Case study: Borrowed lexeme *aby* in Yiddish.

- Yiddish language (not taking into account its western dialects) was developing under the strong influence of Slavic languages.

- Among great number of Slavic language features Yiddish perceived various conjunctives, including subordinating conjunctive **aby** ('in order to'). In our research we focus on this conjunctive.

- We try to describe it and to trace its origins.

Yiddish language: a brief overview.
- Yiddish is a German language, which belongs to Western group, High German subgroup.
- Originated on the basis of German dialects (Bavarian et al.)
- Contains Semitic (Hebrew, Aramaic) substrate - 20-25% (mainly in vocabulary; in conversational speech % is lower)
- The heyday - XIX century (it had up to 13 million speakers). In XX century Holocaust and massive migrations amount of speakers decreases. Today there are approximately 500,000 native Yiddish speakers.

Dialectal division
- Western dialects (to XIX century used mainly as "Home language") – also called "Taitsch- Yiddish" (cf.. Germ."Deutsch - jiddisch").
- Eastern dialects (the basis for Literary language)
  1. Polish dialect
  2. Ukrainian (southern) dialect
  3. Belarusian-Lithuanian (northeastern) dialect

Yiddish language contacts
- Beginning from XIVth century, after massive migration of Jews to the Slavic territory Yiddish actively contacted Slavic languages. For the
- From the second half of XXth century - contacts with English (USA) Hebrew (Israel).
- Slavic language features were borrowed at all levels:
  1. Vocabulary
  2. Morphological (i.e. borrowed diminutive suffixes - *nyu:* momenuy 'Mommy'
  3. Phonological (i. e.consonant palatalization before 'e')
  4. Syntax - a system of conjunctives: i.e. borrowing of *abi*

Contact phenomena in the conjunction system: a typology overview.
- According to several "hierarchies of borrowing" (developed for specific languages as well as in typological perspective) conjunctives (as "closed" part of speech) are not highly 'borrowing-prone':
  o Spanish-Quechua [Gomez-Rendon 2008]:
  nouns> adjectives> verbs> adverbs> coordinators (coordinative conjunctions)> numerals> attributes> independent pronouns> dependent pronoun> subordinators (subordinating conjunctions)

- Coordinators are higher in the hierarchy the subordinators for they are often recognized by native speakers as "speech gestures" (as well as interjections, etc.)
- We suppose, that, at least, in European languages subordinating conjunctions borrowing is a very rare phenomenon.

Methods of the investigation

- Creating a database with examples of all *абы / аби / abi / Aby* in all examined languages.
- Search for abi tokens in Yiddish was based on the maximum number of sources: the corpus of modern Yiddish, digitized books, newspapers in Yiddish. Therefore, the size of total base is unknown.
- Creating small databases ("Subcorpuses") based on works by authors from different generations who speak different dialects of the Yiddish. For we know the size of "Subcorpuses" we can get some statistical data.
- 3 "classical" Yiddish authors representing 3 dialects:
  - Mendele Moykher-Sforim (1836-1917) - Belarusian-Lithuanian dialect, also influenced by Ukrainian dialect
  - Sholom Aleichem (1859-1916) - Ukrainian dialect
  - Yitzchak-Leibush Peretz (1852-1915) - Polish dialect
- Calculation of prevalence rates of lexeme/construction in different languages/"~dialects".

Абы/ аби / aby lexeme in Slavic languages
- Present in Western and Eastern Slavic languages.
- Can be:
  - Purpose subordinator (Ukr. *Ja jidu v Kyjiv, aby jisty vareniki* 'I go to Kyiv in order to eat dumplings'.)
  - Condition subordinator (Pol. *Napisz ćos, aby na temat* 'Write something, but only on the theme')
  - Object clause subordinator (floor. *Chcę, aby ś przyszed ł.* 'I want you to come')
  - Conditional particle (Ukr. *Nam aby groši da harči horoši*; lit 'as long as we have money and good meal [we can do it]')
  - Part of indefinite pronouns and pronominal adverbs (Rus. *Aby-čto* 'whatever, anything' *aby-kto* 'whoever, anybody', *aby-kak* 'anyhow', *aby-gde* 'wherever, anywhere' etc

Language	Purpose subordinator	Conditional subordinator	Object clause subordinator	Conditional Particle	Indf. Pronounce, pronominal adverbs
Polish	+	+ - *	+	+ - *	-
Ukrainian	+	+	+ - **	+	+
Belarusian	+	+	-	+	+
Russian	-	-	-	+ -	+

* In our material does not occur. Spoken [Dictionary spj.pl]

** Found in western dialects (ivan Franko)

Table 1: Functions абы / аби / aby under in the examined Slavic languages.

