cards*, *Chanuka shopping*, *Chanuka decorations* etc. which do not belong to Jewish traditional way of celebrating this holiday (Gold 1986: 105). Since this holiday is, except in U.S.A., indeed a minor one, the Israeli government could not but use it as a subtle pretext for delay tactics.

The holiday of Sukkot was mentioned in connection with what is called the "October Surprise" theory which holds that Bush or Casey - or possibly Bush and Casey - cut a secret deal with Iran in the summer or fall of 1980 to delay the release of 52 U.S. hostages until after the November elections. In November 4, 1991, *Newsweek* wrote:

Ben-Menashe also insisted to *Newsweek* that he was sure about the dates - Oct. 19 and 20 - because the meeting took place the day before the Jewish festival of Sukkot. But Sukkot is a movable feast - and in 1980 it fell on Sept. 25, almost a month before Ben-Menashe says he saw Bush in Paris. (p.13)

A week later *Newsweek* wrote that:

In an interview with *Newsweek*, Ben-Menashe said he was sure it was Oct. 19 or Oct. 20 because it was close to the Jewish festival of Sukkot. Sukkot, a movable feast, occurred on Sept. 25 in 1980. (p. 23)

Sukkot is indeed a movable feast, but everybody who is familiar with the Hebrew calendar can see a problem here. As a matter of fact, since the Hebrew calendar follows the lunar year, all Jewish holidays are "movable" in relation to the regular calendar. Therefore, the description of the facts in *Newsweek* fails to give a proper presentation of this point which, although minor, strikes the eyes. *Newsweek* could have briefly explained the source of discrepancies between the Hebrew and the general calendars and mention that in 1980 Sukkot fell on such and such day, not in the dates the witness said.

4.6. Words and Expressions for General Use

4.6.1. *khutspe*

The *OED* defines *chutzpah* as "Brazen impudence, gall". The earliest example the Dictionary cites is from 1892:

(1) The national *chutzbah*, which is variously translated enterprise, audacity, brazen impudence and cheek. (I. Zangwill *Children of the Ghetto* I. vi. 148)

In his column *Language* (IHT, September 14, 1992) William Safire tells that in Moscow people use the word *naglost*, meaning 'brazen insolence,' instead of *glasnost* 'openness'. *Naglost* applies to the prevailing atmosphere of anarchy, in Moscow: the drivers who think nothing of running red lights or the state factory director "who drives a Mercedes with government plates to a meeting where he attacks the government for failing to provide adequate subsidies to his floundering industry." Safire sums up the discussion of this new expression by commenting:

(2) At last - a word to take synonymists one calibration beyond the Yiddish *chutzpah* for "sheer effrontery."

In an article about the prospect of a peace conference to solve the problems of the Middle-East, *Newsweek* (August 12, 1991: 7) wrote that

(3) The hawkish science minister, Yuval Neeman, accused Baker of 'chutzpah'. (Single quotation mark original)

In Yiddish *khutspe* has only negative connotations and native Yiddish speakers would use the English word only in its Yiddish sense. William Safire, who is of Eastern Ashkenazic descent and a marginal user of Jewish English, employs the lexeme in its original sense. Yiddish acquired *khutspe* from the Hebrew *chutzpa* and in Hebrew the word carries only a negative sense.

Lexical influence as a result of contact between languages may produce a broadening in the semantic function of the word in the recipient language (U. Weinreich 1953: 49). According to Gold (1986b) *khutspe* underwent a shift of meaning in English. In Yiddish *khutspe* has only a negative meaning, that of 'brazen effrontery or impudence'. By

emulated polysemy, influenced by the synonymous English word *nerve* which can be both negative ("You have some nerve") and positive ("You got to have nerve to get on in the world"), the loanword has acquired an additional positive meaning in English, that of 'great boldness or daring'.

The second example *OED* gives is from 1945:

(4) You wanna be a crook, be awready a big fella! ...But a liddle fella, where he got the *chutzpah* to be a crook? (A. Kober *Parm Me* 97)

Kober certainly knew some Yiddish but belonged already to the second generation of immigrants. This example can be interpreted in both ways, either as with a complete negative meaning: to be a crook one needs impudence; or also with some positive variation of nerve and bravery.

The next pieces of evidence are from the 50s. M.J. Bruccoli from the University of Virginia wrote in the October 1958 issue of *American Speech* (p.230) that the word had been known to him for about five years. According to him, *chuzpa* was one of the Yiddish terms which had managed to gain a certain currency outside Yiddish-speaking groups. To illustrate his claim, he gave two examples. The first was from an article in *Life* (Oct. 22, 1956: 88) on producer Mike Todd. The magazine quoted him about one of his deals:

(5) I could see that Lourau was thinking, "The *chuzpa* [gall] of the guy". (explanation original)

The second example Bruccoli quoted was from an article in *Time* (LXIX, No 5 [Feb. 4, 1957]: 69) about the conductor Leonard Bernstein:

(6) [Bernstein's egoism] was described by his onetime mentor, conductor Artur Rodzinski, with an expressive Jewish word that means check, nerve, monumental gall. 'He has *hutzpa*,' says Rodzinski, and illustrates what he means with the story of how Bernstein, a mere 35, dared to conduct Beethoven's sacrosanct *Ninth symphony* with the great Santa Cecilia chorus in Rome. 'And he had the nerve to move his hips in time to the music. *Hutzpa!*'

Steinmetz maintains that *khutspe* became extremely common in the 1960s. The two further examples the *OED* cites are indeed from that time:

(7) The sheer *chutzpa* - the impudence - of defecting... right in front of his own eyes. (1967. O. Hesky *Time for Treason* xii 94)

(8) Kennedy can go into Watts in his shirt-sleeves, into working-class quarters with his gut Catholicism, and into a whole range of theoretically hostile environments with nothing but *chutzpah*. (1968. *New Statesman* 29 Mar.403/3)

In 1958 Bruccoli wrote that the word had retained a set meaning, "whereas so many other deprecations of Yiddish origin show a marked tendency to develop various shades of meaning, and then to fade out and die."

While following news items and articles in *Newsweek*, I have come across *khutspe* six times. This is an indication that the word has not lost its vigor since Bruccoli wrote his note in 1958.

(9) The Chutzpah of 'Miss Saigon'

was a headline in *Newsweek* (October 2, 1989: 57) to a feature which described a new show in London. The word is no longer italicized which shows that it is already a proper English lexeme. The sentence:

(10) What appeared to be visionary business and financial leadership in 1985 turned out to be plain chutzpah in 1990.

appeared in an article (July 16,1990: 41) written by Daniel Pedersen, about Saatchi & Saatchi, an advertising firm owned by two Jewish brothers.

In a review of a new film *The Grifters* (February 11,1991: 44D) David Ansen wrote:

(11)... 'The Grifters' doesn't ask you to like these three scammers, but their conniving chutzpah is mesmerizing.

In a feature story of Kitty Kelley (April 22, 1991: 30), Cathleen Mcguigan wrote:

(12) We wanted to see for ourselves the irresistible combo of charm and chutzpah that makes all her sources - old school chums, distant cousins, former White House staffers pill the beans.

In an article of 'why is Buchanan so angry?' *Newsweek* (January 27,1992: 35) wrote that although the contender was born, grew up, studied, served three presidents downtown at

the White House and courted his wife in Washington, he had cast himself as an outsider in the tradition of Ronald Reagan. *Newsweek* quoted columnist Mark Shield reflecting that this conduct was

(13) "an act of remarkable chutzpah. An irony bordering on whimsy."

Steinmetz (1986) cites this example:

(14) Dr. Shulman's most outstanding quality is *chutzpah* - a combination of enormous self-confidence and indifference to what other people think. (Jocelyn Dingman, *Maclean's*, November 5, 1966: 67)

With the help of UHLCS, I located the next example in the Wall Street Journal (October 26, 1989: 156):

(15) In an extraordinary mix of cultures and church-state powers, Rep. Robert Dornan (R., Calif.) lectured his fellow Roman Catholics - including Mr. Florio - for having the "chutzpah" to disagree with the hierarchy of their church on abortion. (wsj4)

In a review of a new book *Live From Baghdad: Gathering News at Ground Zero*, Tod Robberson wrote:

(16) Ultimately, "Live From Baghdad" exposes the lack of journalistic depth to the Ted Turner's lieutenants working at "ground zero" in the field. At the same time, this book is a testament to the raw courage, if not chutzpah, of those same people. (IHT, January 17: 1992)

In English the range of senses of *khutspe* is from the complete negative to the positive one. In the first appearance of the word in English in 1892, example (1), the sense is completely negative: "Brazen impudence" etc. The last one (16) is completely positive. It seems that the new positive sense has evolved among second generation Jewish immigrants in the U.S.A. and that the complete alternation of the word occurred during the 50s. In example (5) the sense is negative since Todd's adversary has 'gall'. But Bernstein in example (6) is daring and successful. In (7) the sense is again negative: "The impudence of defecting..." Kennedy in (8) is a model of a person with guts and all the protection he has is *chutzpah*.

Ullmann (1972: 211) quotes Leibniz axiom: 'Nature makes no leaps' and maintains that it can be applied also to semantic changes. There must always be some connection between the old meaning and the new. Gold suggests *nerve* as a common denominator. Using Macaulay's method (Ullmann 1972: 211) for the *delimitation of synonyms*, let us try to reveal how far *khutspe* and *nerve* are interchangeable by replacing the latter for the former.

The method works well in (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (11), (12), (13), (14), (15) and (16). It does not, in my opinion, work well in the rest. *Khutspe* cannot replace the synonym *brazen* in these examples:

Most brazen: France's intelligence service (DGSE) has been the most brazen about economic espionage, bugging seats of businessmen flying on airlines and ransacking their hotel rooms for documents, say intelligence sources. (*Newsweek*, May 4, 1992: 42)

In Dresden, skinheads carrying Nazi flags have marched brazenly through the streets (*Newsweek* 27: 1992: 7)

After breaking my head (An Yiddish-origin expression to illustrate hard thinking.) I concluded that the broadest sense of all these senses is that of *defiance*. What happens if the positive sense is altered to a negative one and vice versa by changing the point of perspective?

Using Steinmetz's Jewish-English Glossary (1986: 112-149), I will translate example (6) into Jewish English with negative emotive connotation:

Gevald! ('hue and cry; alarm!') Bernstein dared to conduct... with the great Santa Cecilia chorus in Rome! Gotenyu! ('dear God!') ... Khutspe!

A less sympathetic writer could have lashed Kennedy (8) for tactlessness, and the scammers in *The Grifters* (11) are, apparently, nothing but scums.

By changing the point of perspective, it becomes clear that the element which stays unchanged is that of *defiance*. Bernstein defies conventional custom that a Jew is not supposed to conduct in a church; Kennedy defies the conventional wisdom that,

considering his background, he shouldn't go into working-class quarters; the scammers defy the law.

In example (3) the connotation is negative. The science minister uses the word in its original sense and *Newsweek*, while quoting him, puts the word between quotation marks. Since the word is nowadays used generally in a positive manner, the reader may think that Baker got a compliment. But we can easily change the sense into a positive one by replacing 'accused' with 'praised' and assuming that the science minister of Israel is, politically, more important than the American Secretary of State. (That is probably how the [former] science minister, who is a distinguished internationally known physicist, sees things.) In this case, the Israeli minister can be interpreted as commending the [former] Secretary of State for daring to defy his judgment.

khutspe has an obvious Jewish emotive connotation. Nevertheless, it is used often in a context which has nothing to do with Jews or anything overtly Jewish. Of the 16 examples that I examined, 10 have no connection to Jewish subjects: In (2) the theme is Russia; (4) crime; in (7) defecting; in (8) Kennedy; in (9) a show on some aspects of the Vietnam war; In (11) a movie about drifters; in (12) a much discussed book about Nancy Reagan; in (13) the presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan; in (15) abortion; (16) news covering.

I suggest that in English the word means not only 'defiance' but 'defiance Jewish style' or 'Jewish defiance'. Jews have always considered *defiance* as a central trait in their common character. In the book of Genesis we are told of Jacob's unyielding wrestling with the angel of God, which led to his begetting a new name *Israel* "Because you have struggled with God and with men and have overcome" (32: 28. *New international version* 1978). The translators added a comment at the bottom of the page explaining that "*Israel* means he struggles with God."

After harassing and chasing their prophets, Jews elevated the prophets' condemnations into a national epic and immortalized them in their Bible. Ever since, they have considered themselves as a nation of prophets.

Example (15) is probably the ultimate alteration of the word. What the speaker actually says is that the Catholic Church is becoming a Jewish institute where lay people defy the prevailing doctrine.

I still find it amazing that such a negative and unimportant word as *khutspe* has gained such a respectability and popularity in English. I wonder whether the sound or the look of the word has played any role in it.

4.6.2. *shmooze*

The *OED* defines *shmooze* [shmooze] as 'to talk, converse, chat, gossip, engage in a long and intimate conversation.' The earliest example the dictionary cites is from 1897:

(1) He loves dearly to stop and chat (*Schmoos*, he calls it). (*New York Times Weekly Mag.* 14 Nove. 4/I)

It seems that the word has become quite popular in English and in my *Newsweek* material, I found the word many times. In an article on Saddam Hussein's tour in occupied Kuwait, the magazine wrote:

(2) On a deserted beach, he schmoozed with his troops. (October 15, 1990: 20)

On a feature story of Gen. Collin Powell, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the American Army, the General is quoted as saying:

(3) He [George Bush] comes by here every day for around 15 minutes and schmoozes. (May 13, 1991: 12; name added)

In a guide to Mideast bargaining styles, given by *Newsweek* before the beginning of the Madrid conference, the parties were encouraged, among other things, to

(4) Keep Schmoozing. If the talks eventually start to move, it may be obvious first in small things: handshakes, cups of tea, talk seemingly irrelevant to the deal at hand. (November 11, 1991: 14)

In the Newsmakers' page, there was a small story about Fergie and pal Tony:

(5) Some folks were born to schmooze. Even though he'd just met her, Tony the llama got kissy-kissy with the Duchess of York: that's a breach of etiquette for us two-legged creatures. Fergie walked, talked and puckered up with the animals at Toronto's Royal Winter fair two weeks ago, where beasts mingled with guests. (November 25, 1991: 51)

While telling about 'A Grand Night for Singing' (Newsmakers' page, March 9, 1992) *Newsweek* mentioned that

(6) Cyndi Lauper, sporting hair from a similar dye vat, showed up at the same party, where she schmoozed with the more sedately coifed Al B. Sure.

In an article about the methods the presidential candidate Jerry Brown used in his campaign, *Newsweek* asked:

(7) So what was he doing with a United Auto Workers' jacket over his famous turtleneck sweater, applying the old-fashioned Big Schmooze to the labor skates? (March 23, 1992: 39)

In a review of a new film *Thunderheart* David Ansen wrote:

(8) As we follow this paranoid executive on his round of power lunches, pitch meetings and parties (and the Pasadena Police Department where Whoopi Goldberg, as a detective, subjects him to a novel interrogation), the inimitable Altman unfurls his dead-on canvas of the schmoozing rituals and backstabbing politics of the [movie] industry. (*Newsweek*, May 18, 1992: 48D)

Another example is cited by Bluestein (1989: 89):

(9) So-called 'live' telephone messages with 976 prefix - ranging from sexually explicit discussion to dating services to teen-age schmoozing - will be shut down by Pacific bell, officials said. (*Fresno Bee*, 21 December 1987)

In a commentary under the title *The Limits of Schmooze*, Jonathan Alter (*Newsweek*, August 10, 1992: 39) wrote that

(10) Without a framework, the president consistently confuses activity with purpose. His schmoozing with foreign leaders, for instant, has become an end in itself a reason offered to re-elect him. (*Newsweek*, August 10, 1992: 39)

Some weeks later *Newsweek* (September 28, 1992: 3) wrote, under the title, *No Time for Schmoozing*, that both George Bush and Bill Clinton would not meet foreign leaders attending the U.N. Assembly in New York for lack of time

Schmoozing is not limited to personal chatting with foreign leaders but also to congressional relations:

(11) "That schmoozing style can be very effective as long as you have the stick as well the carrot," says historian Michael Beschloss, noting that presidents feared on Capitol Hill - Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan - did best there. (*Newsweek*, July 20, 1992: 21)

or presidential campaign:

(12) Further, they say, he was never comfortable with the apparatus of modern presidential campaign - with the polls, the handlers, the slick advertising and the hardball stratagems. Perot seems to have thought he could schmooze his way to the White House without engaging any of the mediating institutions of American politics, especially the news media (Tom Morganthau, *Newsweek*, July 27, 1992: 40)

In Yiddish the verb *shmuesn/shmusn* means 'converse, chat'. It is derived from the Yiddish masculine noun *shmues/shmus* 'talk, conversation, chat' which in turn is derived from Hebrew *shemua* 'rumor' (e.g., Jeremiah 49:23, Proverbs 15:30). Tevye says:

I noticed only one thing: you are not a pampered young man and your tongue needs no sharpening; if you have the time, come to my house this evening, we'll talk a little and you'll have supper with us. (p.98; emphasis added)

S.C. Heilman (1981: 251) wrote that the Yiddish word for *chat* is *shmues* but modern Orthodox Jews '*shmooz*' and that "this variant of morphology draws on English as well." According to him, the form of this term is a further sign of the compromise linguistic structure that characterizes the modern Orthodox. Another evidence mentioned in the articles is the use of mixture of English and Yiddish in studying the Talmud, instead of the traditional way of studying only Yiddish.

There is a diminutive Yiddish verb *shmueslen* or *shmuslen* which means 'exchange pleasantries'. (Gold 1982: 21-22).

It seems that the lexeme went through a broadening of meaning. in English. Hardly any of these examples is used in the sense of a 'simple' chat. Examples (1) and (9) conform to the original meaning. In example (2) *Newsweek* provides us with some details of the shmooze:

He fiddled with a machine gun, inspected foxholes and joked with a nervous Iraqi soldier: "Have any Americans come here?" Desperate to please, the soldier answered, "No, but we hope they'll come." Saddam admonished, "no, we don't want that. We don't want their evil here."

In (3) the impression is of an aimless Bushtalk. Otherwise Powell would have used the verbs *discuss*, *brief* etc. In (4) the parties are hardly expected to conduct any real discussion in the first stage of the peace negotiations. In (5) *exchange pleasantries* can easily replace *shmooze*. In (6) the style of the reporting suggests more of a make-belief chat since so many people and representatives of the press were around.

It seems that *shmooze* has some kind of association with organized labor terminology, as the next two examples from 1939, cited by the *OED* imply:

(13) 'Schmooze' (pronounced 'shmooss') is related to the Yiddish verb 'schmooze', which means 'to talk'. But schmoozing in the garment district is more than just a lot of idle chatter. Schmoozing is a careful tradition, dear to the hearts of everyone in New York's most thickly populated business section. (*New Yorker* 4 Feb.30/1)

(14) Because of schmooze, the garment district is the most hypersensitive city of 200,000 in the world. (*Reader's Digest* May 106/2)

Therefore, presidential candidate Brown's 'Big Schmooze' (7) indicates a negotiation in the form of 'give and take' typical of Unions' bargaining. In (8), the connotation are of bickering, back talking and spreading of rumors.

The use of *shmooze* creates informality. By replacing the word in (4) with *negotiating* the idea remains the same - the parties are actually enemies and are not involved in friendly talks - but the emotive sense would be more serious. In (5), by replacing Tony the llama

with the Dalai-Lama and the occasion with, let us say, the U.N. Conference for Freedom of the Oppressed, then *exchange of pleasantries* would be more appropriate.

In the next example *shmooze* can replace "*chatted amiably*":

On the day that book excerpts first broke in London, Brigadier Parker Bowles went with his wife to watch Charles play polo, and when they visited the royal box at Windsor Great Park, the couple reportedly "chatted amiably" with the queen. (*Newsweek*, June 22, 1992: 39; quotation marks original)

Informality may lead to a humorous sense. Example (2) had appeared a week before I presented my proseminar paper and I used it ad hoc on that occasion. Everybody burst out in a big laughter, which was certainly the intention of the author of article, although this was not a laughing matter; the crisis in The Gulf was reaching its climax. In the other examples, the humorous sense is not so strong but the intention is to make the reader smile or at least to have a pleasant and light reading.

It seems that *shmooze* has recently become a very useful term in the American political cant. Some examples are taken directly from cover stories of the presidential elections of 1992. I lack evidences to show when this popularity has started but I believe it has something to do with president Bush and especially the way he conduct his foreign policy. President-elect Clinton has, like his predecessor, a few thousand personal friends:

Clinton will work these power centers as assiduously as any president could. Full Schmooze. New Best Friends. (Jonathan Adler, *Newsweek*, November 30, 1992: 26)

So the tradition of 'shmooze' has, no doubt, a promising future.

4.6.3. bottom line, in short

The *Bottom line* is the last line of a profit-and-loss account and figuratively 'the final analysis or determining factor; the point, the crux of the argument (*OED*). The earliest example of the first sense, cited by Willis Russell and Mary Gary Porter in their article *Among the New Words*, (1973: 250-257), is from is from 1970:

Therefore all overheads should be brought down to the bottom line for bonus purposes on principles agreed to in advance. (Robert Townsend *Up the Organization*. Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Pubs, 1971; c. 1970)

The authors of the article were told that the phrase had been used by accountants for many years, possibly back to the 1930s. The earliest example in the figurative sense the authors cite is from 1967:

On actors becoming politicians: 'George Murphy and Ronald Reagan certainly qualified because they have gotten elected. I think that's the bottom line.' (*San Francisco Examiner*, September 8: 35/7-8)

Steinmetz (1986: 56) attests that the phrase "has become quite popular over the past few years." He identified the expression with the familiar and age-old Yiddish idiom *di untershte shure* (Uriel Weinreich, *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary*: 395). There is a parallelism between the English and Yiddish phrases. The earliest examples of the English phrases Steinmetz had found led him to conclude that it first surfaced in financial and commercial circles in New York City where Yiddish words and expressions could have frequently been heard.

The popularity of the phrase has not been abated, it may have even increased. While collecting material for this thesis, I have encountered this expression more often than any other Yiddish-origin lexeme. Here are some examples of *bottom line* referring to earning figures:

(1) Moon's followers say the Unification Church has loftier ideas than the bottom line. (*Newsweek*, December 23, 1991: 40)

(2) Georgemiller says that family-friendly benefits add up to greater worker loyalty and productivity - and that's good for the bottom line. (*Newsweek*, April 6, 1992: 52)

In an article about finding work after 50, *Newsweek* quoted Michael D. Adler saying:

(3) I don't think there's an organization in America that won't hire somebody if they think that person will help the bottom line. (March 16, 1992: 47)

Starting from the April 15, 1992 issue, *Newsweek* has a weekly column *bottom line* where items concerning profit and loss are briefly dealt with.

The expression appears often in its figurative sense, that of 'the final analysis or determining factor':

(4) "The bottom line is, people don't care," says Banks, "and it's getting worse." (*Newsweek*, December 2, 1991: 26)

(5) "Let's not waste time with a lot of propaganda crap about the national interest," say his lawyer, Gabby Villareal. "The bottom line is he [Eduardo Cojuangco] is running for president to protect his own private interests." *Newsweek*, February 10, 1992: 29; name added)

(6) "What Powell forgot was that in a cease-fire, position is everything," this source says. "The bottom line is that our forces were not where they should have been." (*Newsweek*, January 20, 1992: 18)

In an interview dealing with the current world economic crisis, Michel Davis-Weill of the Lazard Freres investment bank in Paris said:

(7) Europe is proving to be one entity whether it likes it or not. The next steps, like having a single currency, have strong political implications, so I don't think it's a bad thing that people ask and hesitate about it. There is uncertainty, but the bottom line is that our economies are so intertwined as to be practically impossible to unscramble. (*Newsweek*, November 9, 1992: 54)

In the issue of April 20, 1992, *Time* introduced a new design to "make the magazine more accessible, more relevant and more valuable than ever in an era in which the instantaneous transmission of news has transformed how much - and how little - we all know" (p.4). As part of the new design each column in the 'reviews' section is introduced with a short summary. For example:

(8)ART Dada for the Valley Girl show: Helter skelter: L.A. art in the 1990s

where: Museum of contemporary art, Los Angeles.

what: Painting and sculpture by 16 artists

the bottom line: *Helter Skelter? The title says it all. You thought the art of the 1980s was bad? This is worse.* (p.61. Bold and italics original)

The English usage of the phrase offers also some semantic innovations; as an advice:

(9) The bottom line on America's victory in Desert Storm? "In our view this euphoria is illusory and dangerous," the report concludes, particularly if Washington

thinks "that all problems can be solved by military force." That's sound advice, even if it did come from our old enemy. (*Newsweek*, January 20, 1992: 18)

(10) A local BBC station discovered that David was operating without a license. Whitehall gravely declared that Channel 6 and 7 might interfere with police frequencies. Its bottom line: get a ham radio, kid. (*Newsweek*, December 2, 1991:13)

In a sense of a 'final situation':

(11) Still, *somebody* has to survive. For the two front runners - Bush and Clinton - the fond is this. To use their money, their network of establishment endorsements and their Southern base to blow out the opposition. But the bottom line after March 10 could just as easily be more muddle. (*Newsweek*, March 9; 1992: 32)

As the 'last offer':

(12) "And that's my bottom line" (Heard by Gold, JLR 1: 158)

In Yiddish the phrase appears only as a noun phrase (JLR 2: 319). In English it can have an adjectival use:

(13) The company's bottom-line performance (*The New York Times*, July 12, 1985: D3. [JLR 6: 393])

While scrutinizing the CD ROM of the MLA bibliography index from 1981 to 1991, I found nine titles of articles with the expression the *bottom line* in them: (1) *The Bottom Line: Chinese Pidgin Russian* (Johana Nichols 1986); (2) *The Bottom Line: African Caricature in Georgian England* (Bernth Linfors 1984); (3) *The company line and the bottom line* (Karen Rothmyer 1991), (4) *The bottom line from the top down* (Duckworth et al. 1990); (5) *Art and the bottom line* David Puttnam 1989); (6) *Late show on the telescreen: film studies and the bottom line* (Bruce Kawin 1988/89); (7) *Corporate management: morality at the bottom line: a discussion* (Sebastian A. Sora 1988); (8) *Below the bottom line*, an article which covers Ronald Reagan and the United States politics and government (Harry S. Ashmore 1983); (9) *The Bottom Line of Love: A Semiotic Analysis of the Lover's position* which deals with Occitan literature (400-1499) Medieval period, troubadours poetry etc. (F.R.P. Akehurst 1986).

