

S.A. BIRNBAUM

Yiddish

A SURVEY AND

A GRAMMAR

PROFESSOR BIRNBAUM was formerly on the staff of the University of London.

Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar is a general introduction to Yiddish and examines the origin, history and grammar of the language. It traces the development of Yiddish from its beginnings to the present, and explores its composition, phonological history, linguistic aspects, and the dialects that constitute it. The grammar provides a picture of the language as an integrated whole, along with specimens of Yiddish in transcription.

The book embodies the results of more than sixty years of research and pioneering scholarship on the part of one of the world's leading scholars in Yiddish studies. It has been prepared with not only scholars in mind but also intelligent lay readers and university students who are beginning the study of Yiddish.

'an outstanding new accomplishment in Yiddish linguistics in a great many respects ... a magnificent contribution to Yiddish studies ... No serious approach to the teaching of the study of Yiddish can afford not to consult Professor Birnbaum's book.' Chaim Ginninger, formerly of Columbia University

'It is a summary of the life's work of an outstanding and original scholar in the field of Yiddish studies. There is no doubt that Professor Birnbaum's book will serve as a very good introduction to Yiddish and to its cultural background. No book in English of this range and authority on Yiddish is available.'
Chone Shmeruk, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

SOLOMON A. BIRNBAUM

Yiddish

A Survey and a Grammar

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To the memory of my father
NATHAN BIRNBAUM
the first western champion of Yiddish,
and of my mother
ROSA BIRNBAUM
his devoted wife



Preface

In 1912, when I started to work on Yiddish, a language which I had acquired a few years earlier, modern research on it was only in its beginnings. There were the writings of such scholars as Moritz Grünwald, L. Sainéan, L. Wiener, A. Landau, and J. Gerzon, and the publications – of a non-linguistic nature – of M. Steinschneider, M. Grünbaum, F. Rosenberg, M. Güdemann, L. Landau, M. Ginsburg/P. Marek, I. Bernstein, F. Falk and M. J. Pines, but not a great deal more. During the sixty-five or so years that followed, Yiddish studies spread slowly but steadily, gradually gaining momentum, as a glance at the Bibliography of this book will show. Much of the work that has been done and that is being done now is of high, and often extremely high, quality. Some scholars have devoted their entire lives to the study of Yiddish, among them Ch. Ginninger, A. Harkavy, J.A. Joffe, J. Leftwich, J.J. Maitlis, Y. Mark, S. Niger, N. Prilutzki, M. Schaechter, M. Weinreich and U. Weinreich.

The aim of this book is to provide a general introduction to the Yiddish language. It examines the origin, history and grammar of the language, tracing its development from its beginnings to the present, and exploring such aspects as its composition, phonological history, linguistic elements and the dialects that constitute it. The grammar attempts to provide a picture of the language as an integrated whole. Specimens of Yiddish in transcription down through the centuries are also included, as is an extensive bibliography. The manuscript has been prepared with students of Yiddish as well as scholars in mind.

Many readers of this book probably have no intention of learning the language but rather of using the survey as a source of information about Yiddish. It is hoped that Parts I–III will serve this purpose adequately. In these chapters the Yiddish has not been printed in its own (Hebrew) alphabet. For these readers a transcription, i.e., a phonemic rendering, is desirable and in fact to be preferred from a

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linguist's point of view as well, because the spelling of Yiddish, as of most languages, is phonetically far less accurate than a phonemic rendering.

Chapters 1 to 6 of Part II are based on two sets of public lectures that I gave at the University of London, the first a series of Special University Lectures in Comparative Philology in 1934, and the second a series in the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at the same University in 1938. The section, 'The Age of the Yiddish Language,' was published in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* in 1938. It was to have been published in book form and was already set in type when the printing firm fell victim to bombardment during the London Blitz. Since then the galley proofs have lain in my desk, and being immersed in other work, I did nothing about having them published. Substantial changes and additions have been made for inclusion in this book.

This book has been published with the help of a grant from the Canadian Federation for the Humanities, using funds provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, and with the assistance of the Publications Fund of University of Toronto Press.

I have much pleasure in expressing my appreciation to these bodies. My special thanks are due to Dr R.M. Schoeffel of the University of Toronto Press for the great care he has expended on this publication.

Finally – and above all – I wish to express my heartfelt thanks to my wife, Irene, for the devoted help she has given me, as always, in the making of this book.

S.A.B.

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The Transcription Alphabet

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<i>a</i>	8	<i>h</i>	18	<i>ooi</i>	34
<i>á</i>	9	<i>i</i>	41	<i>ou</i>	35
<i>aa</i>	10	<i>í</i>	41	<i>p</i>	68
<i>aa(i)</i>	11	<i>í</i>	43	<i>r</i>	74
<i>ai</i>	45	<i>ii</i>	43	<i>s</i>	60
<i>ai</i>	46	<i>j</i>	23	<i>ś</i>	75
<i>b</i>	12	<i>jj</i>	27	<i>t</i>	39
<i>c</i>	71	<i>k</i>	50	<i>u</i>	6
<i>ć</i>	40	<i>l</i>	53	<i>ú</i>	24
<i>d</i>	15	<i>li</i>	54	<i>uu</i>	7
<i>dx</i>	16	<i>m</i>	55	<i>úú</i>	28
<i>dź</i>	17	<i>n</i>	57	<i>v</i>	13
<i>e</i>	63	<i>ni</i>	59	<i>x</i>	38
<i>é</i>	62	<i>o</i>	4	<i>y</i>	25
<i>éi</i>	65	<i>oi</i>	31	<i>z</i>	36
<i>f</i>	69	<i>oi</i>	33	<i>ź</i>	37
<i>g</i>	14	<i>oo</i>	5		



Abbreviations

Ar	Aramic	LH	Liturgical Hebrew
Ashk	Ashkenazic	MHG	Middle High German
BR	Byelo-Russian	NA	North American
CG	Central German	NEY	New East Yiddish
CY	Central Yiddish	NHG	New High German
CE	Christian Era	NLG	New Low German
Cz	Czech	OE	Old English
EY	East Yiddish	OHG	Old High German
EYN	East Yiddish, Northern	OWY	Old West Yiddish
EYS	East Yiddish, Southern	OY	Old Yiddish
EYSE	East Yiddish, Southeastern	P	Polish
EYSW	East Yiddish, Southwestern	R	Russian
Eng	English	Sem	Semitic
Fr	French	Sl	Slavonic/Slavic
Ger	German	Sp	Spanish
Gk	Greek	Uk	Ukrainian
H	Hebrew	UG	Upper German
HG	High German	WY	West Yiddish
Lat	Latin	Y	Yiddish
LG	Low German	Zar	Zarphatic

PART ONE
INTRODUCTION

Jewish Languages

A / CLASSIFICATION

It is a well-known fact that there are at present and have been in the past, a number of linguistic structures which are to be met with only among Jews. Owing to the complexity of things Jewish, the most varied views have been expressed about everything connected with these structures and they have not been understood to be what they are. Their very classification and the names with which they have been labelled bear testimony to this fact. They have been termed 'mixed languages,' 'Creolized' or 'corrupted' languages, 'jargons,' 'dialects,' 'Judaco-' followed by the name of some language, etc. Let us examine these appellations.

'Mixed languages'

Can the term 'mixed' rightly be applied here? The epithet 'mixed' is employed by linguists as well as by laymen in describing certain languages to indicate that the vocabulary is derived from two or more major sources. If, however, it came to a detailed discussion, there would be no agreement as to what would be the precise borderline between 'pure' and 'mixed.' How, for instance, should a language be classified when its two main elements are present in the ratio of 4 to 1? The difficulties increase when, in addition, criteria taken from the spheres of phonology, morphology and syntax are applied. German, Polish and Japanese, for example, would not be included by some in the category of 'mixed,' while others might perhaps even exclude English, Turkish, Persian and Nahuatl. But if the criteria chosen were very strict, then how many of the world's languages would qualify for the title of 'pure' at all?

As to the linguistic structures that have sprung up in the course of the long

1 See p. 320, No. 34.

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history of the Jewish people, these vary in the degree of their mixedness. Some are decidedly less mixed than English or Persian. If a popular criterion were to be applied, then the borderline between pure and mixed would cut across these Jewish linguistic structures. In other words, since mixedness is not a main characteristic common to all of them, the term 'mixed languages' would not be a suitable general designation.

'Creolized languages'

Then we have the expression 'Creolized.' It is difficult to see why the designation for languages developed on the basis of Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch or English by Blacks of Latin America and elsewhere should appear to be suitable for the linguistic structures of the Jews. We might quite as readily call the Romance languages 'Creolized Latin.' For the process is not essentially different when Gauls, Iberians, Dacians, Slavs, etc., adopt and transform Latin, or when Blacks do that to Spanish, Portuguese etc.

Valuation

To those who believe their mother tongue to be pure, the term 'mixed' in connection with a language would frequently convey something opprobrious. And the note of imagined superiority may presumably be traced back to the Negro origin of Creole.

With the element of valuation that is here present, an extra-linguistic criterion has been introduced. Generally speaking, the reaction of many people to a form of speech similar and yet clearly different from their own, is inclined to be negative. If that other happens to be merely another dialect of their own language, we often find them poking fun at it. If, however, it is a cognate language, then it sometimes inspires unpleasant feelings, especially when the speakers of it belong to a group numerically inferior to their own. This negative attitude – which may still be, on the whole, confined to the language – becomes tinged with a certain hostility and contempt when the linguistic structure in question belongs to a locally near but otherwise very different group, and the more so, when additional reasons for antagonism are not wanting and when that other group happens to be a weak minority. Such an attitude is based on very deep-rooted facts of group psychology. That even scholars do not always escape its influence is borne out by the way they often take sides when the question of choosing between two foreign languages arises. Many of them subconsciously prefer the language of the bigger and therefore more powerful people. As a rule that language is, naturally, the one with the better developed literary style and the one which has longer enjoyed the attention of philologists. When, therefore, a scholar classifies Ukrainian, Afrikaans or Yiddish as belonging not to the 'higher' but to the 'lower' category of languages – referring

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to them as dialects, etc. – then his valuation is not objective, he has allowed power to be the deciding factor in his classification.

A negative attitude, such as this one, may arise also from another cause. A layman who hears or reads a language similar to and yet clearly different from his own, feels disturbed by forms that do not tally with what he considers the norm. In the scholar these feelings may then crystallize into that ‘schoolmaster’ attitude which is strong in us all, and which will tolerate only the known, the clearly defined, the rule, while abhorring the unknown, the undefined, the seemingly chaotic.

‘Corrupted languages’

The attitude of valuation that is latent in the term ‘mixed,’ and is more clearly present in ‘Creolized,’ comes frankly into the open when the linguistic structures of the Jews are described as corrupted forms of other languages. The word ‘corrupted’ conveys the idea that something has been changed from a sound state to a decayed one, the thing having now become unfit, or, at all events, much less suitable for use than it was before. Can such a description be applicable to the linguistic structures of the Jews? Is it true that Yiddish or Džidyó/Džidezmu fulfil their function less successfully than, say, German and Spanish do?

Let us first of all state one point clearly: it is not with literary values that we are concerned here. Whether we choose to assign a higher rank to German and Spanish literatures than to those of Yiddish and Džidyó is irrelevant. It is a fact that Yiddish or Džidyó fulfil the function of languages – means of communication and expression – quite as well as German and Spanish do. Since that is the case and since their development from German to Yiddish, or from Spanish to Džidyó, has not robbed them of their suitability for doing so, they cannot rightly be called ‘corrupted’ languages.

We might go further and ask whether there is such a thing as a ‘corrupted’ language at all. Let us imagine a case where the language of a certain group is adopted by another group. Each individual acquires it in an imperfect form. He might, if we chose, be said to be speaking a more or less ‘corrupted’ form of that language. But it would then denote ‘language of an individual,’ which is an entirely different matter again. Now, the ‘corrupted’ speech of individual newcomers does not affect the original language of the group from whom it was adopted (unless the old group has been submerged by the new one and has taken over its language). The ‘individual language’ spoken by each newcomer will gradually improve and his children will, in the ordinary way, speak the ‘pure’ language of the majority. If, however, the newcomers are not absorbed singly but maintain their collective life, then the version they speak, even though it be at variance with the original language of adoption, fulfils the functions of a group language – it has its own norms, it is not unfit for use, nor is it less suitable as a vehicle of expression and

6 Introduction

communication than the language it is 'descended' from, i.e., it is not a corrupted form of it. It is an independent language of its own. In short, there are no 'corrupted' languages. Hence, the linguistic structures formed by the Jews cannot be described as such.

The word 'corrupted' has the connotation 'ugly.' In the case of a language it would mean that deviation from the accepted standard has rendered the resulting language ugly. But such a term would be inadmissible in this context, since beauty is something subjective, and, to the speaker of the 'corrupted' language, his form of speech would appear the more aesthetically satisfying.

'Jargons'

The remarks in the preceding section apply also to the expression 'jargon,' which is sometimes applied in a similar sense. But what about 'jargon' in its specific meaning: special lingo of a class, profession and the like? The members of a particular class, trade or other group speak the same language as the members of all the other classes, trades and so forth, of their people but they use a number of words and idioms connected with their particular sphere of activity. If the term 'jargon' is applied to these Jewish linguistic structures, then the implication is that their speakers are using the language of those about them, with the mere addition of a number of words and idioms connected with their particular activities as Jews. But this is obviously not the case here. 'Jargon' is therefore not a suitable designation.

Dialects

The various appellations we have been discussing are, more or less, tinged with a lack of sympathy for the speakers. When these Jewish linguistic structures are called 'dialects' then there is rather less criticism in that term – although, among laymen, the idea that dialect is something inferior is, no doubt, still prevalent enough and has by no means disappeared even among philologists.

The term 'dialect,' as distinct from either language or standard language, means the speech of a certain region, closely connected with the speech of adjoining regions, and less closely so with the speech of more distant regions. The difference may be sufficiently great to make conversation between dialect speakers of widely separated regions impossible, e.g., between a cockney and a countryman from Lancashire, or between dialect speakers from Munich and Hamburg. And yet the former are both regarded as speakers of English and the latter two of German.

But why are Dutchmen and Germans considered to be speaking different languages, when Dutch and Low German (Hamburg is in Low German territory) are, from a purely linguistic point of view, very closely related? No linguistic

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borderline separates them, the political frontier cutting through certain dialects which they have in common.

It would thus appear that the linguistic affinity which a number of regions have with each other does not, of itself, constitute the unity of the language. What does is the fact that a certain group of dialects owns an interdialectal means of written, and – in various degrees – of oral communication. The existence of a standard language symbolizes the unity of the language. Its origin, however, is not linguistic. It has not primarily sprung from the requirements of communication, although this element has played a role in its development. It is the political and/or cultural unity of the speakers of a particular group of dialects that provides the basis for a common literary or standard language.

In the light of the foregoing, let us consider whether the linguistic structures of the Jews can be described as dialects. Take Yiddish and Džidyó, for example. Is Yiddish, the vehicle of expression employed by the Ashkenazim, a dialect of German in the same way as Bavarian or Alemannic? Is Džidyó, the language employed by the Sephardim, a dialect of Spanish in the same way as Andalusian or Aragonese?

The people of Bavaria and Andalusia are said to speak dialects of German and Spanish because they belong to the cultural groups called German and Spanish, whose unity found expression in the literary and standard languages. But did pre-Emancipation Jews in Germany constitute part of the cultural life of the Germans? Certainly not. Did the Ashkenazim of Eastern Europe, at any time within the last nine centuries, form part and parcel of the cultural life of the Germans? Obviously not. Did medieval Jewry in Spain form an integral part of the cultural life of the Spaniards? Did the Sephardim in the countries round the Mediterranean? Obviously not. As to the Sephardim, there was no longer even a connection with the territory of Spain (whereas the East European Ashkenazim were never completely cut off from contact of some sort or other with their kin in Germany).

If a certain group does not form an integral part of a certain people, then their speech, even though it be 'genetically' related, cannot be called a dialect of that people's language. Hence Yiddish, Džidyó, Parsic and Maaravic cannot be called dialects of German, Spanish, Persian and Maghrebinian Arabic.

'Judæo- plus ...'

Another, much favoured, type of designation is that which qualifies the name of a base language by the introductory word 'Judæo': Judæo-German, Judæo-Persian, Judæo-Spanish and the like. This qualification is used in the following two main senses: The name Judæo-Spanish, for instance, might be intended to give a rough picture of an historical process, i.e., to describe a language which has

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been developed from Spanish by Jews. On the other hand, the implication might be that, although containing certain Jewish elements, the linguistic structure in question is essentially a part of the Spanish language. The first of these explanations is open to the objection that it is out of keeping with linguistic usage and that it would otherwise be only consistent to speak of French as Gallo-Latin, or of Franco-German, Anglo-German or Norman-Anglo-Saxon instead of English.