Abi in Yiddish
- Aby is used as:
  - **Purpose subordinator**: *Der erlexer est, abi zaj aby zol zat vern.* 'Honest person eats, in order to have his body well-fed. "
  - **Condition subordinator** (Large Dictionary Yiddish   highlights more conditional defenitions):
    - *abi* can express minimum condition.
      Er iz geven tsufridn abi jener zol im nit čepen 'He would be happy, if only nobody would badger with him'
    - *abi* can express "Satisfaction with minimum"-
      Abi er iz gekumen un gants 'If only he would come back well'.
    - *abi* can express "Inextricable connection between two facts" *Abi a ferd, a bajč gefint men* 'If there is a horse, a whip would be found [immediately]'.
    - *abi* can stress conditions imposed in subordinate sentence -
      Ikh vel dir shenkn ... nem abi di *tšuve 'I'll present it to you - only repent '.
  - **Coordinative function (?)**: Yiddish-English Dictionary by Alexander Harkavy 1910 translates this lexeme 'but' and 'but that'. For example: Abi i x hob gelt - 'but I have money '(' but I have money '). Possibly emerges in non-slavic environment (the USA, Israel).

Tracing the origins
- Question: under which influence *aby* lexeme appeared in Yiddish? Ukrainian and Belarussian or Polish? In both areas there was contact + in Polish   *aby* lexeme is used more than in others (see. Table. 3 below)
- Table 2. 'Aby-pronounces' and pronominal adverbs distribution (in Polish absent).

Yiddish	Abi ver	Abi vos	Abi voser	Abi vi	Abi vu	Всего + (коэффициент А)
4 mio tokens	15	3	1	2	1	22 (5,5*1^-6)
Ukrainian	Абыхто	Абищо	Абиякий	Абияк	Абиде	
13 mio tokens.	5	14	4	47	6))	68 (5,23*1^-6))
Russian	Абы кто	Абы что	Абы какой	Абы как	Абы где	
229 Млн. сл.ф.	22	20	15	61	3	123 (0.537*1^-6)
Belarusian	Абыхто	Абышто	Абыякі	Абыяк	Абыдзе	
30 mio	9	1	9	0	11	

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J
Dialect (Yiddish)	Writer	Working period	Database token quantity	Number of occurrences of the token Abi	Number of abi used as purpose subordinator	Number of other major purpose subordinators	F/G	Factor. A=E/D
Ukrainian	Алейхем	2/2 XIX	65882	17	3	6 (*kedev, bekdev)	0,5	2,6*1^-4
Belarusian-Lithuanian, Ukrainian Influence	Moykher-Sforim	2/2 XIX	123231	25	4	15 (kedev+kedav)	0,26	2,0*1^-4
Belarusian-Lithuanian	Sutskever	1/2 XX	62399	6	0?	21 (kedev+kedav)	0	0,96*1^-4
Polish	Peretz	2/2 XIX	~20000	0	0	0	0	0
"Forverts" newspaper archive	???	2/2 XX	~3580000	161	~12-52	3061 kedev	0,004- 0,16	0,449*1^-1
Belarusian language	Bykov	2/2 XX	36676	7	0	131 (каб)	0	1,9*1^-4
Belarusian language	Kupala	1/2 XX	36584	2	1	144 (каб)	0,006944	1,9*1^-4
Ukrainian language	Kotsubinskiy	2/2 XIX	57384	25	11 (цель)	139 (щоб)	0,079137	4,35*1^-4
Ukrainian language	Ivan Franko	2/2 XIX	67443	27	18 (цель)	151 (щоб)	0,119205	4*1^-4
Polish language	ORZESZKOWA ELIZA - Nad Nimiem	2/2 XX	74368	100	36 (цель)	<42 (zeby)	0,857143	10*1^-4
Polish language	Korczak (king Matiusz)	1/2 XX	66496	16	6	<404 (zeby)	0,014<	2,4*1^-4
Polish language	Korczak (koszalki opalki)	0/2 XX	34396	22	13	7	1,85	6,4*1^-4

Results
- Our research showed that aby lexeme has different distribution in Polish, Yiddish and eastern Slavic languages.

- Despite the fact, that Polish language itself actively uses *aby* conjunction, and, in general, uses it more actively than Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian, Yiddish model of usage seems to be closer to eastern Slavic models.

- Our research also showed that usage of constructions with aby in Yiddish depends on the dialect. While in eastern dialects it is used – more in Ukrainian dialect than in Belarussian-Lithuanian – in Polish dialect it is almost never used.
- Probably, that means, that *abi* was borrowed by Yiddish from Belorussian or Ukrainian language, not from Polish.