Of the nine articles, five (3,4,5,6,7) deal with economy, two (2,9) with literature, one (1) with linguistics and one (8) with politics. In at least five titles (1,2,4,8,9), the authors attempt to add a comical and humorous overtones to serious subjects.

A synonymous expression to the *bottom line* is *in short*. *In short* is a Jewish discourse marker. In Yiddish it is *bekitzur* and it appears in the beginning of the sentence after a long argument. Tevye the Dairyman uses it probably once every page, for example:

"Listen here, my sage," I said to the horse, "it's time we went home. One shouldn't go for food so greedily. An extra bite may cause great harm."

In short, I finally managed to talk the horse, begging your pardon, into letting me harness it, and then I set out for home... (trans. Miriam Katz 1988: 46)

A synonymous translation of *bekitzur* is *to make a long story short*:

To make a long story short - you probably remember what happened to me, may this never happen to you, the story with my kinsman Menachem-Mendel, may his name and remembrance be erased, our fine deal in Yehupetz with the half-imperials and the "Potivilov" shares, such a year on my enemies! (p.71)

The expression is very handy and is used by Jews in discussions and writing. In his famous review of B.F. Skinner's book, *Verbal behavior*, Noam Chomsky (1959, *Language*, 26- 58) uses *in short* twice:

In short, no answers are suggested for the most elementary questions that must be asked of anyone proposing a method for description of behavior. (p.33)

In short, the entire classification is beside the point. (p.47)

Or in another form:

Summarizing this brief discussion, it seems that there is neither empirical evidence nor any known argument to support any specific claim about the relative importance of 'feedback' from the environment and the 'independent contribution of the organism' in the process of language acquisition. (p.44)

Summarizing the criticism of Chomsky's theories, Raphael Salkie (*The Chomsky Update Linguistics and Politics*, 1991: 54) writes:

The criticism of Chomsky has been, then, that by shifting his declared focus from observable linguistic behaviour to unobservable linguistic knowledge, he is moving from something concrete and objective to something mystical and dangerously obscure... in short, they have nothing whatever to do with science.

I suggest that *In short* has apparently evolved through the studying of the Talmud. This compilation of rabbinically debated 'Oral Law' from 300-500 C.E., written in Hebrew and Aramaic, was transmitted and extensively studied by Jews over generations. Around the sixteenth century, Yiddish became the accepted language of Talmudic discussion among the Ashkenazim Jews of Central and Western Europe. *In short* is a very handy device of summing up one's own or the adversary's argumentation. The expression is used extensively also in Hebrew and I may use it repeatedly during a casual discussion to sum up my own opinion or to press the other one, in a slight blatant way, to tell me what exactly he or she wants or means. I define *in short* as a discourse marker of summation. Obviously I need more evidences to show that *in short* is of Yiddish-origin.

The next example displays a use of a synonymous expression *briefly* with a different function and in a another discourse slot:

First of all, I see pragmatics as *implicit anchoring* (cf. Östman 1986) Briefly, a distinction that I regard as being of primary importance for research within pragmatics is that between the *explicit* and the *implicit* in language. An implicit... (Jan-Ola Östman 1991: 203)

The marker appears in the beginning of the argumentation and indicates that the author discussed the matter in length somewhere else and now would just mention the main point.

4.6.4. Enough already, shush

The expression *Enough already* is a direct translation from Yiddish *genug shoyrn*. In Bellow's *Herzog*, Herzog's mother pleads with her husband,

Yonah - I beg you. *Genug schon*.

In general English it is *to have had enough* (of something) or *enough is enough*. According to Rosten (1982: 113) the phrase has infiltrated colloquial English and was

used widely, albeit with a sense of amusement, in show business and in literary and journalistic circles.

I found the expression in a moving article about terminally ill patients in Beth Israel hospital in Boston:

Yet her daughters had expected the decision weeks before. When Reynolds chose to have her second leg amputated, Gaye recalls, "I thought at this point she would say, 'enough already, I'm tired.' I wouldn't blame her. I'm tired too. But if she wants the surgery, that's fine. We'll support whatever she wants." (*Newsweek*, August 26, 1991: 43)

In this case, the expression is used without any sense of amusement. The family name, Reynolds, suggests that the patient's family was not Jewish but, nevertheless, used an expression which carried different connotation in different circumstances.

S.C. Heilman (1981: 244), while describing and examining the language of Talmud study as was practiced by a small group of modern American Orthodox Jews wrote:

Repeatedly the rabbi tries to cut off the moves into contemporaneity and its linguistic reflection, English. To English remarks he responds in Yiddish or with text, as if refusing to ratify the American identity of his interlocutors. In addition, twice - at what he considers opportune moments for closures - he tries to end the discussion with '*shoyn*', a Yiddishism which means 'already' but which has come to be a common lexical marker used by Orthodox speakers for framing and closing conversation. '*Shoyn*' often serves as a bridge to something else: another conversation, a change in action, closure.

Enough already and *shoyn* may serve as discourse markers of closure. Other markers of closure are *sha*, *shush*. *To shush* is to call or reduce (someone) to silence by uttering the sounds denoted by *sh-sh* (*OED*). The word is synonymous with *to hush* which is defined by the *OED* as 'to make silent, still, or quite; to impose silence upon; to silence, quiet.'

Bluestein (1989: 84) relates this anecdote:

A joke after Elizabeth Taylor and Debbie Reynolds had married Jewish men: Lounging by the pool in southern California, they spy Marilyn Monroe approaching (she had just married Arthur Miller). "Sha," Liz says. "The SHIKse koomt." (Shush. Here comes the SHIKse.) (explanations added by Bluestein)

It seems that *to shush* is less formal and less blunt than *to hush*. In an article about 'Choosing Death', *Newsweek* (August 26, 1991: 42) wrote:

Adeline Ponzo, who had worked as a medical assistant for the past 15 years, would sometimes raise the subject of death and dying, but her husband would shush her. "If I brought up anything to do with it, he'd just say, 'I don't want to discuss it.' He's not a weak-type person but he just couldn't discuss this type of things."

The earliest example of *shush* the *OED* presents is from 1925 but the word had existed in English earlier and it had a different meaning. The *English Dialect Dictionary* (1961) defines the word as an *interjection*, locates the area of its use to Northumberland and explains it as "a cry used on starting a hare":

Sudden I heard the lads clappin' their sticks an' cryin': 'Howny-howny! shush-shush! ... an' I knaa'd the hare wes started. (Pease *Mark o' Deil* 1894: 92)

Both *shush* are transparent, that is, they try to imitate certain sounds. The earlier form, pronounced [ʃ ʃ] creates noise in order to entice a hare; the present one, pronounced [ʃʃʃ] aims at silencing people.

In U. Weinreich's dictionary the Yiddish *sha* is defined as 'hush! quite! silence! wait! The reduplicative *sha sha* means 'there, there!'. In Tevye the Dairy Man we read:

"Shush shush," they cried. "Just see how his tongue has loosened!... (p.35)

In the original text it is *sha*.

The reduplication of the sibilant sound /ʃ/ as an exclamation used to enjoin silence or noiselessness is attested by the *OED* as early as 1847, which is not too early for Yiddish influence. In any case, the Yiddish expression is the morpheme *sha* or *shah* not just the sound /ʃ/:

Shh! The walls have ears," warns a patron of the Family Cold Drink Shop in downtown Rangoon. (*Newsweek*, June 8: 1992: 20)

as compared to:

"Sha", says his son. (Malamud *The Tenants* 1971; Bluestein 1989: 81)

The *OED* gives the following example from 1925:

She would ... 'shush' away any intruder who came to interrupt her private conversations. (P.Gibb *Unchanging Quest* xvii 127)

There may have been a connection between the Yiddish expression *sha* and the introduction of a new sense to the existing word *shush*.

4.6.5. dybbuk, Golem

The *OED* defines *dybbuk* in this way: In Jewish folk-lore, the malevolent spirit of a dead person that enters and controls the body of a living person until exorcised. In a review of a new Woody Allen film *Shadows and Fogs*, Jack Kroll (*Newsweek*, April 13, 1992: 54) wrote:

The mystery: what caused this total breakdown of a unique artist? Possible solution: Allen's well-known influence became dybbuks and took possession of him, turning him into a puppet gone batty with eclecticism.

In this case, *Dybuk* is neither italicized nor glossed which means that the writer does not consider the word as slang and that he assumes the reader is familiar with its meaning. *Golem* is "in Jewish legends, a human figure made of clay, etc., and supernaturally brought to life; in extended use, an automation, a robot" (*OED*).

The *OED* cites 7 examples. The first three, from 1897, 1925, and 1928, refers directly to the legend. The fourth example, from 1942, uses the word in a figurative sense, referring to the Golem's blind obedience and foolishness:

What a belief that the great masses are pails into which you can pour any kind of slop..., and make them act like your golems! (B. Berenson *One Year's Reading* February 12. 1960: 24)

The next example, from 1958, again uses the word in a figurative sense and refers to the Golem's ugliness:

The ungainly bronze golems that stand around the Hanover Gallery. (*Times* December 5: 16/6)

The last two examples refers to the golem's mechanical features:

The ability of machines to learn, and their potential ability to reproduce themselves, leads to the question: Can we say that God is to Golem as man is to machine?' (In

Jewish legends *Golem* is an embryo Adam, shapeless and not full created, hence an automaton). (N. Weiner *God & Golem* 1965; front jacket-flap)

So let forget about robots as serfs, which is the way they were originally proposed in Capek's *RUR* (*robotnik*, in Czech, means a serf). Such robots are essentially in the 'Golem' image and have no further interest except as ingenious dolls for grown-ups. (*Listener*, July 10, 1969: 33/1)

Both expressions carry Jewish connotation but are used as metaphors in matters which have nothing to do with Jewish life and tradition.

4.6.6. *shm-*

The most frequent pattern of Yiddish mock-language is the addition of the consonant /_/, occasionally /_m/, before the first vowel in the root word; the root word is generally used first without change, followed by the deformed version. Thus we derive the type *libe-shmibe* (love shmibe), *sport-shmort* and the like. (M. Weinreich 1980: 623)

Weinreich presents some theories as for the history and the spread of these consonantal additions. One possibility is that this phenomenon could have occurred in eastern Yiddish of itself, just as similar consonantal additions arose of themselves, not through adoption, in Turkish, Persian, Arabic, modern Greek, German and other languages. According to another theory, the ancestor of this Yiddish phoneme must be sought in west German dialects where *_m* and similar consonantal additions were used to avoid taboo words.

In his article *Labio-Velarity and derogation in English: a Study in Phonosemic Correlation* (1971: 123-137), Roger W. Wescott developed the idea that "labiality as well as velarity connotes derogation and that this derogation is almost as evident in terms for tabooed objects and actions as in names for racial, national, and ideological groups that are targets of xenophobia." As examples he gives words like *Nigger*, *Spic*, *Kike*, *Pig*, etc.

He also includes /_/ as a functionally velar and as evidence he provides the pejorative meanings of such American Yiddishisms such as *shlock* 'junk', *shnook* 'dupe'. He also maintains that the derogatory force of the irregular sequence /_/-plus-consonant (/_m/ as

in *Oedipus-Schmedipus*) "is the alien sound of un-English clusters, which arouses xenophobia" (p.133).

In my opinion 'functionally velar' is a dubious term, and the sequence, /_m/, although pejorative, is not really a derogatory device and it is not connected to racial, national, or ideological groups (unless someone considers the Jews as such). As for the taboo element, Spitzer (1952) cited Ernest Levy's thesis of 1913 where he argued that the ancestor of the Yiddish phenomenon must be sought in west German dialects. Levy gathered instances of Middle High German and Early New High German where /_m/ were used for euphemistic purposes, to avoid taboo words. In Yiddish, the cluster is a mark of light mockery or dismissal and it can prefix almost every word. The example Wescott cites, "*Oedipus-Schmedipus*", is taken out of context:

I was surprised to find Rene Cutforth retelling the old story of the psychiatrist and the fond mother without specifying that she's a *Jewish* mother. ('I have to tell you, madam, that your son is suffering from an Oedipus complex.' 'Oedipus, Schmoedipus! What does it matter so long as he loves his mother?') (1969, *Listener* 24 Apr. 569/I [OED])

There are plenty of examples to prove that the cluster is indeed a device for mockery: "*REVOLUTION, SHMEVOLUTION*" was the title of an article in the *Wall Street Journal* (January 12, 1968. [Rosten 1968: xi]) on student movements; *fancy-shmancy* - overly ornate, vulgar ("the fancy-schmancy table cloth", (Kober 1937: 110; see below); *Dictionary Shmictionary! A Yiddish and Yinglish Dictionary* (New York: Quill Publishers, 1983); *Confusion Schmooshun* - an article on the prefix by Leo Spitzer in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*; etc.

In his article, Leo Spitzer (1952: 226-233) maintained that the pattern was of strictly Jewish origin. To prove it he cited examples from Arthur Kober's novel *My Dear Bella* (New York, 1937) which had reflected rather faithfully the speech habits of the Jewish Bronx:

Maybe I should go to a doctor - Docter-Schmocteh! (p.106)

After all, that is possible - Possible-schmossible. (p.12)

She got a cold - Colt-schmolt. (p.162)

The latest example for this suffix the OED cites is from 1978. I have not seen this form in more recent publications and I wonder whether it is in use any longer.

4.6.7. *-nik*

The suffix *-nik* with its feminine variant *-nitse* is of Slavic derivation. (cf. Polish *nik, nica*). In Yiddish it serves to form names of persons, for example: *shlimazalnik* 'ne'er-do-well' *nudnik* 'bore' (M. Weinreich 1980: 531).

Tevye says:

So you are the son of Perchik the cigarette-maker? (p.97; emphasis added)

A translation which follows the original word would be *cigarettenik*

In another place tevey relates:

The whole community had turned out, from the *starosta* - the village elder - Ivan Poperilo, down to the cowherd Trokhim... (p.188; emphasis added)

In this case the translation would be *herdnik*.

English has borrowed some words with the suffix *-nik* directly from Russian: *kolkhoznik, narodnik, raskolnik, etc.* (V. Kabakchi, C. Clay Doyle 1990: 275). Gold (1982: 19) distinguishes between borrowing from a distance and intimate borrowing. The former type generally refers to exotic plants and animals, natural phenomena, and items of foreign culture; the latter may relate to any sphere. Yiddish influence on English has been intimate whereas Slavic-speakers and their descendants have presumably had no intimate influence on English.

On October 4, 1957 the Soviets launched their man-made satellite *Sputnik* into outer space and one result was the proliferation of the use of *-nik*: *flopnik, kaputnik, stayputnik, whatnik, etc.* (White 1958: 153-54). One famous arrival from that time is the term

beatnik. According to Richard Rex (1975: 329-31), the word was coined by Herb Caen in his popular column in the *San Francisco Chronicle*. To clarify the matter, Rex asked Caen for his recollection of how the word came to mind and received the following reply, dated February 12, 1975:

Dear Mr. Rex:

Beatnik slipped out of my typewriter one day when I was writing about one or another of the Beat types - Kerouac, Ginsberg et al. - who flourished here at the time. ... It was earlyish in 1958 and, correct, shortly after the Sputnik arose. Word association, and I never did understand how, "Beatnik" caught on. The suffix "nik" is, I believe, Yiddish, no?

Happy noodnik
Herbnik

Gold (JLR 5: 320), commenting on Caen's letter, maintains that since the author had *sputnik* uppermost in his mind, the *-nik* of *beatnik* is of Russian origin, though Eastern Ashkenazic American English words may have been in the back of his mind. The Russian term refers to an object while Yiddish uses the suffix for human beings.

Caen did not mean the word in a pejorative sense but it turned out to be a put-down for what the public considered the dirty, bearded, sandaled bohemians of North Beach and Greenwich Village. Ten years later the term was obsolete, having been superseded by *hippie* (Rex 1975: 330).

An interesting attestation of the use of *beatnik* was given by the Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky, who rose to fame in the 1960s, in an interview with *Newsweek's* Steven Strasser (April 20, 1992: 52). Describing one meeting in the Kremlin, he remembered that while he was at the podium, Khrushchev started shouting at him and the minister of police jumped up and said:

"You came to the Kremlin without a white shirt and tie. You are a beatnik!"

According to Voznesensky, the minister of police was the only person there who knew what a beatnik was but everybody shouted, "beatnik! Beatnik!"

Caen signed his letter with *noodnik* and *Herbnik*. *Nudnik* is 'someone who pesters, nags, or irritates; a bore' (*OED*). The earliest example the dictionary cites is from 1947:

The patrons of New York's Ruben Bleu are as boorish a collection of *nudnicks* as ever assembled in a public place. (*New Republics* April 14: 42)

I noticed a more recent use of the word in an article about the results of the primaries in New Hampshire:

The web of operatives, moneymen and state-capital intriguers see Tsongas as a regional, unelectable nudnik and Clinton as damaged goods, no matter what the New Hampshire voters think. (*Newsweek*, February 24, 1992: 28)

In *Herbnik*, the noun *herb* is converted by adding *nik* into a nickname of ardent practitioner, cultist, believer or devotee of something. In many cases a word is created for a certain purpose and then disappear:

However, sometimes the new ad hoc invention sticks and a new term is coined. One example is *peacenik*. - a member of a pacifist movement esp. when regarded as a hippie and used to be related to an opponent of the military intervention of the United States in Vietnam (*OED*). The earliest examples the *OED* cites are from 1965. The first is a heading from *Time* (April 23: 13/2): 'War & Peaceniks'. The second is taken from *The San Francisco Examiner* (September 6: 14/2):

Dean Plapowski ... described himself as a 'peacenik'. This, he explained, 'is probably a beatnik who's got himself hung up in a pacifist and non-violent activity'.

The Vietnam War is long over and gone are the beatniks, but *peacenik* has remained as a synonymous to pacifist. In the 'Conventional Wisdom Watch' column of *Newsweek* during the recent major Gulf crisis (September 10, 1990: 3) I noticed the following paragraph:

The CW is experiencing vertigo. Two weeks ago it was bombs away. Last week, every one was a peacenik. What the hell happened?

In the 'Transition' column (*Newsweek*, April 13, 1992: 27) appeared the next item:

Released: Israeli peacenik Abie Nathan from an Israeli prison; March 30. Nathan had been jailed for six months for illegally meeting with PLO chief Yasir Arafat in 1990.

A more recent coinage is *Refusenik* designated for a Jew in the [former] Soviet Union who has been refused permission to emigrate to Israel (*OED*). The earliest example the dictionary cites is from 1975. Once a refusenik emigrates to Israel, he becomes a 'former refusenik':

"People in the Soviet Union now have hope for change," says former refusenik Ida Nudel. (*Newsweek*, November 21, 1991: 21)

"Immigrants are not getting fair treatment in this country," proclaimed Da leader Yuli Koshoroveski, a former refusenik. (*Newsweek*, February 24, 1992: 20)

The demise of the Soviet Union and the elimination of emigration restrictions for Jews who want to leave, has given the term a new dimension. In an article about former Soviet Jews who live in Israel but wish to go back, *Newsweek* (November 18: 21) wrote:

Also, Israeli authorities do not routinely let Soviet newcomers leave the country, even for vacations, unless they have repaid their immigrant subsidies, which can run several thousands dollars. That leaves some immigrants trapped by bureaucracy, like a new class of refuseniks.

Even a more surprising use of the term appeared in a the Opinion column (*Newsweek* December 7, 1992: 21) written by Aleksy Izyumov, a Russian economist and a political analyst:

No wonder so many of Russia's political actors often behave amateurishly or slip back to the more familiar patterns of authoritarianism. Where else in the civilized world would you find the government and Parliament routinely accusing each other of plotting a coup d'etat, or a former president turned into a refusenik due to a personal feud with his successor...

The ultimate pejoration of the term is expressed in the next example:

Those who cannot pay simply leave the bodies of family members at a government morgue. Russians mordantly describe the abandoned bodies as *otkazniki*, or refuseniks. (*Newsweek*, January 11, 1993: 31)

Kabakchi and Doyle closed their article, which appeared in the Fall 1990 issue of *American Speech*, commenting that "as a productive suffix in English, *-nik* has probably drowsed into dormancy once again" (p.277). Surprisingly enough, I noticed an apparently new ad hoc coinage in the July 15, 1991 issue *Newsweek* (p.49). In a feature story of a

wicked new BBC series "Naked Hollywood" that vivisects the American movie biz, the magazine wrote:

Crying foul: So many Hollywoodniks might not have spoken with such wacko candor for American TV. But these super sophisticates seem to have forgotten that the series was bound to be shown here.

The *OED* cites few derivation based on the name of that famous region near Los Angeles, the center of the U.S. cinema business, like *Hollywoodese* 'the style of language supposed to be characteristic of Hollywood films'; *Hollywoodesque* 'characteristic of or resembling Hollywood films'; etc. *Hollywoodnik*, in this article, is in the sense of a supersophisticated person connected to the American movie business who discussed frankly with the British producers before the camera about the darker sides of the business.

Commenting on Karakchi and Doyle article (1990), John Algeo writes (1992) that the "report of the suffix's somnolence may be greatly exaggerated". Using the new-words files of the American Dialect Society, he cites 15 *-nik* words used in the 1980s and later, for example: *Bushnik* 'A member of the administration of George Bush; *refuse-nik* 'one who gleans refuse for usable goods; *waitnik* 'a Jew granted an exit visa from the Soviet nion but waiting for an entry visa to the US. Obviously the suffix is alive and well.

4.6.8. boor

The English lexeme *boor* is likely to have been adopted from Low German. It means a husbandman, peasant, countryman, a rustic, with lack of refinement implied; a country clown. In a figurative sense, it is any rude, ill-bred fellow, a 'clown'. *Boorish* is defined as 'rustic, clownish, uncultured, rude, coarse, ill-mannered' (*OED*). The earliest example the dictionary cites for *boor* is from 1430 and the latest is from 1872:

An ill-conditioned boor, not fit for the society of well-bred ladies. (Black *Adv. Phaeton* xiii. 177)

The latest example for *boorish* is from 1866:

Comparing a polished rascal with a boorish good man. (Mrs. Stowe *Lit Foxes* 105)

The lexeme is still used in this sense:

The White House reaction to the Wofford victory was panic. The president immediately postponed a state visit to Japan (it was later rescheduled as the memorable, boorish extravaganza featuring invasion of the American auto executives and the inversion of the president's digestive tract). (*Newsweek*, August 24, 1992: 15)

From the UHLCS I picked this example (*WSJ*, September 13, 1989:72):

But lots of interviewers ask questions that meet the tests of boorishness and irrelevance. (wsj23)

While collecting the data for this essay I noticed a usage of *boor* which does not, in my opinion, fit into these definitions. The word appeared in a review written by *Newsweek's* Andrew Nagorski on a new book: *Germany: The Empire Within* by Anita Shlaes:

Any American who insisted on pursuing the subject, pointing out that German national aspirations could hardly be ignored indefinitely, was treated with condescension; he was clearly a political boor, and probably a reactionary to boot. (May 13, 1991: 54)

None of the definitions mentioned above can trustfully replace *boor* in this example. The closest alternative *uncultured* is in the sense of 'devoid of civilized grace and refinements' (W3). In my opinion, a proper replacement is *ignorant, uneducated*.

There is a Yiddish word *bur* which means *illiterate* (M. Weinreich 1980: 214). *Peasant* in Yiddish is *poyer* and it derives from German (p.35). The Yiddish *bur* is not related the Yiddish *poyer*. Weinreich mentioned *bur* in a list of words that were borrowed into Yiddish from the language of the Talmud. These commentative and interpretative writings were compiled in the 3rd-6th centuries of the Common Era, and that obviously rules out any reciprocal influence with any form of Germanic languages. (At least until evidences to prove the opposite are produced.)

Bur appears often together with the synonymous *amorets* (literally, people of the land [p.211]). Among the Yiddish folk humor Immanuel Olsvanger gathered, edited and transcribed in Romamized alphabet (1965), there is a story about a *balagole* 'coachman', teamster' and a *lamdan* 'man of learning' were we read:

Shteyt uf epes a balagole, an amorets, a bur, un zogt: "vos art aych, ich el geyn... (p.149)

(A coachman, a bur, an amorets, stands up and says:...)

Saul Bellow uses *amoretz* in *Herzog*:

That was Lazanski, in the bakery, a giant teamster from Ukraine. A huge ignorant man, an *amohoretz* who didn't know enough Hebrew to bless his bread. (Blaustein 1989: 17)

In Harkavy's Yiddish-English- Hebrew dictionary (1928) the Yiddish *bur* is defined as 'ignoramus, ill-bred man, boor'. Harkavy also defined *bur deoreita*: 'an ignoramus even according to the Mosaic law, a very ignorant man' (p.115). In his dictionary, U. Weinreich defined the English *boor* as 'amorets' (p.36) and the Yiddish *amorets* as 'ignorant person, boor, ignoramus' (p.509). Weinreich did not define the Yiddish *bur*.

Steinmetz (1986: 92) defines the Yiddish *grob* as 'thick, fat, (fig.) boorish'. For the Jewish people, learning and studying has been always a long life activity and scholars, more often than not, have been the prestige group. Probably the most grievous derogation a Jew can utter against another human being is to point to his or her illiteracy. Tevye says:

I hate an ignoramus as I hate pork! To me an unlettered man is a thousand times worse than a rowdy; as far as I'm concerned you may go around without a cap, or even upside-down, but if you know what Rashi says you are already one of mine! That's the kind of person Tevye is! (Trans. M. Katz: 1988: 102)

The word in the Yiddish text is *amorets*. There is no doubt that Jews have always known and used *bur* and *amorets*. These two words often go together.