Where, however, Judaeo-Spanish simply means the Jewish section of the Spanish language, we must ask once more: If the group speaking 'Judaeo-Spanish' is not a section of the Spanish people, sharing their culture with the Spaniards, then how can their language constitute a part of the Spanish tongue?

This type of designation has been, and is, as a rule, used by scholars. In one case, however, a growing awareness of the true state of the matter has at last resulted in the almost complete abandonment of its use: The appellation 'Judaeo-German' has nearly everywhere been replaced by the name 'Yiddish.'

'Languages'

We have passed in review a number of designations for the linguistic structures that have sprung up among the Jews, and have found them wanting. Will the last of these, that of 'languages,' be more appropriate? The definition of a language we have arrived at is: the oral and written means of communication and expression of a clearly defined cultural group. Since each group of Jews that has a linguistic structure of its own is such a cultural entity, its speech can only be described as a 'language.'

Therefore when philologists interested in German, Spanish or Persian regard the 'dialects of the Jews' or the 'Judaeo- plus ... languages' as useful sources of information about earlier stages of German, Spanish or Persian, then, of course, that is all to the good. But they mostly fail to realize that the Jews themselves, no less than their languages, are not merely peripheral points around the German, Spanish or Persian centre but that they are centres in their own right.

There are other reasons too, why we are justified in using the term 'languages.' Although the designation 'language' cannot be based solely upon linguistic criteria: on phonetics, grammar and vocabulary (and if anybody set about trying to rearrange the languages of the world on the basis of these facts only, it would result in a very drastic revision of the existing pattern of classification), it is none the less clear that when two forms of group speech are essentially unlike each other, they can safely be called independent languages. The extent of their dissimilarity indicates that the history of their speakers is very different, that they belong to separate cultural groups. Upon the application of such a practical criterion, based on purely linguistic differences, a number of the linguistic structures of the Jews would inevitably qualify to be called languages. Take Yiddish, for example. There

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are not many words whose phonetical form is identical in Yiddish and German; there are sweeping differences in their inflectional and syntactical systems and in their word order; only small parts of the vocabularies of Yiddish and German are identical, since even the 50 to 60 per cent of the Yiddish vocabulary which is shaped from German material contains many new formations; and there is very great divergence of development on the semantic side even in the material which the layman might regard as identical.

It would not be extravagant to consider the question as to whether the term 'Jewish language' might not be appropriate even if the language of a Jewish group and its non-Jewish parallel were to differ only in the alphabet employed. For difference of script is an unmistakable sign that the writers of the languages live in separate cultural realms and the very difference is itself instrumental in creating what amounts to an insurmountable practical barrier between the written languages of the two groups. How many non-Jews, even of those scholars interested in one or the other of the Jewish languages, have overcome the barrier of the alphabet? And how many pre-Assimilation Jews living in Germany were able to read German, or, how many of the Jews settled in the Near East or in North Africa were able to read Arabic, or Persian in Persia, notwithstanding the fact that they were everywhere perfectly able to converse with the non-Jews around them? The same point applies, of course, to the relation between non-Jewish languages. The dissimilarity between 'Greco-Turkish' and 'Arabo-Turkish' was clearly very great, but even just another variety of the same script can offer real difficulties. It seems, for example, to be generally agreed that 'Gothic' script presents a great obstacle to the foreigner even though he may know German very well. And when the script appears in its handwritten form, the obstacle easily becomes insurmountable.

B / LANGUAGES OF JEWS AND JEWISH LANGUAGES

The existence of all these Jewish languages is a striking phenomenon. What does it signify?

New languages are, of course, perpetually coming into existence throughout history. Why that happens is sometimes obvious, as in the case of English, but at other times the reason is far from self-evident. What are the causes that have been at work behind the creativeness of the Jews in this field? We have been offered quite a choice of explanations: race, national spirit, conservatism, loyalty, migration, the ghetto, religion. Let us examine these in turn.

Race

If we were to assume that every 'race' has its individual manner of apperception and reaction, then we might expect this fact to find linguistic expression. Since

the Jews, like most or all other human groups, are a compound of various 'races,' we should first have to ascertain what the particular manner of apperception and reaction of each particular 'race' is. This would not be a simple matter. Next, we should have to establish how it would express itself in language. And following on this would be the task of extricating the various threads, intermingled and combined, which, in each language, correspond to the 'racial' constituents of the group in question.

To do that is not feasible.

'The national spirit'

According to another explanation, the 'national spirit' of the Jews has to find an outlet in their languages of adoption, with the result that it reshapes the linguistic material in accordance with its own need and nature.

But what is meant by 'national spirit'? Is it, by any chance, just another name for the psychic characteristics of 'race'? Or is it something more tangible: the sum total of the influences and results of this people's history? However that might be, the 'national spirit' is not, in itself, an adequate explanation, even though it might be a step in the right direction.

Conservatism

It has often been noted that the Jewish languages contain phonological and morphological features, words and constructions which belonged to an earlier stage of non-Jewish languages but that have disappeared from these, either from the standard languages or from the dialects, or from both. *Džidyó*, for example, has the phonemes /š/ and /dž/ of Old Spanish, while modern Spanish has /x/ for both: *Dž. dešár* – Sp. *dejar* /dexar/, *Dž. džugar* – Sp. *jugar* /xugar/. Yiddish has a word *hait* which has disappeared from German and English (where it survives only as a suffix: *Kindheit*, *childhood*, *maidenhead*). Forms like Yiddish *Iidyny* 'Jewess,' *suudym* 'thread' correspond to the MHG *jüdinne*, *vadem*, where NHG has *Jüdin*, *Faden*. The construction *visn zaan* 'to be informed' in Yiddish corresponds to a general MHG construction consisting of the present participle plus the substantive verb, e.g., *wizzende sîn*, which has vanished in NHG.

The presence of such 'archaisms' was, and perhaps still is, regarded by some as the distinguishing mark of the Jewish languages, these 'archaic' features being then attributed to Jewish conservatism – and that would explain the existence of those Jewish languages themselves. Although Jewish conservatism is an acknowledged fact, it has nothing to do with 'archaisms.' Any pair of cognate languages will furnish numerous examples of the same kind. English has preserved the old /t/ where (High) German has /ts/, e.g., *to* – *zu*; English has the verb *to sell* which

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has vanished from German, though it was still alive in MHG: *sellen*. It would not be reasonable to make the well known conservatism of the English people responsible for this fact. German, on the other hand, has preserved the vowel /e/ which English has changed into /i/, e.g., *sehn* [ze:n] – *see* [si:]. It is only when seen from a distorted angle that 'archaic' features assume disproportionate weight in the Jewish languages and are overlooked in their non-Jewish parallel languages. As seen from the perspective of Yiddish, German has preserved much more that is old than vice versa. For instance, there are no Yiddish cognates for many words, even essential ones: *immer*, *niemand*, *überall*, *langsam*, *beschützen*, *empfangen*; standard German and half of the dialects continue to employ the preterite, which has disappeared from Yiddish. When, in speaking of 'archaic' features in Jewish languages, such expressions as 'preservation of ancient treasures' have been used, it would have been only consistent to do the same in comparing English and German, pointing out, for instance, that German has faithfully preserved a treasure such as *Stück* 'piece,' from MHG *stück*, while Anglo-Saxon *stycce* was lost to English. It would not be easy to determine who are the better guardians of 'ancient treasures,' the French or the Spanish, since the former kept alive the Latin *femina* (Fr *femme*) and the latter elected to preserve the Latin *mulier* (Sp *mujer*)!¹

In fact, no special reasons need be sought for developments like these. Phonemes, words, forms, constructions come into being, develop and disappear within a language – mostly without relation to what is going on elsewhere. A form which is common to two languages today, will start developing along its own lines in either one tomorrow. It is therefore a matter of course that Yiddish, Džidyó and other Jewish languages should contain some forms which have died out in German, Spanish and other non-Jewish languages.

Loyalty

Another reason advanced for the existence of these languages has been the loyalty of the Jew towards his former homeland's language. He is said faithfully to have taken it with him and clung to it in his new country. Is it reasonable, however, to assume that the mentality of the medieval deportees, refugees and emigrants from Germany and Spain would have been similar to that of present-day language nationalists or of Jewish assimilationists?

It does not seem necessary to assume particular conservatism or loyalty on the part of the Jews in preserving the language they had adopted. It is entirely natural to adhere to one's language. On the contrary, since the change-over to another language is a difficult process, it is not undertaken unless from strong pressure of circumstances. In their new homes the Ashkenazim and Sephardim found various

1 Sp *hembra* < Lat *femina* is disqualified because it does not mean 'woman' but 'female animal.'

linguistic communities living side by side and did not meet with pressure of language nationalism, as we know it today. These facts, together with the fact that the Jews were generally living in compact groups and leading a concentrated Jewish life, explain why they did not abandon their languages in favour of the local 'language of the country.'

Migration

Geographical separation is frequently given as the reason responsible for the remoulding of the languages that the Jews adopted. This factor, which plays so important a role in linguistic history in general, doubtless explains much: the Jews who had left a certain territory, kept up, developed and discarded in their languages other elements than did the Gentiles who had stayed behind; the languages of the countries where the Jews settled exerted their influence, while that of their former homeland had ceased. But the geographical factor, i.e., emigration, is not present in the development of every Jewish language; it is not *the* general underlying cause for the creation of these tongues. The following are instances where, in spite of the absence of geographical separation, a Jewish language nevertheless grew up: West Yiddish, which existed about a thousand years in German-speaking territory; Italkian, which remained almost wholly on Italian soil; the Maaravic of North West Africa which differs in vocabulary, morphology and phonology from the Arabic of the Islamic neighbours of the Jews.

Ghetto

This difference between the speech of the Jews and that of the Christians in whose midst they lived seemed so abnormal to the people of the post-Emancipation period that some striking reason had to be sought to account for it. This, they imagined, they found in the fact that the Jews were 'compulsorily secluded from the national community, so that, confined to the ghetto, their speech lost contact with the general development.' This is equivalent to the geographical explanation.

But the ghettos were by no means cut off from the Gentile quarters. They were, on the whole, a measure to segregate the Jews into quarters of their own but not to lock them into a prison; Jews had to buy, trade and work outside the ghettos, too. There would still have been as much or more intercourse with the Gentiles of the same town in that period than there is often today between speakers of different dialects in the same country. Hence the geographical explanation does not hold in the case of the ghetto. While being a contributory factor it cannot have been the reason for the separate linguistic development of the Jews. Moreover, there were Jewish languages in existence previous to the ghetto and where there was no ghetto.

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The group-forming factor

None of the foregoing explanations adequately explains why and how the Jewish languages came into existence. The geographical explanation is relevant to some extent when applied to some of the Jewish languages, although it does not provide the whole explanation for them. The cause that we are seeking must be common to all of the Jewish languages. Could we not expect to find it expressed by the presence in all of them of certain common features? There are such features. All Jewish languages contain elements of Hebrew and Aramic origin and are written in Hebrew characters. Where do these Hebrew and Aramic elements come from? And why are these languages written in Hebrew characters?

These elements belong to an uninterrupted development in speech and writing. They represent the present linguistic stage of a continuous process, previous stages of which had crystallized into the language of the Bible, that of the Mishna, the Gemara, the Prayers, etc. In other words, they are connected with the sphere of religion.²

Language is an expression of group life. These elements are linguistic evidence that the groups employing them have their basis in religion. In other words: The group-forming factor among the Jews has been religion. That this is true of the past is beyond doubt, even if, in certain cases, it is controversial today. If the Jewish religion creates Jewish groups, and if group life creates language, then the Jewish languages have been the creations of religion.

Religion and script

The religious basis of the Jewish languages is confirmed by their script. Though it might sound strange to many of us in this secularized world, it is none the less a fact that the script in which a language is written is, broadly speaking, decided by the religion of its speakers. Maltese, which is materially an 'Arabic' language, is written in Roman characters because the Maltese are a Christian people belonging to the Western Church; the same applies to the Croats, and they therefore use the same letters for Croatian, while Serbian, which to all practical purposes is identical with Croatian, is written in the Cyrillic characters employed by the Eastern Churches. Urdu is written in Arabic characters, those of the Koran, since it is an Islamic language; 'High Hindi,' which is a Hinduized adaptation of Urdu, employs the Devanagari script, a Hindu inheritance. A long list of further examples could be provided. Cases where the religious factor has not been at least the historical cause for the use of a script seem to be rare, even if among

² That does not imply that such words are exclusively 'religious terms.' On the contrary, only a small minority of them can be thus styled. Moreover, these elements are not confined to the vocabulary but are to be found also in most of the other linguistic spheres.

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them we must number so important an exception as the adoption of the alphabet in antiquity by practically the whole of the Old World, apart from the Far East. When, in 1928, Roman characters were substituted in Turkey for Arabic ones on the order of Kemal Atatürk, this was part of his Westernizing and secularizing policy. He did not realize – nor would he, of course, have cared if he had done so – that even this secularized West, together with its civilization, was not only built on Christian foundations but has continued to be essentially Christian.

Secularized Jewish language

It may be asked: Is there not a powerful argument against acceptance of the thesis that religion has been the source of Jewish linguistic creation? Does not the very existence of Jewish languages in the present disprove the argument? Considerable sections of Jewry, more or less completely secularized, have continued to maintain their Jewish language. We ourselves have witnessed the rise of movements definitely outside the sphere of religion, which base national life largely upon language.

But this does not invalidate our argument. For even though its creator may no longer exist, the group does not therefore inevitably have to disappear or lose its language. The change in the group's nature will, however, find linguistic expression. Thus the language of the secularized Jews is not the same as that of their fathers or of their unsecularized brothers. If, for example, we compare the Yiddish or Džidezmu/Džidyó of modern Jews with that of the traditionalists, it strikes us at once that the proportion of Hebrew and Aramaic elements has become much smaller, that it is often very small indeed, having been replaced by modern German elements in Yiddish, or by French ones in Džidyó. This is a linguistic indication of the fact that the 'secularized sections' have in reality become independent groups and that one ought not, logically, speak of a new development having started in Yiddish, for example, but that it would be more correct to say that Yiddish had begun to split up into two divergent languages.

Jewish linguistics

The subject which we have treated in rough outline above is of fundamental importance for the vast field of Jewish linguistics and philology which is largely still virgin soil. Certain Jewish languages have been made the subject of research, and Yiddish here takes the first place, but what has been achieved is only a beginning in relation to what still needs to be undertaken. A very great deal less has been done for Džidyó/Džidezmu and yet that little is much compared with the amount of research expended on the other – mostly small – Jewish languages. In so far as its post-Biblical history is concerned, Hebrew itself is no exception. But even if the study of all these languages were much farther advanced, we should still be dealing only with the linguistics and philologies of various Jewish languages but

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not yet with Jewish linguistics and philology, whose task would be the co-ordination of them.

Such an undertaking obviously presents great difficulties. The history of the Jewish languages stretches through more than thirty centuries, and their far flung territories girdle half the globe: Palestine with Ancient Hebrew and Ancient West Aramic; Mesopotamia with Ancient East Aramic; Persia with Parsic; Central Asia with Bukharic; the Caucasus with Tatic of the Iranian family, and, presumably, Armenic of Indo-European, and Gurjic (in Georgia) of a Caucasian stock; Egypt, Byzantium and Greece with Yevanic; Italy with Italkian; Northern France with Zarphtic (extinct); the Iberian Peninsula with Catalanic, Portugesic (both extinct) and Džidyó, until 1492, and since then in the Mediterranean countries, with colonies overseas; Provence with Shuadit (extinct); Western Asia with Arvic, Temanic and New East Aramic; Eastern North Africa with Arvic; North West Africa with Maaravic and Berberic; Eastern Europe and countries extending round all the Seven Seas, with Yiddish, with remnants in Germany until World War II; the Crimea with Crimchak of the Turkic family; India with small Jewish languages of the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian families; Eastern Europe and the Near East, with the Karaite languages of Hellenic, Semitic and Turkic stock, and finally, Samaritan. The field is indeed extensive.

The Cultural Structure of East Ashkenazic Jewry

The earliest Jewish settlers in Eastern Europe were Byzantine Jews. During the first thousand years of the Christian era, they came from the Balkans and the Black Sea regions, that is, from East Rome and the Khazar Empire (which stretched from Kiev to the Caspian Sea and Armenia). They were followed by Jewish immigrants from the West of Europe, and were absorbed by these newcomers.

We shall deal here only with those arrivals who settled in the north-western area of Eastern Europe. They had started coming from the tenth century onwards, arriving in successive waves that for several centuries rolled eastward from the Rhine – what is now Central Germany, Bavaria and Austria – to the lands of the Bohemian and Polish crowns, and from there on to the adjacent countries. These Jews are called Ashkenazim.