I still have to show that the English *boor* was influenced by the Yiddish *bur*, but it seems that there is a further development:

"With Children" is the story of the Bundys ... snotty younger bother Bud, trampy older sister Kelly, sex-starved spandex-clad wife Peg, and terminally boorish husband Al. (WSJ, July 31, 1989: 125 [wsj40])

It seems that in this case, *boorish* can be replaced by *ignorant* but not in the sense of *illiterate* or *unlearned* but *unknowing* or *unaware*. The *boorish husband* is contrasted with 'sex-starved' wife. A clearer example of the same sense appeared in a feature story of the separation between the Prince and the Princess of Wales, written by Jerry Adler (*Newsweek*, December 21, 1992: 41):

But serious talk of separation began only last summer, around the time author Andrew Morton published his lucid account of Diana's depression, bulimia and suicide attempts. Lacerating herself with "the serrated edge of a lemon slicer" may well have been, as her friends described it, a cry for help, but it also positioned her as a sensitive soul crushed by her boorish and unfeeling husband.

None of the senses usually attributed to the word *boorish* fits here. Prince Charles is certainly not illiterate, uneducated or rude. He rather appears to be ignorant of his wife's difficulties.

This new sense of *boor* is, in my opinion, another case of emulated polysemy where a word acquires an extra sense from its synonym. It seems that the sense here is that of 'ignorance, unknowing, indifference'.

Due to lack of further evidences I am obliged to terminate this discussion at this point. I intend to continue to look for further information on the matter.

4.7. Human Types

Yiddish is a language of Jews at a certain time and in certain geographical surroundings and thus it is an expression of their mental and physical environment. It underlines their commitment to stick to their religion and tradition, it highlights their pursuit of knowledge and learning, their attempts to outsmart their enemies with wisdom and sharp insight, their poverty and insecure conditions. Cynthia Ozick (1988: 99) writes:

Yiddish is especially handy for satire, cynicism, familiarity, abuse, sentimentality and resignation, for sense of high irony, and for putting people in their place and events in bitter perspective: all the defensive verbal baggage an involuntarily migratory nation is likely to need en route to the next temporary refuge.

As a result of their constant struggles with the hardship of daily life and the usual hostile surrounding, Jews have developed a terminology that expresses, usually in one single word, the essence of certain types of people and the speaker's or the writer's attitude towards these individuals.

It seems that English does not have a similar indigenous device. In his speech delivered at the conference of literary translation held in New York City in May 1970, Isaac Bashevis Singer said:

Take such words as: "A poor man". How many expressions are there in English for poor? You can say. "a poor man, a pauper, a beggar, a medicant, a panhandler," and this exhausts all that can be said about it. But in Yiddish you can say: A poor shlemiel, a begging shlimazl, a pauper with dimples, a schnorrer multiplied by eight, a schlepper by the grace of God... (The World of translation 1971: 109: 2)

In this section I will deal with some of this terminology that has passed into English.

4.7.1. meyvyn, kibitzer

Meyvyn (usually spelled in non-Jewish publications as *maven*) is defined in the *OED* as 'an expert or connoisseur' and the earliest example cited is from 1965:

(1) Get Vita at your favorite supermarket, grocery or delicatessen. Tell them the beloved *Maven* sent you. It won't save you any money: but you'll get the best herring Vita. (*Hadassah News Letter* Apr. 30 [adv.])

The second example the *OED* cites is from 1968:

(2) *Mavin* was recently given considerable publicity in a series of newspaper advertisements for herring tidbits. 'The Herring *Mavin* Strikes Again!' proclaimed the caption. (L. Rosten *Joy of Yiddish* 223)

The *meyvyn*, the one who 'understands', is someone familiar, or supposed to be familiar, and this is the way the advertiser wants the reader to feel. Since one is known as an expert, he can be trusted. In Yiddish the word means 'expert, connoisseur, judge' (Gold 1984: 93).

It seems that the genesis of the English use of *meyvyn* is connected with a Jewish publication and a Jewish, or at least what is considered to be a Jewish dish. In these

examples, *meyvn* can be replaced by *connoisseur* with ease but, as a result, the advertisement will lose the connotation of familiarity, trustworthy and also Jewishness.

In the first step of becoming a fully English lexeme, the term has lost its association with Jewish food.

(3) Canada Dry has been touting its product as 'Maven's Choice' in American Jewish weeklies, where Switzerland Emmentaler cheese announces itself with: 'Calling all Mayvinim!' (1970 L.M. Feinsilver *Taste of Yiddish* iii. 323)

In the next step the term has lost any Jewish connotations:

(4) If Shawn is not exactly a boxing *maven*, he knows even less about baseball. (*Publishers Weekly* 10 July 22/1)

Bluestein (1989: 62) cites a cosmetic ad in the *New York Times*:

(5) Amy Greene - our celebrated makeover maven - presides over her own do it yourself salon.

In *Newsweek* I have found the word twice. It appeared in an article about Spain:

(6) Cultural mavens complain that lethargy has seeped into the arts, as well. (December 16, 1991: 25)

to compare with:

For museums and individuals alike, the bearers of bad news is usually the 24-year old Rembrandt Research Project, a powerful and controversial Dutch agency that many art connoisseurs now love to hate. (*Newsweek*, May 18, 1992. 51).

In the latter example, the experts are, apparently, more professional than the mavens in

(6). In an article about the 'Who lost Russia' debate, *Newsweek* (March 23, 1992: 18) wrote that:

(7) Nixon, like Bush, is a foreign-policy maven by nature; his attack on Bush fell into the category of a friendly warning.

Leslie H. Gelb, writing on the same subject in the *International Herald Tribune* (March 14-15, 1992: 4), used another loan-word:

The expectations of the foreign policy mandarins like Mr. Nixon are also cockeyed.

where *mandarin* is used in the sense of 'a person of much importance, a great man' (*OED*) which, I think, an ironical shade.

Another synonym on the same subject appeared in *Newsweek* few months later (June 8, 1992: 4):

Now Richard Nixon - ex-president and self-styled foreign-policy meister extraordinaire - is off to Moscow to brief Russian President Boris Yeltsin on how best to obtain U.S. aid.

Gold (1990: 139) maintains that the English noun *meyvn* has lost its Yiddish meaning and went through semantic depletion. In English it came to mean nothing more than 'one whose work, hobby, etc., involves...'. He cites many compounds like *book meyv*, *car meyv*, *chicken-soup meyv*, *chess meyv*, *garlic meyv*, etc. to prove this point.

Example (7) poses some problems. Following the pattern of the other examples, President Bush may indeed be considered to be a *broccoli meyv*, or even better, *asparagus meyv*:

While the cameras were rolling, the players at last week's economic summit in Munich tried their best to be cheery...President Bush, the well-known broccoli hater, enthusiastically downed plates of white asparagus. (*Newsweek*, July 20, 1992: 36)

but it is assumed, or at least hoped, that he and Nixon are indeed experts in foreign policy. The irony in example (7) is not directed towards their expertise but towards the way the issue of aid to the former Soviet Union was presented by these two experienced players.

In Yiddish *meyvn* is not always a genuine expert. Tevye says:

Well, you are something of an expert on tevye's daughters, aren't you? (p.163)

In his column *Language* (IHT, May 4, 1992), William Safire deals extensively with this word. He starts: "The language maven William Safire is about to take a stand in the controversy over bogus titling" and continues by examining some alternatives: *language maven* without *the* would be construed as a title and it is bad form to throw false titles

around; *Language Maven William Safire* causes a problem: Should the identification of the subject be placed before or after the name? After discussing the matter with himself before the eyes of the readers, he ends the controversy with "Voilà: *Language maven Safire*. Neither a big shot nor a pipsqueak; just right."

Obviously Safire does not see any problems in using *maven*. He has also used the word earlier. In 1982 he wrote (NYT October 31; [JLR 3: 279]):

Certain Yiddishism have implanted themselves in American English. For example, I am a language *maven* - a word that means less than an *expert* but more expert than enthusiast or an *aficionado*.

Kibitzer can be seen as the antonym of *maven*. While a *maven* is close to a real expert, a *kibitzer* is an expert only in his own eyes. The word possibly derives from Yiddish *kiebitzen* 'to look on at cards'. The Yiddish word may be derived from the German name for a bird, the *Kiebitz*, 'a lapwing or pewit, reputed to be especially noisy and inquisitive'. The *kibitzer* is an onlooker at cards or some other activity who offers unwanted and gratuitous advice to a player (*OED*). The play *the Kibitzer* by Jo Swerling (1920) made the word a byword (Rosten 1982: 179).

In his book *Finland survived* (1984: 175), Max Jakobson wrote:

Every Finnish victory achieved against great odds was a cheering rejoinder to the depressing experts who only counted divisions and guns, and to the omniscient kibitzers of the chess game of power politics who had been appalled by the audacity of the pawn that challenged the castle.

In a feature story of a new space center in Houston, Ginny Carrol (*Newsweek*, November 2, 1992: 48) wrote:

This task is more frustrating than a game of Tetris; if the "satellite" is bumped by errant finger, it floats away, just as objects in zero gravity. "Fuel" is short, time is restricted and a crowd of kibitzers tell you how to do it better.

In February 10, 1992, *Newsweek* (23) wrote:

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton strolled the aisle of his campaign plane, kibitzing with reporters and promising to do his Elvis imitation when he got his voice back.

Newsweek does not tell what exactly Clinton was kibitzing about so it is hard to tell whether the word was used correctly or as a synonym for *shmooze*.

4.7.2. *mentsh*

The English *mentsh* derives from Yiddish *mentsh* and not from the German *Mensch* (see above 4.3.). In Yiddish it means 'person, human being' but can also carry extra dimensions of humanity. Tevye says:

...but she has Feferl for a husband, and he is a fine human being, a man who doesn't think of himself - his concern is for the whole world... (p. 172)

"A fine human being" replaces *mentsh* in the Yiddish text.

Whenever the word is used in English, the emphasis is on the extra dimensions of humanity. The *OED* defines *mentsh* (mistakenly under *mensch*) as 'a person of integrity or rectitude; one who is morally just, honest, or honorable.' The earliest example it gives is from 1953:

I want you to be a *mensch*. (S. Bellow *Adventures Augie March* 43)

Another example from the *OED* is from 1972:

What is a *mensch*?... It means you're substantial human being. (*New Yorker* 24, June: 26)

In a review of a new movie *The Doctor*, David Ansen wrote:

The transformation of Dr. MacKee from a chilly, gilb surgeon, who keeps both his patients and his family at arm's length, into a compassionate *mensch* may sound , on paper, both predictable and pious. (*Newsweek*, August 19, 1991).

Obviously *mentsh* cannot be considered only as a physical entity. It would not make sense to replace it with *human beings* in the next example:

"Human beings want to destroy tall buildings, but they can't. Godzilla can destroy them easily." (Pulicist Kidekichi Yamane, *Newsweek*, November 4, 1991: 9).

nor would *mentsh* fit easily into the next paragraph:

"The family, we hear again and again, is the heart of a child's life. It is, says Urie Bronfenbrenner, professor of human development and family studies at Cornell University and a "Childhood" participant, the most powerful, the most humane and by far the most economical system we know for making and keeping human beings human." (*Newsweek*, October 21, 1991:)

As an antonym to *mentsh* Jewish people use the word *khazer* which literary means 'pig'. It carries the connotations of everything a Jew hates, starting from unfit food and ending in the most repulsive human being.

4.7.3. *shlemiel* et al.

Yiddish has a large stock of words for various types of bunglers or fools: *shlemiel*, *shlemazl*, *shlump*, *shnuk*, *shmenderik*, *shmigege*, *shmo*, *nebish*, *klots*, *yold*, etc. (Steinmetz 1986: 2). Some of these terms are used also in environs outside those of Jewish English speakers:

It was a marriage made in box-office heaven. Woody Allen, the prototype of a self-effacing schlemiel, and Bette Midler, the quintessential loud-mouthed broad, play a couple celebrating their 16th wedding anniversary in "Scenes From A Mall," which just wrapped up shooting in Stamford, Conn. (*Newsweek*, July 16, 1990: 25)

Another example is taken from the *Newsweek* list of the cultural elite:

Don Hewitt Executive producer of "60 Minutes." Gave ambush Journalism a good name. If you're on, you're either a big deal or a big schlemiel (or worse). (October 5, 1992: 39)

The *OED* defines *Shlemiel* as "an awkward, clumsy person, a blunderer; a 'born loser'; a 'dope' or 'drip'." This definition may suggest that the person who is called *shlemiel* is an unfavorable one, but two doctoral dissertation written on the subject are unanimous on the importance of this kind of character in Jewish literature.

Sanford Pinsker traces in his *The Schlemiel as Metaphor* (1971) the origin of what he calls the "Schlemiel Family tree" to the biblical story of Schlumiel ben Zurishaddai (*Numbers* 9:19) and that event was later enlarged and elaborated in the Talmud. In this tale Pinsker detected elements of castration anxiety involving sexuality and rebellion

against authority figures. He pointed out that the shlemiel character that emerged as a key figure from out of the Yiddish literature of the East European ghettos in the late nineteenth century was forced by continual defeats to view life from a bittersweet perspective and to develop the "laughter through tears" humor.

In *The Schlemiel as Modern Hero* (1971) Ruth R. Wisse follows the theme of the shlemiel in Jewish literature from a modest beginning of the character as the shtetl bumpkin of Eastern Europe, through the works Yiddish writers like Sholem Aleichem, his migration to the New World, and emergence there in the writing of American Jewish authors as, for example, Saul Bellow. In the work of Sholem Aleichem, she points out, "Jews become a kind of schlemiel people powerless and unlucky, but psychologically they are the victors in defeat."

In English writings the word appeared for the first time in Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* (1892):

(1) The withered old grandmother ... cursed her angrily for a *Schlemiel*. (I.i.i. 30 [OED])

A quotation from 1973 asserts that

(2) the choice of making a fool of himself or being made fool of by others, being a schmuck or a schlemihl. (New Society II October 95/i)

Shlemazl stands for a "consistently unlucky, accident-prone person, a 'born loser' (OED). *Nebish* (appears in the OED as *nebbish*) is defined as "a nobody, a nonentity. As an adjective it means 'innocuous, ineffectual, luckless, hapless, etc.' In Yiddish it functions only as an interjection meaning 'a pity' (Steinmetz 1986: 63).

Klutz, literally 'wooden block' is a "clumsy, awkward person, especially one considered socially inept; a fool." *Shlepper* is a "person of little worth, a fool, a 'jerk'; a pauper, a beggar, a scrounger; an untidy person." Shmendrik [the name of a character in an operetta by Abraham Goldfaden (1840-1908)] is a "contemptible, foolish or immature person; an upstart, a 'sucker'. Shnook is a "dupe, a sucker; a simpleton, a 'dope'; a pitiful wretch."

Shnorrer comes from German *schnurren* 'to go begging'. It is a "Jewish beggar. Now in extended U.S. use, a beggar, layabout, scounger, good-for-nothing." *Shmegeggy* is a "contemptible person, an idiot." *Zlub* (from Polish *zlob*) is a "worthless person, a 'jerk', an oaf." (OED)

The definitions in the *OED* are of little help in distinguishing among all these terms. The examples the dictionary cites are often misleading since many of those who use these terms are not always aware of the slight nuance differences, which are obvious to native speakers of Yiddish. Since most of the users are not such, the semantic borders are blurred and terms often get mixed up. In addition, some terms are highly specialized; for example it is hard to define accurately a *shmenrick* unless one has seen the operetta, premiered in 1877 (I have not).

As an exercise in semantics, I will try to create a semantic field where each element helps to delimit its neighbors and is delimited by them. The common denominator for all the types of human beings mentioned above is that, as far as the people around them are concerned, they are harmless in a sense that they do not deliberately or even knowingly harm others.

The *shlemiel* is not really a 'born loser'. Woody Allen (example 1) in "Scenes From A Mall" (which I have seen) is actually a successful businessman, happily (more or less) married, has lovable children, good friends, a nice house, etc. He is a bit awkward and slightly clumsy but certainly not a fool.

The *shlemazl* is, indeed, the 'born loser'. The word is a blend of the German *shlim* 'bad' and the Hebrew *mazal* 'luck' (in Yiddish *mazl* (M. Weinreich 1980: 616):

When a waiter spills soup on a customer, the waiter is a shlemiel and the customer is a shlemazl. (*Times* June 12 1980: 16/8 [OED])

The eternal shlemazl, at least in his own eyes, is Tevye:

Just listen to what can happen in our big world, and who gets all the luck. Tevye the *shlimazl!* (Trans. Miriam Katz 1980: 71. Italics original)

The *nebish* is luckless like the *shlemazl* but while the latter at least tries, the former is hapless and ineffectual. The Czech-derived word *nebekh* 'unfortunate' came into Yiddish and in a later stage the nonpalatal nasal phoneme /n/ acquired palatality [Ñ] and served as a potential semantic device for evoking irony and sarcasm (M. Weinreich 1980: 636). The earliest mentioning of the word is apparently in the *Shmuel-bukh*, no later than the fifteenth century: Joab is hurled into the city of Rabbah to execute a bloodbath but in four weeks nothing happened: "You shall know indeed that I am *nebekh* dead" (p.542).

The *shlemazl* deserves our pity but the *nebish* our scorn:

The central character is so nebbish he has not even a name. (*Times*, April 6, 1968: 21 [OED])

The *shlepper* deserves sometimes scorn and sometimes contempt:

I've got a message for the Penelopes of this world. It's high time they say to their Ulysseses, 'okay Schlepper, you've been around the world, your turn to keep the home fires burning, I'm splitting on my own trip for a while.' (*Rolling Stones* March 24, 1977 [OED])

A 'star', you should pardon the expression, is never short of schleppers. And schleppers are like tides of the ocean. If you make a hit film, they come in and almost drown you. If you make a flop, they recede into the distance. (*Jewish Chronicle* January 19, 1973:10/4 [OED].

"Woody's whole thing has been to present himself as the schlepp next door," says Mr. Zweigenhaft, an ardent Allen fan. "We don't expect him to act like Senn Penn or Roman Polanski." (Charles Trueheart. *IHT*, August 21, 1992: 1)

The *klutz* and the *shmegeggy* deserve nothing but contempt:

Janet is an utter klotz. (1973. E.-J Bahr *Nice Neighbourhood* ix 99 [OED]).

He better get it this afternoon, that ludicrous schmegeggy! (1984. S. Bellow *Herzog* 29 [OED])

The *zlub* is probably the worst of all because, in addition to being all the above, he or she is also uneducated. In Yiddish-English dictionaries (e.g. U. Weinreich's) the Yiddish term

is translated as the English *boor*. In English, however, the sense of *zlub* is that of a 'worthless person':

After bearing two children of the real-estate shlub, Earl Jr. (*N.Y. Times Book Rev.* April 2, 1978: 22 [*OED*])

4.7.4. *meshuge*

The Yiddish *meshuge* comes from the Hebrew *meshuga* and it means 'mad, crazy, stupid' (*OED*). The *OED* erroneously cites the root as *shagag*. It should be *shagah*. The word appeared already in the Hebrew Bible. Young David, after fleeing to Gath, became very much afraid that his identity be revealed, and decided to act as a madman:

So he concealed his good sense from them; he feigned madness for their benefit. He scratched marks on the doors of the gate and let his saliva run down his bread. And Achish said to his courtiers, "You see the man is raving; why bring him to me? Do I lack madmen that you have brought this fellow to rave for me? (I Samuel 21: 14-16. *Tanakh*, The Jewish Publication Society, 1985; emphasis added)

In Yiddish and in Hebrew the word carries negative connotations. Tevye says:

What I would say? I would say that one madman's name should be erased and put in its steads. (p.144)

The first example in English that the *OED* cites is from Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto* (1892):

She's *meshuggah* - quite mad! (I. 156)

In English the lexeme has acquired also positive overtones, the same process that the word *khutzpe* went through (see above 4.6.1.).

Following a lead from the *OED*, I located the next two examples. In James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1960: 159; first published 1922), Mr Bloom, watching Denis Breen "in skimpy frockcoat and blue canvas shoes shuffled out of Harrison, hugging two heavy tomes to his ribs..." reflects:

Meshuggah. Off his chump. ['his chump' = Mrs Breen who has just overtook him]

The second example is from James Baldwin's *Another country* (1987: 386; first published 1963):

'Well, we finally got that *meshugena* of a broken-down movie star in town and the rehearsal date is definitely set for a week from tomorrow.' [italics original]

The quote is taken from a telephone discussion between a movie actor and his agent and the Yiddish term is probably part of the movie industry cant (see 4.8.). In any case, this 'broken-down movie star', who is not present while the discussion takes place, can not be a madman in the original sense; otherwise he would not be able take part in the rehearsal. It sounds as a derogatory expression.

A more recent example is taken from a feature story of the Winter Olympic games in Calgary, Canada:

It takes that same sort of nerve to excel in ski jumping. And being a little *meshuga* doesn't hurt, either. Finland's Matti Nykanen is so good in the event that he's a danger to himself, not to mention any wildfowl that happened to be in his vicinity during flight. (*Newsweek*, February 1, 1988: 13)

The Finnish reader, who is certainly familiar with many details of Nykanen's personal life, may interpret the moniker in its original sense, but for the rest of the readership, it may sound as synonymous of *daredevil* with an emphatic overtone.

We cannot replace *meshuge* with *madman* in the next example:

Mr. President, we need a defense to protect our continent from a madman with a well-aimed missile. (Peggy Noonan, *Newsweek*, August 24, 1992: 23)

Meshuge has wandered from Hebrew via Yiddish to English and in its way went through a semantic change. As a result, we have a near homophone, that is, the words have almost the same pronunciation in Hebrew and English but different meanings. Evidently, we can not replace madmen with meshuga'im in the English translation of I Samuel 21: 16.

4.7.5. shmok

Yiddish *shmok* is, apparently, a reflex of Old Polish *shmok* 'grass snake' (Josef Wallfield 1982: 11-12; Gold 1982: 33-37). In Yiddish it means 'male organ' and (fig.) 'a fool'. The

OED defines the lexeme as 'a contemptible or objectionable person, an idiot' and the earliest example is from I. Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto*:

Becky's private refusal to entertain the addresses of such a *Shmuck*. (1892 II. i.xvi. 45)

The latest example the *OED* cites is from 1981:

Mary Gordon is extremely funny about the beautiful Robert... and about the Woody Allen-like schmuck in the apartment below whom she sleep with. (*Times*, July 2, 1981)

In English, one can find the word with both senses equally vivid:

Do you remember Seymour Schmuck, Alex? She asks me, or Aaron Putz or Howard Shlong, or some yo-yo I am supposed to have known in grade school twenty-five years ago, and of whom I have no recollection whatsoever. (Philip Roth's *Portnoy's Complaint*, p.99)

This taboo-word is widely used by males and manifests great contempt and disgust. The fact that Roth chooses a taboo-word as the last name (he could have said Seymour Stein instead) is illustrative of the protagonist's fury and anger of what is expected of him (Sohvi Karjalainen 1989: 26).

In the last episode of 'Dallas', shown in Finland in November.91, the visiting 'angel' who calls himself Adam, says to J.R.:

"I know we're in Texas and I know you've lived here all your life, but do you have any idea what the word *schmuck* means?"

J.R. does not answer the question but inquires the stranger who the hell he is and where is he coming from. The 'angel' continues:

"You didn't answer my question. You probably don't know so I'll tell you: a schmuck is someone who owns the goose who lays the golden eggs and cooks it for dinner."

To this J.R. replies:

"Hey, You're from back east or something, You sure ain't from around here."

The 'angel' answer:

That certainly is true.

Even if we take into account that J.R. is a bit drunk and in a very upset mood, obviously he is not versed with the word *shmuck*. We may well assume that by *back east* he points to *the East coast*, more specifically: New York. It is *back* seemingly because the front is apparently Dallas.

It seems to me that J.R. is actually asking: Are you a Jew? or more bluntly: Are you a liberal Jew from this Jewish infested place called New York? The fact that J.R. uses the word *back* indicates contempt.

4.7.6. *shmate*

Shmate was borrowed into Yiddish from Polish (M. Weinreich 1981: 555). In Yiddish it means 'rug' and, figuratively, 'soft-hearted person' (Yiddish-English-Hebrew dictionary 1928: 507)

In English it carries three meanings:

A) A "rug, a rugged garment; any garment"

I ran away from home in San Bernardino when I was fifteen... All I took was this schmottah I wore in Halloween. (J. Marks *Mick Jagger* 1973: 128; [OED])

B) Something of no worth:

A 1969 sale catalogue of Ktav Publishing Company, New York book dealers listed Philip Roth's licentious novel *Portnoy's Complaint* with the comment: 'A shmatte.' (L.M Feinsilver *Taste of Yiddish* 1970: ii 121 [OED])

Shmatte: A journal of progressive Jewish Thought is a quarterly published in Berkely, California. (Bluestein 1989: 88)

C) A person unworthy of respect:

"And didn't I tell you that if you were ever with this guy Katz - ever again outside of work - that if you ever so much as walked ten feet with cheap *shmatte*, I'd break your ass?" (Sytron *SC* [Bluestein 1989: 88])

As Bernie (the Shmatte) Bernbaum in "Miller's Crossing," Turturro is a sleazy, double-crossing schemer. (*Newsweek*, August 26, 1991: 51)

4.7.7. Miscellany

"The Meese Mess" was the title of a column by William Safire (*NYT*, March 30, 1984) about President Reagan's aide Ed Meese. The title is probably a pun on Yiddish *miese mayse* 'ugly affair.' In the column Safire puns that Meese is "a useful White House counselor - no *mieskeit*, he" (*mieskeit* 'ugly person'). (Steinmetz 1986: 57)

In a feature story "The Man Called 'Nunu'", *Newsweek* (December 2, 1991: 31) wrote:

Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater had hardly reached the podium of the white House press room when the shouting started. ... "What about Nunu?" yelled another, derisively employing the Bush family's nickname for chief of staff John Sununu.

Nu is in Yiddish and Jewish English an interjection which means '1. well; so. 2. come on; go on' (Steinmetz 1986: 137). In the above citation, *nu* refers to John Sununu's alleged ineffectiveness as it is seen by outside observers. The president may have used the moniker as a nickname but the reporters used it in a derogative sense.

4.8. Show Business Cant

In discussing 'Movie Talk', Albert Parry (1928: 364) wrote that

the presence of a Jewish contingent of "producers" and managers is responsible for such New York expressions as "mazuma" (money), "schmuss" (talk) and few others, but these, too, are used rather seldom and do not belong to the movie talk pure and proper.

According to him, the movie talk was originated and sustained by Irish-American directors, Californian carpenters and Corn Belt "extras."

Another testimony for the presence of Jews in the show business was given by H.B. Wells in his *Notes on Yiddish* (1928), which was already mentioned earlier (3.2.). In the beginning of his article Wells wrote:

Since the years of the first important immigrations of Jews into this country from Russia, Poland, and Rumania, the Yiddish or Judeo- German dialects have until recently been accepted among the American masses and even among all but few of the more educated as a sort of chatter hopelessly unintelligible and supremely comical. For example, D.M. Kelly's *Little Citizen*, a book of the 1900's, persistently drags in Yiddish as comic relief or as profanity, and this well-established tradition

has continued undistorted among such artists as infest the vaudeville stage; it has also been practiced, even to a greater extent at Hollywood, where self-conscious Jews often take a not inexplicable delight in ridiculing their own heritage. But twenty years ago the joke was funnier.

It seems that eventually Yiddish has put a strong mark on the show business cant. In her book *The Jew in American Cinema* (1984), Patricia Erens surveyed and analysed over 800 feature films with Jewish characters and themes from the genesis of the movie industry to the present. Among the Jewish stereotypes she identifies are the Neurotic son, the Shlemiel, the Jewish Gangster, the Comic Jew, etc. In this chapter I examine some terms which were originated in the show business industry and are used there and in other areas.

4.8.1. *shtik*

English *shtik* is probably from Yiddish *shtik* 'piece' and was presumably popularized by Yiddish-English bilingual actors (Gold *JLR* 2: 146). The *OED* defines the word as "1. An act or stage routine; a joke, a 'gag'... 2. A particular area of activity or interest, a sphere or 'scene'." The earliest example the dictionary cites for the lexeme is from 1961. It seems that by emulated polysemy the word acquired senses of *piece* which are not found in the Yiddish *shtik*.

In the first sense the word is used quite often. Here are some examples of the word in the sense of a 'stage routine' or a 'joke'. In a preview of the movie "Scenes From A Mall", *Newsweek* (July 16, 1990: 25) quoted Paul Mazurski, who wrote and directed the film, saying that the two stars, Woody Allen and Bette Milder,

(1) stray away from their traditional shtik.

In reviewing a new movie *The Adventures of Ford Fairlane*, Jack Kroll (*Newsweek*, July 16, 1990:) wrote:

(2) But there's a goofy, surreal innocence to this ick-shtik as against the smug egomania of Eddie Murphy or the paranoid rages of Sam Kinison.

Listing the presidential candidate Paul Tsogas' merits, *Newsweek* (March 2; 1992: 24) wrote that

(3) his candor is real, but it's also his shtik. In New Hampshire, he carefully rehearsed his jokes about his (former) unpopularity, his unpresidential ties (he's now ditched them) and his lack of charisma.

In a Review of the BBC series "Naked Hollywood", *Newsweek* (July 15, 1991: 49) wrote:

(4) The series doesn't pretend to be a profound probe into the movie biz; there's no voice-over, no big-think, just a docutessen of savory shtik as actors, producers, directors, agents and writers are caught in the act.

The word appeared in a feature article written by William Underhill (*Newsweek*, February 24, 1992: 55), on a magazine for oldies:

(5) But many say that Ingram's casual impulsiveness is all part of his shtik. "In a way, he is quite blatant about making the gentleman-amateur side part of his appeal.

The *OED* provides few citations for the second sense, that of a particular area of activity or interest, For example:

(6) My first assignment was to a gentle middle-aged Jewish household, hardly my shtic. (1968 *Atlantic Monthly*, September 50/1)

4.8.2. *shlep*

The verb *to shlep* derives from the Yiddish verb *shlepn* 'to haul, carry, drag' (*OED*). The earliest example the dictionary cites is from 1922:

She trudges, schlepps, trains, drags, .. her load. (Joyce *Ulysses* 48)

In a report of a new movie about Madonna, Mark Miller wrote that the director Alek Keshishian

didn't want to make a traditional concert film, with the obligatory shot of tired musicians schlepping on and off tour buses. (*Newsweek*, May 27, 1991: 41)

In a feature story of the new twist in the relationship between Woody Allen and Mia Farrow *Newsweek* wrote that:

Rarely sitting still for an interview or photograph, they were constantly being spotted out on the town or just on the street, schlepping Farrow's innumerable kids to museums, schools, ball games or lunch. (August 31, 1992: 41)

The word may appear also as a noun in this meaning:

The endless flat-foot *schlepping* you have to do at Gatwick or Chicago O'Hare. (1977 *New Society*, March 3, 454/3 [OED])

As a noun the word can mean also 'a troublesome business, a piece of hard work':

Anybody who has ever tried to make even a small amount of a classic brown sauce from scratch would probably agree with Liederman's assessment that it's the ultimate schlep. (*National Observer* [U.S.] December 19, 1976: B/3; [OED])

This is apparently a case of emulated polysemy: to *shlep* means to *drag* in a sense of 'to haul, to carry'; a *drag* can mean a nuisance or something very dull. By analogy, *shlep* has acquired an extra sense, that of 'hard work; nuisance'.

And there is the *shlepper* (see above 4.7.3.)

4.8.3. *shlok*

According to the *OED*, the word means 'cheap, shoddy, or defective goods; inferior material, junk, 'trash' (freq. applied to the arts or entertainment).' Hence *shlocky* 'shoddy, trashy'. The earliest example cited is from 1915:

Damaged articles.. are sold to the ..'schlock' store proprietors. (*N.Y. Tribune*, July 25 12/1)

A more recent example appeared in an article about the situation in Albania after the demise of Communism:

In the squalor of Albanian life, a black market in vulgar Western schlock is the only sector that actually thrives. (*Newsweek*, May 18, 1992: 28)

Some of the examples I picked up from *Newsweek* are connected with the entertainment business. In an article about violence in pop culture the magazine wrote:

(1) Sure, ultraviolet fare has always been out there - but up until now, it's always been *out there*, on the fringes of the mass culture. Nowadays it's the station-wagon set, bumper to bumper at the local Cinema 1-2-3-4-5, that yearns to be titillated by the latest schlocky horror picture show. (April 1, 1991)

(2) Some might call it culture schlock. "Formidable," the Mouline Rouge revue, features a horse, topless dancers, jugglers, three crocodiles and La Toya Jackson, who rides a flying carpet above the Paris nightclub audience. (March 16, 1992: 43)

In a feature story of the opening of a new Disney park in France, the magazine reported that

(3) nor, according to Blonsky, are European chromosomes right for making any kind of pop culture. "You can't make a shlock culture out of the European soul," he says. "It's always going to be bad. They should just stick to what they do well, which is building cathedrals."

4.8.4. *shmaltz*

The word means 'melted chicken fat' and, in a figurative sense, 'excessively sentimental music, writing, etc.' (*OED*). The earliest example the dictionary cites is from 1935:

Schmaltz (cf. the German *schmalz*, meaning grease) is a derogatory term used to describe straight jazz. (*Vanity Fair* [N.Y.] November 71/2)

The lexeme appears also in the form of *shmaltzy*:

Edgar Hayes, a pianist whose *schmaltzy* record of *stardust* had made him a Harlem juke box favorite. (L Feather *Inside Be - Bop* iii [*OED*])

But I am suggesting that they stop requiring Mr. Mason to interrupt his classic shtik with some line about "caring for other people" that would sound *shmaltzy* on the lips of Miss America. (*WSJ*, October 16, 1989: 85 [wsj9])

4.8.5. *hokum*

In an article about boycotts against various firms, *Newsweek* (July 6, 1992: 43) wrote:

The group says its protests have caused hospitals to boycott GE's high-tech medical equipment, costing the company millions. GE officials, who say the company shouldn't be responsible for defense policy, says the claims are *hokum*.

Another example is from *WSJ* (August 10, 89: 127):

He's also a sucker for *hokum*. We probably don't need all of the references to the "Dalas" ranch, the Miss America pageant, Dolliwod, Hollywood, Disneyland, Graceland and Heritage U.S.A. and a pointless ride on James Taylor's turnpike from Stockbridge to Boston to get the point about American culture. (wsj35)

The Random House dictionary (1966) analyzes *hokum* as:

1. nonsense; bunk. 2. elements of low comedy introduced into a play or the like for the laughs they may bring. 3. sentimental matter of an elementary or stereotyped

kind introduced into a play or a like. 4. false or irrelevant material introduced into a speech, essay etc., in order to arouse interest, excitement, or amusement.

The *OED* defines *hokum* as "orig. *U.S. Theatrical slang.*" The dictionary suggests the etymon as "? A blending of HOCUS-POCUS and BUNKUM." According to this dictionary *bunkum* is an "empty clap-trap oratory; 'talk talk'; humbug."

I suggest the Yiddish lexeme *khokhme* as a more plausible origin of the first syllable than *hocus-pocus*. *Khokhme* is defined by U. Weinreich in his *Modern English-Yiddish Yiddish-English Dictionary* (1968) as 'witticism, facetious remark, joke'. I base my claim on these arguments:

A) Resemblance of semantic features

B) Origin in the show business where Jews have taken an active part.

C) Appropriate time. The earliest example the *OED* cites is from 1917, a period when Jews were already active in show business.

In 1926 *hokum* appeared in a list of stage terms. It was defined as "the most discussed word in the entire vernacular of the stage" and defined as "any old 'time-worm line, gag, or piece of business which has been found by experience to be absolutely sure-fire before any kind of audience... Some vaudeville acts are built up almost entirely of hokum..." (Percy W. White: 437)

In the same year, *American Speech* (No.12: 685) provided a list of daily coinage of words. One of them was *dinkum* and it was defined as "real, genuine, as 'dinkum oil'. In some senses, *hokum* and *dinkum* are antonyms. Two years later *American Speech* (Vol.IV, NO.2: 199) published a letter "as germane to the discussion of "hokum", written by Leonard Keene Hirshberg of Atlantic City, where he told that:

I was born Maryland and my father was born in North Carolina. We learned the word hokum from the Negroes on my grandfather's plantation and from those of Southern Maryland... The word came from the darkies of the South, who called the fake shows real... for the past six months along Park Avenue and Broadway and thereabout, I have collected these uses of the word hokum, which undoubtedly originated on the "darky lips:...

Jews took active part in the vaudeville shows and even the name of the author of the letter suggests Jewish connection. The lexeme deserves a thorough study.

4.9. Criminals' Argot

In her book *Our Gang*, Jenna Weissman Joselit traces the origin, nature, pattern, locations, and impact of Jewish crime on the East Side community of New York between 1900 and 1940.

In the story 'Hold 'em Yale' by Damon Runyon I have found the next sentence describing Sam the Gonoph:

When Sam is younger the cops consider him hard to get along with, and in fact his moniker, the Gonoph, comes from his young days down on the lower East Side, and I hear it is Yiddish for thief.

The Yiddish-origin word *ganef* has been spelled in English variously as *gonnof*, *gonoph*, *goniff*, *gonef*, *ganav*, *ganov* and *ganif* (Steinmetz 1986: 106). According to the *OED*, the word was recorded in English already in 1852 in Dickens' *Bleak House* (xix):

He's as obstinate a young gonoph as I know.

Other records push the dates even earlier to 1839 (*Poverty, Mendacity, and Crime*) and 1845 (*National Police Gazette*). These early references to *ganef* in disreputable contexts suggest that the word came into American English not through the speech of Jewish immigrants but via the cant and argot of international thieves (Steinmetz 1986: 43).

David W. Maurer (1964: 89,99) argued that the *gun* in ,for example, *gun moll* derived from the criminal slang term *gun* 'thief' which in turn was derived by shortening from Yiddish *gonif* and does not mean 'pistol'.

Another representative of Yiddish in the underworld is the word *goy*. The word appeared in the Hebrew Bible in the sense of 'nation'. An additional and newer meaning both in Hebrew and Yiddish is a 'gentile, anyone who is not a Jew'. According to Steinmetz, this word is first attested in an English source in 1835 in the argot of criminals called crimps who entrapped or forced men into a service as sailors (p.43).

Shmek means 'a drug' and it comes from Yiddish *shmek* 'sniff':

She's hustling right now - schmeck, tail, abortion - the whole lot. (1970. L. Sanders *Anderson Tapes* xxxi 86 [OED])

Shames is term for a sexton or the watchman-janitor of a synagogue. Mauer wrote that pickpockets called any kind of policeman a *shamas* or a *sham* and the term have spread to the usage of many other types of thief (p. 142). Commenting on Mauer's book, Gold (JLR 2:139) suggested that *shames* was shortened to *sham* when more secrecy was required. According to Steinmetz (1986: 50) *shamus* 'a policeman or detective' first began to appear in the 1930s and is familiar to readers of American whodunits.

4.10. Summary

One of the surprising revelations I experienced while writing this essay was the wide variety of instances where Yiddish-origin lexemes have been used. Obviously, when one is discussing Jewish matters, he is likely to use Jewish terminology. It may be expected that these terms be italicized or put in quotation marks and explained, but it seems that in most cases the writers assume the reader is familiar with the meanings.

When Yiddish-origin lexemes are used in non-Jewish matters, they often fill some lexical voids. The English language quite easily domesticates foreign-origin words and since Yiddish is one of the immigrants' languages in the U.S.A. and has had a close contact with English, it is just natural that some Yiddish-origin lexemes were adopted. In this category I would put words that carry certain connotations not found in English equivalent words: *khutzpe*, which denotes a special kind of defiance which English speakers apparently associate with the Jewish way of accomplishing certain tasks; *bottom line*, as a marker of summation; *maven*, as an unofficial expert, *shmoozing* for a political-personal American-style conversation, etc.

The key for the use Yiddish-origin lexemes in English is to be found in C. Barnhart's observation (1973), already mentioned earlier (4.1). He concluded that there was a peculiar trend (chiefly in United State writing) of using Yiddish words in slangy contexts

or as slang in articles aimed at a rather sophisticated literary market. I would add the notion of informality.

There is no full agreement on a definition of *slang* or whether a given item is slang or not. What one dictionary labels as *slang* another labels *informal*, a third *humorous* and a fourth does not label it at all (Gold 1990: 135). I will use a definition coined many years ago by Haviland Ferguson Reves (1926: 216):

Slang is the changing vocabulary of conversation; it comes into sudden vogue, has a meaning, usually figurative, which is known by a particular set of class and which constitutes a sort of shibboleth during the brief period of its popularity, and then dies in the obscure corners of forgotten words and unabridged dictionaries, or passes into the legitimate speech.

After surveying the development of the definition of the term in the late 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Reves ended his article concluding that the conception of slang has grown from its early meaning of the dialect of thieves to "its present significance." He wrote:

It has gained respectability; indeed, it is now cultivated in some forms of literature. It is characteristically figurative and exuberant, as befits a growing language. And for that reason, it is essentially characteristic of America, of a country still young and awkward in its playfulness. Its vulgarities will disappear in time, and slang in the future will be seen to be, as indeed it is, "a vivid way of saying something." (p.220)

Many words taken from Yiddish have never gain admission into formal English and are still regarded as slang (Steinmetz 1986: 48). If we take into account that many of these terms were already mentioned by Mencken in 1919, we may conclude that, as far as Yiddish is concerned, these words are doomed to remain slang.

Frederic S. Marquardt (1928: 120), who examined Shakespeare's contribution to American slang, wrote that Hotspur might well have been speaking in any vaudeville show when he said "If he fall in, good night" (1Henry VI: 1.03 192). One can hope the same fate is not awaiting Yiddish-origin lexemes.

It seems that many such words are not actually slang but used as such in the text. The best example is probably the "kosher pig" in an article about genetic engineering (4.5.1). The term *Kosher* is not slang but the combination *kosher pig* is an instance of a sophisticated slang, a pseudo slang or just a witticism with no connotations of slang at all.

The desire to mock, ridicule or just make fun is universal and thus diverse cultures resort to more or less the same linguistic mechanisms. Jewish tradition in this matter is long and diverse.

The function of humor and merrymaking is a very old Jewish tradition. Even the illustrious scholar cannot be immersed in his studies twenty-four hours a day. The Talmud already mentions *milta dibedikhuta* a technique of beginning a lesson with something humorous. From various utterances of ironical-skeptical nature about God in the Talmud, we may possibly deduce that there were more, but a painstaking hand has toned them down. (M. Weinreich 1980: 232-235.)

As a continuation of this tradition, the Jews in Ashkenaz invented the *badkhen* (jester) who entertained people during weddings and other occasions with witticism and jokes. Telling funny stories and playing games belongs to holidays like Chanukah and Purim.

In their article *Racial and Ethnic Humor* (1988: 163-196) Joseph Dorinson and Joseph Boskin surveyed also Jewish humor in America, its roots in the old country and spread in the New World. Irony belongs to the humor of marginality. Caught between their world and the outside hostile world and among different cultures, Jews responded with irony. Wit served as both shield and salvation. The authors calculated that Jews accounted for 80 percent of the foremost professional comedians. Jewish comedians plunged into "show biz" and old folks found renewed expression on the stage (p. 167-8). It seems that by using Yiddish-origin terms, writers try to give their text a touch of humor.

Despite the fact that many words taken from Yiddish never gained formal admission into general English, at least in some dictionaries, many of them are found in many respectable surroundings and this is a mark that the process of integration is long over. Yiddish-origin lexemes should be regarded as complete English words.

5. Conclusions

1. A great stride in modern Linguistics was achieved as a result of the study of Native Americans' languages by non-native speakers of these languages, such as Leonard Bloomfield, Franz Boas, Benjamin Lee Whorf, Eduard Sapir and other. Jewish languages did not receive so much attentions in the past. It is now the time that Jewish linguists and others devote more energy and resources to this area of studying. The amount of work to be done is enormous.

2. Steinmetz (1981: 15) writes that Jewish English has the potential of developing further as a modern type of Jewish language. According to him, it seems that in this vernacular there is more than just a beginning of a Jewish language. If this, indeed, is true, we have a unique opportunity to follow a language in the making.

3. It seems that some Yiddish-origin lexemes like *khutspe*, *meyvn*, *shlep*, have gone through a substantial change of meaning in a relatively short linguistic time. Since some of these words are used often and the primary material is available, they may be used as models for semantic changes and be extensively analyzed.

4. Gold (1986a) asks:

Is Yiddish influence still strong? Has it EVER been strong on general English? Or is it just that few Yiddish-origin lexemes have come to be used frequently in certain varieties of the language and that has given the impression of widespread and significant Yiddish influence on general English?

While reading *Newsweek* I got across one or two Yiddish-origin words each week,¹ which may not be much. Since I included almost all of the sentences where these words appeared in my thesis, let us assume that someone who was dormant for the last three years read it. I believe this Rip van Winkle will get a fairly good idea of the major events

which occurred in the world while he was away. In short, it is not the frequency of occurrence which counts but in what connection the lexemes appear. It seems that Yiddish-origin lexemes show up often in major news and therefore are so visible.

Notes

Chapter 2

1) The habitation place *Landau* (From Old High German *lant* 'land, territory' + *auwa* 'damp valley') was the home of many Jews in the Middle Ages, and when they were expelled in 1545, they moved mostly to Prague, where they adopted the name of the town from which they had come. (Dictionary of Surnames 1988, s.v Lander.)

There lived in Prague in the 18th century a Rabbi by the name Yehezqel Landau (1713-1793), who is, according to my father, one of the ancestors of our family. My father comes from Poland and, as far as I know, there are families who carry this name in Russia.

Chapter 4

1) In 1976 I listened to a lecture given by Singer in Edmonton, Canada and I still remember him talking about the richness of Yiddish in this matter. As an example he read from the paper a long list of expressions for all kinds of fools. When the lecture ended, one woman asked whether the author indeed read the list from the paper. Singer looked at the woman's face and read the list from memory in exactly the same speed, while everybody was of course laughing.

2) In August 1992, the European Association for Lexicography held a congress in Tampere, Finland and since I live in this city, I went to listen to some of the lectures. To my bewilderment I learned that a great deal of lexicography work is done by so-called 'freelance lexicographers' who call themselves 'the foot soldiers of lexicography.' They are paid hourly or get a certain sum for the whole work, no matter how long it takes. One speaker said that he has made already seven dictionaries. As far as Yiddish-origin lexemes

are concerned, he probably does not have to copy mistakes from anybody else but from his own, copied earlier from someone else.

Indeed, one of the lectures was about 'The question of plagiarism and breach of copyrighting in the dictionary-making process' and the speaker, who had thoroughly examined the matter, lamented the present situation.

As a matter of fact, this revelation should not have come to me as a surprise. Some years ago I was involved in the preparation of a Finnish-Hebrew dictionary and was paid hourly and have known exactly how things were done. Somehow, it never occurred to me that even better known dictionaries are done exactly in the same manner.

Chapter 5

1. An exception was the issue of October 5, 1992 which included four lexemes: *schlemiel*, *schmoozing* (p.39); *bottom line* (p.45); *shiksa* (p. 49A). [(?) *go figure* (p.41)]

References

- Algeo, John. 1992. There's life in the old damenik yet. *American Speech*. Vol. 67, No.1 107-111
- Barnhart, Clarence L. 1973. Of Matters Lexicographical: Keeping a Record of New English, 1963-1972. *American Speech*, Vol 45. 98-107.
- Birnbaum, Solomon A. 1979. *Yiddish - A Survey and a grammar*. Manchester University Press.
- Bluestein, Gene. 1989. *Anglish-Yinglish: Yiddish in American Life and Literature*. London: The University of Georgia Press.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. 1933. *Language*. London: George Allen & Unwin.
- Brucoli M.J. 1958. 'hutzpa',chuzpa' - 'gall, nerve'. *American Speech* XXXIII No. 3. 230.
- Collins Cobuild English Dictionary. London: Collins.
- Dorinson, Joseph & Boskin, Joseph. 1988. *Racial and Ethnic Humor.Humor in America*, ed. Lawrence E. Mintz. New York: Greenwood Press.

- Doroshkin, Milton. 1969. *Yiddish in America*. Rutheford: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- The English Dialect Dictionary. 1961. Oxford University Press.
- Erens, Patricia. 1984. *The Jew in American Cinema*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Ferguson, Charles A. 1959. Diglossia. *Word* 15. 325-40.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (ed). 1981a. *Never say Die!* The Hague: Mouton.
- 1981b. The Sociology of Jewish languages from the Perspective of the General Sociology of Language: A Preliminary Formulation. *International Journal of the Sociology of language* 30. 5-18.
- Gold, David L. 1982. Etymological Studies of Jewish Interest, Part 1. Comments on Etymology. Vol.XII, No. 5-6. 4-56.
1983. Etymological Studies of Jewish Interest, Part 2. Comments on Etymology. Vol. XII, No 9-10. 3-43.
- 1984a. Review of *Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary*. *Dictionaries*. No. 6. 200-235.
- 1984b. Review of *The Scribner-Bantam Dictionary*. *Dictionary*. No. 6. 235-255.
1985. Ashkenazic English *To Sit Shive*. *American Speech*, Vol. 60, No.4. 368-370.
- 1986a. On "Jewish English in the United States". *JLR* 6: 121-135.
- 1986b. An Introduction To Jewish English. *JLR* 6. 94-120.
- 1986c. Jewish English *Sit Shive*. *JLR* 6. 137-141.
1988. Little is Known about. *American Speech*. Vol. 63, No.3. 276- 281.
1990. On Robert L. Chapman's *New Dictionary of American Slang*. *JLS* 2: 134-158.
- Goldman, Leila. 1982. Saul Bellow Misuse of Hebrew and Yiddish in *Herzog*. *JLR* 2. 75-79.
- Heilman, S.C. 1981. Sounds of Modern Orthodoxy: The Language of Talmud study. In Fishman J. 1981, 228-253.
- Jakobson, Max. 1984. *Finland survived*. Helsinki: Otava.

- Jochowitz, George. 1981. Bilingualism and Dialect Mixture Among Lubavitcher Hasidic Children. In Fishman J. 1981A. (Reprinted from *American Speech*, 1968, 43. 182-200).
- Karjalainen, Sohvi. 1989. On Swearwords and Obscenities in Philip Roth's *Portnoy Complaint*. Unpublished Pro gradu thesis, Helsinki University.
- Kober, Arthur. 1955. *Calling Dr. Kildare! Calling Dr. Pasture! A Treasury of Humor and Toastmaster's Handbook*. Compiled by M. Barrows, M. Schirmer, B. Cerf. New York: Grolier.
- Kroesch, Samuel. 1926. Analogy as a factor in Semantic Change. *Language*, Vol. 2, 35-45.
- Lass, Roger. 1987. *The Shape of English*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons.
- Lowenstein Steven M. 1989. *Frankfurt on the Hudson*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Lyons, John. 1981. *Language, Meaning and Context*. Great Britain: Fontana Paperbacks.
- Marquardt Frederic S. 1928. Shakespeare and American slang. *American Speech*, Vol.IV, No.2. 118-122.
- Maurer, David W. 1964. *WhizMob: A Correlation of the Technical Argot of Pickpockets with Their Behavior Pattern*. New Haven: College & University press
- New Dictionary of American Slang*. 1986. Ed. Robert L. Chapman. London: Macmillan Press.
- The Oxford English Dictionary*. (1989). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Olsvanger, Immanuel. 1965. *Röyte Pomerantsen*. New York: Schocken Books
- Östman, Jan-Ola. 1991. On the language-internal interaction of prosody and pragmatic particles. *Level of linguistic adaptations*, ed Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Ozick, Cynthia. 1988. *A Critic at Large*. *New Yorker*, 28 March. 99-108.
- Parry, Albert. 1928. *Movie Talk*. *American Speech*, Vol. 3, 364_368.
- Perkins, Anne E. 1929. *More Notes on Maine Dialect*. *American Speech*, December, Vol.V No.2. 118-131.