To differentiate them from the people they left behind in their former homes, the West Ashkenazim, they can be called the East Ashkenazim. They are sometimes called East European, or Eastern Jews, but we shall not use either of these terms because the first does not take into account the existence of a number of other (less important and smaller) Jewish groups in Eastern Europe, and the second is open to the objection that 'Eastern' also has the special meaning of 'Oriental,' and the Oriental Jews are, of course, a different subject.

The East Ashkenazim

By the tenth century the territorial distribution of the East Ashkenazim can be indicated by the following borderlines: in the west by the eastern frontiers of Germany, Moravia and Austria as they were in 1938, in the south by the Danube, in the north by the Finnish Gulf, in the east, before the Russian revolution, by the eastern frontiers of the Ukraine and White Russia.

In other words, they lived side by side with Poles, Slovaks, Magyars, Rumanians,

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Ukrainians, Byelo-Russians, Estonians, Lithuanians and Letts, or to use political frontiers, they inhabited Poland, Galicia, Volhymia, Podolia, the Ukraine, Vallachia, Moldavia, Rumania and eastern Hungary. The Jews of Slovakia and western Hungary, together with those of Moravia and Bohemia, formed a transition group to the West Ashkenazim.

The East Ashkenazic is the largest of all the Jewish groups. In about the year 1700, the whole Ashkenazic group formed approximately half of world Jewry, and before World War II the East Ashkenazim alone constituted three quarters of that population, roughly twelve million people. The slaughter of a very great part (about five million) of this community during that war created a new situation but it did not, of course, result in their extinction. Parts of the Polish, Hungarian and Rumanian Jewries and the majority of Soviet Jewry escaped annihilation, and there was and is East Ashkenazic life outside Eastern Europe too.

Social structure

Let us first examine the social structure which formed the basis of East Ashkenazic life. It will be helpful to compare its conditions with those that existed among the Jewries of Western Europe.

Here there was practically one class only, the middle class, with little differentiation into higher and lower strata. Among the East Ashkenazim, however, the position was more like that of other peoples, having all the elements of a normal social stratification. There was a large working class, both of the artisan and industrial type, various groups belonging to the middle class, as well as a farmer class. The latter consisted partly of old established farmers and partly of new ones who grew to prominence in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – the result of spontaneous economic development on the one hand and organized enterprise on the other. There were farmers in many places, from Bessarabia to Lithuania and from the Crimea to the Carpathians, where (in Ruthenia) Khassidic farmers tilled the soil in their traditional Jewish garb. Here, as pre-War statistics reveal, 28 per cent of the Jewish population were engaged in agriculture. That was about twenty times higher than the percentage among the German Jews of that time (the early thirties). Other pertinent figures are: 18 per cent among the Jews of Galicia, and 10 per cent in White Russia. It might be of interest to compare the general, non-Jewish, figure for Great Britain, which was 7 per cent, for Canada 28 per cent, and for the United States of America 25 per cent.

A corresponding picture is presented by the other end of the sociological statistics. While 50 per cent of the German Jews were active in commerce and finance, Soviet Jewry counted only 19 per cent, the Jews of Ruthenia 25 per cent, and those of Galicia 30 per cent in these areas of endeavour.

Cultural structure

Let us imagine ourselves in a city of Eastern Europe before World War II – Cracow, for example. We wander through an attractive modern city, the centre of which has preserved much of its medieval beauty. Suddenly our senses tell us that we have entered some other world. The people who meet our eyes are in a garb completely different from what we had been seeing only a moment ago. The expressions on their faces are worlds apart from the expressions of the others. Our ears hear a language so unlike what we had heard in those other streets, that we could tell at once that it is a different one, even if we did not know either of them. From innumerable windows and doors unusual sounds reach us. They come, we learn, from congregations at prayer – those windows and doors belong to places of worship, ranging from small rooms in residential buildings to large institutes of study and houses of prayer – where, in an uninterrupted succession, divine services follow each other from early dawn until almost noon, and then again in the afternoon, evening and night.

Even if we had not known before what part of the town we were now in, we would have realized at once that we had entered the Jewish quarter by the fact that all the men, including youths, had beards.

Territorial concentration

The existence of a purely Jewish quarter was a fact of great significance in Eastern Europe. In the countries of the West it was different: a Jewish district here was one with a certain percentage, mostly a fairly small one, of Jewish inhabitants, and where there was a real Jewish quarter it had more often than not been created by East Ashkenazic immigrants.

In many regions of Eastern Europe the towns had been for all the centuries of their existence predominantly Jewish enclaves in a Gentile countryside. Even where the Jews were only a minority, it was generally a large one. Where the Jews comprised somewhat more than a fifth of the population, as in our example, Cracow, the percentage might be regarded as rather low. In Warsaw, for instance, with its third of a million Jewish inhabitants, the figure was one third; in many medium-sized centres they constituted up to 90 per cent, in somewhat smaller towns the percentages often approached 100.

It may not be out of place here to say a few words about the explanation that has sometimes been given for this territorial concentration. We are told that the Jews were forced into ghettos. However, the real explanation is, of course, that it is natural for migrating ethnic groups to settle in districts of their own, whether urban or rural, and such settlements are to be found all over the world and are not confined to Jews. There was no ghetto in New York, for instance, to assemble its millions of Jews.

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Cultural community

A visit to a Jewish town, or to the Jewish quarter of a town in Eastern Europe made it clear to a Westerner that the Jews here formed a separate cultural entity.

The Jews of Western and Central Europe, however, did not. There were no such distinct outlines – the borderlines between them and their Gentile surroundings were more than blurred. They had the same educational background as their respective neighbours, the same general outlook and practically identical customs. Apart from certain traces in the speech of some, the language they spoke was the same as that of the Gentiles around them. They took an active and creative part in their literature and a passive one by reading it. The little which was written there for Jews as such cannot be called a Jewish literature. It follows from all this that they were split up into as many groups as were the civilizations in whose territories they lived.

Cultural autonomy

With the East Ashkenazic Jews it was otherwise. The cultural borderlines between them and their Gentile neighbours were not blurred. In other words, they were unmistakably a people apart – a distinctive ethnic or national group.

They had their own religion, their own language, their own literature, their own customs and costumes. Thus, in the cultural sphere, they lived an autonomous life. It was not merely a slightly coloured variant of somebody else's life: nor was it ruled by laws that had grown from another people's soul, or measured with a standard derived from another people's nature.

Not only did they form a distinctive cultural group in each country where they lived, but all these groups together constituted a unity. There *were*, of course, regional differences, but they by no means coincided with the political frontiers. The differentiation resulting from political frontiers dividing them was slight or nil.

Religion

Let us now examine some of the aspects that made up the internal life of East Ashkenazic Jewry. We shall start with religion.

In the West of Europe, extensive Jewish strata had only an extremely loose connection with religion, or none at all. This resulted from assimilation to their surroundings. Modern Western civilization, especially in the big towns, and it was mainly these which the Jews inhabited, is not very favourable to religion. The Judaism of those who had somewhat more connection with religion, even the traditional Judaism of the Orthodox, was coloured by Gentile influence. In the East of Europe, however, Judaism still existed in an undiluted form.

Nothing was, perhaps, more characteristic than the existence of religious folk

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songs (religious lyrical poetry) and the role of these in everyday life. Here are a few examples, the first being one from a group centring round the Deity:

Forest, oh Forest, how big you are.
Bride, oh Bride, how far you are
When the forest will be taken away
We shall come together one day.

Exile, oh Exile, how long you are
God, oh God, how far you are
When the exile will be taken away
We shall come together one day.¹

The next specimen is characteristic of a group whose subject is the Jewish people in its relation to God:

I was once a shepherd and
I took my flock to the pasture land.
But soon I fell asleep.
And when I woke I had no sheep.
Then on my fiddle I sadly played,
My sheep are stolen lost or strayed.
And I began to weep.

As I walked along the way,
I met a man with a load of hay.
I thought I saw the heads of my sheep,
But there were none though I rummaged deep.
Then on my fiddle I sadly played,
My sheep are stolen lost or strayed,
And I began to weep.

So I wandered on until
I found myself upon a hill;
And on the hill I saw a heap –
I thought they were the bones of my sheep,
But they were stones. Then I sadly played,
My sheep are stolen lost or strayed,
And I began to weep.¹

¹ Translated by Joseph Leftwich. From his anthology *The Golden Peacock* (London 1939).

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During a short stay in Galicia in 1930 I heard a variant of this song which makes its religious meaning quite clear. Here is the last verse:

So he did wander further,
To a hill of straw came he,
And his sheep he there did see.
And he began to cry:
'Oh sheep, my little sheep!
And now my sheep are here again,
And now my sheep are here again,
Are here, are here again.'
He took his fiddle and began to play:
Falee, falee, falah, falay,
'And now I can go home to you,
To you, to you, my Master,
Because my sheep are here again,
Because my sheep are here again,
Are here, are here again –
Kyvakuuras roiy édroi
Maavir coinoi taxas sívtoi.'^{2,3}

The name of the author of the next specimen is known: it was written by Esther Shtub, a girl of twelve, in a German concentration camp, during the building of hutments.

One, two, three,
When will we be free?
Barefoot, tattered, lone and hungry,
Where is Dad and where is Mummy?
God! It breaks the heart in me.

One, two, three,
Each day eternity.
Dragging planks and bricks and stones,
Oh! the weight of dead men's bones.
God! It breaks the heart in me.

² The two last lines, in Hebrew, are from a very solemn prayer in which God is compared with a shepherd: 'Like as a shepherd counts his flock, / As the sheep pass beneath his staff.'

³ Translated by Irene Birnbaum.

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One, two, three,
Lord, I cry to Thee.
Mass graves, corpses crowded high,
Children without mothers lie.
It breaks the heart in me.

One, two, three,
We turn our eyes to Thee.
Fulfil Thy word: Yisruel^{3a} Khaay,
Israel⁴ lives and will not die.
God! We wait for Thee.³

Finally, a little song:

And can we scale heav'n
And demand to know:
'Must it be so, my God,
Does it have to be so?'

It must be so,
It has to be so,
It cannot on earth
Be other than so.^{3b}

These verses possess something characteristic of the East Ashkenazic religious atmosphere. What, we might ask, are the theoretical essentials from which they emanate? Perhaps they may be described somewhat as follows. The Universe is the work of a Conscious Will. All natural and moral existence have their origin in an all-powerful Creator. Hence joyous surrender to his law must be the basis of human thought and action. Man is essentially a spiritual and moral being and must give precedence to the spiritual over the material, and to the ethical over the aesthetic.

He must go further, he must completely spiritualize the material sphere, and saturate it with religious substance, from the highest to the most trifling of daily acts, so that there can be no separation between sacred and profane. There must be an absolute infusion of everything with religious content and meaning. Thus, Judaism is a way of living for the totality of life, and this fact is never allowed to be absent from consciousness, through the use of rites and symbols, whose purpose it is to lift man out of the material onto the spiritual plane.

3a I.e., the Jewish people (this poem was published in 1945). See the original on p. 189.

3b See the original on p. 174.

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All action must be based on the observance of God's will, and this will has found expression in the written teaching, the Bible, and the oral tradition handed down in the Talmud.

This and the superstructure built upon this basis may, to one outside the tradition, have a somewhat bewildering, legal appearance. But within it there is room for a whole range of religious experience and cultural self-expression. Life here is by no means static or rigid. There is change and development within the confines of these laws and regulations, although the foundation and framework remain unaltered. This is well exemplified in the movement of Chassidism.

Literature

The central position of religion in the life of the East Ashkenazim is naturally reflected in their literature, which consists mainly of religious books. It must, however, be borne in mind that for Judaism there is no sharp division between the sacred and profane. Thus elements which in other literatures might be classified under various headings are here included under that of religion.

A very great part of the writings is devoted to the theoretical elucidation of the Talmud and to discussions about the concrete application of its results to problems old and new. Many of those works gained importance not merely for their contemporaries but have become national possessions and have been in constant use for centuries.

There is no pure fiction in the Hebrew branch of this literature, but the fictional element is not entirely lacking. We find it breaking through and enlivening all sorts of books. There is a greater amount of it in the Yiddish branch, which is of a more general character because its circle of readers is wider.

The Hebrew section has been not only the literature of the East Ashkenazim but, to all intents and purposes, *the* Jewish literature ever since the sixteenth century, when that community emerged as the cultural centre of world Jewry.

The East Ashkenazic dress

Dress plays a significant role in the religious life of the East Ashkenazic Jews.

Those outside the East Ashkenazic tradition will view the distinctive Jewish garb as a 'folk costume' or 'national dress.' By its wearers, however, it is considered to be a religious duty. While in the non-Chassidic traditional strata distinctive religious dress had gradually been losing ground, the Chassidim defended it vigorously and did not give it up. The explanation that it is just the old Polish costume, is not any truer than is the description of Yiddish as just an old German dialect.

It is no accident that when a (non-Jewish) artist wants to paint a Jew, he, as a

rule, chooses an old-world type in his flowing garments. Is it not because he is attracted by the harmony between the psychic and physical aspect of his model?

Perhaps the following episode will illustrate this point. Some fifty years ago, in Russia, an aged Armenian university professor confided to a modern Jewish writer that he was a Shambat, a crypto-Jew, a descendant of the Ten Tribes. This is how he put it: 'I experienced two pogroms in Kiev. I'll tell you the truth. When a person like you [he meant a modern, secularized Jew] was beaten up, it touched me, it hurt me. But when I saw a man with a beard being beaten up, a man with pious, frightened, sad eyes, then I felt like shouting: "Don't touch him! He is my flesh and blood! Beat me instead!" Oh, the eyes of pious Jews! And what becomes of that quiet grace of theirs when they get secularized?'

Secularization

The East Ashkenazim did not remain unaffected by the ever increasing secularization of Europe. First the secularizing influence of the Gentile world and their final initiative, in the form of Emancipation, breached the walls of Western Jewry and created a Jewish Enlightenment movement. Very soon this spread to Eastern Europe. But while, in the West, it had by the middle of the nineteenth century succeeded in practically breaking up the Jewish community there – that is, in destroying the Jewish national body – its effect in the east was very restricted. This was due to the greater power of resistance resulting from a deeper and wider development of group life, assisted by greater absolute and proportionate numbers. The process worked so slowly there that it was not until well into the twentieth century that the secularized section of the East Ashkenazim ceased to be merely a minute fraction of the whole.

The number of East Ashkenazim in Europe alone, before World War II, was about equal to the population of a medium-sized country like Holland or Belgium. The largeness of this figure resulted in the secularized section being of considerable numerical size, even when it still constituted only a very small percentage of the community as a whole. This was one of the reasons why outsiders sometimes carried away the erroneous impression that a traditional East Ashkenazic Jewry no longer existed, or that, if it did, it had become so small as to have lost all importance. Such a view was, in addition, strengthened by the remoteness of this group and its reserve, which contrasted strongly with the activeness of the secularized section and its contact and involvement with the Gentile world.

Nationalism

We have mentioned that the process of secularization had a very different effect on the East Ashkenazim than on their kinsmen in the West, where it had atomized

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the national community of the Jews. The individuals were absorbed, even if imperfectly, into the national communities of their homelands. But in the East such absorption of an individual into the cultural body of a surrounding majority was the exception. The intensity of the autonomous cultural life of the Jews here, the mass character of their social structure and the nature of nineteenth-century ideas – all these directed the change into a different channel. The new goal was also assimilation to the Gentile world, but in a different way.

It was not, as in the West, the problem of the relationship between the individual Jew and his Gentile environment that had to be solved. The problem here was the relationship of that particular part of the Jewish nation to the Gentile nation of its surroundings, as part of the relationship of the Jewish nation to the nations of the world.

The Jewish position was recognized to be what it actually was: unusual, abnormal. There was nothing new in that: the traditional conception had been that, too. But there was this difference: it was now no longer recognized as being part of God's world plan. The secularized mind refused to accept this. If by force of historical circumstances the position of the Jews had become what it was, then human effort must be directed towards transforming it. If the Jewish people had ceased to be like the others, then it must revert to normality. The secularized section became conscious secularizers. It was up to them to bring about a change. They regarded themselves as the vanguard of the new Jewish people, a nation in the making. Already in the early stages of this metamorphosis, the seeds of subsequent differentiation were present, and in the late decades of the nineteenth century we witness the rise of most of the movements which loom so large in the twentieth.

One of the results of this metamorphosis was the birth of a new literature. It did not grow organically out of the traditional literature and did not finally supplant it. Traditional literature remained alive. To be precise, we ought to speak of two East Ashkenazic literatures, each in turn subdivided by a linguistic borderline. Any other drawing of the frontiers – e.g., on the basis of language – would in this case be artificial.

The secularized literature was born in the throes of a fierce struggle against traditional Judaism. Europeanization was its goal and European literature became its model. At first artistic achievement was slender but with the maturing of the ideological process a high standard of literary excellence was reached. Among the authors of the secularized literature in Hebrew and Yiddish – young as it was – there were a large number of outstanding personalities.