- Prager, Leonard. 1986. A Preliminary Checklist of English Names of Jewish Lects. *JLR* 6. 225-236.
1987. Jewish Linguistic Connections: A View from the Tower II. *JLR*. 36-56.
- Quirk et al. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Longman
- The Random House dictionary. 1966.
- Rayfield, Joan .R. 1970. *The Language of a Bilingual Community*. (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica 77.) The Hague: Mouton.
- Reves, Haviland Ferguson 1926. What is Slang? *American Speech*. Vol.1. 216-220.
- Rosten Leo. 1968. *The Joy of Yiddish*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
1982. *Hooray for Yiddish!* New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Singer, Isaac Bashvis. 1971. On Translating My Books. *The World of Translation* 109-113. New York: P.E.N. American Center.
- Schiffirin, Deborah. 1984. Jewish Argument as Sociability. *Language in Society*. Vol. 13. 311-335.
1987. *Discourse markers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sholom Aleichem. 1937. *Gants Tevye der Molkhiger*. New York: Morgen Freiheit
1988. *Tevye the Dairyman and Other Stories*. Translation: Miriam Katz. Moscow: Raduga Publishers.
- Stein, Joseph. 1965. *Fiddler on the Roof*. New York: Poket Books.
- Steinmetz, Sol. 1981. Jewish English in the United States. *American Speech*. Vol 56, No 1. 3-16.
1982. The Labeling of Yiddish- and Hebrew-Origin Lexemes In Several English Dictionaries. *JLR* 2. 34-39.
1986. *Yiddish and English*. Alabama: The University of Alabama Press.
- Tannen, Deborah. 1981. New York Jewish Conversation Style. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 30,133-147.
- Ullmann, Stephen. 1972. *Semantics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Webster's Third New International Dictionary. 1981.

- Weinreich, Max. 1980. *History of the Yiddish Language*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. (Translated by Shlomo Noble, with the assistance of Joshua A. Fishman, from the Yiddish original.)
- Weinreich, Uriel. 1953. *Languages in Contact*. New York: Linguistic Circles of New York.
1972. Yiddish language. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. 16. 790-98.
- Wescott, Roger W. 1971. Labio-Velarity and Derogation in English: A Study in Phonosemic Correlation. *American Speech*, Vol. 46, 123-137.
- Wexler, Paul. 1985. Reconceptualizing the Genesis of Yiddish in the light of its non-native components. *Origin of the Yiddish language* (Winter Studies in Yiddish Volume 1), ed. Dovid Katz. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- White, Percy W. 1926. Stage Terms. *American Speech*. Vol 1, No.8. 436-7.
- White, William. 1958. Sputnik and its Satellites. *American Speech*, Vol. XXXIII, No.2, part 1. 153-154.
- Yiddish-English-Hebrew Dictionary* . Harkavy, Aleksander. 1928. New York: Hebrew Publishing Company.
- Yudel, Mark. 1981. *The Yiddish Language: Its Cultural Impact*. In Fishman J. 1981a.

Appendix

One of the most frustrating aspect of doing a semantic study of this kind, is not only the lack of primary material but the need to deal with examples taken out of context. Present technology enables us to collect unabridged material in electronic recording without any space limitation. Taking advantage of the new innovations, I endeavor to create a corpus of Yiddish- and Hebrew-origin lexemes.

With an optical scanner I transfer the written material into a computerized form. The next step is proofreading and editing. I number the entries, insert all the relevant details of where the piece appeared and add in square brackets the correct orthography. Since the program I use later for retrieving the data reads only letters in ASCII form, I mark with single quotation marks those expressions which appear in the text in italics or bold letters. (The bold letters in the transcript do not appear on the screen.)

The last step is applying the program, in this case 'Word Cruncher' (operating command: wcv). The program arranges all the words in the text in alphabetical order and each entry can be retrieved according to the needed lexeme.

(1) Newsweek, March 2, 1992: 24

Honesty. Tsongas does everything but wear a stovepipe hat to underscore the notion that he is the avatar of brutal honesty. His candor is real, but it's also his **shtik**. In New Hampshire, he carefully rehearsed his jokes about his (former) unpopularity, his unpresidential ties (he's now ditched them) and his lack of charisma. Now he advertises the seeming unpalatability of his proposals: against a middle-class tax cut, against a child-care tax credit, for a stiffer gasoline tax, for new income limits on Medicare payments. He uses his personal story - his successful battle with lymphatic cancer - to underscore his claim to purity of motive. So far, it's worked. The NEWSWEEK Poll shows that Americans credit Tsongas with being "personally honest" by a 56-17 margin, a higher ratio of believability than any other candidate, Democrat or Republican.

(2) Newsweek, February 24, 1992: 28

The Democratic Party insiders (DPIs) are very unhappy-unhappy enough to take Mario Cuomo seriously again. Well before New Hampshire voters turned out for this week's primary, the DPIs declared their distaste for the front runners, Paul Tsongas and Bill Clinton. The web of operatives, moneymen and state-Capital intriguers see Tsongas as a regional, unelectable **nudnik** and Clinton as damaged goods, no matter what the New Hampshire voters think. The other declared candidates, in the insiders' view, are nonstarters. "We're watching a winnowing-out

process that's going to winnow out everyone," said fund raiser Duane Garrett of San Francisco.

(3) Newsweek, January 6, 1992: 18

Farewell to the '**Messiah**'

Australia's Hawke loses out to 'Mr. Recession'

There were times during his nine years as Australia's prime minister when Bob Hawke appeared almost unbeatable. He won four consecutive elections, starting in 1983, and was hailed by Labor colleagues as a political "**messiah**." But Australia's economy has been in a nose dive for months, and Hawke's popularity has plummeted along with it.

(4) Newsweek, July 22, 1991: 25

It was a marriage made in box-office heaven. Woody Allen, the prototype of the self-effacing **schlemiel** [**shlemiel**], and Bette Midler, the quintessential loud-mouthed broad, play a couple celebrating their 16th wedding anniversary in "Scenes From A Marriage," which just wrapped up shooting in Stamford, Conn. This time, however, the two stars stray from their traditional **shnik**, says Paul Mazursky, who wrote and directed the film. Midler plays a psychologist who just wrote a best-selling book, Allen is a lawyer. The title is a play on Ingmar Bergman's "Scenes from a Marriage" - which ought to tickle Bergman fan Allen.

(5) Newsweek, July 22, 1991: 55

To help interfaith couples, Reform Jews have created a network of outreach programs that provide support and guidelines for both parents and children. The point of these programs is to help adults become knowledgeable and committed Jews. It's an overdue step: most American Jews try to get through life with no more knowledge of Judaism than what a 13-year-old can master for his **bar mitzvah**. In today's America, that apparently is not enough wisdom or commitment to maintain a durable identity as a Jew.

(6) Newsweek, November 11, 1991: 23

The Paris meeting did not occur: The vast discrepancies between Ben-Menashe's account and Brenneke's account show, at the very least, that one of the two men is lying. But the weight of evidence suggests that both versions are false.

Ben-Menashe has changed his story repeatedly: did it happen at the Ritz, as he told Newsweek, or at the Hotel George V, as he told Shmuel Segev? He is also confused about dates. In an interview with Newsweek Ben-Menashe said he was sure it was Oct. 19 or Oct. 20 because it was close to the Jewish festival of **Sukkot**. **Sukkot**, a movable feast, occurred on Sept. 25 in 1980.

(7) Newsweek, January 27, 1992: 35

Contradiction, inconsistency, paradox do not daunt Buchanan. He is a wealthy man. He owns a house with pillars in front, a swimming pool out back and a Mercedes in the garage. Yet he is running as a populist. He was born in Washington's old Providence Hospital, where his mother once worked as a student nurse. He grew up in Blessed Sacrament Parish in the northwest hinterlands of what is now Chevy Chase. He went to grammar school, Gonzga High School,

Georgetown University in the district. He served three presidents downtown at the White House. He courted his wife, Shelley, in the city. Yet he has cast himself as an outsider in the tradition of Ronald Reagan. "An act of remarkable **chutzpah** [**khutzpe**]," reflects columnist Mark Shields, another friend from the left. "An irony bordering on whimsy."

(8) Newsweek, March 9, 1992: 31

Cole needed a porter at the Grammy Awards last week in New York City. Natalie Cole hauled away an armful of gramophones, including one for album of the year for "Unforgettable," whose songs were standards of her father, the late, great Nat. "I thank my dad for leaving me such a wonderful, wonderful heritage," the legatee said. Oscar snubee Barbara Streisand picked up a lifetime achievement award from the Grammy group: "I feel more like a work in progress."

Despite such diversions, the four-hour, titanicly tedious show seemed longer than ever. And the Grammy itself actually got bigger - it's 30 percent larger than in previous years. "This could prove useful: it might well double as an ear trumpet, something many heavy metallites may soon need.) Luther Vandross, on the other hand, got smaller. He has dropped 106 pounds, and after taking R&B honors said, "I'd like to thank my diet doctor." There was room for the medico as well as the star in the oversize flamingo-pink suit Vandross wore (with matching lounge-lizard boots) to a pre-Grammy whammy at the Plaza Hotel. Cyndi Lauper, sporting hair from a similar dye vat, showed up at the same party, where she **schmoozed** [**shmooze**] with the more sedately coiffed Al B. Sure. Young rap group TLC dropped in in dropdead duds. Ungrammyed, to be sure, but definitely livelier than the show.

(9) Newsweek, March 23, 1992: 18

As the Republican Party's gray eminence on foreign policy, Nixon surely realizes this. His real message has to do with domestic policy: don't let Pat Buchanan spook you. The Republican challenger is scoring big in the primaries with his isolationist "America First" theme, while Bush seems more and more reluctant even to mention the dirty words, foreign policy. He's abandoned the one issue where he could claim to have demonstrated superiority over any Democratic candidate. Nixon, like Bush, is a foreign-policy **maven** [**meyvn**] by nature; his attack on Bush fell into the category of a friendly warning.

(10) Newsweek, March 23, 1992: 89

If you hadn't accessed Jerry Brown until recently, you'd think the photograph on the right was weird. Wasn't Brown supposed to be the mad monk of U.S. presidential politics, the scourge of Democratic power brokers? Wasn't he the anticandidate of latenight cable TV and the toll-free 800 number? So what was he doing with a UnIted Auto Workers' jacket over his famous turtleneck sweater, applying the old-fashioned Big **Schmooze** [**shmooze**] to the labor skates?

(11) Newsweek, April 13, 1992: 54

A New Woody - lost in the Fog

Shadows and fog is Woody Allen's first mystery movie. The mystery: what caused this total breakdown of a unique artist? Possible solution: Allen's well-known influences became **dybbuks** and took possession of him turning him into a puppet gone batty with eclecticism. Every few minutes This film upchucks another reference: Bergman, Brecht, Kafka, Fritz Lang - it's as if Allen made his movie not

with a script but a library card. Allen plays a **schnook** named Kleinman (Kafka's K, Woodyfied) who's suspected

13) Newsweek, April 13, 1992:45

BOTTOM LINE

LAND RICH BUT CASH POOR

Toronto-based real-estate leviathan Olympia & York developments Ltd. continues to struggle. One week after it asked bankers to restructure its \$20 billion debt, the firm missed a \$370 million mortgage payment on a 68-floor Toronto office tower. The fiercely private firm also delayed a much-anticipated meeting at which it planned to open its books to its lenders for the first time.

14) Newsweek, November 18, 1991: 21

Back to the U.S.S.R.

Soviet Jews are leaving Israel and heading home

Bureaucratic trap: The disgruntled Soviets learn that getting out of Israel is not that easy. Recovering Soviet citizenship and a Soviet passport, which most surrendered on emigrating, can take 12 months or more. Also, Israeli authorities do not routinely let Soviet newcomers leave the country, even for vacations, unless they have repaid their immigrant subsidies, which can run several thousand dollars. That leaves some immigrants trapped by bureaucracy, like a new class of **refuseniks**. Valentin Vorobyov, a 51-year-old psychiatrist, says, "I dream of going

to the United States. But there are two obstacles: a visa and paying off my loans." He was waiting outside the Idud Bank, which makes loans to new immigrants, to see how much he owes.

Israel itself stands to lose money. Based on an estimate of 1 million new immigrants by 1994, Israel has requested \$10 billion in loan guarantees from the United States. Will the government now be forced to revise its immigration estimate and with it, the amount of U.S. aid? "We still expect 1 million," says Mantber, "but it may take five to eight years rather than two or three." Others aren't so sure. Shifts in economic and political circumstances especially within the Soviet Union itself - could mean still fewer immigrants in the future. "People in the Soviet Union now have hope for change," says former **refusenik** Ida Nudel. And too many Soviet immigrants in Israel are running out of hope.

15) Newsweek, August 26, 1991: 42

Yet so often the life leaves few clues to how the dying should come. The Ponzos had never discussed what to do in such a situation, even though Domenic had a history of diabetes, chronic pulmonary disease, high cholesterol, obesity, peripheral vascular disease, hypertension, high blood pressure and angina. A pack-and-a-half-a-day smoker for 50 years, Ponzo, 69, experienced shortness of breath after walking a single block. Adeline Ponzo, who had worked as a medical assistant for the past 15 years, would sometimes raise the subject of death and dying, but her husband would **shush** her. "If I brought up anything to do with it, he'd just say, 'I don't want to discuss it.' " He's not a weak-type person, but he just couldn't discuss this type of thing."

16) Newsweek, April 1, 1991: 36

Violence in Pop Culture

As America binges on make-believe gore, you have to ask: what are we doing to ourselves?

Sure, ultraviolent fare has always been out there - but up until now, it's always been 'out there,' on the fringes of mass culture. Nowadays it's the station-wagon set, bumper to bumper at the local Cinema 1-2-3-4-5, that yearns to be titillated by the latest **schlocky [shlak]** horror picture show. And the conglomerated, amalgamated media corporations obligingly churn out increasingly vicious movies, books and records. Mayhem has gone mainstream.

17) Newsweek, August 26, 1991: 43

Yet her daughters had expected the decision weeks before. When Reynolds chose to have her second leg amputated, Gayle recalls, "I thought at this point she would say, '**Enough already**, I'm tired.' I wouldn't blame her. I'm tired too. But if she wants the surgery, that's fine. We'll support whatever she wants."

The doctors understood Reynolds's decision, but they could not grant her wish right away. "We're going to string this out a couple of days," intern Evans told the medical team. "I want her to tell me the same thing many days in a row." Explained Dr. J. Woodrow Weiss, director of the MICU, "We need to be certain this isn't a whim." Reynolds did reiterate her decision - countless times to Evans, to Weiss, to her family and to psychiatrist Eran Metzger. It was his task to determine whether Reynolds was competent and whether her decision was based on "appropriate" rather than "inappropriate" depression.

18) Newsweek, July 16, 1990: 52

Ick **Shtik**: The Diceman Cometh

This will be the only review • of Andrew Dice Clay's 'The Adventures of Ford Fairlane' that mentions T. S. Eliot. What's the connection between the foul-mouthed comic and the great poet? Both have been accused of misogyny; there are lines in Eliot's original version of "The Waste Land" about women's minds and bodies that sound like highbrow versions of the Diceman's riffs. So what? So, at the highest and lowest cultural levels, the fear and awe of women have driven men into extremes of eloquence and indecency. In "Ford Fairlane" Clay's profane machismo is played for what it is, a parody of the insecure male whose strutting supremacism is just an act.

19) Newsweek, July 1, 1991: 47

Move Over, **Matzos**

A boom in food that's proud to be **kosher**

Last fall, when demand for Coors beer shot up 15 percent in New York and a sharp 38 percent in Philadelphia, the nation's third largest brewer didn't need to ask why. The answer was right on the label: a small "U" in a circle that identified Coors as America's first **kosher** beer. Without changing the product, Coors got rabbinical certification that its product complied with Jewish dietary laws. Coors executives think the move last September gives them leverage with the 1.5 million American Jews who keep **kosher** and a larger market of health-conscious shoppers. "We've always said we were pure," says company spokesman Don Shook. "Kosher" labeling reaffirms that we are what we say we are."Take a look in your '90s pantry: Americans are buying **kosher** as never before. Makers of products like Cheerios,

Coke and Yoplait that qualify for the label are reaching out to **kosher** consumer - as well as Muslims and others with similar dietary rules. And **kosher** marketers are taking their cue from the old rye- bread slogan, "You don't have to be Jewish to love Levys," enticing gentiles to try their products because they're healthful and taste good. Today, 20,000 domestic food items are kosher certified - and a thousand new products are joining the list each year. Sales of those **kosher** goods climbed to \$30 billion last year, prompting both Food & Wine magazine and Rolling Stone to declare **kosher** one of the decade's hot food trends. "It's not [just] **gefilte fish** and **matzo**," says Phil Lempert, publisher of the Lempert Report, a food-trends newsletter. "It's everything."

What makes a food **kosher**? The word is Hebrew for "proper," and the religious dietary rules date back some 3,000 years. Some regulations are well known: pork and shellfish are out, and dairy and meat products don't mix. In all cases, a **mashgiah**, or supervisor, must thoroughly examine every ingredient, process and piece of equipment; on a **kosher** dinner-cruise ship in New York called the "Glatt Yacht," supervisors blow-torch the ovens for quick purification before each trip. Products like beer and yogurt are inherently kosher or nearly so; meats require strict supervision. At empire **Kosher** Poultry, the largest **kosher**-chicken producer, more than 100 rabbis scrutinize the raising, slaughtering, plucking and packaging of the fowl.

Kosher-food manufacturers are pushing for **nonkosher** consumers. Royal Kedem, the largest Passover wine supplier, now turns out prize-winning Chardonnays and Asti Spumante. Last week Kedem sales vice president Nathan Herzog pitched the company's upcoming sparkling grape juice to a distributor. "When do we promote it, **Rosh Hashana** or Christmas?" the distributor asked'. "Christmas," Herzog said. Health claims by companies like Hebrew National - whose hot-dog ads proclaim, "We answer to an even higher authority" than Uncle Sam - helped boost sales of the all-beef franks by more than 10 percent a year.

No problems: Are **kosher** foods always better for you? **Kosher** authorities make no promises. Rabbis check for cleanliness and adherence to religious rules, not

vitamin content. "We have no expertise to determine the nutritional healthiness of food," says Rabbi Menachem Genack, head of the **kosher**-supervision arm of Orthodox Union, the largest certifier. That won't stop connoisseurs like Willie Brown, a 20-year patron of a New York kosher butcher. "It's just better meat." And for those who fret about cholesterol, both Slim-Fast and Weight Watchers now offer kosher-certified diets. So now you can eat **kosher** when you're trying not to eat, too.

20) Newsweek, April 22, 1991: 36

An End to the Boycott?

Toyota's decision to sell cars in Israel signals an open door on trade

When Japan's mighty Toyota Motor Corp., the world's second largest automaker, announced last week that it would begin selling 5,000 Corollas a year in Israel starting in 1992, a company spokesman called it "purely a market-driven decision." But that was hardly the case. It was mostly politics not economics-that prompted Toyota to decide the time had come to do business with Israel. Only two weeks earlier Japanese Foreign minister Taro Nakayama had met in Washington for talks with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker. Amid discussions on U.S.-Japanese relations, trade disputes and Japan's response to the gulf war, the Americans pressed the point that as one U.S. diplomat in Tokyo put it, "it's **kosher** to do business with the Israelis."

21) Newsweek, May 27, 1991: 41

His Camera Never Blinkered - Or Did It?

Can Alek Keshishian really be as unhappy as he sounds? "I feel miserably underachieved," he told one interviewer. "How old was Orson Welles when he made 'Citizen Kane'? Twenty-five or twenty six?" He is, he says "plagued with self-doubt" and filled with a profound "emptiness".

And that's what he wanted to show in "Truth or Dare" - a star's life. He didn't want to make a traditional concert film, with the obligatory shot of tired musicians **schlepping [shlep]** on and off tour buses. He wanted to document the startling dichotomy of Madonna's world: surrounded by millions of tugging fans and a handful of sycophants stands a lonely Madonna, a "pretty logical girl lost in a surreal world." But is the film real life? "How much of any of our lives are manipulations of each other? How much of all our lives is acting?" he ask. "My job was to manipulate. Her job was to live."

22) Newsweek, August 5, 1991: 15

Bush and Baker: A lack of Israeli Trust

Secretary of State James Baker arrived in Jerusalem last week with a promising new formula for Mideast peace talks, but it did little to bolster his own tattered image among Israelis. Baker landed during **Tisha Be Av**, a religious holiday marking the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Many Israelis regarded the timing as insensitive one more callous gesture from an administration they don't trust. To a country accustomed to Washington's warm embrace, Baker and President George Bush represent an unnerving new brand of U.S. leadership: one with no special affinity for the Jewish state. "Bush and Baker simply don't ascribe to any romantic notion about Israel's special place in history," says a senior administration official. "That isn't hostility. It's just the absence of affection."

23) Newsweek, November 11, 1991: 14

Have We Got a Deal for You

A guide to Mideast bargaining styles

Keep **Schmoozing** [shmooze]. If the talks eventually start to move, it may be obvious first in small things: handshakes, cups of tea, talk seemingly irrelevant to the deal at hand in Madrid and they are critical. No Arab can make a compromise without establishing some such personal contact. Centuries ago the Arabs learned to study an adversary pupils for involuntary responses indicating interest, says Hall. In Madrid that antagonists avert their eyes. That's not possible over tea.

24) Newsweek, November 18, 1991: 13

Maxwell was an overflowing bundle of contradictions. He was a socialist who busted unions; a fervent Zionist who once renounced Judaism; a devoted father who fired his own son. In his 68 years, he traveled all the way from the wretched, impoverished **shtetl** in the Carpathian Mountains to the stuffy heart of the City of London to the canyons of Wall Street. Along the way, he stopped off in dozens of world capitals to have his picture taken with presidents and prime ministers. He considered himself "the prime minister of the world," says David Adler, a former personal spokesman at Maxwell Communication Corp. But no matter how hard he tried, this Czech-born, British-tailored citizen of the world never could seem to find that one place he could call home. He lived very much as he died - alone, and at sea.

25) Newsweek, August 19, 1991: 52

A Surgeon Under the Knife

William Hurt in a smart, not smarmy, redemption tale

Dr. Jack MacKee (William Hurt), an arrogant San Francisco cardiac surgeon, performs heart transplants for a living. In the course of "The Doctor", MacKee becomes sick himself - the problem is with his throat, not his ticker - but his showdown with mortality occasions his own metaphorical heart transplant.

It may seem odd that within one month Hollywood has brought forth two films in which a selfish, successful man struck down and forced to reassess his life. "Regarding Henry" showed how sappy such a theme could be. But here, director Randa Haines, making her first film since "Children of a Lesser God," does it right. The transformation of Dr. MacKee from a chilly, glib surgeon, who keeps both his patients and his family at arm's length, into a compassionate '**mensch**' [**mentsh**] may sound, on paper, both predictable and pious. But it is dramatized with such precise, honest details and embodied by Hurt with such implosive force that it compels belief "The Doctor" doesn't bludgeon the audience with cheap emotions; it achieves its memorable power by quietly, smartly burrowing deep inside its characters.

26) Newsweek, April 22, 1991: 30

The Scoop on Kitty Kelley

We were afraid we were going to have to do an unauthorized Kitty Kelley profile. We were very disappointed. We had wanted to get up close and personal with the plucky biographer who'd come up with such now notorious tidbits about her

subjects' lives: that Jackie Onassis had shock therapy; that Liz Taylor aborted a love child by Frank Sinatra; that Sinatra once ate ham and eggs off the chest of a call girl. And now we had the deep dish on Nancy Reagan, including the allegation that "busy Ole Blue Eyes" the former First Lady had a tryst with Frank, too. So we wanted a firsthand look at how Kelley does it. We wanted to see for ourselves the irresistible combo of charm and **chutzpah [khutzpe]** that makes all her sources - old school chums, distant cousins, former White House staffers spill the beans. We wanted to understand how "a real pushy-pants," as she once described herself, could even paw through someone's garbage in search of a hot clue. But last Thursday, Kelley's publisher, Simon & Schuster, abruptly canceled her promotional tour and interviews. We wondered if the nasty backlash to the "Nancy" book drove her underground.

27) Newsweek, February 11, 1991: 44D

Stephen Frears's memorable, invigoratingly unsentimental movie unfolds with a brash confidence of its own. Frears showed his flair for film noir in the Gumshoe" (1971), and his mastery of complex tones in movies as diverse as "My Beautiful Laundrette" and "Dangerous Liaisons." The bouncy, sardonic Elmer Bernstein score gives us our first clue to the spin Frears is putting on a classic film noir form: we're invited. at first~ to relish the black-comic heartlessness of Thompson's seedy characters, who seem suspended in time between their '40s prototypes and the '90s setting. Full of wonderfully stylized Donald Westlake dialogue that falls just short of camp, "The Grifters" doesn't ask you to like these three scammers, but their conniving **chutzpah [khutzpe]** is mesmerizing. You roll along with the film's jaunty, amoral energy and then Frears gives you something more - a kick in the stomach that turns pulp into tragedy and leaves you slightly stunned.

28) Newsweek, July 16, 1992: 41

The idea, championed by Harvard Business School Prof. Theodore Levitt, was that the world had become small enough so that the same products could be marketed the same way everywhere, from London to Hong Kong to Los Angeles. Today the theory is in disrepute. "Think global, act local" is now the motto pushed by Carl Spielvogel, the boss at Backer Spielvogel Bates - a prime Saatchi outpost in the United States. "Levitt's theory was black and white, and Maurice [Saatchi] jumped on it as an intellectual means of marketing the company. Life, however, is shades of gray," says Martin Sorrell, Saatchi's finance director until 1986 and now the head of the WPP Group, which recently eclipsed Saatchi as the world's biggest ad group. Other analysts agree that Charles and Maurice personally bear a large share of the blame for the company's decline. "I was as taken with them as anybody," remembers James Doughert, securities analyst for County NatWest in New York. "What appeared to be visionary business and financial leadership in 1985 turned out to be plain **chutzpah [khutzpe]** [khutzpe] in 1990."

29) Newsweek, August 12, 1991: 7

Before the summit concluded, Baker warned Shamir by telephone that Bush was prepared to go ahead with an announcement with or without Shamir's approval. Said one Israeli official: "It was either get on the train or be left behind and suffer the consequences." Shamir cut the best deal possible, demanding Baker's promise that he would get a written memorandum of understanding from Washington on a long list of preconditions, including a guarantee that a Palestinian delegation would include no representatives from East Jerusalem, formally annexed by Israel after the 1967 war. Then he caved in. Some Israelis were stunned. The hawkish science minister, Yuval Neeman accused Baker of "**chutzpah [khutpe]**." Marveled Yossi

Sarid, a leading Knesset dove: "Shamir proved to us he knows how to pronounce the word 'yes' after all."

30) Newsweek, February 10, 1992: 23

A Testing Time for Bill Clinton

He seems to have weathered the sex scandal. But other questions about his character may lie ahead

If he was in trouble, you sure couldn't tell it. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton strolled the aisle of his campaign plane, **kibitzing** with reporters and promising to do his Elvis imitation when he got his voice back. The traveling press has dubbed him Elvis, and Clinton's act - perfected in high school - is in great demand. He even curls his lip like The King. "I'm Elvis reincarnated," he jokes. "It's just another thing I could do for the country." For a man in the eye of a press hurricane, he seemed serene, stealing time to smoke a cigar and read a book. A few seats behind him, a top aide hammered away at reporters for their obsession with Clinton's personal life, calling it "the press's crack cocaine." But Clinton's mood was easy, even buoyant, reflecting a growing sense that the voters may grant him the "zone of privacy" he wants.

31) Newsweek, December 16, 1991: 52

Fast-lane Ride to Murder

Still Guitar. By Linda Barnes. 257 pages. Delcorte. \$18.50.

Characters on the fringe - of life and of plot - are at the heart of mysteries by Linda Barnes. She's a terrific sketch artist, stronger on character than on plot, and her nervy outsiders propel her stories. There's some fine fringe in Barnes's fourth novel about Boston PI Carlotta Carlyle, a 6 foot-1, Scots-Irish-Jewish volleyball player ("Anything **unkosher** is one of my favorite foods") and part-time cabbie. Two members of her regular oddball supporting cast are significant in this fastlane ride of sex, drugs, bluesy rock and murder. There's Gloria, the no-bull, softhearted taxi dispatcher, and Roz, Carlotta's whiny but engaging postpunk tenant who dresses outrageously even when she's not going undercover as a groupie. The marginalia has some memorable newcomers, notably Stuart Lockwood, a cheap discomfited lawyer big with "the avoid-a-subpoena crowd"

32) Newsweek, October 28, 1991: 45

When that mecca of dinosaur lovers, the American Museum of Natural History in New York, unveils its Barosaurus display on Dec. 4, the long-necked **behemoth** will no longer be planted in the floor like a dining table. Instead, mother Barosaurus will be rearing back and preparing to bring her front legs crashing down. Her target: Allosaurus threatening to make lunch out of the baby desperately trying to hide behind Mama's tail.

33) Newsweek, November 4, 1991: 13

At best, Ben-Menashe's story is flawed. For one thing, Segev says Ben-Menashe repeatedly and emphatically said that Bush and Casey met the Iranians at the Hotel George V, not the Ritz. Ben-Menashe also insisted to Newsweek that he was sure about the dates - Oct. 19 and 20 - because the meeting took place the day before

the Jewish festival of **Sukkot**. But **Sukkot** is a movable feast - and in 1980 it fell on Sept. 25, almost a month before Ben-Menashe says he saw Bush in Paris.

34) Newsweek, September 9, 1991: 29

Now that is changing. Officials blame persistent economic hardship and the stress of living in a militarized society for driving increasing numbers of Israelis to seek escape through drugs. They can be rich or poor, Arabs or Jews, **kibbutzniks** or business people. Their methods and reasons may vary; **Sepharadic** Jews, for example, who dislike needles, smoke drugs out of small pipes, while the more Western-oriented **Ashkenazis** tend to shoot directly into their veins. Soldiers faced with Army duty look to drugs for relief from the tension and tedium, while the jobless may simply be trying to forget their misfortunes. Some authorities claim that drug availability has increased in recent years with more and more shipments being smuggled in from nearby countries like Lebanon and Turkey. Indeed, a popular - though unfounded - theory among Israelis holds that the drug epidemic is a plot by Arab nations to weaken the Jewish state; last month the Israeli press reported that 10 people who recently died of heroin overdoses were actually killed by Arabs who laced the heroin with rat poison. An Israeli police official denied the reports.

35) Newsweek, July 15, 1991: 48

Scientists suspect that this uneven rotation helps drive the solar dynamo, the mysterious engine that somehow produces sunspots and ignites flares. In an earthly dynamo, or generator, powerful currents of electricity create magnetic-field lines. The sun's dynamo originates in or just below what's called the convection layer, the outer 30 percent of the star, where hot gases rise as cool ones sink. Because the sun

spins at many different rates, its hydrogen and helium gases are a **mishmash** of motion that causes shearing where layers rotating at one speed meet those rotating at another. This shearing, suggests astronomer Robert Noyes of Harvard University, winds up magnetic lines like thread around a spool. "But the lines can't get infinitely strong," says Noyes. So as the fields become increasingly taut over 11 years, something eventually gives. The magnetic-field lines become so strong that they repel gases below and rise to the surface, according to one theory. When they reach the surface the erupting magnetism may appear as sunspots, dense points of magnetism some 2,000 times stronger than elsewhere, that may block some of the sun's heat and light-from escaping. Or else the field may self-destruct, going out with style in the form of a solar flare.

36) Newsweek, July 15, 1991: 49

Rapine and Pillage, Inc.

A wicked new series vivisects the movie biz

So how come American TV let the British beat it to the punch with "Naked Hollywood"? The six-part series, shown earlier this year on the BBC in Britain, and to be aired by the Arts & Entertainment cable network starting July 28, is the zippiest, funniest, warts-and-all-est look at the American movie business ever seen on TV. The series doesn't pretend to be a profound probe into the movie biz: there's no voice-over, no big-think, just a docutessen of savory **shtik** as actors, producers, directors, agents and writers are caught in the act.

37) Newsweek, November 25, 1991: 51

Love at First Lick

Some folks were born to **schmooze** [**shmooze**]. Even though he'd just met her, Tony the llama got kissy-kissy with the Duchess of York: that's a breach of etiquette for us two-legged creatures. Fergie walked, talked and puckered up with the animals at Toronto's Royal Winter Fair two weeks ago, where beasts mingled with guests. For something Less pastoral, she followed her week of solo R&R with a visit to the Big Apple. With luck, whatever kissed her there didn't lick the make-up from her cheeks.

38) Newsweek, December 23, 1991: 40

The Dark Side of the Moon

Hard times for Unification Church businesses

Moon followers say the Unification Church has loftier ideals than the **bottom line**. Says Son Dae O, church member and vice president of The Segye Times: "As a religious leader, he wants to save this corrupt world." That's an honorable goal indeed - but in times like these it's of little consolation to creditors and shareholders.

39) Newsweek, November 25, 1991: 46

If Brown's firm was talking out of both sides of its mouth, so are many others. While a growing number of corporations are adopting credos of "family-friendliness," many are finding the concept works better in theory than in practice. Many managers look at expensive parental perks which especially benefit working

mothers, as a threat to the **bottom line**. They say granting such special favors sets unwieldy precedents. To be sure, a handful of corporations have adopted the position that helping families can help the balance sheet - even in recessionary times. They are offering everything from "intergenerational" day-care centers to rooms equipped with electric breast pumps(chart). Still, "three fourths of all companies are just beginning to think about this," says Ellen Galinsky, co-author of a newly released Families and Work Institute report that rates family-work initiatives. "It's largely a piecemeal effort"

40) IHT, January 17: 1992

LIVE FROM BAGHDAD: Gathering News at Ground Zero

By Robert Wiener. 303 pages. \$22. Doubleday, 666 fifth Avenue
New, York N.Y. 10103.

This is because the focus of "Live From Baghdad" is not the war, nor Iraq, nor even CNN. It is a book about Wiener. Having spent two decades turning the camera outward to record the events around him, Wiener now turns the camera on himself.

Ultimately, "Live From Baghdad" exposes the lack of journalistic depth to Ted Turner's lieutenants working at "ground zero" in the field. At the same time, this book is a testament to the raw courage, if not **chutzpah [khutzpe]**, of those same people.

41) IHT, March 20, 1992: 5

The best agents can't give the best deal in every hotel. So shop around. You never know what you can do until you try.

An executive at a major hotel group based in London says: "Don't quote me but, but you can call a five-star hotel here and simply ask for a good deal. After a couple of minutes you can probably talk them down quite considerably. You might easily get the rate down from say, 175 pounds to 110 pounds [about \$300 to \$190], or something like that. That's a method that does work.

Half a ounce of **chutzpah** [**khutzpe**] can go a long way.

42) IHT, January 29, 1992: 6

A **Mishmash** of Tax Cuts?

To judge by advance leaks to reporters, the "growth" tax cuts that President George Bush was to announce in his State of the Union address Tuesday night and his budget on Wednesday would promote precious little growth. Taken individually, they range from inconsequential to destructive. Taken together, they would put billions into undeserving pockets - and wreck the tax code.

43) Newsweek, March 9, 1992: 48

Splashing in the Gene Pool

Biotechnology finds a home in the grocery

Radishes as big as yams! Skim milk right from the cow! Carrots that taste like apples, cucumbers that taste like something, cotton plants that taste like rayon (to boll weevils). In the early 1970s,; when scientists discovered the principles of

recombinant DNA, the only miracle that seemed beyond the reach of genetic engineering was the **kosher** pig. At the same time, environmentalists warned that science might accidentally produce a better kudzu instead. Last week, as the White House announced that regulations would be eased on genetically engineered products in the hopes of spurring their development, it was apparent that both the fears and hopes of the early years had been exaggerated. As far as is known, none of the plagues that have descended on the head of beleaguered humanity in the last decade was the product of inadvertent (or malicious) genetic tinkering. And as for revolutionary new vegetables . . . well, at least one variety has gone on sale at some supermarkets. They are "VegiSnax Sweet Mini-Peppers the only peppers in the world developed and grown specially for snacking." One gets the feeling that Crick and Watson were aiming a little higher.

44) IHT, January 29, 1992: 1

The French government now seems prepared to make common cause with U.S. industrial giants it once feared were bent on European domination in hopes of fending off fierce Japanese competition.

The deal opens the way for IBM to sell broad array of computer hardware and services to Bull's customers in Europe. IBM executives have been struggling themselves to adapt the **behemoth** company to fast-paced changes in computer technology that have made many of its products out of date.

45) Newsweek, October 2, 1989: 57

The **Chutzpah** [**khutzpe**] of 'Miss Saigon'

Madame Butterfly' with choppers overhead

What's that I smell in the air? / The American dream. / Sweet as a new millionaire, / the American Dream." These words, sung by a Eurasian pimp in "Miss Saigon", have more than a touch of inadvertent irony. The team responsible for this show, as it was for "Les Miserables," has taken over the American dream in the world of the musical and internationalized it, creating new millionaires in the process. With almost \$8 million in advance sales and the Shubert Organization gaga at the prospect of a Broadway version sometime in 1990 and global venues waiting from Berlin to Tokyo, "Miss Saigon" clinches the triumph of the international, industrialized, high-tech musical that leaps over all barriers and all currencies to reach a world-wide audience.

46) Time, February 4, 1957: 69

[Bernstein's egoism] was described by his one-time mentor, Conductor Artur Rodzinski, with an expressive Jewish word that means cheek, nerve, monumental gall. 'He has **hutzpa,**' [**khutzpe**] says Rodzinski, and illustrates what he means with the story of how Bernstein, a mere 35, dared to conduct Bethoven's sacrosanct Ninth Symphony with the great Santa Cecilia chorus in Rome and he had the nerve to move his hips in time to the music. **Hutzpa!** [**khutzpe**].

47) Newsweek, January 6, 1992: IHT, 47

Under its legendary chairman Alfred Sloan Jr., GM's divisions were autonomous. But by the 1960s it had grown into a committee-driven and insular **behemoth**, dominated by financial executives known in Detroit as the bean counters. When the oil shortages hit in 1973 and 1979, GM was ill prepared - and at first glibly dismissive of efforts to switch to more fuel-efficient cars. Says analyst Ronald

Glantz, "I can remember top managers at GM as recently as a decade ago saying true Americans won't buy foreign products." Cutler says GM executives, refusing to believe they were threatened, "went through the most massive case of denial I have ever seen."

48) Newsweek, January 6, 1992: 44

But Cuomo's long goodbye isn't good news for the president. Cuomo was the ultimate Democratic Known Quantity. Privately, many of Bushes shrewder strategists viewed Cuomo as an industrial-strength Michael Dukakis, destined to repeat the losing **shibboleths** of the past two Democratic presidential campaigns. "He was the easiest candidate for us to beat,"² said a Republican strategist Bill McInturff, "because he's a caricature of a liberal Democrat."

49) Newsweek, February 24, 1992: 36

The decision to change course was made at the highest levels of Dow Chemical and Corning, which formed Dow Corning nearly 50 years ago. Until now, the two parent companies had largely kept their hands off Dow Corning. But after weeks of discussion, according to sources, Dow chief executive Frank Popoff and Corning chairman James Houghton realized that the take-no-prisoners approach of Dow Corning chief executive Lawrence Reed was only creating more antagonism among the public and the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. It was also endangering the firm's image and **bottom Line**. They turned to a Dow Chemical executive vice president, Keith McKennon, who was named Dow Corning's new chief executive, while Reed was bumped down to chief operating officer. The contrast spoke volumes. McKennon has a reputation as a shrewd diplomat and peacemaker - he was Dow Chemical's point man on Orange defoliant controversy.

50) Newsweek, December 2, 1991: 13

By this time, a handful of school kids and neighborhood grown-ups were actually listening to Channel 6 and 7 - and it was fame that brought David Nixon down. A local BBC station discovered that David was operating without a license. Whitehall gravely declared that Channel 6 and 7 might interfere with police frequencies. Its **bottom line**: get a ham radio, kid. David's station went off the air even before a storm blew the garden shed and wrecked his equipment. But it didn't wreck his future. David has been invited to do a guest spot on BBC's Radio 5. Get an agent, kid.

51) Newsweek, December 2, 1991: 26

Politicians squabble, advocates complain - and on nearly every street corner in Manhattan, someone extends a dogeared paper cup and asks for change. Inured to the sight, most New Yorkers walk by without a glance. Even the homeless know that, as a public cause, they've lost ground. "The bottom line is, people don't care," says Banks, "and it's getting worse." With increasing numbers of homeless people living - and dying - on the city's streets, who can tell him he's wrong?

52) Newsweek, December 16, 1991: 25

One measure of success, however, is widespread apathy. Only 3 percent of Spanish voters are members of parties, and even with the dictator long gone they still tend to expect decisions dictated from above perhaps from the Moncloa, or even from

Brussels. Spaniards, as investment banker Romero Maura puts it, have become "passive recipients of fashions, of rules, of everything." Cultural **mavens [meyvn]** complain that lethargy has seeped into the arts, as well. Filmmaker Pedro Almodovar, an international symbol of the artistic explosion that swept the country after Franco's death, mourns the lost fizz of la movida "All that energy of 10 years ago has died and disappeared," he says, "not only in political life but in artistic life, in the way people behave and a little in their mind-dset."

53) Newsweek, May 13, 1991: 12

Dropping out: Still, Powell has dropped a few clues. He cares more about his duties as a black role model than making money. At the end of the Reagan era, When he was serving as national-security adviser, he considered dropping from the administration and the Army after a speech agent offered him a package of 50 stem-winders at \$20,000 a twist. He phoned Bruce Llewellyn, a cousin and confidant, to analyze the offer. Llewellyn says when he asked Powell what the administration could counteroffer, the following conversation took place:

"He said they were offering him a forth star. I said, "That's not bad. How do you get along with George Bush?' He said, 'Great. He comes by here every day for around 15 minutes and **schmoozes [shmooze]**.' I said, 'How you doing with the guys in the Army?' He said, 'They're saying, "Come on back".' So I said, 'Let's figure out the timetable. [The Army chief of staff job was due to open in 19 months, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff position in in nine months.]

54) Newsweek, October 15, 1990: 20

Under The Boot

Saddam's Mukhabarat has transformed Kuwait into a chilling horror story of beatings, torture and killings. Its resistance is all but crushed.

Saddam Hussein looked jovial and for good reason. Decked out in a military-style uniform last week, he was touring the newest corner of his domain: occupied Kuwait. Iraqi TV cameras rolled past shuttered shops, gutted vehicle, empty boulevards and hardly any people. Saddam seemed to like the desolation he saw. As he chatted with one of the thousands of Iraqi bureaucrats who have been shipped in to run the new "province," he guffawed. On a deserted beach, he **schmoozes [shmooze]** with his troops. He fiddled with a machine gun, inspected foxholes and joked with a nervous Iraqi soldier: "Have any Americans come here?" Desperate to please, the soldier answered, "No, but we hope they'll come." Saddam admonished, "No, we don't want that. We don't want their evil here."

55) Newsweek, February 1, 1988: 13

It takes that same sort of nerve to excel in ski jumping. And being a little **meshuga [meshuge]** doesn't hurt, either. Finland's Matti Nykanen is so good in the event that he's a danger to himself, not to mention any wildfowl that happen to be in his vicinity during flight. Competing last month in Thunder Bay, Ont. Nykanen soared 128 meters in practice jump. Fearful that he would slide right off the course when it come to the real thing, officials moved the starting gate down a yard to reduce his

56) Newsweek, September 10, 1990: 3

Gulf Crisis Edition

The CW is experiencing vertigo. two weeks ago, it was bombs away. Last week, everyone was a peacenik What the hell happened?

57) Newsweek, January 20, 1992: 1

Desert Storm: Did the Fighting End Too Soon?

When news of the Iraqis' rapid retreat hit the White House last February, George Bush and his advisers were **jubilant** over the allies' spectacularly easy victory in Operation Desert Storm. But one year later, Saddam Hussein is as firmly in control as ever, and many senior U.S. military officers and civilian officials are saying the president's announcement of an immediate cease-fire was a costly mistake. In a special anniversary report, NEWSWEEK takes a behind-the-scenes look at the complex decision making that ended the war. Special Report: Page 10

58) Newsweek, January 20, 1992: 10

And so the mood, when Bush convened his top advisers in the Oval Office that morning, was one of **jubilation**, pride and relief. The inner circle - the "Gang of Eight" - consisted of Bush, Dan Quayle, Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney, Secretary of State Jim Baker, White House chief of staff John Sununu, national-security adviser Brent Scowcroft and his deputy, Robert Gates, and Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

59) Newsweek, April 13, 1992: 14

Nor, according to Blonsky, are European chromosomes right for making any kind of pop culture. "You can't make a **schlock [shlak]** culture out of the European soul," he says. "It's always going to be bad. They should just stick to what they do well, which is building cathedrals." The more daring among European intellectuals confess that they have only themselves to blame for the Continent's lack of an indigenous popular culture. "European culture must accept defeat because it has always lived in its ivory tower," says Roberto D'Agostino, who covers trends at the Italian weekly L'Espresso. "Americans have had a mass approach to culture, and that one is winning today."

60) Newsweek, January 20, 1992: 18

Position counts: Senior Military sources say Schwarzkopf knew that the roads out of Basra (map) had not been blocked and that he told Powell this was so. But on Wednesday, Feb. 27, Schwarzkopf apparently did not make this crucial fact clear in a lengthy phone discussion with the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington. The chiefs, believing the enemy forces in Basra were in fact cut off, approved an early cease-fire on the condition that the Iraqis would not be allowed to take their equipment - especially the tanks and helicopters when they marched north in defeat. A Pentagon source blames Powell for the confusion. "What Powell forgot was that in a cease-fire, position is everything," this source says. "The **bottom line** is that our forces were not where they should have been."

61) Newsweek, July 22, 1991: 54

The Intermarrying Kind

A gloomy study leads Jews to fear for their future

The Weinstein family is not your typical Jewish household. But then it's not your typical Roman Catholic household, either. Peter, a technical writer in Berkeley, Calif., prepares a **Shabbat** meal of salmon loaf in his **kosher** kitchen. He and son, Ben, 16, light the candles and sing the blessings for the wine and **challah**. Then his wife, Mary, a librarian, and their daughter, Kate, say grace. Ben, a convert, has been circumcised, **bar mitzvahed** and - like his father - is an observant Jew. Kate, 12, was baptized a Roman Catholic like her mother, hears mass weekly and attends a Catholic school. What makes the Weinstein family special is not the parents' intermarriage but the fact that the children are being raised with very definite - and very different religious commitments.

Intermarriage, of course, is inevitable in the American melting pot, but 20 years ago many Jewish parents still sat **shiva**, mourning the "death" of any child who married a gentile. Some Orthodox still do. According to a major study sponsored by the Council of Jewish Federations, 52 percent of Jewish men and women who have married since 1985 took gentiles for spouses. More significantly, the massive study found, nearly three of every four children of intermarriages are being raised either as Christians or with no religion at all. This trend, combined with a below replacement birthrate, a rising tide of divorce and a virtual end to immigration is shrinking the Jewish community. The CJF study shows that the number of Americans who identify themselves as Jews has decreased to 4.3 million - a mere 1.8 percent of the population.

The implications for the future of America's Jewish community are troubling and far-reaching. "We are at risk of becoming such a small percentage of the American population," warns Stuart Eizenstat, a former White House assistant and prominent lay Jewish leader, "that our influence and contribution to our great country might become greatly diluted in the decades ahead." Indeed, the effects on Jewish fund raising are already being felt. The generation of big donors 50 years of age and older, for whom the Holocaust and the founding of Israel are still vivid memories, is not being replaced by people with as strong a Jewish identity. "How do you

reach people with a variety of [charitable] interests to whom basic Jewish institutions aren't relevant?" asks Norbert Fruehauf of the Council of Jewish Federations. For Orthodox Rabbi Ephraim Buchwald of Lincoln Square Synagogue in New York City, assimilation through intermarriage represents nothing less than a "death knell. There's never been a community of Jews that has abandoned ritual and survived."

Weak links: Last week strategies for preserving American Jewish identity and commitment were heatedly debated by 80 Jewish scholars and community leaders at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. Arguing that intermarriage is inevitable for the majority of American Jews, sociologist Egon Mayer of Brooklyn College urged the Jewish community to build on whatever links, however weak, intermarried couples may still have with their heritage. He noted, for example, that 60 percent of intermarried Jews still attend Passover **Seders**. "Some of us may be appalled at what they are calling a **Seder**," he said. "I may not think it is a **Seder**, but they do." Mayer urged the Jewish community to welcome anyone who chooses to be identified as a Jew in whatever way they wish. "If you want to kiss them goodbye, that's your choice," he told the group. "If they are my grandchildren, I do not want to kiss them goodbye."

62) Newsweek, April 20, 1992: 38

Arthur Ashe's Secret

The former tennis star and civil-rights activist built a protective cocoon around the fact that he has AIDS. And why shouldn't he?

I don't know how many of us knew. Arthur called it a "conspiracy," and there were at least some of us from the press who were his good friends in this sweet **cabal**. We were all honored to be a part of it, even

63) Newsweek, March 16, 1992: 43

La Toya's Magic Carpet Ride

Some might call it culture **schlock** [**shlak**]. "Formidable," the Moulin Rouge revue, features a horse, topless dancers, jugglers, three crocodiles and La Toya Jackson, who rides a flying carpet above the Paris nightclub audience. Jackson sings "The Locomotion" and, in phonetically learned French (she doesn't know the lingo), the Edith Piaf classics "La Vie en Rose" and "Non, Je Ne Regrette Rien." No wonder for a year's engagement, Michael's sister (who, yes, stays clothed throughout) is reportedly receiving \$5 million. For all that, she could invest in a new number, "Puttin' on Berlitz."

64) IHT, May 4, 1992

LANGUAGE/William Safire

To 'The' or Not to 'The'?

WASHINGTON - The language **maven** [**meyvn**] William Safire is about to take a stand in the controversy over bogus titling.

Why does the previous sentence begin with the word 'the?' Because if it started with the words 'language **maven** [**meyvn**], that would be construed as a title, and the style arbiters of the best publications have long said it's bad form to throw false titles around.

But if I had dared to write 'Language **Maven** [**meyvn**] William Safire', without the 'the', would I have been trying to give myself airs? Of course not; if I wanted to assume a title, I'd have tried Lord Safire.

The purpose of the noun phrase used attributively before the name is not to confer rank but to help the reader recognize the subject. The controversy centers on this: Should the identification of the subject be placed after the name, to be in gentle apposition, or before the name, to be fused lightly to it?

Apposition uses two nouns in succession to refer to the same thing 'George Bush, the president' is an example; the second noun repeats the meaning of the first. However, when you adopt the loyal apposition, you seem to be saying something else as well: "Not George Bush, the haberdasher down the street who objects to being confused with the famous George Bush." With a famous person, the repetition in apposition is unnecessary.

Just to avoid the problem of bogus titling, the stylebooks create the problem of conferring too much renown. 'The' can be a powerful isolator, especially in print, where no emphasis in pronunciation is shown: 'Safire, the language **maven** [**meyvn**]' suggests that I am the one and only language **maven** [**meyvn**]. On the other hand, 'a' is a relentless equalizer: 'Safire, a language **maven** [**meyvn**] is a put-down, suggesting that I am an anonymous crank and nobody at all knows my attempts to free mankind from the clutches of obsolete stylebooks.