In the Hebrew branch some of the basic values of Judaism were at first retained, in theory, and some attempt at synthesis was made. But later, complete Westernization became the conscious and subconscious goal. At this stage the actual distance

from tradition had become so great that the conflict with it lost its urgency, and we even meet with a theoretical appreciation of old values, but without a desire to incorporate them.

The earlier tendency towards aggression had not been quite outgrown, however. There were still occasional attacks on Judaism, in the form of neo-paganism – passionate homage being paid to Hellas – combined with a violent hatred of Judaism. The modern nationalist movements are the ideological soil on which most of modern Hebrew literature grew up. The ideological basis of the secularized literature in Yiddish was somewhat less uniform, because the Socialist idea played as big a role here as did nationalism. Many authors wrote in both languages, and so we have, in the person of Mendele Moicher Sfuurem, at one and the same time the creator of modern Yiddish style and the father of its modern Hebrew counterpart.

Chassidism

Chassidism, a part of the mystical current that has never ceased to flow throughout Jewish history, is a religious movement that arose in the second quarter of the eighteenth century among East Ashkenazic Jewry, and was destined to win over the majority of the people. It brought about far reaching change, yet remained faithful to the principles and practices of traditional Judaism. When its founder, Israel Baal-Shem (1698–1760), said ‘I have come into the world to show a new path’ he did not mean a road away from traditional Judaism but one leading to new heights of religious experience within its confines.

Here are a few short passages from a large corpus of his sayings as reported by his disciples.⁴

‘The whole of the Torah and the whole of the Universe contain nothing but the light of the Infinite, which is latent in them. All such sentences as “There is nought beside Him.” “The whole earth is filled by His glory,” “Heaven and earth are filled by Me,” are to be understood literally: there is no place, no event, no word and no thought in which the essence of the Deity is not immanent and concentrated. Hence he who contemplates all the things which are stretched forth before his gaze, with the eye of understanding, and regards, not merely their extension and outwardness but penetrates to their inwardness and life, will see only the Divine Power which animates them, giving them existence, and which, at all times and seasons, preserves them in life.’³

4 He spoke, of course, in Yiddish. His words were transmitted verbally in that language, but when some of the hearers, or hearers at second hand, recorded them in writing, it was done, as a matter of course, in Hebrew.

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Another passage:

'If a man suddenly looks into the face of a beauteous woman, or if he beholds some other fair or lovely thing, let him forthwith consider the well-spring of that beauty. Indeed, it is none other than the Divine Power which flows throughout the world ... Beauty issues from the heights: Wherefore should I then desire only a small part of it? Far better is it to strive after the whole, the source of all individual beauty.'³

Or again:

'Let not a man imagine he is better than his fellow because he serves God with utter devotion. For everyone serves Him to the extent of the knowledge and understanding given him by his Maker. Even the worm performs its service within the limits of the strength that has been given it by God.'³

Here is an allegory:

A mighty king built a great palace with many chambers, one within the other. Many walls were around it, each surrounded by the other. Only one gate was open, and facing it were many doors. He who entered saw beautiful pictures as well as costly vessels in plenty. The king dwelt in the innermost chamber, far removed from him who entered. When the building of the palace had been completed, the princes of the realm and the great men of the land were asked to visit the king. But upon arrival at the palace gate, they found it barred and the doors locked. They now asked each other in surprise: 'How shall we get in?' All they perceived was wall upon wall. They stood thus a long time, when, at last, the king's son came and spoke to them: 'Do you not know that the entire palace is unreal? No walls are here, no gate, no door. The space here is empty – it stretches unconfined in all directions. My father, the king, is standing before you.'³

From a letter:⁵

On New Year 5507⁶ my soul made an ascent ... I saw wonderful visions, the like of which I had not seen since I attained to knowledge. What I saw and learnt during the ascent it would be impossible to report and describe, even if we spoke face to face. When I returned to the Lower Paradise, I saw many souls of the living and of the dead, some of them known to me, others unknown – their number was infinite – hastening from all directions in order to ascend from world to world by way of the Pillar which is known to those versed in

⁵ Written in Hebrew.

⁶ I.e., autumn 1746.

occult wisdom. Their joy was very great – the tongue would grow faint in describing, and the ear in hearing, it. Many of the wicked repented and their sins were forgiven; for it was a time of abundant grace.⁷

Another passage from this letter:

And in the vision I saw Samael⁷ soar upwards with incomparable glee to bring accusations. And he wrought doom and destructions for many, who were to die a terrible death. Horror seized me and I staked my life and besought my teacher and master⁸ to accompany me, as the ascent into the Upper Worlds is very perilous. For since I became what I am, I had never before attained to such a height. Step by step I ascended until I entered the Palace of the Messiah. ... And there I saw exceedingly great joy. But I did not know the reason for that joy. I believed it had been caused, God forbid, by my death in this world. But they told me that I had not yet died – nay more, that they take delight in my unifications⁹ – here on earth – that have their source in their holy exposition of God's word. But to this day the reason for their joy remains unknown to me. I asked the Messiah: 'When wilt thou come, my lord?' To which he replied: 'When thy doctrine shall have spread and become manifest, and what I have taught thee, and thou hast learnt, will be poured forth abroad, and when (all) men shall have the power to effect the same unifications and ascents as thyself – then shall all the World of Evil vanish, and the time of grace and salvation be at hand.' And I was amazed and sorely troubled at the length of time that must pass before this would be possible.¹³

Here is a passage from one of the Tales of Nachmen of Braslev (1772–1810), a grandson of Israel Baal-Shem. He was himself a Chassidic master, and told these tales to his disciples, one of whom wrote them down and published them, after Nachmen's death, in Hebrew and Yiddish. It is not easy to classify the Tales. 'Allegories' is perhaps a suitable name. They are a quaint combination of fantastic, Cabbalistic and even fairy-tale elements welded together to form creations of considerable originality.

There is a hill and on that hill is a stone. From that stone runs a spring. And each thing has a heart. And the world as a whole has a heart. And the heart of the world is a complete form with a face and with hands and feet. Only the nail on the toe of the heart of the world is more heart than any other heart. And the hill with the spring is at one end

7 In the original: *s.m.*, i.e., *sitra mesuabha* 'the Unclean Principle.'

8 The prophet Elijah.

9 I.e., the linking up of the parts of the Divine names which are scattered and concealed within the words of the Prayers. This linking up causes the apparent separation between God and the World to disappear.

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of the world, and the heart of the world is at the other end of the world. And the heart is opposite the spring. And it longs and yearns always to reach the spring. And the longing and yearning of the heart for the spring is wild. And it is always crying out because it wants to reach the spring.

And the spring craves for the heart.

And the heart has two afflictions. One because the sun pursues it and scorches it because it yearns for the spring and longs to reach it, and the other because of its yearning and longing.

But when the heart must rest a little, a big bird comes flying there and spreads out its wings, and hides the sun from it. Then the heart rests a little. Yet even then it looks across to the spring, and it yearns for the spring. And as it stands facing the hill it sees the top of the hill where the spring is. But as soon as it tries to move towards the hill it no longer sees the top, and it can no longer see the spring. And it might, God forbid, die of longing.

And if the heart died, God forbid, of longing, the whole world would be annihilated, because the heart is the life of every living thing. And how can the world exist without the heart?

And the spring has no time, for it has no day and no time in the world at all, for it is above the time of the world. And the time of the spring is only when the heart gives it a day as a gift. And when the day is about to end, they begin to bid each other farewell, the heart and the spring, and they tell each other parables and sing songs to each other, with great love and great longing.

And the true man of grace has charge over it all. And as the day draws to its end the true man of grace and good deeds comes and gives the heart a day, and the heart gives the day to the spring, and so the spring again has a day.

And when the day comes it also comes with parables and with songs in which all the wisdoms are. And there are differences between the days, for there are Sundays and Mondays and so on, new moons and festivals. And each day comes with its own songs, according to the day.¹

The ascetic element in religion which played an important part at the time when Chassidism came into being, now receded far into the background. Israel Baal-Shem said: 'Self-mortification is unnecessary ... All worship must spring from joy ... If a prayer be uttered in great joy, it is doubtless more precious and pleasing to God than a prayer uttered with tears and lamentations ... Weeping is exceedingly bad since man should serve his Maker in joy. But when weeping has its source in joy, then, and then only, is it very good.'²

The emphasis on joy led to greater fervour and spontaneity in worship and thus to more singing and dancing. Serene joy is the keynote – the dance does not overstep the line of coherence, there are no ecstatic shrieks or anything akin to the magic dance of primitive peoples.

The intrinsically religious nature of the Chassidic dance will become clear from an episode in a Nazi extermination camp which I heard related by a survivor who witnessed the event. A large number of Jewish youths were assembled outside the gas chamber within view of the ovens where they were to be cremated. They did not give way to terror and despair but broke into a religious folk song and dance. Their last act was an expression of faith.

Perhaps the following song by Levi Isaac Barditchever, a famous Chassidic master of the eighteenth century, will convey some idea of the atmosphere from which such acts as these are born.

Almighty God, Lord of the Universe,
 Almighty God, Lord of the Universe
 Almighty God, I shall sing you a You-song,
 You - You - You, You - You -
 Where can I find you?
 And where can I not find you?
 You - You - You -. You - You -

For wherever I go - You!
 And wherever I stand - You!
 Always You, only You, again You, forever You -
 You - You - You, You - You!

If things are good - You!
 Alas, bad - You!
 You - You - You - You - You - You!
 You - You - You - You - You - You!

East - You! West - You!
 North - You! South - You!
 You - You - You
 You - You - You
 You - You - You!

Heaven, You! Earth, You!
 Above, You! Below, You!
 You - You - You, You - You - You.

You - You - You, You - You - You, You - You - You!
 Wherever I turn, wherever I move,
 You - You!¹

PART TWO

A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE YIDDISH LANGUAGE

The External History of Yiddish

We know very little about the earliest period of Jewish history in Europe. The first communities were situated, of course, in the Mediterranean area. From here the Jews moved northwards within the Roman Empire. They had long before ceased speaking Aramic. The immigrants who crossed the Adria westwards into Italy and beyond soon exchanged their Yevanic ('Judæo-Greek') language for Latin, and later developed Jewish offshoots of the neo-Latin languages. The regions which today form northern France were called by the Jews *Tsarfat* (a town mentioned in the Bible, English *Zarephat*), hence my name Zarphatic for the language¹ of the Jewish community in northern France and for their type of Hebrew script.² From here some migrated eastward to those parts of the German speech territory which are now its west-central and southern regions. For various reasons this movement was not continuous. Sometimes emigration resulted mainly from general economic causes, and took place side by side with German migrations, sometimes it was caused by persecution, massacres or expulsions, especially in the centuries between the Crusades and the Black Death. In the tenth century waves of Jewish emigrants reached the Elbe, in the eleventh the eastern frontiers were crossed and so Jewish settlements arose in Slavonic speaking regions, partly within the political frontiers of the Empire, as in Bohemia and Moravia, partly outside them, as in Silesia (which only later became incorporated), or, as in Poland, which did not come under western rule until modern times, and then only partly. From Poland Yiddish spread to the north and to the east, i.e., to Lithuania, Byelo-Russia and the Ukraine, and thence again northwards to the Baltic countries and southwards to the Rumanian regions. In Germany itself progress northwards seems to have been rather late; the sea coast (Hamburg) was not reached until

¹ See p. 15.

² See the work cited on p. 360, No. 756, vol. I: 295-300, vol. II, Nos. 318-34.

the early seventeenth century. At about the same time the North Sea was also reached in the Netherlands and, at the end of the century, in Denmark. In the west, Alsace marked the border line of Yiddish. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Yiddish proceeded southward, crossing the Alps, and was spoken in northern Italy.

The main trend of Yiddish was, however, towards the east. From here, in the seventeenth century, there was a movement back to the west caused by the Cossack massacres, but it seems to have been very slight. On the other hand, the migration which set in during the latter part of the nineteenth century was on a large scale. The pogroms of 1881 started a new era in the geography of Yiddish. A big wave began to roll westward. It left groups of various sizes in the West European countries, but its main impact was on the United States and, to a lesser degree, on other lands beyond the sea. The tide was checked by World War I, only to start afresh upon its conclusion in spite of restrictions on both emigration and immigration. The result was remarkable. In 1880 East European Yiddish had hardly any outposts at all, whereas before World War II the outposts themselves comprised about a third of all those who spoke the language.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Western Europe

In all the many centuries of its life prior to the Enlightenment, the existence of Yiddish had been an accepted fact that did not call for enquiry. Like the other languages of Europe, its literary use was restricted. Hebrew functioned as the real literary medium and as the general means of written communication, its role being similar to that played by Latin in relation to the European vernaculars. However, among the Jews this state of affairs continued for a much longer time, until fairly recently. When a change did begin to take place in the eighteenth century, it came as a result of the Enlightenment. For those involved in the Jewish Enlightenment movement, Yiddish then ceased to be an accepted fact and was seen as a problem.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries scholars in Germany had accepted Yiddish as a perfectly natural phenomenon, something belonging to Jewish life, but those of the Jews who were caught up in the European Enlightenment desired to get rid of the so-called 'peculiarity' of the Jews and of all that lay at the root of their specifically Jewish life. Theoretically this was not difficult, since, on the basis of the new ideas, life could be divided into two distinctly separate spheres: the religious and the secular. And so they aimed at confining Jewish 'peculiarity' to the religious sphere.

Formally, the conception that Jewish otherness rests upon religion was not

even inconsistent with the views of the preceding periods, when the essential difference between Jew and Gentile lay in religion, in so far as the consciousness of both was concerned. But the likeness was only superficial. Both the notion and reality had now changed. Religion no longer took an essential place in the lives and philosophy of the Enlightenment Jews. Thus they were not able to recognize that there was a connection between Judaism and Yiddish, and that there was a reason why the Jews, as adherents of a particular religion, should speak a language of their own, although they clearly were not a nation like the others (and only a nation was supposed to have a language). Moreover, Yiddish as the language of an ethnic group would have involved the idea that the state could contain more than one people or 'nation.' Do we not see, even today, after many decades of discussion, that the idea of 'nationality' and state as ex-centric circles is incomprehensible to many, and that people were and are persecuted for wanting to 'form a nation,' a 'state within a state'? It is not surprising that the Jews in Germany did not see these things more clearly two centuries ago. Wherever they turned they were confronted with the idea and ideal of the 'national' state, the one-people nation, the one-nation state – they were coerced into conformity. They could not have thought of themselves as a 'national' unity. It would have been in contradiction to the 'spirit of the age,' as expressed in the famous formula coined by Count de Clermont-Tonnerre when he asked in the French National Assembly that the scope of the Declaration of the Rights of Man should be extended to the Jews. He asked that nothing should be granted to the Jews as a people, but everything to the Jews as individuals. So the Jews of Germany turned into 'Germans of the Jewish persuasion' – to employ the corresponding English expression of a somewhat later period – and Yiddish became an unpleasant fact and a stumbling block. They began to be ashamed of what they regarded as 'bad German' and to despise it. Such feelings naturally culminated in the endeavour to be rid of it.

This, as a part of the general complex of assimilation, seemed an easy matter. By the middle of the nineteenth century Yiddish had almost ceased to exist in Germany. There was a constant stream of Jews passing from the provinces to the big towns and cities, and here very many of them, or else their children, abandoned the Jewish way of life. It is true that in the little towns and villages whence they had come the traditional life of the Jewish religion lived on and with it the Yiddish language, particularly in the Hessian and Franconian areas. A similar development took place only a very little later in the neighbouring countries: Bohemia and Moravia,³ the Netherlands and Alsace. However, some traces of Yiddish did survive in the orthodox communities of even the large cities. But at the present day the last remnants of the Yiddish of these regions are becoming extinct with the

3 In these two countries, during the 1930s, there were several thousand people who knew Yiddish and probably several hundred who still spoke it.

lives of the people who managed to escape 'the final solution of the Jewish problem' by the National Socialists, and who were scattered all over the globe.

Eastern Europe

In Eastern Europe Yiddish met with a different fate. The ideas of the Enlightenment reached the Jews here too, but for a long time they fell on stony ground, spreading at a very slow rate. There were various reasons for this. Quantity played a large though not decisive role. There were millions who spoke the language and they lived together in compact masses. Many of the towns had Jewish majorities, often approaching 100 per cent. A period of high spiritual florescence had occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and its effect was still great. Indeed, in the main part of the territory, a new religious mass movement, Chassidism, came into being at the very time when the Jewish Enlightenment began to spread both in the West and the East. Chassidism proved to be a strong barrier against secularization and its ensuing result, loss of Jewish identity. Until well into the twentieth century the movement towards secularization was, in the East, still restricted to small circles. For instance, in Poland in the 1930s the proportion of traditional Jews to secularized Jews was something like 4:1. Thus the big block of traditional Jewry was the natural centre of the Yiddish language. In Russia, which included Poland, when the 1897 census was taken, 98-99 per cent of the Ashkenazic Jews declared their mother tongue to be Yiddish.

This tiny loss of speech territory marked, however, the beginning of the process that had wrought such havoc in the West, i.e., secularization, which went hand in hand with loss of native language. But history does not repeat itself in exactly the same way. In Eastern Europe events followed a different course. As might be expected, some of those who had become secularized adopted the Russian or Polish languages, but a very considerable portion did not jettison their mother tongue.

We use the word 'secularization' as a general term to classify and explain some elements which assumed very different shapes but which go back to the same root. What happened here was that people estranged from religion took over the prevalent ideas of the secularized non-Jewish world. In the nineteenth century the 'national' idea was prevalent, and it took hold of the minds of the secularized Jews, too. Hence, a modern secularized type of Jewish nationalism grew up, which replaced the old conception of the Jews as a 'peculiar people.' In modern nationalism language is apt to play an essential role; it often means almost everything. Hence, language became a very important factor in modern Jewish nationalism too. With characteristic complexity, linguistic nationalism among European Jews during the last seven decades has been based not simply on one language but on one of two: either Hebrew or Yiddish.

The attitude of hostility towards Yiddish that had been initiated by the advocates of assimilation during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was, in turn, taken up by the champions of modern Hebrew nationalism during the last part of the nineteenth century and afterwards.

Many of the contentions and criticisms that had been levelled against the great European languages before they received recognition and acceptance among their own peoples were now flung against Yiddish by its antagonists from both camps, assimilationists and Hebrew nationalists. Let us enumerate some of them.

Yiddish was referred to contemptuously as 'jargon,' as a patchwork of various languages. Critics said that it is not a language at all, since it has no grammar; it is only corrupt German; it is merely a dialect of German; it is not the language of education and scholarship; it is incapable of expressing the high flight of thought; it sounds ugly; it is doomed to extinction; it is a symbol of national slavery; it is basically un-Jewish; it is not a language because there is not one nation on earth speaking Yiddish.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries nobody would have thought that there was a theoretical defence against such opinions and accusations but, all the same, an instinctive, natural, resistance was offered to some extent by the religious Jews. The reformers, in their war against Yiddish, had to make use of Yiddish to prove that it was no language. Gradually their tendentious writings on behalf of modernism developed into literature. Its medium, the Yiddish language, then, naturally, demanded its right to cultivation and esteem. At the end of the nineteenth century this claim was based, as we saw, upon the modern nationalist idea. The movement which arose from that at the beginning of the twentieth century was called Yiddishism.

In Vienna in 1904 lectures combined with literary functions were held at which the true nature of Yiddish and its significance for the Jewish people were explained to Western Jewry (see p. 319, No. 4). In the following year a society for the promotion of Yiddish language and literature was formed among Yiddish-speaking students (hailing from Bucovina and Galicia) at Vienna University. It bore the significant name *Ildisý Kultúúr*. About the same time a society for the cultivation of Yiddish literature was founded in New York. The climax to these and to other beginnings was, eventually, the convening of a *Conference on Behalf of Yiddish*, which took place in 1908 in Czernovitz (Bucovina). Here it was proclaimed to be 'a national language of the Jewish people.' The Czernovitz Conference is sometimes said to have declared Yiddish to be '*the* national language of the Jewish people,' but the small number of those who asked for that wording were defeated.

The Yiddishist movement built up an extensive educational network and has done much to further the recognition of the political rights of the language and its standing in the world of learning. Perhaps its greatest achievement has been the

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creation of the *Yidisher Vissnshaftlexer Institut* (present English name: *Yivo Institute for Jewish Research*), which was founded in 1925 in Europe and since 1940 has its seat in New York.

TRADITIONALISM

In the traditional section of East European Jewry – where the role of Yiddish had always been accepted without reflection, theory and *ism* – the need for a special linguistic movement was not so obvious. But by the 1920s and 1930s this need was recognized and an increasing amount of work was being done in these quarters too on behalf of Yiddish. Its importance was emphasized as a safeguard against loss of spiritual identity and as a symbol of specifically Jewish life upon the basis of Judaism. Therein it differed from Yiddishism, a consciously secular movement.

We have dealt so far with the position of Yiddish within the Jewish people. We shall now turn to its position in relation to the outside world, limiting our attention to recent times.

YIDDISH AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The political aspect

In Austria before World War I no document written in the Yiddish language or in Hebrew script had any legal validity – a law to that effect had been passed during the Enlightenment period. On the other hand, in Galicia (then part of Austria) with its large Jewish population, there was no interference with the use of Yiddish as the medium of instruction in Jewish education, from the lowest to the highest level, even though attendance at the state schools was theoretically compulsory. (However, the Jews had to bear the full cost of their own schools, besides having to contribute to the upkeep of the state schools by meeting the general taxes.)

In Russia, Yiddish had long been recognized factually. For instance, the oath prescribed for those conscripted into the army was delivered by Jews in Yiddish from 1838 onward. A text similar to this, transcribed in Russian characters, was incorporated in the law of the Russian Empire. In 1897 the first census ever taken in that country registered the number of those speaking Yiddish. The publication of books and periodicals in Yiddish and Hebrew, the functioning of Yiddish theatres as well as of the traditional 'religious' school system with Yiddish as the language of instruction, were not forbidden. In the year 1911 the Duma passed a resolution permitting the founding of elementary schools in which the language of instruction was other than Russian, and Yiddish was among those languages

listed. It is significant that, in Russian, Yiddish is called the *Yevrĕyski* language, i.e., the 'Jewish' language, while Hebrew is called 'Old Jewish': *Drĕvnoyevrĕyski* (etymologically, *Yevrĕyski* is *Hebrew* of course).

In 1904 one of the immigration requirements of South Africa was that every immigrant had to be able to read a European language, and mention was made of Yiddish as belonging to that category. The same regulation regarding the use of Yiddish in the educational test for immigrants was later adopted in the United States. In Jewish districts the signs and notices on and in public buildings were given in Yiddish too; this was the case also in England.

World War 1 wrought great changes in the official position of Yiddish. On the basis of the minority rights established by the Peace Conference, it won recognition in the states of Eastern Europe. However, the situation deteriorated and, before long, treaties, pledges and laws became scraps of paper.

During the early periods of the Soviet regime the political and cultural rights of Yiddish were officially established, culminating in Yiddish sectors of the state academies in the Soviet republics that had a big Jewish population. However, Stalin put an end to that. He closed all Jewish schools and cultural institutions, including theatres, and had all the leading Yiddish authors executed. The 'thaw' which followed his death brought very little relief. At present there is one monthly journal for a population of millions, and an occasional trickle of Yiddish literary reprints – intended mainly for export.

In Poland, Yiddish is practically extinct, there being hardly any Jews left. In Rumania the situation is slightly better; there is even a Yiddish state theatre.

The learned world

The earliest interest shown by non-Jews in Yiddish was not for the sake of philology. It was shown by German scholars primarily concerned with Bible study and/or having missionary aims. From the sixteenth century onward there was a continuous slow trickle of publications in connection with Yiddish. Modern German philologists turned to it from about the middle of the nineteenth century onwards. The first 'linguistic' defence of the language came in 1876 (see p. 319, No. 1). Interest widened in the twentieth century, this being probably due to the work in this field by Jewish scholars and to the doctoral theses now making an appearance. In 1922 Hamburg University was the first academic institution to include Yiddish within its framework.⁴ In the early 1930s an institute for research in Yiddish,

⁴ Here there were two non-Jewish professors who were interested in Yiddish, Carl Borchling and Heinrich Meyer-Benfey. The former surprised me one day with the news that upon his initiative the University had appointed me to lecture on Yiddish.

and in Ashkenazic studies generally, was planned and an appeal for its implementation was signed by sixty leading non-Jewish scholars from Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Some of the Germans actually gave their written support after Hitler came to power.⁵ That event put a stop to all these beginnings, of course, but soon after the end of World War II a remarkable interest in Yiddish was shown by growing circles of non-Jewish laymen and scholars, who were, and are, being served by books and articles on the subject for the general educated reader as well as by a steady stream of publications intended for linguists and philologists. At present there are a number of very competent young scholars in German, American and other universities doing excellent work.

In London University in 1934, in their series *Special Lectures in Comparative Philology*, I was invited to give a cycle of lectures on Yiddish. Not long before World War II, the School of Slavonic and East European Studies of the same university instituted an honorary lectureship (assistant professorship) in East European Jewish Studies (i.e., essentially Yiddish), while in the United States and other countries since that War, a growing number of universities have introduced courses in Yiddish language and literature.⁶

STATISTICS

It is always difficult to compute the number of speakers of any language, and with Yiddish the difficulties are even greater. There is, for instance, some shifting on the borderlines of most languages. But the territory of Yiddish, to express it paradoxically, consists of borderlines, and so for this reason as well as for others, any statistics on the subject are quite unreliable.

Until recently the number of Yiddish speakers given in books, encyclopaedias and elsewhere used to be based on very unreliable estimates, perhaps influenced by a biased tendency (of Jewish sources) to minimize that number. Before World War I, a figure of 4 million used to be mentioned, when 10 million would have been much nearer the mark. Even in the 1930s the number of Yiddish speakers was estimated by some at 8 million, about 50 per cent short of the actual fact. In the following table, which I compiled and published in 1931,⁷ the total was estimated at roughly 12 million. My estimates were based on the Jewish population statistics of that time.

⁵ See p. 358, No. 712.

⁶ Twenty five in the U.S.A., 4 in Canada, 1 each in Australia, Finland and France, a department in Israel; courses at 32 Hillel centres at U.S.A. universities (figures for 1977).

⁷ *Bais Iankyo*, 8: No. 71/72, p. 37, Lodz. The table, having been partly brought up to date in 1939 differs from the original one by an added 190,000.

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NUMBER OF YIDDISH SPEAKERS

Home Territory

Poland	2,970,000	
Soviet Union	2,870,000	
Rumania	760,000	
Hungary	270,000	
Czechoslovakia	250,000	
Lithuania	165,000	
Larvia	85,000	7,375,000

Rest of Europe

Great Britain	120,000	
Austria	75,000	
France	70,000	
Other countries	60,000	325,000

European Total 7,695,000

U.S.A.	3,500,000	
Canada	110,000	
Argentina	235,000	3,905,000

Asia	205,000	
Africa and Australia	70,000	

Total 11,875,000

It is interesting to compare this total with the contemporaneous figures for the speakers of the following languages:

Czech 7 million
Greek 6 million

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Or with the figures for the speakers of

Rumanian	12½ million
Dutch	12 million
Croat and Serbian	10½ million

At the end of World War II the number of Yiddish-speakers was much smaller than it had been in the 1930s. This was due, of course, to the National-Socialist genocide during the War, because, of the 6 million Jewish victims, about 5 million spoke Yiddish. The figure for Yiddish at the end of the War was therefore about seven million.

No statistics can be given for the present day. As a result of Stalin's policies and their aftermath, there are now presumably fewer Yiddish speakers in the Soviet Union. Elsewhere among the survivors of the Holocaust, linguistic assimilation is taking its toll. However, it would seem to be unrealistic to put the total lower than, say, at 5 or 6 million.

THE FUTURE

Apart from Yiddish, there seems to be no example of a language, spoken by many millions, whose survival potential has been so often discussed in the course of its history. Among other inherent defects attributed to Yiddish, it has repeatedly been declared by its adversaries to be moribund. At the beginning of the Emancipation period the death of Yiddish was proclaimed to be imminent. And this prediction was repeated at various times, even in the twentieth century (before World War II) when there were more Yiddish speakers than there had ever been Jews at any time in the whole of the world.

Of course, it does not require particular shrewdness to see that the future of Yiddish is now, after the Holocaust, by no means assured. However, prophesying is always risky, even on the basis of undeniable facts. In the 1930s I wrote: 'And even if we were to imagine that henceforward Yiddish would be constantly on the decline, it might be well for us to ask: What does that actually amount to in practice? How many generations will have to pass before there are no Yiddish-speaking descendants of the twelve million people whose language it is today? A couple of centuries would seem to be a very conservative estimate. Is such a period not long enough to justify cultivation and care? And, after all, a problem of this nature cannot be worked out arithmetically – there are too many unknown variables involved.' And there certainly were, notably Hitler! But my error, based on the expectations of normal experience, does not affect the over-all argument.

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Even if Yiddish were destined to survive for only a short period, it would still be worth cultivating during the remainder of its life.

We need not investigate here the present sociological situation of Yiddish in all the countries where it is spoken today. The loss of speakers is too clear to be overlooked. On the other hand, the language is still very much alive. It is cultivated assiduously by many, and in the Americas some of the grandchildren of immigrants, in search of their heritage, are turning back to Yiddish. In addition, there is still a religious core among whom there has not been a break in the generations and whose mother tongue is Yiddish.

The Age of Yiddish

Having discarded the idea of the simple filiation of languages, may we still ask the age of a language? There would seem to be no longer any room for that question since, at any given time, each of a group of related languages is the present form of the 'mother language.' All that remains for us to do, it seems, is to discover and describe the stages of transition. But in attempting that we very soon arrive at a point where, for practical reasons, we require chronological borderlines between the related languages. Apart from that, it is natural for the mind to seek fixed points in the stream of transitions: there must be a time in the development when some undoubted unit of today – French, Dutch, Czech – had its beginnings. In what follows, we shall aim at finding such a point in the case of the Yiddish language by the application of practical, linguistic, psychological and sociological criteria.

THE PRACTICAL CRITERION

Was there a time when the speech form of the Jews in the German language territory would no longer have been easily intelligible to their Christian neighbours, and if so, when was it?

In 1699, Johann Christoph Wagenseil, a famous Christian Hebraist, published a short textbook on the language of the Jews¹ in which the following statement is made:

Mit keiner Sprach sind die Juden jemals / so / wie man zu reden pflegt / lästerlich / als mit unserer Teutschen umgangen / denn sie haben solcher einen gantz frembden Thon und Laut gegeben / die guten teutschen Worter gestümmelt / geradbrecht / verkehret / neue uns unbekandte erdacht / wie auch / unzählich viel Hebreische Wörter und Red-

¹ See p. 343, No. 420.

Arten in das Teutsche gemischet / daß solcher Gestalt / wer sie Teutsch reden höret / nit anderst glaubt / als / sie reden pur lauter Hebreisch / indem fast kein einiges Wort verständlich fürkommet (fol. B recto). Es ist richtig / und braucht keines Beweises / daß niemand mit denen von der Beschneidung sich in ein Gespräch von der Religion einlassen könne / er sey dann ihres Dialecti kündig / dann des reinen Hoch-Teutschen sind sie ungewohnt / und verstehen nit was gesagt wird. (Fol. F verso)²

From these remarks we can infer that Yiddish had come into being at some indefinite time before the end of the seventeenth century.

It is obvious that the practical criterion, even if we had more material, would always be a rather rough-and-ready one. The application of it seems natural to speakers of dissimilar languages, but in the case of many related languages their speakers can make themselves mutually understood without much difficulty, although they are conscious of employing different languages. Here consciousness is the deciding factor.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CRITERION

Long before Wagenseil, there existed in Germany a number of Christian Hebraists who took an interest in the language of the Jews. There were two reasons for this. In their study of the Bible these humanists came to be interested in the Jewish interpretation, and hence, in the Jewish version. Thus they had to acquire a knowledge of the language of the Jews. The second reason was that they hoped to gain more Jewish converts if they approached them in their own language. And, in order to help others like themselves, some wrote little works on the subject (see p. 353, Nos. 594 ff.). This fact alone shows how great they considered the linguistic difference to be. The language they describe has the same characteristics as modern Yiddish (apart from the absence there of the Slavonic element, of course). It is therefore clear that at this time, in the sixteenth century, Germans were conscious of the difference, although they did not employ a special name for Yiddish. 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

² 'There is no language which the Jews have treated as shockingly (to use this vulgarism) as our German, for they have given it a completely foreign intonation and sound, have crippled the good German words, mangled them, turned them topsy turvy, thought up new ones that we do not know, and have mixed into German innumerable Hebrew words and idioms to such a point that anyone hearing them speak German thinks they are just speaking pure Hebrew because there is hardly a single word you can understand (Fol. B, recto). It is self-evident that nobody who does not know their dialect could engage in a conversation about religion with the people of the circumcision, because they are unfamiliar with pure High German and do not understand what you say to them' (Fol. F, verso).

of *Sigenot* we have the remark: *ous gymumyn fun galxys un ouf lldit far tait,* i.e., 'taken from Christian [language and script] and translated into Jewish.' The earliest example we have of a *hearer* of Yiddish using the name *Jewish* goes back to the year 1451. A citizen of Zerbst is described thus: 'he ... is also en jode geschapen unde spricket ok also.' ('He looks like a Jew and speaks like one too.') In 1478 we are told: 'Desselben jars da kom ein predigermunch [Petrus Nigri] her gen Nurmberg, der kund gut ebereisch, judisch, reden und der Juden pucher lesen.'³ ('In the same year a preaching monk came here to Nuremberg who was able to speak Hebrew, Jewish, and to read the books of the Jews.')