When 'the' is too singular and 'a' or 'an' is too general, you've run out of articles; the vocabulary bin is empty. What to do? Our resilient language scrambles around for a way out, and as always, the lingo will prevail.

The answer of usage: Take that appositive identifier following the name and stick it up front without any article at all. Voila: 'Language **maven** [**meyvn**] Safire'. Neither a big shot nor a pipsqueak; just right.

65) Newsweek, December 16, 1991: 42

A Class Act for the **Ghetto**

The Urban Teacher Corps confronts the inner city

66) Newsweek, April 6, 1992: 23

'Jim Brown' Is Still Dead, Isn't He?

Guns swept into Jamaican **ghetto** politics in the mid-1970s. That is when Kingston's worst slum areas - places with names like Concrete Jungle, Dunkirk, Trenchtown and Jim Brown's own Tivoli Gardens -were carved into so-called "garrison constituencies," controlled, Chicago style, by shifting hierarchies of local bosses for both leading parties. Jamaican involvement in the 1980s cocaine boom increased the power of the bosses.

67) Newsweek, January 27, 1992: 17

Not all immigrants were Muslims (some were native Europeans). The Islamic communities are extraordinarily diverse, including Saudi princes with million-dollar pads on Spain's Costa del Sol, threadbare Somalis selling trinkets on Italian beaches, secondgeneration celebrities like the film actress Isabelle Adjani and converts like the ballet director Maurice Bejart. But the vast majority were, and remained, unskilled and semiskilled immigrant workers, huddled in run-down **ghettos** like the Kreuzberg section of

68) Newsweek, April 20, 1992: 52

Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky, inspired by his mentor Boris Pasternak, rose to fame in the 1960s and still reigns as a cultural superstar. In New York recently, Voznesensky, 58, gave poetry readings and exhibited his paintings and collages - including sections of Moscow streets imprinted with tank tracks from the August

coup. While in New York, Voznesenky talked with NEWSWEEK Steven Strasser.

Excerpts:

You achieved your popularity in the years of Nikita Khrushchev, yet one of the pieces in your exhibition is a series of his pictures with a toilet flush chain attached. Did he criticize you in a way that still upsets you?

No, you see, I think he was jealous. He was afraid of new, young power. That was the deep reason he criticized me. But the official reason was that I was a so-called formalist. It was a scandal. I came to the podium, and he was behind me and started shouting at me. I didn't turn around and didn't know it was Khrushchev, so I said, "Please don't interrupt me." He was drunk, and he said, "Mister!" - instead of "Comrade!" -- "Get out of my hall." And I said, "Don't interrupt me," because I thought maybe it was the minister of culture or somebody. And he was furious. He jumped up and began to cry like a baby, shouting, "You are slandering the Communist Party," and, "You want a Hungarian Revolution," and, "You think you are a new Pasternak." Then the minister of police jumped up and said, "You came to the Kremlin without a white shirt and tie. You are a **beatnik!**" He was the only person there who knew what a **beatnik** was, but everybody shouted, "**Beatnik! Beatnik!**"

69) Newsweek, April 6, 1992: 52

Ask Your Boss About This Idea

Aid for employees' kids

RJR Nabisco's tuition-assistance plan is one of the most dramatic examples of the increasing corporate involvement in education. According to a study last November by benefits consultants Towers Perrin and the National Association of Manufacturers, a fifth of 360 companies surveyed participate in an employer

consortium interested in improving schools. Altruism isn't the sole motive; Geogemiller says that family-friendly benefits add up to greater worker loyalty and productivity - and that's all good for the **bottom line**.

70) Newsweek, March 16, 1992: 47

Some people, of course, are delighted to stop working. But those who need or want to stay in the work world often find the realities of the job market depressing. For all the stories about coming labor short-ages and companies seeking older workers, most experts don't see that happening on a large scale yet. And age discrimination regularly rears its graying head. Yet professional outplacement counselors say it is possible for people to find work after 50 particularly if they are willing to relocate, take a pay cut or work for a smaller company. "I don't think there's an organization in America that won't hire somebody if they think that person will help the **bottom line**," says Michael D. Adler, former national partner in charge of human resources at Ernst & Young who was structured out himself and now works finding jobs for other former executives of the firm. Some of the strategies he and others suggest to fiftysomething job seekers:

71) Newsweek, February 24, 1992: 55

A Magazine for Oldies

And against the flow of sex, money and rock

But many say that Ingrams's casual impulsiveness is all part of his **shtik**. "In a way, he is quite blatant about making the gentleman-amateur side part of the appeal," says A. N. Wilson, the novelist and friend of Ingrams's who has signed on as a

contributor. Others say Ingrams has tapped a ripe market that is becoming increasingly important to advertisers. In the end, of course, the readers will decide. Ingrams himself says he is committed to the project until the money - he and his cronies have put up £250,000 for the launch - runs out. With typical drollness, he recently announced his plans to follow in the footsteps of his favorite target - the late Robert Maxwell: "If it flops totally, I shall take a cruise on a luxury yacht to the Canaries."

72) Newsweek, March 9, 1992: 32

Reverse Darwinism

It's survive-or-die time, and the candidates in both parties go on th

At this stage, voters seem ready to turn thumbs down on everyone. Bush continues to slide in the polls, but the numbers also show that Democrats remain doubtful that any of their candidates can defeat him. The Super Tuesday free-for-all is unlikely to raise voters' estimation of the candidates - even as it whittles down the field. "This is a kind of reverse Darwinism," said Democratic strategist Rick Sloan. "It's survival of the weakest."

Still, 'somebody' has to survive. For the two front runners - Bush and Clinton - the fond hope is this: to use their money, their network of establishment endorsements and their Southern base to blow out the opposition. But the **bottom line** after March 10 could just as easily be more muddle. The rest of the pack must pray for chaos and hang on long enough to become "the last man standing." Two roads to the nomination:

73) Newsweek, January 20, 1992: 18

What was Moscow's view of Norman Schwarzkof's "Hail Mary" flank maneuver that encircle the Iraqi Army? "The plan was not highly original," the Soviet military thought. What about all that high-tech American weaponry that worked flawlessly? "TO be objective [it was used under] ideal conditions in the absence of any serious return fire and electronic countermeasures.

The Pentagon isn't the only one leaning lessons from Desert Storm. Th Soviets have taken their own microscope to the war. Newsweek has obtained a Defense Intelligence Agency, translation of a "Soviet Analysis of Operation Desert Storm," apparently prepared by, Soviet military officials in Moscow and Baghdad. Pentagon sources say a Soviet officer attending a recent Harvard University seminar gave a copy of the report to the seminar's organizers, who passed it along to the Defense Department.

The **bottom line** on American victory in Desert Storm? "In our view this euphoria is illusory and dangerous," the report concludes, particularly if Washington thinks "that all problems can be solved by military force." That's sound advice even if it did come from our old enemy.

74) Newsweek, April 13, 1992: 27

RELEASED: Israeli **peacenik** Abie Nathan, from an Israeli prison; March 30. Nathan had been jailed for six months for illegally meeting with PLO chief Yasir Arafat in 1990. After his release, Nathan promised "not to do anything illegal for at least three months."

75) Newsweek, February 24, 1992: 20

Some immigrants opt to spurn all established parties. Last week mostly Russian and Ukrainian immigrants announced the formation of their own party to contest the elections. It is called Democracy and Immigration or Da ("Yes" in Russian). On

the Arab issue, Da sounds decidedly dovish: it proposes a referendum on the occupied territories and calls for "total reorganization" of Israel's socialist and monopoly-oriented economy to provide more jobs. "Immigrants are not getting fair treatment in this country," proclaimed Da leader Yuli Koshroveski, a former **refusenik**.

76) Newsweek, February 10, 1992: 29

If You Liked Marcos...

Don't call Philippine presidential candidate Cojuangco a crony; he prefers simply 'the boss'

Just insurance: As final vindication, Cojuangco wants to add the presidential palace to his list of assets. But strictly for insurance purposes. "Let's not waste time with a lot of propaganda crap about the national interest," says his lawyer, Gabby Villareal. "The **bottom line** is he is running for president to protect his own private interests." In other words, what's good for Danding is good for the Philippines. "My investments run parallel to the interests of the country. I cannot stand by and watch the economy deteriorate," says Cojuangco. Aquino's mishandling of the economy will be a central theme of his campaign.

77) Newsweek, July 6, 1992: 50

All the different international ordinances taken together, however, concern Daly and his staff less than does one other variation, to wit: the three-point arc in the international game is drawn at about 20 1/2 feet, a full 3 feet, 3 inches closer than the NBA's. The NBA **behemoths** fancy a defense where they collapse on their

monster alter egos, doubling up under and inviting long shots as just that: long shots. The Dream Team must be housebroken of this instinctive behavior or watch foreign sharpshooters pop in uncontested 20-footers that are concessions to them. It is the biggest worry for Daly and his brain trust, but it hardly seems to be mischief enough to end up putting the flower of the basketball republic on the next steamer to Minorca.

78) Newsweek, August 31, 1992: 51

A Glitch in the Gospel

Saint Paul is a what? Oral Roberts was where?

In one of Gore Vidal's 1991 Harvard lectures on film, history and himself, now published as 'Screening History' (96 pages. Harvard. \$14.95), he claims his "seventh or so cousin" Al Gore once stayed away from a family reunion to dodge him. If that's true, the vice presidential candidate may be doubly glad when the Family Values Police discover Cousin Gore's 'Live from Golgotha: ~he Gospel According to Gore Vidal' (225 pages. Random House. \$22). "Live from Golgotha" ingeniously repackages Vidal's familiar themes. He's an unbeliever who's obsessed with the apocalypse and **messianic** figures, from Myra (who seeks to realign the world sexually) and Kalki (the Vietnam vet and avatar of Vishnu who seeks to destroy it) to Burr and Lincoln. He's a skeptic about historical truth who's our best historical novelist. And, as he boasts in "Screening History, he's always been "a royal pain in the ass." A good guy for earnest Cousin Al to avoid, especially with voters watching. But those weary of election-year pieties will find him entertaining company with his systematic subversion of every known value except, of course, intelligence, wit and imagination.

79) Newsweek, August 17, 1992: 48

Let Them Eat Cake

Fed up with dieting, women are letting go of an old nemesis

And now, with much the same **messianic** fervor they once devoted to the war against fat, some women have gone into battle against diets. In a Manhattan penthouse several dozen women, ranging from their 20s to their late 50s, gathered on a recent evening for a weekly meeting of Overcoming Overeating (OO), a group run by New York psychotherapists Carol Munter and Jane Hirschmann.

80) Newsweek, August 10, 1992: 54

Trying to Save the Alps

Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, the troubleshooting United Nations diplomat and former high commissioner for refugees, has taken **sabbatical** leave from the United Nations and is now concentrating his attention on the environment. His charity, Alp Action, which seeks to involve business through a corporate-sponsorship plan, is drawing up the first crossborder conservation strategy for the Alps.

81) Newsweek, August 3, 1992: 57

Adam is played by by the **cherubic** twins Daniel and Joshua Shalika, scene stealers at any size, and Robert Oliveri plays his shy teen-age brother, who finds

himself sharing Adam's huge overall pocket with the high-school babysitter (Keri Russell) he's adored from afar. After a flat-footed opening, the

82) Newsweek, June 22, 1992: 51

Did Indians Spoil the land?

A study claims the New World was not pristine

"After 1600 the indigenous landscape disappeared, so that the Europeans are looking at what seems to them to be a wilderness," says Denevan. From this ersatz **Eden**, naturalistic writers and painters like Thoreau, Longfellow, George Catlin and Frederick Church forged a myth of the untamed American frontier. "Part of this 19th-century myth is an attempt to describe the settlers and explorers as conquering the wilderness," says Denevan.

83) Newsweek, June 22, 1992: 44

In that mode, Samaranch, can sound **Messianic**. "I think the Olympic ideal is to get all the people together in peace, in friendship, to avoid political problems," says the IOC president.

84) Newsweek, June 8, 1992: 26

When Israel defeated three Arab armies in the Six Day War of 1967, it was all-out victory. In less than a week the Jewish state not only asserted its powerful presence in the Mideast but also increased its territory fivefold: the Golan Heights fell, also the Sinai Peninsula, Gaza and the West Bank with its prize jewel, the old city of

Jerusalem. While a stunned Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser licked his wounds, Israel erupted in joy. In the streets of old Jerusalem, Orthodox Jews danced around waving **Torah** scrolls. Some soldiers tearfully touched the sacred stones of the Western Wall; others flaunted photos of Jordan's King Hussein - upside down. Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan wrote out a prayer on a scrap of paper and crammed it into a crack in the wall. " May peace be upon all Israel," it read.

85) Newsweek, May 18, 1992: 48B

Endangered species. Last month Jasper Carlton of the Biodiversity Legal Foundation in Boulder, Colo., with other grass-roots activists, filed a lawsuit challenging the federal moratorium on listing endangered species. The Big 10 worry that Congress is about to gut the Endangered Species Act, and so "are not willing to take the political heat" from such a bold suit, says Carlton. And although the best way to protect species is by preserving habitat - which doesn't stop at state boundaries - the **Goliaths** settle for the state-by-state approach that Congress prefers. The **Dauids** want to protect whole ecosystems, which most of the Big 10 insist Congress will never buy.

86) IHT, September 14, 1992

Language/W. Safire

The Unreal World of Virtual Reality

'Glasnost', "openness," has not fared any better than 'perestroika, "restructuring," a modernization of "reorganizing. It may soon be superseded: In Moscow today, reports Celestine Bohlen of The New York Times, People use the word 'naglost'

meaning 'brazen insolence,' to sum up the prevailing atmosphere. 'Naglost' applies equally to the Moscow drivers who think nothing of running red lights and to the state factory director who drives a Mercedes with government plates to a meeting where he attacks the government for failing to provide adequate subsidies to his floundering industry."

At last - a word to take synonymists one calibration beyond the Yiddish **chutzpah** [**khutzpe**] for "sheer effrontery."

87) IHT, September 12-13, 1992: 2

A Jewish Anniversary Bring Out the Multiethnic Elite of Sarajevo

"The adults have all stayed." said Mr. Ceresnjes. "We will stay on as living proof that common life is possible with all others in this city.

Sarajevo is one of the few cities in Europe in which Jews were not required to live together in **ghettoes**, he said, noting that about 100 local Jews are fighting in the Bosnian Army or serving in the police.

88) Newsweek, May 11, 1992: 35

The Myths About Germany

It isn't a dwarf, but it isn't a giant either

A **behemoth's** image: There is considerable empirical evidences to support the image of the German **behemoth**. With unification, Germany has become Europe's most populous state besides Russia, with by far the largest GNP. Even after taking in their poor cousins from the east, the Germans boast one of the world's highest

average incomes (though lower than Finland's and Switzerland's). Situated at the literal center of Europe, it has an unmistakable strategic advantage in dealing with the new democracies over its eastern boundaries. As President Francois Mitterrand endlessly points out: nothing serious can be done in Europe without Germany.

89) Newsweek, July 20, 1992: 21

But might his congressional relations be too good? Might he become a captive of powerful chairmen like John Dingell of the House Energy and Commerce Committee? Clinton can be tough - the campaign proves it - but he is less willing to go for the jugular when he's governing than when he's campaigning. This deprives him of a valuable weapon. " That **schmoozing [shmooze]** style can be very effective as long as you have the stick as well as the carrot," says historian Michael Beschloss, noting that presidents feared on Capitol Hill - Franklin Roosevelt, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan - did best there.

90) Newsweek, June 15, 1992: 25

Humor in a Jugular Vein

William Gaines, publisher of Mad: 1922-1992

William Gaines might have gotten a kick out of his obituary in last Thursday's New York Times. Referring to the bearded, bearish publisher of Mad magazine who died on June 3 at 70, the paper said, "He danced twice in his life (once at a lesson to prepare for his high school prom, the other time at the prom)." One can imagine Mad in its 1950s hey day running a mock Times obit page with headlines like "Rear Adm. Melvin Coznowski; Played Vital Role in Battle of Midway; Danced

39 Times" and " Mrs." Edith Furshlugginer, Socialite, Philanthropist; Danced on 674 Occasions, Friends Say." **Furshlugginer** (Yiddish for "beaten up") and Coznowski (coined by Ernie Kovacs) were special Mad words that appeared in every issue, along with "potrzebie," which Gaines never bothered to define. Heck, or as the French say 'potrzebie', he couldn't define his 'job'. Gaines didn't write the words or produce Mad's cunningly chaotic art work. Mostly, he sat beneath a fleet of toy dirigibles, his long white hair held back with combs. "My staff and contributors create the magazine," Gaines said. "What I create is the atmosphere."

91) Newsweek, June 22, 1992: 6

The "lachrymose conception of Jewish history" was not created recently by Israeli historians. Rather the term was coined by the late Salo W. Baron of Columbia University whose biography I am now writing, and it was first used in his 1928 essay "**Ghetto** and Emancipation," where he attacked the overemphasis on anti-Semitism. True, Baron's main critic was Jerusalem professor Yitzhak Baer, but Baron's primary target was not the Zionist school but those European historians who argued for Jewish emancipation by contrasting medieval suffering with the increased opportunities of the 19th century.

ROBERT LIBERLES

Chairman,

Department of History

Ben Gurion University

Beersheva, Israel

92) Newsweek, April 27, 1992: 45

Like other Orthodox Jews, members of the Lubavitcher **Hasidim** pray daily for the **Messiah** to come. But they do so with a difference. According to their 250-year-old tradition, there is in each generation at least one righteous Jew who is worthy of being the **Messiah**. In this generation, the Lubavitchers believe, that man is readily identifiable: he is their own **rebbe**, **Rabbi** Menachem Mendel Schneerson leader of the international Chabad movement, the best-known, most influential and aggressive Hasidic sect.

Last week, as Lubavitchers around the world celebrated Schneerson's 90th birthday, pressure grew among his estimated 250,000 followers to do for the **rebbe** what he has so far refrained from doing himself: reveal his **Messianic** identity. In some 70 cities from Canada to Israel, rabbinical judges (most of them Lubavitchers) issued a joint declaration calling on all Jews to recognize Schneerson as "the Rabbi of all Israel" and to beseech God "that this generation should merit that he be revealed as the **Moshiach** [Hebrew for **Messiah**]." But in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn where the **rebbe** is recuperating from a stroke, many of the Lubavitchers saw no need to wait for further confirmation. "I believe the **rebbe** is the **Moshiach**," says Shifra Hendrie, who initiated a dinner for 3,000 Lubavitch women last January to help promote that belief among Jews and Gentiles alike.

93) Newsweek, April 27, 1992: 37

So why hasn't this helped the **bottom line**? USA Today's main problem is that it's a hybrid: it can't attract classified and local retailers' ads, the lifeblood of local dailies. Instead, it competes for advertisers' dollars with news magazines and other national publications. But advertisers pay a magazine like Time roughly one half of what it costs them in USA Today on a cost-per-thousand-readers basis. Moreover, many sponsors don't think USA Today carries the same impact: "It's here today, it's wrapping fish tomorrow," says Ira Weinblatt of Saatchi & Saatchi Advertising.

Also, about 15 percent of the paper's circulation are "bulk" sales: copies are bought at a discount by hotels and airlines, and given away. USA Today, says Weinblatt, "isn't seen as a primary read. It's something you pick up as a supplement, or read on an airplane." Thus, the paper has subsisted largely on advertising from travel-related businesses like rental-car agencies.

94) Newsweek, April 27, 1992: 10

Cultural diversity: According to a recent French study, far-right voters feel threatened by change they see bearing down on them. They complain about cultural diversity' which they think is being imposed upon them by their own government and by the European Community (EC). America is a favorite whipping boy. "New York" is an all-purpose code word among right-wing parties in Germany and Austria for the supposed horrors of a multicultural society. Washington is assumed to be in the grip of the "Jewish lobby." Brussels, the home of the EC bureaucracy, is another symbol of what's wrong with the world. Haider rails against the "Europeanunity **mensch**" who would lead the continent down the path of homogenization, a process that he compares to the "multiethnic experimentation of the Soviet Man."

95) Newsweek, August 31, 1992: 41

New York, city of illusions. How could a metropolis with four daily newspapers have been so misled? New Yorkers thought they knew Woody and Mia, who were paradoxically among the most private and most visible celebrities in the city. Rarely sitting still for an interview or photograph they were constantly being spotted out on the town or just on the street, **schlepping** [shlep] Farrow's innumerable kids to museums, schools, ball games or lunch. The films they made

together - 13 in 10 years - were a virtual New York cottage industry. Almost all of them were set in and around New York. They dealt with New York themes, typically involving Allen (or a screen surrogate) as an earnest middle-class professional and Farrow as his wife ex-wife or love interest. Some of them were hardly seen by anyone outside New York.

96) Newsweek, August 31, 1992: 4

The Recline of the West

The military numbers game is an alibi for doing nothing and a substitute for thought

PIERRE LELLOUCHE

Moral disaster: Morally, the disaster is even greater. Governments are taking pride in their humanitarian actions. But what use is it to take food and medicine to besieged populations if one leaves them to be slaughtered once the convoys have left? On that logic Hitler could have been a perfectly decent member of today's international community as long as he had let the Red Cross visit the Warsaw **ghetto!**

97) Newsweek, August 10, 1992: 45

Kornbluth obviously doesn't understand Milken's convoluted financial wheeling and dealing, so he resorts to armchair psychoanalysis, with which he's more comfortable. Somehow I don't think Milken's problem was that his father was an orphan with a limp, as Kornbluth implies. And no knowledgeable reader can buy Kornbluth's thesis that Milken is in jail and Drexel is destroyed because of the

"highly confident" letters invented by Drexel merger **maven** [meyvn] Leon Black in the mid-1980s. The letters, used by corporate raiders to panic takeover targets, said Drexel was "highly confident" it could raise the money the raiders needed. Raiders used the letters for credibility, because they couldn't get bank-loan commitments. Kornbluth quotes Milken as having opposed hostile takeovers and the use of "highly confident" letters - which isn't the way I remember things, or the way my sources remember them. But Milken, as ever, sees through blinders. He's completely right, and everyone else is completely wrong.

98) Newsweek, August 10, 1992: 39

The Limits of **Schmooze** [shmooze]

Without a framework, the president consistently confuses activity with purpose. His **schmoozing** [shmooze] with foreign leaders, for instance, has become an end in itself - a reason offered to re-elect him. The problem with clubbiness is that while it's fine for diplomacy, it's no substitute for a real foreign policy. When members of the club change, as they do often, you have to start all over again. In the meantime there's a tendency to stick with old friends, even when history has passed them by. Bush made this mistake with the two largest countries in the world: he sided with Mikhail Gorbachev too long (even going so far last year as to demean the idea of Ukrainian independence), and he continues to coddle those wheezing Chinese communists. He also badly underestimated Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic. In fact, the whole idea of "experience" with foreign leaders as a selling point is dubious. Neither Jimmy Carter nor Ronald Reagan had any experience whatsoever, and they accomplished more abroad than Bush.

99) Newsweek, July 27, 1992: 40

Further, they say, he was never comfortable with the apparatus of a modern presidential campaign - with the polls, the handlers, the slick advertising and the hardball stratagems. Perot seems to have thought he could **schmooze** [**shmooze**] his way to the White House without engaging any of the mediating institutions of American politics especially the news media. When he saw this was not so - when he discovered in particular that the news media would not let him run without examining his beliefs, his character and his background in excruciating detail - he simply gave it up. The campaign has "reached the point where it was too big for him to handle," a family friend in Dallas said last week, noting that "it's not his style" to delegate the big decisions.

100) Newsweek, July 13, 1992: 26

Loan guarantees: If Rabin can secure Washington's promise of \$10 billion in loan guarantees - in addition to \$5 billion or so from Germany - Israel will be flooded with cash. That in itself could be a problem. The Shamir government never did offer a detailed program of how it would spend the \$10 billion, except to say vaguely that it wanted to create jobs for Russian immigrants. Will Rabin do any better? His party still cherishes the state subsidies and cartels now being abandoned in the former communist bloc, and is already beset by demands for subsidies by state-owned companies and farming **kibbutzim**. The **kibbutzim** alone owe Israeli banks \$5 billion, and they want Rabin to bail them out. That would be a waste of the loan guarantees, economists are warning Rabin.

Ultra-Orthodox Jews: Rabin displeased many supporters when he said the government would only "examine" the practice whereby **yeshiva** students are routinely exempted from army duty. This is a heated issue between secular and religious Israelis. At present, some 19,000 ultra-Orthodox males a year are exempted from army duty so they can attend **yeshivas**, by simple decision of their

rabbis. Both Meretz and Tsomet wanted a firm commitment from Rabin that the army, and not rabbis, can decide in the future who gets exempted. But two ultra-Orthodox parties, Shas and United **Torah** (10 seats together), warned they may drop out of the coalition talks if Rabin goes any further.

101) Newsweek, July 6, 1992: 43

If Time Warner is taking a rap from boycotters, so is the rest of corporate America. About 100 such campaigns are underway nationwide, and their list of targets reads like a subset of the Fortune 500: General Electric (maker of nuclear weapons), Anheuser-Busch (keeper of whales in captivity) and Coca-Cola (investor in South Africa), among others. Most don't pose real threats to the **bottom line**. But that may be dumb luck; few corporations seem to have mastered the art of dealing with them. Todd Putnam, editor of the National Boycott News, says companies are often uncertain about when they should fight a boycott and when they should simply give in.

102) Newsweek, June 22, 1992: 53

Beyond ads: The marketing plan goes well beyond ads. Chrysler Corp. will offer three-day test drives to thousands of local "thought leaders" - prominent individuals who fit the profile of potential LH buyers - in hopes that neighbors will be watching. Dealers received \$25 million worth of training in treating customers well, the way import dealers do. And Chrysler has rolled out the red carpet for the news media, too, letting reporters test-drive prototypes much earlier than it normally would. The first returns are promising: car-buff publications like Auto Week and Motor Trend have praised the LH with words like "**Hallelujah!**" and world-class."

The innovative design, with the front wheels and passenger compartment moved forward to increase interior space, is likely to prove popular. But the LH may not do much for Chrysler's **bottom line** before 1994. The Bramalea assembly plant, near Toronto, will build only 50,000 of the cars by the end of this year and only about 200,000 in 1993. The reason for the slow start: the company wants to make sure it has time to iron out any bugs in the car.

103) Newsweek, June 22, 1992: 53

The 'Burakumin' Stigma

A painful look at Japan's persecuted outcasts

In 1871, with the abolition of feudalism under the Meiji Restoration, Japan proclaimed the burakumin emancipated from centuries of discrimination. But it was easier said than done. While overt discrimination against the burakumin in such areas as housing and employment has certainly declined - and is unlawful - many Japanese refuse to this day to marry the burakumin, and make discreet inquiries about the social origin of a prospective bride or groom in order to screen out anyone suspected of being one. Only three years ago, anonymous computer hackers displayed computerized lists of former burakumin **ghetto** areas, accompanied by the message: "This is for those of you who are in charge of recruiting and employment, and for those parents with children of eligible age. You can check where they come from."

104) Newsweek, June 15, 1992: 21

In Perot's view of controversies, the other side always has the facts wrong, or quotes him out of context. A Ft. Worth publisher says Perot hinted that he had compromising pictures of one of the newspaper's reporters; Perot denies he said so. A Dallas newspaper reported that Perot had suggested cordoning off a **ghetto** and searching house to house for guns; Perot denies saying so, and casts personal aspersions on the reporter. Perot says it was a "goofy ... myth" that his company enforced a strict ban against facial hair; in 1983 a federal court ordered EDS to reinstate an employee who had been fired for wearing a beard.

105) Newsweek, June 8, 1992: 51

The Executioners of Jozefow

Why did they willingly carry out a massacre?

If anywhere from 10 to 20 percent of the men backed out at some point, at least 80 percent of the battalion voluntarily took part in the Jozefow killings. While some of them had nightmares later, they soon grew more calloused as the unit was given new assignments in the campaign against Jews. Some exhibited delight at the terror they could inspire; one officer proudly brought his new bride along to witness **ghetto**-clearing operations. When the major massacres and deportations had been completed, the campaign entered a new phase the "Jew Hunt." Small squads began searching for those Jews who had escaped. When found they were executed on the spot. One policeman recalled that "often there were so many volunteers that some of them had to be turned away." From the summer of 1942 to the fall of 1943, the police reservists participated in the shooting of at least 38,000 Jews and the deportation of an additional 45,000 to Treblinka.

106) Newsweek, June 8, 1992: 29

"Iraq-gate" - a term created by the Democrats - is a complicated story with plenty of blame to go around. It begins in the early 1980s, after the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution in Iran, and it ends on or about the day, Aug. 2, 1990, that Iraq's tanks rolled into Kuwait. It involves billions of dollars in U.S. loan guarantees, a major bank scandal and some of the biggest names in the Republican foreign-policy establishment. It involves the sale of billions of dollars' worth of militarily useful U.S. technology to the Iraqi government, and it has prompted widespread allegations of a Bush-administration cover-up. Essentially, it is the story of a grotesque misjudgment by the United States and its allies - the belief that Saddam Hussein could be appeased or bought. And the **bottom line**, in the minds of some administration critics, is that Washington's long-term "tilt" toward Iraq may have made Operation Desert Storm inevitable. The players include: The Commodity Credit Corporation:

107) Newsweek, June 1, 1992: 49

Free from any dewy-eyed romanticism about Israel's prospects in its hostile neighborhood, these four men believe it's a dangerous delusion to think that military strength alone can guarantee Israel's security. They are convinced that the Jewish state will never be secure without a negotiated peace and that such a peace cannot be achieved without American firmness toward both sides. They do concede that the Bush administration might have done a better job publicly stroking American Jews and reassuring Israel. "People have an uneasy feeling because of words," says Kurtzer. "But the **bottom line** is, you have to watch what Bush and Baker have done. What they've done has been good for Israel."

At odds: The stoicism of the policymakers is tested often. At a **Yom Kippur** service last October, Haass was startled out of his seat by his rabbi's harangue

against the administration. And when he spoke to a Miami Jewish group at the White House in April, one man challenged him angrily, "After just coming from a **Seder**, how can you justify a policy that inhibits even one Soviet Jew from coming to Israel?" The aides understand the passion' "The prospect of taking risks for peace naturally makes Israel anxious," said one, "and American Jews always feel anxious when the United States and Israel are at odds, and they feel under pressure to choose."

108) Newsweek, June 1, 1992: 33

The absence of fathers and teen pregnancy are indeed major social problems in the American underclass. But the social dysfunction and moral anarchy of the **ghetto** were not exactly exemplified by an over-40 professional woman on TV who decided to give birth rather than have an abortion. "You can't be strongly pro-life and then criticize single mothers," said a Republican woman appointee.

109) Newsweek, May 25, 1992: 32

Squatter shacks are proliferating everywhere in Manila. Some even hang vertically beneath old bridges like bat dwellings. In one cemetery, tombs of the dead are homes for the living Squatters have installed chairs, cribs, **ghetto** blasters, even chained guard dogs in the cool marble crypts. Here, politicians and elections blow past without much consequence. "They're always cheating," complains squatter Bernardita Dequina who supports four kids on \$100 a month. "When they campaign they always say, 'The poor, the poor.' Later they ignore us." How is the country to save itself? The Filipinos don't really have an answer.

110) Newsweek, May 18, 1992: 48D

There are wheels within wheels in this brilliantly self-reflexive anatomy of the movie business. On the surface it's a thriller: in addition to being a mogul, Griffin is also a killer, having murdered an angry screenwriter who he thought was sending him life-threatening letters. As we follow this paranoid executive on his round of power lunches, pitch meetings and parties (and to the Pasadena Police Department, where Whoopi Goldberg, as a detective, subjects him to a novel interrogation), the inimitable Altman unfurls his dead-on canvas of the **schmoozing [shmooze]** rituals and backstabbing politics of the industry. Cameos by 65 celebrities playing themselves further blur the line between art and life. Hilarious and deadly, this may be Altman's most completely realized film since his glory days in the '70s when he made "M*A*S*H," "McCabe & Mrs. Miller" and "Nashville." Under the light, jokey, improvisational surface (this movie is nothing if not fun) Altman has produced a rigorously crafted deconstruction of the Hollywood system and the movies it makes. In this dizzying hall of mirrors, no one is spared a reflection - including us, the audience.

111) Newsweek, May 18, 1992: 28

Even under the most optimistic scenario it will take Albania decades to approach the living standards of Portugal and Greece. The worst obstacle of all is not economic but psychological. "We all participated in the communist system," says a 21-year-old French major at Tirana University. "Everyone spied on everyone else" Profoundly influenced by the gaudy spectacles they see on Italian television, young Albanians dream only of getting out of the country for good. In the squalor of Albanian life, a black market in vulgar Western **schlock [shlak]** is the only sector that actually thrives. Families that cannot afford tea or oranges have somehow

acquired giant color TVs from Italy and Germany. Before Albania joins the modern world, it needs most of all to cleanse itself of the poison of self-hatred.

112) Newsweek, May 4, 1992: 51

English television comedian Benny Hill, 67; of a heart; attack, in London, April 20. Hill started out as a comic on English TV in the 1950s, but it wasn't until "The Benny Hill Show" was broadcast to more than 80 countries in 1979 that he gained worldwide popularity. Nicknamed "King Leer," the **cherubic**-faced comic was a master of parlaying ordinary situations (he wrote his own material) into a madhouse of mimicry and sightgags, most of which centered on his amply endowed lady "helpers" in skimpy outfits.

113) Newsweek, September 28, 1992: 3

No Time for **Schmoozing** [shmooze]

Foreign leaders attending the opening of the U.N. General Assembly in New York this week requested private meetings with George Bush, as usual. But this year they're hedging their bets. NEWSWEEK has learned that foreign ministers from more than a dozen countries, including some of America's leading allies, also asked to see Bill Clinton. "Three months ago, we didn't imagine that President Bush could lose," said a Western diplomat. "But now we have to be practical." The foreign ministers will likely go home disappointed. Clinton aides say he can't spare the time for the meetings. "If we granted all the requests we'd keep Bill in New York for two or three days," said a top Clinton adviser. "We've got a lot of other things to do with that time." As it turns out, the diplomats won't be meeting with Bush either. Newly appointed chief of staff James Baker issued a no-meetings

order to the State Department. "We have other priorities now," said a senior campaign official. "Besides, foreign policy isn't exactly what we want to emphasize right now."

114) Newsweek, September 21, 1992: 50B

Bergman is fond of entangling small-time innocents with big-time operators. The **schlemiel** [**shlemiel**] in this tall tale is New York private eye Jack Singer (Nicolas Cage), a man whose terror of romantic commitment is compounded by his deathbed promise to his mother never to get married. However, afraid of losing the lovely schoolteacher Betsy (Sarah Jessica Parker), he swallows his anxiety and flies with her to Las Vegas for a quickie ceremony. But before they're hitched he makes the mistake of playing poker with mobster Tommy Korman (James Caan), who in one love-struck gaze declares Betsy to be the dead ringer for his late, lamented wife.

115) Newsweek, November 18, 1991: 13

Maxwell was an overflowing bundle of contradictions. He was a socialist who busted unions; a fervent Zionist who once renounced Judaism; a devoted father who fired his own son. In his 68 years, he traveled all the way from the wretched, impoverished '**shtetl**' in the Carpathian Mountains to the stuffy heart of the City of London to the canyons of Wall Street. Along the way, he stopped off in dozens of world capitals to have his picture taken with presidents and prime ministers. He considered himself "the prime minister of the world," says David Adler, a former personal spokesman at Maxwell Communication Corp. But no matter how hard he tried, this Czech-born, British-tailored citizen of the world never could seem to

find that one place he could call home. He lived very much as he died - alone, and at sea.

116) Newsweek, December 21, 1992: 41

Whatever ultimately happens, it appeared that so far this demure young woman with a high-school education had wiped the floor with her husband's ermine robes. Reports of Diana's unhappiness go back at least to 1983, as do the ritual denials by the palace. But serious talk of separation began only last summer, around the time author Andrew Morton published his lurid account of Diana's depression, bulimia and suicide attempts. Lacerating herself with "the serrated edge of a lemon slicer" ,may well have been, as her friends described it, a cry for help, but it also positioned her as a sensitive soul crushed by her **boorish** and unfeeling husband. This made a divorce, which might have cast her back to the relative penury of her family's 13,000-acre estate, politically untenable. "You are looking at a guy who has been completely outwitted by his wife," chortles John McEntee, court correspondent for the Sunday Express.

117) Newsweek, September 28, 1992: 37

Goof du Jour

At a benefit in Baltimore Maryland, last week, Paul Prudhomme made crawfish pancakes with Basmati rice, butterveal glaze syrup and a dash of gun oil. Just kidding, folks. Which is what he might have said the next day, when airport guards spied a loaded pistol in his bag. The chef forgot he had packed his target shooter - and he wasn't hiding it: " If I sat on it, no one would find it." At a cooking demo later he said, " I'd have brought my **Uzi**, but I couldn't find the shoulder strap."

118) Newsweek, October 5, 1992: 39

Don Hewitt

Executive producer of "60 Minutes." Gave ambush journalism a good name. If you're on, you're either a big deal or a big **schlemiel** [**shlemiel**] (or worse).

Jeffrey Katzenberg

At Disney, famously workaholic, furiously concerned with keeping budgets down. In a town that doesn't read, his memos get read. Got his start running errands for New York Mayor John Lindsay; still knows the value of **schmoozing** [**shmooze**] with the press. Charles Peters

Founder of The Washington Monthly and mentor to a generation of bright young men. He was an iconoclast before he developed neoliberal shibboleths.

119) Newsweek, October 5, 1992: 49A

School Ties. David Greene (Brendan Fraser), a star quarterback from a working-class high school in Scranton, Pennsylvania, transfers to the hallowed halls of St. Matthew's Academy in Massachusetts, a WASPy boarding school badly in need of gridiron victory. There's a hitch: David is Jewish, a fact he hides from his Ivy League-bound schoolmates and the **shiksa** who falls for his sensitive, broad-shouldered charm"

120) Newsweek, October 12, 1992: 10

TQM's **Bottom Line**

The only thing new about "Total Quality Management" is the marketing ("The Cost of Quality, BUSINESS, Sept. 14). All of the TQM training I've had stressed the importance of top-level participation in productivity and customer satisfaction. So what else is new? If the boss isn't supportive, there's probably very little that those under him can accomplish. Incompetents will generally remain so, regardless of how much TQM wash is applied. WINSTON I. PADGETT

El Paso, Texas

121) Newsweek, October 19, 1992: 19

So perhaps it was no coincidence that last week the Center for the Preservation of Contemporary Documents declassified (and gave to NEWSWEEK) a series of Politburo transcripts that made Gorbachev look bad indeed. Although clearly genuine, the documents were often missing several pages and in some cases were touched up by hand to remove surnames. Strangely - or maybe not so strangely - they included not a peep from Boris Yeltsin, who joined the Politburo in March 1986. Still, they provide insights into the early Gorbachev, during the months after he came to power in 1985. The man who now calls himself a **refusenik** (because Yeltsin won't let him travel to South Korea this week) has a few **refuseniks** on his own conscience.

122) Newsweek, October 19, 1992: 27

The problem of America's cities, after all, is really two problems wrapped up in one. The first is the problem of an urban underclass, largely black and Hispanic, cut off geographically and socially from the mainstream world of work. Here, all the candidates emphasize "community development," the idea that with the right government initiatives the **ghettos** can be revived as centers of employment and

civic life' Enterprise zones are only the main ingredient in this community-development recipe. Bush and Perot would add plans to let public-housing tenants purchase their apartments. Clinton, for his part, tosses in a Dukakis-like list of gimmicks: "community-development banks" to make loans to homeowners and entrepreneurs, Community Development Block Grants to rebuild roads and housing, and so on.

What none of the candidates admit is that the goal of making the **ghettos** bloom is probably quixotic. "I'm profoundly skeptical," says Nicholas Lemann, whose book " **The Promised Land**" describes the failed attempts of Washington policymakers to produce "community development" in the 1960s. Lemann praises efforts to make ghettos safer (Clinton promises 100,000 new police officers; Bush wants to "weed out" known criminals). But creating jobs in the **ghettos** is a different matter. Such efforts, Lemann notes, have never worked.

That may be because the crisis of the inner cities has as much to do with culture as with lack of capital. In the worst inner-city neighborhoods, 80 percent of the children live in fatherless families, while half the population is on welfare. Without "role models," young men in these communities drift out of the labor market into the world of crime and hustle. Will they flock to take advantage of Bush's "5 percent refundable tax credit" on wages earned within enterprise zones? Will they suddenly open "community-based microenterprises" if Clinton provides credit and sets up "peer groups"? Yes, some will, but enough to transform the **ghetto**?

" What's already happening, and what's working," Lemann notes, " is people getting out of the **ghettos** for a better life. So your paradigm shouldn't be . . . stimulating a massive migration into the **ghettos**." Indeed, one of the most successful antipoverty efforts of recent years has been Chicago's Gautreaux program, which helps tenants in **ghetto** housing projects move to private dwellings in the suburbs. Two thirds of the family heads who move find jobs within five years, including almost half of those who've never worked before. Clinton's policy papers don't mention Gautreaux; Bush's budget includes only a tiny "demonstration project" to help 1,500 families move.

For those who stay behind in the **ghettos**, the key to transforming the "culture of poverty" may be transforming the welfare system that sustains that culture. Both Bush and Clinton have suggested putting time limits on welfare, after which recipients would have to go to work, in public-service jobs if necessary. But only Clinton would impose this requirement nationwide. (Bush would merely allow state experiments.) Enforced vigorously, Clinton's time limit might do more to dissolve the culture of poverty than all the enterprise zones the candidates could imagine.

123) Newsweek, October 26, 1992: 30

Choked Up With Woody

Scandal has dogged Woody Allen since his affair with 21-year-old Soon-Yi was revealed in August. But last week, the filmmaker had a chance to rescue a damsel in distress. Dining at a posh New York restaurant the actor leapt to the rescue of his companion and old girlfriend, independent film producer Jean Doumanian, when she choked on a chunk of bread. Allen grabbed her and performed the Heimlich maneuver. What a **'mensch'**[**mentsh**].

124) Newsweek, November 2, 1992: 4

Vice President Dan Quayle's and others' insinuations that TV is run by a **cabal** of family-destroying elitists is laughable to anyone familiar with how TV shows are selected for production. In any given year, the four major networks may produce as many as 100 pilots: sitcoms, cop shows, dramas, soap operas, reality shows, talk shows, etc. Some are conservative, some are liberal; most are apolitical. Those programs that the public embraces remain on the air; the rest are relegated to the

trash. If a show called "Young Republicans at Home" drew a big audience, not only would it air, but the other networks would immediately imitate it.

MICHAEL R. PERRY

Hollywood, California

125) Newsweek, November 2, 1992: 45

Risqué Busilless at Time Warner

Madonna kicks up another controversy for the company. But while the public may find 'Sex' distasteful, the star's deal is sweet.

With the publication of "Sex," Time Warner was again caught up in controversy. The Wall Street Journal attacked the company as "our era's undisputed '**schlockmeister**' [**shlakmeister**]," and Madonna, the faux dominatrix, as "a **schlockmistress** [**shlakmistress**]." But will the pop diva's Mylar-bagged fantasy become another "Cop Killer"? Not likely. While Ice-T's murderous anthem provoked police boycotts and an uproar at the Time Warner annual shareholders' meeting, "Sex" seems less an abdication of public responsibility than a violation of taste.

126) Newsweek, November 2, 1992: 48

But the centerpiece of the museum is the "Feel of Space" area. Here volunteers get to experience some of the problems of maneuvering in simulated zero gravity. First, a visitor is strapped into the world's greatest reclining chair. It appears to be floating on the stainless-steel floor because air is shooting down through its four casters. The "astronaut" starts a five-minute game, attempting to direct the progress of a mock satellite that is hovering above the chair. This task is more frustrating

than a game of Tetris; if the "satellite" is bumped by an errant finger, it floats away, just as objects do in zero gravity. "Fuel" is short time is restricted and a crowd of **kibitzers** tell you how to do it better. Rose Leewright of Clear Lake, Texas, watched as her 11-year-old daughter, Leslie, tried the exhibit while bystanders cheered her on. "Remember when those astronauts were trying to catch a satellite?" says Leewright. "This makes you understand what they're up against."

127) Newsweek, November 9, 1992: 54

Perhaps it wasn't so foolish, then, of the Euro-skeptics in Britain to say, "Let's cut loose from this; let's avoid being dragged down by Germany."

If Europe was already unified we'd already all be paying for East Germany and we are paying for it anyway. That's the proof that Europe is already a fact. The British are seeing that even by going outside the system they don't get a lot of freedom. They still can't afford to reflate or even to cut interest rates as they would want to. So the degree of freedom in Europe is already limited, whether [a country is] in the European Monetary System or not. Europe is proving to be one entity whether it likes it or not. The next steps, like having a single currency, have strong political implications, so I don't think it's a bad thing that people ask and hesitate about it. There is uncertainty, but the **bottom line** is that our economies are so intertwined as to be Practically impossible to unscramble.

128) Newsweek, November 16, 1992: 52

Here Come the Eager Beavers

Liberals, thinking government is a scalpel, are hot to operate on the body politic

GEORGE F. WILL

James Carville, Bill Clinton's Clausewitz, talks like an **Uzi**, in bursts. He should do the president-elect a final favor by firing off for him the story of the traffic lights on Florida Street in Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

129) Newsweek, November 30, 1992: 26

Diana, by contrast, seemed positively **jubilant**, at least when she was out of Charles's presence. She announced her liberation in countless little ways. In Korea she delivered what the papers regarded as a devastating snub to her husband when she wore a tiara from her own family rather than one that had belonged to Queen Mary.

130) Newsweek, November 30,, 1992: 26

All of the major late-century interests - the medical-industrial complex, the military-job-protection establishment, the corporate gimmes, the ossified liberal ostriches - pledge fealty to young Prince Willie, just as they would any new Democratic president. So does the Hill not just the leadership, but such Democratic mules as Dan Rostenkowski, John Dingell, Robert Byrd, Lloyd Bentsen. Clinton will work these power, centers as assiduously as any president could. Full **Schmooze [shmooze]**. New Best Friends. The question is whether the grinding gears of interest-group politics will chew up anyone who tries to get under the hood.

131) Newsweek, December 7, 1992: 6

Just as Madonna has taken styles of music and reduced them to pabulum for masses, she has now taken the art of Helmut Newton and others and reduced it to **schlock** [**shlak**] designed to excite (and incite) the same. Madonna is nothing more - and nothing less - than the personification of the lowest common denominator.

Mark Driscoll

Frankfurt, Germany

132) Newsweek, December 7, 1992: 3

Future **Schlock** [**shlak**] at the Palace

London in the year 2002: Buckingham Palace is a theme park called "Buck 'n Yen Palace" owned by a Japanese sushi magnate; the royal crest is a large pair of ears. On the throne is King Hildebrand, a Prince Charles look-alike who wears a kilt and is passionately interested in watering plants. His son, a polo-playing wimp, is betrothed to Ida, the sushi magnate's daughter, who doesn't share his ardor and cavorts with leather-clad, whip-wielding female Beefeaters.

"Princess Ida," the new production by the English National Opera, adds insult to the royal family's recent injuries. A revival of an 1884 Gilbert and Sullivan operetta, "Ida" marks the London opera debut of film director Ken Russell, who took liberties with the original. Too broad for some: "Crassly inappropriate," sniffed The London Times.

133) Newsweek, December 7, 1992: 16

Earlier in the month, far-right groups plastered Jewish shops in Rome's **ghetto** with **Stars of David**, and Italian authorities said there were 1,000 active "Naziskins" in the country. These numbers are low compared with Germany, where there have

been 1800 antforeigner attacks so far this year. But the problem is great enough to make other countries, and not just European ones, realize that their own records are far from pure.

134) Newsweek, December 7, 1992: 22

Learning about the complicated techniques of the democratic process is not easy. No wonder so many of Russia's political actors often behave amateurishly or slip back to the more familiar patterns of authoritarianism. Where else in the civilized world would you find the government and Parliament routinely accusing each other of plotting a coup d'état, or a former president turned into a **refusenik** due to a personal feud with his successor, or a chief prosecutor publishing a book about a major trial while the latter is still in progress?

135) Newsweek, December 14, 1992: 21

But privatizing Russia's **behemoth** enterprises, which account for most of industrial production, will be much more difficult than selling off trucks. Many factory bosses, who have benefited for decades from perks and opportunities for corruption, don't want to lose power to screaming share-holders. The government is trying to persuade them to go along with its privatization plans by cutting special deals that allow them to hold on to larger stakes in their plants.

136) Newsweek, August 24, 1992: 41

What Is the Frequency?

Companies bet big on a radio-computer boom

Bill Frezza is sipping tea at a sidewalk café - well, a sidewalk **kosher** deli, actually, but this is New York. Frezza doesn't pay much attention to his physical location, since he can work just about anywhere. He busily pecks away at the keys on his tiny computer, which communicates via radio waves - look, Ma, no phone jack! A group of businessmen finish lunch and head toward the sidewalk, glancing at Frezza in passing. One younger man lingers, techno-lust clear in his eyes. That's the kind of reaction Frezza lives for. An evangelist for wireless technology, he works for Ericsson GE, which makes the little Mobidem that promises a new kind of computer freedom.

137) Newsweek, October 19, 1992: 21

A Moral Beacon for Germany

Willy Brandt led his country toward unification

In the bitter years of Germany's division, Willy Brandt supplied his country with its most eloquent moments: standing up to Khrushchev in West Berlin. Standing beside JFK at the wall. Kneeling in atonement at the site of the Warsaw **ghetto**. Reaching out to the East through Ostpolitik and winning the Nobel Peace Prize. Yet like Mikhail Gorbachev, Brandt seemed to be honored more profusely overseas than at home. When he died of cancer last week at 78, he had been out of power since 1974, after less than five years as West Germany's chancellor.

138) Newsweek, July 6, 1992: 13

For other Arabs, though, the prospect of dealing with Rabin rather than Shamir was hardly the cause for **jubilation**. Those with the most at stake in the peace process - the Palestinians - were acutely aware that a period of hard and possibly discouraging bargaining lay ahead. "We are not euphoric," Hanan Ashrawi, the spokesperson of the Palestinian negotiating team, said in Amman last week. "We will be under pressure to make concessions because Labor will be perceived as flexible, and Labor looks good in the eyes of international opinion. Likud was easy to resist. Now it will be more difficult."

Forgiven, too, were the failed opportunities for peace while Rabin served as ambassador to Washington (1968- 73) and prime minister during the 1970s, as well as the scandal of his wife's foreign bank account and the flap over the arrival of U.S.-made F-15s in Israel on the **Sabbath** that brought down his government and secured Likud's lock on power.

139) Newsweek, January 11, 1993: 31

Death be Not Proud

Russians can't afford to bury their loved ones

Those who cannot pay simply leave the bodies of family members at the government morgue. Russians mordantly describe the abandoned bodies as 'otkazniki', or **refuseniks**. With a growing number of people unable to afford funerals, Russia's antiquated morgues are overcrowded.

140) IHT, November 23-24, 1991: 6

Champagne and **Chutzpah [khutzpe]** in Cologne

Cologne - Take equal parts of champagne, **chutzpah [khutzpe]** and fashionable frivolity, seasoned with pinch of low-fat High Culture. Voila: another opening of Art Cologne, which has now celebrated its 25th birthday. What began as an "association of Progressive German Art Dealers," born July 4, 1967, has long swelled to mammoth commercial proportions.