The linguistic situation which is reflected in the descriptions by the above-mentioned scholars, as well as in the existence of the name *Jewish* must have taken a considerable time to develop. Hence the beginnings of Y are to be sought not later, and probably earlier, than in the fifteenth century.

THE LINGUISTIC CRITERION

A Literary West Yiddish

As regards the literary language, the application of the practical criterion is particularly relevant. Y books were completely unintelligible for Gentiles because they were written in a different script (and vice versa, of course). Scholars today who know both alphabets, or who can easily acquire a knowledge of the H letters, very often do not realize what an important barrier this difference of alphabet normally constitutes.

In employing the philological criterion towards establishing the age of Y, we are fortunate in having a very suitable example at our disposal. It is an epic based on the biblical Book of Samuel and on post-biblical subject matter concerning it. It is usually called the *Samuel Book*. Composed, it seems, in the fifteenth century it is preserved in sixteenth (and seventeenth) century manuscripts and printed books. Paulus Aemilius (a former Jew), professor at the University of Ingolstadt, made a 'transcription' of the Augsburg edition (1544)⁴ which was published in 1562. Here are the first five stanzas in my transcription, with the rendering of Aemilius, line by line.

^{2a} Gustav Hertel, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Magdeburg*, ii, No. 608, p. 633; 1894. (As this book was going to press, Professor W. Röhl very kindly drew my attention to this passage.)

³ *Die Chroniken der deutschen Städte vom 14. bis ins 16. Jahrhundert*, vol. x, 1872, quoted from M. Stern und S. Salfeld: *Die israelitische Bevölkerung der deutschen Städte*, iii, Nürnberg im Mittelalter, p. 301, note 5, 1896. It seems unlikely that the chronicler wrote 'Jewish' as an explanation of 'Hebrew,' i.e., ebereisch = judisch, especially as he speaks of 'reden'; he knew, of course, like everybody else, at the time, that the Jews were not speaking Hebrew. He was presumably thinking of the Semitic element in the speech of the Jews.

⁴ See the facsimiles on pp. 47 f., and see p. 349, No. 536 and 536a and p. 351, No. 570.

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Urheberrechtlich geschützte Abbildung

Title page of the *Samuel Epic* (Augsburg, 1544)

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- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 <i>vér mit gancym hértyn</i>
<i>Welcher von ganzem hertzen</i></p> | <p><i>zéin zin hoot gykért</i>
<i>Sein siß vnd máit hat khert</i></p> |
| <p>2 <i>cu unzerym lisbyn héryn</i>
<i>Zu unser lieben Herren</i></p> | <p><i>vi oft ér in dertéyt</i>
<i>Der alle wels erneert</i></p> |
| <p>3 <i>zéin gynood un[s] (zéin) zixerhaasit</i>
<i>Sein gnad vnnnd grosse gúte</i></p> | <p><i>nox mi gylaaq</i>
<i>Noch nie ernider lag</i></p> |
| <p>4 <i>er hilfyt zéinyn knéxtyn</i>
<i>Er hilffet seinen knechten</i></p> | <p><i>és zéi naxt oder tag</i>
<i>Es sey nacht oder tag</i></p> |
| <p>5 <i>zéin lob kan nimmans éndyn</i>
<i>Sein lob kan niemandt enden</i></p> | <p><i>vèder frou nox man</i>
<i>Weder frau, noch der man</i></p> |
| <p>6 <i>doorum zol man svéigyn</i>
<i>Darumb so soll man schweigen</i></p> | <p><i>vén man és nit soléndyn kan</i>
<i>Weil mans nit wenden khan</i></p> |
| <p>7 <i>ér hoot uns gyholfsyn</i>
<i>Er hat uns oft geholffen</i></p> | <p><i>oft ous unzer noqt</i>
<i>Auß aller vnser noqt</i></p> |
| <p>8 <i>un[s] hoot uns for gébyn</i>
<i>Vnd hat uns auch vergeben</i></p> | <p><i>unzer zünd un[s] (unzer) mistoot</i>
<i>Vnser groß missethat</i></p> |
| <p>9 <i>mir hoon in oft dertürnys</i>
<i>Dann Gott wir oft erclérnet</i></p> | <p><i>un[s] vider in gytoon</i>
<i>Vnnnd wider jhn gethon</i></p> |
| <p>10 <i>zqg hoot er uns aain véilyn</i>
<i>So hat er uns ain weilen</i></p> | <p><i>unzeryn féindyn gyloon</i>
<i>Vnsern feinden gelan</i></p> |
| <p>11 <i>vén mir in vider an rüüfsyn</i>
<i>Wann wir jhn dann anrúfften</i></p> | <p><i>un[s] laaistyn zéin gybot</i>
<i>Vnnnd hielten sein gebott</i></p> |
| <p>12 <i>zqg hoot er uns gyholfsyn</i>
<i>So hat er uns geholffen</i></p> | <p><i>derlöpzt ous unzer noqt</i>
<i>Erlóßt aus aller not</i></p> |
| <p>13 <i>der fon vil ix svéigyn</i>
<i>Darvon so will ich schweigen</i></p> | <p><i>és vér cu zingyn vil</i>
<i>Es wer zu schreiben vil</i></p> |
| <p>14 <i>fon dem buux Šmuuyl</i>
<i>Doch von dem büch Samuel</i></p> | <p><i>ix oüx zagyn vil</i>
<i>ich euch jetzt singen will</i></p> |
| <p>15 <i>vi Got (išboorex) durx zéine gúite</i>
<i>Wie Gott durch seine gúte</i></p> | <p><i>grqqs vunder hoot gytoon</i>
<i>Groß wunder hat gethon</i></p> |
| <p>16 <i>der vél uns in dem goolys</i>
<i>Der wöll uns auch jetzunden</i></p> | <p><i>in kaainyn nōqtyn loon</i>
<i>In kainen nōten lan</i></p> |
| <p>17 <i>in dén zélbyn céityn</i>
<i>In den selbigen zeiten</i></p> | <p><i>doo İsrooyl zas</i>
<i>Da Israel schon saß</i></p> |
| <p>18 <i>in dem landy Kna-an</i>
<i>Im weitten landt Canaan</i></p> | <p><i>kaain künik unter İsrooyl vas</i>
<i>Kain Künig under jhn was</i></p> |
| <p>19 <i>és vas aain kqghyn goodyl</i>
<i>Allain ein hoher Priester</i></p> | <p><i>dér vas Èli gynant</i>
<i>Der ward Heli genandt</i></p> |
| <p>20 <i>unter al İsrooyl</i>
<i>Vber al Israel</i></p> | <p><i>vas ér aain rixter in dem lant</i>
<i>War er Richter im Landt.</i></p> |

In this specimen the changes made by Aemilius fall into the following categories:

- (a) He replaced H words by G ones
- (i) having the same meaning: *kq̄qhyn goodyl* - *hoher Priester* (19)
 - (ii) having a different meaning but connected in subject matter with the original: *goolys* - *jetzunden* (16), *lisrooyl* - *jhn* (18)
- (b) He replaced H forms by G forms: *lisrooyl* - *Israel*.
- (c) He replaced certain words of G origin by G words which are often only loosely connected in meaning with the original, or have no connection at all: *vér* - *welcher*, *mit* - *von* (1), *vi oft er in* - *der alle welt* (2), *zén* - *grosse*, *zixerhaait* - *güte* (3), *zünd* - *groß* (8), *mir* - *wir* (9, 11), *foléndyn* - *wenden* (6), *vider* - *dann*, *laaisyn* - *hielten* (11), *unzer* - *aller* (12), *zingyn* - *schreiben* (13), *zagyn* - *singen* (14), *zélbyn* - *selbigen* (17), *es vas* - *allain* (19), *unter* - *uber* (20);
- (d) elements of G origin by different G elements: *hoot* - *hat* (1, 8, 12, 15), *gykért* - *khert* (1), *der nért* - *erneert* (2), *gynood* - *gnad* (3), *doorum* - *Darumb*, *man es* - *mans* (6), *vor gébyn* - *vergeben*, *mistoot* - *missethat* (8), *hoon der cürnys* - *erzürnet* (9), *gyloon* - *gelan* (10), *vén* - *Wann* (11), *der lööst* - *Erlöbst* (12), *loon* - *lan* (16), *doo* - *Da* (17), *unter* - *under* (18), *vas* - *ward* (19), *unter* - *uber*, *al* - *als*, *vas* - *war*, *aain rixter* - *Richter*, *in dem* - *im* (20).
- (e) He very frequently added words: *zin* - *siñ vnd müt* (1), *man* - *der man* (5), *zol* - *so soll* (6), *uns* - *uns auch* (8, 16), *vil* - *so will* (13), *fon* - *Doch von*, *oüx* - *euch jetz* (14), *zas* - *schon saß* (17), *in dem* - *im weitten* (18).
- (f) He sometimes did not know a word or form, or misunderstood it: *gylaag* - *ermider lag* (3).

These changes consist mainly of elimination and substitution: he had to eliminate the H and Y elements as well as the archaic G element, and to replace these by the G of his day. Where words were added they seem nearly always to fall into the category of substitution for an archaic G element, in order to modernize the rhythm which had by then become too archaic for the German reader. The *Samuel Book* was written in a literary language which Aemilius obviously did not regard as appropriate for his Christian readers because it had long 'gone out of fashion,' but which was still in use among the Jews, although their everyday speech was, no doubt, less archaic than that. There is hardly a line which does not provide one or more such examples. Aemilius was not merely transcribing a G text written in H characters: it was not simply a question of alphabet. What he was actually doing was to translate a work from the one language into the other.

That Y had by then become a language in its own right is shown by the following points. It possessed words and forms which were obsolescent or obsolete in G.

There were semantic changes, e.g., *zix fêdern* 'to be early' as against the MHG *sich fûrdern* 'to make haste'; *gynéényn* is transitive as against the intransitive MHG *genahenen*. There were new words, created from G stems on a H pattern: *kiinigyn* 'to rule,' corresponding to the H root *mlk* with the noun *melek* 'king' and the verb *malak* 'to be king.'⁵ There was a Semitic element and a Romance element, neither of them identical with such H and Romance words as existed in G. The elements of G and Semitic origin had combined and new formations had resulted: *mysiirys tuun*, *xasmyn*, *pogeeey vynogeeey zain*, *mooxyl zain* (see p. 153, No. 9). It is clear that all this must have taken a considerable time to develop. As our material from the fifteenth century already presents the same picture of the language as that from the sixteenth, our terminus a quo cannot be later than the fourteenth.

B Spoken East Yiddish

To this point we have been discussing only West Yiddish, the Central European branch. We now turn to East Yiddish, the East European branch of the language, in its present form, New East Yiddish (NEY).

There are some important developments which modern Yiddish has in common with NHG – dialects or standard: loss of preterite; lengthening of short vowels in open stressed syllables (leading in Yiddish very often to diphthongization); diphthongization of MHG *i*, *û*, *iu*: monophthongization of MHG *ie*, *uo*, *üe*. But we cannot, on the basis of these, fix the origin of Yiddish in the NHG period – i.e., after 1350, or even 1500 – because these developments began far back in MHG times: the fourteenth, thirteenth, twelfth and eleventh centuries respectively. But as we do not know when they started in Y, their common presence in Y and NHG does not reveal whether the Jewish development was separated from that of German in MHG or NHG times.

However, the following instances point to the MHG origin of Y.

NEY preserves the distinction between MHG *ou* and *û* (although with different phonemes) while in NHG they have merged as *au*:

MHG	Y	NHG	
<i>toube</i>	<i>toiby</i>	<i>taube</i>	'deaf' (plural)
<i>sâbe</i>	<i>toub</i>	<i>Taube</i>	'dove'

The same holds for MHG *ei* and *i*:

<i>weize</i>	<i>vaiç</i>	<i>Weizen</i>	'wheat'
<i>wîz</i>	<i>vaas</i>	<i>weiss</i>	'white'

⁵ This *kiinigyn* is evidently not the same as *geküniget*, which is listed for MHG but has a factitive meaning: '(was) made king.' (The MHG word occurs once, while the Y one is a common word up to the present day.)

In NHG there is the sound /f/ in words like *Wölflein*, *Ofen*, where it is derived from Germanic /f/, but the same sound /f/ is to be found in words like *schlafen*, *Löffel*, where it is derived from Germanic /p/. In NEY the old difference is maintained when the Germanic /f/ stands between vowels and liquids, e.g., *vétol* 'Wolfie' (name), *oivn* 'stove' – corresponding to MHG *wolves*, *oven* (cf. Gothic gen. *wulfis*, OE *ofen*) – while there is the same /f/ as in NHG *schlafen*, *Löffel* in their NEY equivalents *slufn*, *léfl* – corresponding to Germanic /p/: Gothic *slepan*, LG *lepel*.

In the HG dialects from which NEY sprang, we generally meet with only the unvoiced lenes / b, d, g, s / in NHG times. NEY has voiced lenes. This fact is incompatible with the conditions in UG, where even in the earliest sources no more voiced lenes occur, but it might be connected with CG of the MHG period which, according to many scholars, still had the voiced sounds. Thus the situation in Yiddish confirms their opinion.

It is clear that many forms are more closely connected with MHG than with NHG, e.g.:

MHG	NEY	NHG	
<i>nähent/nähe</i>	<i>nuvyn/nuvnt</i>	<i>nahe</i>	'near'
<i>k'ëlfant/ëlefant</i>	<i>k'ëlfand</i>	<i>Elefánt</i>	'élephant'
<i>riutsch</i> 'German'	<i>taac</i> 'meaning, translation'	<i>deutsch</i> 'German'	
<i>guome/goume</i> (cf. Eng <i>gum</i>)	<i>gijmyn</i>	<i>Gaumen</i>	'palate'
<i>ëgedëhse</i> 'lizard'	<i>ëgdís</i> 'dragon'	<i>Eidechse</i> 'lizard'	
<i>sust/sus/sunst</i> 'so'	<i>jnzíst</i> 'in vain'	<i>umsonst</i> 'in vain; free of charge'	
<i>swëbel</i>	<i>svëibl</i>	<i>Schwefel</i>	'sulphur'
<i>marmel</i>	<i>mërml-itain</i>	<i>Marmor</i>	'marble'
<i>vodern/vordern</i>	<i>fodern</i>	<i>fordern</i>	'demand'
<i>bir</i>	<i>bár</i>	<i>Birne</i>	'pear'
<i>vrëgen/vrügen</i>	<i>frëign</i>	<i>fragen</i>	'to ask a question'
<i>bodem</i> 'ground' (cf. Eng <i>bottom</i>)	<i>boidym</i> 'attic'	<i>Boden</i> 'ground; attic'	
<i>buosem</i>	<i>bijzým</i>	<i>Busen</i>	'bosom'
<i>vadem</i> (cf. Eng <i>fathom</i>)	<i>fuudým</i>	<i>Faden</i>	'thread'
<i>jämer</i>	<i>iümer</i>	<i>Jammer</i>	'lament'

(the *ü* of *iümer* is shortened from *iu*, the normal correspondence of MHG *ü*).

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B and *g* – in contrast with *G* – have never become fricatives, e.g.,

MHG	NEY	NHG
<i>tac/tag</i>	<i>tug</i>	[<i>tax/tak</i>]
<i>bliben</i>	<i>blaabn</i>	<i>bleiwe</i> (dial.)

There is no accretion of a final dental in, e.g.,

<i>obez</i>	<i>oips</i>	<i>Obst</i>	'fruit'
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The past participle of *laa(i)yn* 'to lend' corresponds to a MHG form:

<i>geligen/gelihen</i>	<i>gylign</i>	<i>geliehen</i>
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Niesen/niessen is a strong verb in Y and MHG but has become a weak one in NHG:

<i>genorn</i>	<i>gynosn</i>	<i>geniest</i>
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Lexical agreement between Y and MHG as against NHG occurs, e.g.,

<i>diech</i>	<i>diix</i>	<i>Oberschenkel</i>	'thigh'
<i>itlich/sietlich</i>	<i>itex</i>	<i>jeglich</i>	'every'
<i>gemach</i> 'rest/Ruhe'	(lozn) <i>gymax</i>	<i>Gemach</i>	'room'
	'to leave alone'		

There are every-day words in NHG, inherited from MHG, which have no parallels in Y, and have not been replaced here by Sem or Sl ones, e.g., *Zimmer* (< MHG *zimber*). Y continues the older *stube* > *stjbb*. This may point to a pre-NHG beginning of Y.

Agreement in gender between Y and MHG as against NHG, e.g.,

<i>der höuschricke</i>	<i>der haiferik</i>	<i>die Heuschrecke</i>	'grasshopper'
<i>der soc/socke</i>	<i>der zok</i>	<i>die Socke</i>	'sock'

In MHG, as against NHG, the strong inflection is sometimes used for the attributive adjective after the definite article. In this respect Y differs even more from NHG, only the strong inflection being used in the sing. nom. masc. as well as in the dat. and poss. fem., and in the plural:

MHG	<i>der hōhe/hōher boum</i>	} 'the tall tree'
Y	<i>der hoi(e)xer boim</i>	
NHG	<i>der hohe Baum</i>	
MHG	<i>der jungen/junger swēster</i>	} 'to the younger sister'
Y	<i>der ijnger swēster</i>	
NHG	<i>der jungen Schwester</i>	
MHG	<i>der jungen/junger swēster</i>	} 'the young sister's'
Y	<i>der ijnger swēsters</i>	
NHG	<i>der jungen Schwester</i>	
MHG	<i>diu - dēn - dēr grōzen - grōziu - grōzer hiuser</i>	} 'the / to the / of the big houses'
Y	<i>di groisy haazer</i>	
NHG	<i>die - den - der großen Häuser - Häusern</i>	

One of the two MHG forms of strong inflection survives (in the neuter only) in Y but not in NHG. As against MHG, it is used for the dat. and poss. too.

Nom.	MHG	<i>ein schœnez/schœn kind</i>	} 'a beautiful child'
	Y	<i>a šain kind</i>	
	NHG	<i>ein schönes Kind</i>	
Acc.	MHG	<i>ein schœnez/schœn kind</i>	} 'a beautiful child'
	Y	<i>a šain kind</i>	
	NHG	<i>ein schönes Kind</i>	
Dat.	MHG	<i>einem schœnem kinde</i>	} 'to a beautiful child'
	Y	<i>a šain kind</i>	
	NHG	<i>einem schönen Kind(e)</i>	
Gen./Poss.	MHG	<i>eines schœnes Kindes</i>	} 'a beautiful child'
	Y	<i>a šain kinds</i>	
	NHG	<i>eines schönen Kindes</i>	

The uninflected form of the adjective *grois* 'big, great' is used also with masc. and fem. abstract nouns, without an article: *mit grois derxéi(e)ryc* 'with great respect,' 'Yours faithfully'; *mit grois hasmuudy* 'with great diligence, industry.'

These indications that Y originated in the MHG period will now be followed up by an attempt to arrive at a more precise date. Valuable relevant material exists in the dialectal division of NEY. The southern branch and the northern branch are divided, among other ways, by the important *oi/ei* border line, e.g., *oib/eib* 'if.' It is evident that *oib* was the original form from which *eib* was derived by way of *öib* (one dialect still has this /ö/) since the speakers of the Northern dialect were descendants of emigrants from the territory of the Southern dialect. When they left Poland for White Russia and Lithuania, they must still have said *oib*.

NEY /oi/ is developed from MHG /ô/, e.g., *kroin* < *krône* 'crown,' and from MHG /o/, e.g., in our example, *oib* < *ob*. This development was possible because such short vowels had already been lengthened in MHG since the thirteenth century. From this it follows that the emigrants, who took with them a still later form, *oib* < *ōb* < *ob*, could not have emigrated earlier than the thirteenth century. This then is our *terminus a quo* for the branching out of the Northern dialect. The *terminus ad quem* is to be found in another vowel shift, that of Y /i, i:/ < MHG /u, uo/. This /i, i:/ is present today in the whole Southern dialect, whereas the Northern has /u/, e.g., /zin - zun/ 'sun,' /zi:n - zun/ 'son.' We have reason to think that the /i, i:/ or perhaps its predecessor, /ü, ü:/ had come from Germany. It must have spread northward until it reached the frontier between Poland and Byelo-Russia-Lithuania. Here it stopped. (See p. 327, No. 159.)

When could that have happened? Probably not after 1569, when the two countries were completely united and there was no barrier to free movement. Nor is it likely that it stopped during the preceding period, that beginning with 1385, when the two countries were united under one crown. Only before this date is it probable that the frontier would have formed an efficient obstacle to the spread of the new phoneme. It would be reasonable to assume that the new forms had already been established some time before the barrier disappeared, say, not less than a generation. This would take us back to about the middle of the fourteenth century, and make a connection possible with the big wave of emigration from Germany immediately after 1348, the year of the Black Death and the great persecutions consequent on it. We have fourteenth century literary documents in WY which show that the change from /u, u:/ to /ü, ü:/ had taken place by then. The middle of the fourteenth century therefore seems to be the latest date at which the southern and northern dialects could have started diverging. Perhaps we might place this divergence roughly in the first half of the century. The development of Y /oi/ < MHG /o, o:/ would then have to be fixed at some time previous to that, since it falls into the period before the northern dialect was severed from the rest of the language. This brings us, very roughly, to the year 1300 as the time when phonological evidence shows the separation of Yiddish and German to have already been a fact.

Morphology provides another chronological clue. Y has, although in a restricted use, a marker for the possessive which corresponds to the original genitive: *aimikls* 'grandchild's.' This form has disappeared from the G dialects and from normal conversational speech. The process by which it was lost seems to have been at work even in the thirteenth century, and by the fifteenth the loss was an accomplished fact. The survival of this marker in Y shows that Y did not participate in that process. It would thus follow that Yiddish and German had already diverged before this period, or at latest, by the beginning of it. That would bring us very

roughly to the year 1300 as the latest date for fixing the beginnings of Y – the date we arrived at from the evidence of the dialectal development.

There are some words which have a final /t/ in MHG but not in Y, as, e.g., *Papst* – *poips*. This dental accretion was present in later MHG: *bābes* > *bābest*. The Y form, being derived from the earlier MHG word, leads us back to the central period of MHG, to the thirteenth century, as the dividing line between Y and G.

A slightly earlier date is indicated by a phonological feature of the Sl element in Y. There are Y words which have /r/ instead of /ʒ/ (spelled *rz*) in the corresponding Polish forms, e.g., Y *Raiŷy* – P *Rzeszow*, i.e., [ʒɛʃuf], (name of a town). This means that such words were incorporated into the language of the Jews at a time when the original P still had a wholly or practically unpalatalized /r/. In the earliest P manuscripts extant we find the /r/ already on the way to its modern pronunciation. As these manuscripts date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the words in question must have been acquired by the Jews somewhat earlier. The immigration into Poland by Jews from Germany began at the end of the eleventh century. The incorporation of those words would therefore have taken place between the eleventh and thirteenth, say the twelfth century.

A still earlier date is suggested by the following evidence. As against the G pair /x/ – /ç/, e.g., in *Tochter* – *Töchter*, Y has uniformly [x]; *taxter* – *téxter*. It would be difficult to explain this by reference to the High Alemannic and South Bavarian dialects which show the same characteristic, because nothing else in NEY points to these regions. Thus it seems possible that the uniform Yiddish /x/ might be derived from the original uniform G /x/. It has been assumed that already in MHG the twofold pronunciation prevailed. The uniform state in Yiddish would then go back to pre-MHG times, to the OHG period, which ends, conventionally, in the middle of the eleventh century.

The field is still practically unexplored, and these problems are very complex. I can therefore offer the preceding inferences and suggestions only as a modest attempt at finding a date. But it seems, on reflection, hardly a coincidence that there should be so many pointers to the period from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries.

As regards the Semitic and Romance elements, which have been constituents of the Y language up to this day, they were already present before the fourteenth century. We are, however, able to follow them even further back than our earliest sources, without difficulty. The Romance element was inherited from the Zarphatic language the Jews had brought with them when they migrated from northern France to the G-speaking lands in the east. Zar contained a Sem element and this, together with some Zar became, from the very first, part and parcel of the new language. Thus the presence of these two elements at once made their speech distinct from the German of the Christians. Here the philological criterion touches another, which we might call the sociological.

THE SOCIOLOGICAL CRITERION

Language belongs to group life. Hence, when the Jews settled in Germany, with an intensive group life of their own, and adopted the G tongue, inside their society it was at once Jewish, and Y had come into being. This is not a paradox nor is it a theoretical construction. We have only to open our eyes, or, rather, our ears, and we shall be aware of analogous facts around us, wherever we have an opportunity of observing a group of immigrants in a new environment. The language they acquire would constitute the first phase of a new language if, under favourable conditions, it were to have an independent development of its own. Thus, it was during the period of immigration that the new language came into being, in the case of Y as well as of Eng. To ascertain the age of Y we must therefore go to history and enquire when the Jews began to settle in German-speaking regions. Unfortunately, there is no precise answer to this question. It is from the ninth century onward that we have definite information about their presence there and so, on the basis of the sociological criterion, we may regard the ninth century as the date when the Yiddish language originated.

The Elements of Yiddish and Their Phonological History

The immediate predecessor of Y was Zarphatic, which the Jews had brought from Northern France. From this the new language which was born in Germany inherited an element¹ of Semitic origin. Zar, of course, did not disappear without a trace. Thus it may be said that Y at its birth consisted of three elements: Semitic, Romance and Germanic.

THE SEMITIC ELEMENT

The Semitic element is to be met with in every sphere of the language, except in its phonetics.

Vocabulary

We may safely assume that certain ideas were never expressed other than by words of Sem origin. We are not, of course, in a position to speak with certainty about every individual word but are probably right in assuming that from the very beginning words like the following formed part of the Y dictionary: *sabys* 'Sabbath,' *cduky* 'charity,' 'alms,' *saiser* 'book.' Hence, such words are not to be regarded as H loan words introduced into the G spoken by Jews, they are not a later admixture. We might even express it the other way round: In the Y vocabulary the Sem stratum was the primary one, and the Germanic stratum was added to it. Words like those just mentioned were inherited by word of mouth and not through the medium of literature. In exactly the same way as the English word *eye* was inherited orally from an earlier Germanic source, so the Y word *sabys* is an oral inheritance from a pre-Yiddish stage.

Words like *Sabbath*, *charity*, *book* belong to a certain category: they are essentially connected with the sphere of religion. It may perhaps be asked: Why should

¹ See footnote on p. 82.

book belong to that sphere? The answer is simple: The medieval Jew, to an even greater degree than the medieval Gentile, had hardly any but religious books: the Bible, the Talmud, the liturgy, his legal literature, his poetry – all these, like his life, embedded in Talmudic tradition, centred on religion. It is a commonplace that in those times the sphere of religious life was much more extended than it is in today's secularized world. Hence, the Sem element in Υ consists not only of so-called religious terms but also of a great many words which have apparently no connection with religion. Take, for example, ordinary words like *puunym* 'face,' *aicy* 'advice.' We need not assume that all Sem words in Υ were orally inherited. Quite a number would have been acquired at school, as in the language of any civilized society.

The Hebrew element

The words of H origin come from various sources. The Bible accounts for not more than a small number, and these words belong also to the H of the Mishna and medieval literature. Take, for example, *lyvuuny* 'moon.' It literally means 'the white one,' and in biblical H the term is a poetical expression only, as distinct from the common *yareah*. The latter disappeared in later H , and the expression which had formerly been confined to poetical language now became the every-day term. In Υ only *lyvuuny* is used. It is, therefore, only indirectly biblical. The bulk of the Υ words of H origin are of Talmudic derivation. Examples are: *iker* 'principal thing,' *nifier* 'deceased person,' *sxjs* (< *zxsjs*) 'merit' (ethical-religious term). Finally, a considerable number of words have their source in medieval times: *hislaavys* 'fervour.'

Υ contains inflections of H origin, both nominal plural endings being in use, e.g., *soifer* 'scribe,' *iysod* 'basis' have the plurals *sofrym*, *iysoidys*. This is an important point which the mere fact that these words are of Hebrew origin does not suffice to explain. Contrast, for example, the words of Latin and Greek origin, or the artificial formations from Latin and Greek stems, in our modern languages. Apart from some few exceptions, their original plural endings were replaced by the endings of the modern languages in question, e.g., *hospitals*, not *hospitalia*, *telegrams*, not *telegrammata*.

In Υ the singular and plural forms of a noun are generally identical with those in H as in the above two examples. However, sometimes the endings are switched, e.g., *mykor* 'source' (metaphorical) – plur. *mykoiryym* as against H *mykoirys* (*məqōrōt*), i.e., what we have here is not a word and its plural form taken over as a unit, *mykor* – *mykoirys*, but a word plus a morpheme *mykor* + *ym*. This analysis finds confirmation in the fact that there are words of non-Sem origin with H plural forms and vice versa.

How did the first Ashkenazic² Jews pronounce H and Ar? It might appear surprising but we can discover quite a lot from the phonology of present-day Y. This phonology is identical for all the elements of the language. As we know a great deal about the history of G, we can relate this knowledge to the G element of Y, and draw conclusions from the present stage of its phonology about earlier stages and hence about earlier stages of its Sem element.

We might perhaps ask whether, at first, the phonology of the Sem element of Y differed from that of Ashkenazic H and Ar outside Y. However, as the phonology of both groups is identical today, there being only two inessential points of difference, we may conclude that this identity reflects the original state of affairs. The two exceptions are: (a) In the liturgical recitation of the Bible and of the prayers, the vowels of the unstressed syllables retain their full value, whereas in Y they are levelled down to /ə/; (b) Whereas in stressed closed syllable the original value of a vowel is retained: H *sod* – Y *sod* 'secret,' the liturgical pronunciation employs here the Y form of the open syllable: Y *sod* – LH *soïd*. The diphthong of the plural, Y *soïdys* – LH *soïdois*, was presumably felt to be the 'correct' H form and so was transferred to the singular.

In what follows we shall compare the phonemes of the Sem element of Y with those given in the Sem grammars.

Hireq is

(1) short /i/ in closed syllable:

din *din* '(religious) law'

(2) long /i/ in open syllable:

dinym *dintm* '(religious) laws'

Şere is

(1) short open /e/ in closed syllable:

gér 'proselyte' *gēr* 'stranger; proselyte'

(2) /ai/ in open syllable:

gairym 'proselytes' *gērlm* 'strangers; proselytes'

It is obvious that /e/ is the original form and that the development followed was /e > ē > ēi > ai/. The non-Ashk pronunciation groups have /e/ as well.

² Since the Middle Ages the biblical name Ashkenaz has been the traditional name for Germany. Ashkenazim are the Jews of Germany and their descendants elsewhere.

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Seghol is

(1) short open /e/ in closed syllable:

həspyd *həspəd* 'funeral eulogy'

(2) /ai/ in open syllable:

mailex *mələk* 'king'

(3) /ei/ in open syllable:

béigyá *béigəd* 'garment'

This group (3) consists of words whose vowel, for some reason as yet unknown, remained short for a longer period than the vowel in group 2, and therefore did not take part in the diphthongization process.

The fact that seghol 2 and sere 2 are not differentiated indicates that in the earliest stage of Y they were identical too.

Pattah is

(1) short /a/ in closed syllable:

mal^hky *mal^hká* 'queen; (female name)'

(2) long /a/ before aleph, ayin and consonant i:

maaxl *ma'ákl* 'food'
maaly 'a virtue' *ma'áll* 'ascent; superiority'
lexaaiym *l'xaijlm* 'your health! cheers!'

(3) short /a/ in open syllable before het:

na^hrys *na^hra^h* 'joy'

(4) long /u/ – but mostly shortened – before het in open syllable:

Nuxym/Nuuxym *na^húm* 'Nahum'

Ḥateph pattah is

(1) mute after (Ashk) stress:

ma^hxy 'group; troop' *ma^há^hny* 'camp'

(2) mute before the (Ashk) stress:

xai^hdy 'Khassidim' *ha^há^hlm* 'pious ones'

(3) short /a/ in (Ashk) stress syllable:

xa^hxy *há^há^hny* 'wedding'

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- (4) short /a/ before the (Ashk) stress:

<i>zatuym</i>	<i>hāṭā'im</i>	‘sins’
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- (5) long /u/ in (Ashk) stress syllable:

<i>zuyim</i>	<i>hālōm</i>	‘dream’
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Qameṣ is

- (1) short /a/ in closed monosyllable:

<i>klal</i> ‘rule; community’	<i>kēlal</i>	‘general rule, principle’
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- (2) short /a/, in the participles of pi^{ce}-el and hitpa^{ce}-el of verbs med. r:

<i>mykaryu zaan</i>	<i>mēqārēḥ</i>	‘to bring near’
‘befriend, treat with special attention’		

- (3) short /a/ in the verbs which are derived from the form of the qal in the perfect (*yāraś, yāraśā, yāraštā*, etc.), with elision of the vowel in the second syllable, thus closing the first syllable: *ex iaršy* ‘I inherit.’

- (4) long /a/, in the participles pi^{ce}-el and hitpa^{ce}-el of the verbs med. aleph or ayin:

<i>mydyś zaan zex</i>	<i>mēyā'ēs</i>	‘to give up hope’
<i>myuder zaan</i>	<i>mēḥa'ēr</i>	‘to clear away’

- (5) long /u/ in open syllable:

<i>kluuyim</i>	<i>kēlālīm</i>	‘rules’
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- (6) short /u/ – shortened from No. 5 – before /g, k, x, v, f/:

<i>mugn Duvyd</i>	<i>māgēn dāwīd</i>	‘Star of David’
<i>kuf</i>	<i>kāp</i>	‘(letter) kaph’
<i>bruxy</i>	<i>bērūkā</i>	‘benediction, blessing’
<i>cufn</i>	<i>šāpōn</i>	‘north’

- (7) short open /o/, when the next vowel is a so-called shewa mobile, i.e., when its syllable was originally open but is closed in Ashk:

<i>borxj</i>	<i>bārēkū</i>	(the first word – ‘bless ye’ – of the call to community prayer)
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As regards the quality of the vowel, in Nos. 1–4 it is /a/, as taught in our H grammars and is thus not in conformity with the Tiberian vocalization. Nos. 5–6 differ from both systems. No. 7 agrees with the Tiberian vocalization.

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Is the Tiberian /o/ the original form from which the Ashk/Y forms developed – the /a/ one the one hand, and the /u, o/ on the other? Or does the /a/ (which we also find in most of the other Jewish pronunciation groups) represent the source from which the Y /o/ and /u/ sprang?

The phonological history of the non-Semitic elements of Yiddish provides the answer, as may be seen from the following examples.

In the same way as the short /a/ in the closed syllables *hart* 'hard' and *cap* 'he-goat' have their source in MHG and Sl. short /a/ in closed syllable in *hart* and *cap*, so Y *klal*, *mykaryv zaan*, *myvder zaan*, *ex iarsy* must go back to earliest Ashkenazic Hebrew *k(ə)lal*, *məkarev*, *məvder*, *yaraš*. Analogously, just as Y *fuuter*, *stuut*, *buby* and *suud* reflect MHG *vater*, *stat* and Sl. *baba*, *sad*, so must Y *kluulym* and *cufn* stem from *k(ə)lalim*, *cafon*.

Thus it is clear that the earliest Ashk/Y qameš was an /a/. Hence the general opinion that the Ashk pronunciation as /o/ (later /u/) comes from Palestine is erroneous.

Qameš ḥaṭuph is short open /o/:

<i>roxmy</i>	<i>ḥokmá</i>	'wisdom'
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Ḥolem is

(1) short open /o/ in closed syllable:

<i>os</i>	<i>ōt</i>	'letter of alphabet'
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(2) short open /o/ when the next vowel is a so-called shewa mobile. i.e., when its syllable is historically open, but is closed in Ashk:

<i>mošlym</i>	<i>mošélm</i>	'rulers'
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From ḥolem 1 and 2 we can see that its original Ashk pronunciation was /o/ (in WY preserved even in open syllable, as *o:*). This is a parallel case to qameš 1 and 3.

(3) /oi/ in open syllable:

<i>moisl</i>	<i>mōléi</i>	'ruler'
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(4) /oi/ in syllable which was originally open but has been closed:

<i>oisjys</i>	<i>ʔoʃjoʃ</i>	'letters of the alphabet'
<i>oicrys</i>	<i>ʔoʃaroʃ</i>	'treasures'
from <i>oisjys</i> , <i>oicerys</i> .		

Shureq and qibbuş are:

- (1) short /i/ in closed syllable:

mjm *mum* 'blemish'

- (2) short /i/ before a consonant with dagesh, i.e., a long consonant in ancient H, functioning as the closing consonant of one syllable and the beginning of the next one; in Y the consonant is short and begins the next syllable; thus the preceding syllable is opened. This, however, did not have the effect of lengthening its vowel:

sjky *suktā* 'booth for the Sukkoth festival'

- (3) long /i/ in originally open syllable:

tkjffy *tēqūfā* 'period'

Shewa is

- (1) mute, as in the Tiberian vocalization,³ (contrary to what our H grammars teach about shewa mobile):

- (2) /ə/ between certain consonants. There is, however, no historical connection with the shewa mobile of the H grammar:

myjny 'strange, queer' *mšunnē* 'changed, different'
nerumy *nhāmā* 'consolation'

- (3) /ai/ (rare)

šaiuy *šwā* 'shewa'

We saw that şere, seghol, qameş and ħolem were originally short. Ĥireq and shureq/qibbuş provide additional proof of vowel shortness in early Ashk H and Ar. Both must still have been short in open syllables even at a very late time. Otherwise they would have participated in the development of MHG *î* and *û*, and would today be /aa/ and /ou/, respectively: 'daan' instead of *din*, 'tkoufy' instead of *tkjffy* (< *tkufy*). The same holds good for /a/ and /o/. /A/, in closed syllable, did not take part in the lengthening and change of articulation undergone by the G element of Y: MHG *tal* 'valley' > *tāl* > *tāl* > *tāl* > Y *tuul* but HY *klal*; MHG *lob* 'praise' and *grôz* are Y *loib* and *grois* but H *ōs* ('of) 'letter of alphabet' is Y *os* (not 'ois'). Hence the absence of long vowels in closed syllables in the Sem element

3 There seems to be no reason for assuming that the scholars who created the Tiberian system would have used the same sign for two different phonetic facts, i.e., zero vowel as well as for [ə]. They obviously used the phonetics of their Ar mother tongue, where the zero vowel exists up to this day. (The Samaritans have it frequently.)

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goes back to the early stages of Y, and must therefore have been inherited from the Zar language.

The Ashkenazic accent system

Nearly all of these phonetic developments could only have taken place if today's Ashk stress accent was already in force at a very early period. As this system differs entirely from the ancient H and Ar one, the question arises as to when the accent shift took place. Could it be an Oriental inheritance from a later period of antiquity? Could it have originated in Zar times? Or was it an Ashk innovation?

As to the first question: since the accent system of the Ashkenazim is not shared by any of the Oriental Jewries, it is clearly not of Oriental origin. On the matter of a Zar derivation for the accent shift, the accent system of the French language does not favour such an explanation. An East European language as the source of the Ashk system can be ruled out because the West Ashk system is identical with that of the East Ashk. Hence the accent shift must have taken place in West Ashk, and at a very early time.

The original H stress on the ultimate has been preserved in only a few exceptions, otherwise it has been shifted to the penultimate, and in a number of cases, to the ante-penultimate.

The fact that many words of the Sem element are disyllables and thus have the same stress arrangement as the disyllables of G origin, is no doubt the reason why the accent shift was often explained as an adaptation to the G system, where the first syllable takes the stress: *māšāl* 'example' becoming *māšal* > *muušl*, on the G pattern, its stress being now identical with that, e.g., of *muuzlym* 'measles.'

However, this explanation is open to a very serious objection. If we assume, for argument's sake, that the stress here is really of G origin, we would expect this system to have been extended to Sem words of three and more syllables, leading to forms like **muušlylm* 'examples' – instead of the actual *mýsuulym*. But dactylic plurals are exceptional, and require investigation: *buxerym* 'youths, unmarried males,' *adraby* 'on the contrary,' *roxniys* 'spirituality' etc. Some words of this type have lost the middle vowel and are now disyllables: *toisvys* (certain medieval Talmud commentaries) < **toisyvys* ... < *tosáfos* < *tōsáfōs* – while, in a parallel formation from the same root, the middle vowel is preserved and thus carries the stress: *hois'ufys* 'additions' ... < *hosáfos* < *hōsáfōs*. The normal form of a trisyllable is an amphibrach. In other words, the stress is on the penultimate. From this it follows that the place of the stress in disyllables is to be analyzed in the same way: the essential point is not that it is on the first syllable of a word but that it is on the penultimate. The position of the stress in Ashk H and Ar is still governed by a rhythmic principle, just as it was before, except that the rhythm has changed: Instead of the ancient anapaest or iambus, Ashk has an amphibrach

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or a trochee. The principle underlying the German accent, however, is not rhythmic but semantic: it is not fixed to the first but to the stem syllable (*singe, gesungen, Gesang*). It could not, therefore, have been transferred to Sem words, there being no stems in Sem languages. Here there are roots from which words are formed. A root does not exist as a pronounceable unit, it is a theoretical kernel of meanings and ideas. It consists of consonants only (three, in the vast majority of cases). A root materializes into words by the addition of vowels and affixes, e.g., from the root *šmr* we have verbs, participles and nouns: *šāmdr, šēmōr, šōmēr, šāmūr, šāmērū, nišmār, šāmārti, šēmartika, jšmērēkā, mišmār* etc. The Ashk stress may even be located before the root, e.g., *midber* 'desert' from the root *dbr*. This actually happens very often.

It seems hardly possible to explain the transition from one rhythmic accent to another rhythmic accent via a non-rhythmic one. Unless such an explanation can be shown to be correct, or even possible, the G system cannot be regarded as the source of the Ashk one. This accent shift must therefore be considered as an independent, internal Ashk development. How and when it took place has yet to be discovered.

THE ARAMIC ELEMENT

The word 'Semitic' is used in this book as a convenient term for covering the Hebrew as well as the Aramic element. We cannot, however, group these two elements together indiscriminately and say: 'the Ar element does not come to Y direct but by way of Hebrew; it was incorporated into H from Mishnaic times onward, i.e., roughly from the beginning of the Christian era; it is therefore not correct, or, at least, not necessary to speak of the Ar origin of such Y words as *dafky* (< *davky*) 'just,' 'exactly,' *laxlijtn* 'absolutely,' *gymuury* 'Talmud,' *xavrjjsy* 'company,' the term H being more correct, or, at any rate, adequate.

Such a line of argument would not take into account the fact that this element came to Y not only from the H of the so-called rabbinic literature – into which it had been incorporated – but also quite direct from the Talmud itself, with which the Jews were even more familiar than the Englishman was proverbially said to have been with his Bible. Only a small number of Ar words come from other sources, e.g., from the Cabbala. The discussions in the previous chapter apply to the Ar element, too.

THE ROMANCE ELEMENT

As we have no texts from the earliest period of literary or spoken Y, we do not know the extent of the Romance element of that time. Today it is only small.

The words are clearly of Zar origin. Some examples: *laiynyn* 'to read' from older *laiyn* from Zar *leier* (already very early the stem incorporated the /n/ and became *lain* ~ *laiyn*), *éuulnt*, (a certain dish kept warm on the Sabbath until dinner; cf. French regional forms: *šalāt* 'galette cuite au four,' *šplāt*, *cholante*, *ššlād*, *chalande*), *Béndyt* (male name) < *Benedeit*, *Baily* (female name) < *Bela*, *antšpoizn* 'to betroth' (in the language of the traditional Bible translation taught in the elementary schools) < *espouser*; words restricted to WY: *oorn* 'to say the liturgical prayers'; some WY ones survived in certain localities: *praiyn* 'to invite' < *preier*, *pilcl* 'girl' < *pücl* < *pulcelle*, *poost* 'meal' < *past*. *Bénén* 'to bless; to say grace after a meal' is a living word in both W and EY; it must be derived from a Zar form **bendicer*, which did not participate in the development from Latin *benedicere* to French *bénir* but was a straight continuation of the Latin form. This indicates that a Jewish Latin (Latinic) existed. (Another indication to the same effect is the name *Ladino*, by which the Sephardim call the language of their Bible translation. Incidentally, their verb *ladinar* is exactly parallel to the Y *šaaén*, both meaning 'to translate.')

The Romance element, although insignificant in the linguistic set-up of Y, is of great historical interest because it shows that the Jewish immigration into Germany came from a western, not from a southern, let alone south-eastern, direction. Palaeographical research yields the same result: the Ashk type of the H script is at first identical with the Zar type.⁴

THE GERMANIC ELEMENT

For the Germanic element, as for the Romance one, there is only one source, i.e., the German language. The term G language signifies a very complex entity: a number of written and literary standards and many dialects, all of them at different periods and stages of development.

One point is evident without any research: Y cannot have originated from standard NHG. For that language is much younger than Y. A large number of Jews had left Germany many centuries before NHG, a creation of Protestantism, had become a standard medium of conversation. Phonological tests, too, confirm the fact that their tongue cannot have its source in 'Luther's German.' It is therefore necessary to go back much farther – to MHG times.

Comparison with Middle High German

(a) In Y, the short vowels of MHG in stressed, closed syllables:

⁴ See my work *The Hebrew Scripts*, vol. 1, col. 300, and compare Nos. 318 and 319 of vol. 2 with Nos. 342 and 343.

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(1) have not been changed:

MHG	Y	NHG	
<i>hant</i> (d)	<i>hant</i> (t)	<i>Hand</i>	'hand'
<i>mēzgen</i>	<i>mēsın</i>	<i>messen</i>	'to measure'
(<i>ich</i>) <i>gibe</i>	<i>gib</i>	<i>gebe</i>	'give'
<i>gequollen</i> 'swollen'	<i>gykvohn</i> 'been delighted'	<i>gequollen</i> 'swollen'	

(2) have been lengthened:

<i>narre</i> 'madman'	<i>när</i> 'fool'	<i>Narr</i> 'fool'	
<i>ir</i>	<i>iier</i>	<i>ihr</i>	'her'
<i>horn</i>	<i>hoorn</i>	<i>Horn</i>	'horn'

(3) have changed their articulation:

<i>ellende</i> 'far from home; unhappy'	<i>elns</i> 'lonely; friendless'	<i>elend</i> 'miserable; pitiful'	
<i>quēlle</i>	<i>kval</i>	<i>Quelle</i>	'source, spring'
<i>kērise</i>	<i>kəris</i>	<i>Kirsche</i>	'cherry'
<i>hārw</i> 'sharp, acrid'	<i>harb</i> 'difficult'	<i>herb</i> 'harsh' etc.	
<i>sicher</i>	<i>zēxer</i>	<i>sicher</i>	'sure, safe'
<i>hirz</i>	<i>hēris</i>	<i>Hirsch</i>	'hart'
<i>vol</i>	<i>fjl</i>	<i>voll</i>	'full'
<i>tōhter</i>	<i>tēxter</i>	<i>Töchter</i>	'daughters'
<i>sunne</i>	<i>zjn</i>	<i>Sonne</i>	'sun'
<i>durch</i>	<i>dor(e)x</i>	<i>durch</i>	'through'
<i>gūnnen</i>	<i>fərginyn</i>	<i>gönnen</i>	'not to grudge'
<i>kūche</i>	<i>kēx</i>	<i>Küche</i>	'kitchen'
<i>gürtel</i>	<i>gərtl</i>	<i>Gürtel</i>	'girdle'

(4) have been lengthened and have then undergone change of articulation:

<i>stat</i>	<i>stuat</i>	<i>Stads</i>	'town'
<i>təvel(e)</i> 'tablet, painting, table'	<i>tuvl</i> 'board, tablet, book cover'	<i>Tafel</i> 'tablet, board, table'	

(5) have been lengthened and then diphthongized:

<i>pfārt</i> (d)	<i>fēierd</i>	<i>Pferd</i>	'horse'
<i>kēller</i>	<i>kēiler</i>	<i>Keller</i>	'cellar'
<i>hof</i>	<i>hoif</i>	<i>Hof</i>	'court'

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(6) have changed their articulation, then been lengthened and finally diphthongized:

<i>stirne</i>	<i>stéirne</i>	<i>Stirn</i>	‘forehead’
<i>mörhe/more</i>	<i>maier</i>	<i>Möhre</i>	‘carrot’
<i>öl(e)</i>	<i>ail</i>	<i>Öl</i>	‘oil’

(b) The long vowels of MHG have in Y:

(1) been diphthongized:

<i>spæne</i>	<i>spéiner</i>	<i>Späne</i>	‘splinters’
<i>Éwic</i>	<i>aibik</i>	<i>ewig</i>	‘eternal’
<i>ôre</i>	<i>oier</i>	<i>Ohr</i>	‘ear’
<i>hôch</i>	<i>hoi(e)x</i>	<i>hoch</i>	‘high’
<i>hûs</i>	<i>houz</i>	<i>Haus</i>	‘house’

(2) changed their articulation and have then been diphthongized:

<i>bâbes/pâbes</i>	<i>poips</i>	<i>Papst</i>	‘pope’
<i>hæhe</i>	<i>hai(e)x</i>	<i>Höhe</i>	‘height’

(3) been diphthongized, and then monophthongized to a long vowel:

<i>llach</i>	<i>laalex</i>	<i>Leilach</i>	‘sheet’
<i>tiutsch ‘German’</i>	<i>taac ‘meaning’</i>	<i>deutsch ‘German’</i>	
<i>hiuser</i>	<i>haazer</i>	<i>Häuser</i>	‘houses’

(4) been shortened:

<i>sælde</i> ‘bliss, happiness’	<i>Zéldy</i> (female name)	cf. <i>selig</i> ‘blessed, happy’
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(5) changed their articulation and have then been shortened:

<i>wâge</i> ‘scales’	<i>vug</i> ‘weight, scales’	<i>Wage</i> ‘scales’
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(c) The following correspond to the MHG diphthongs:

(1) new diphthongs, probably after monophthongization of the original ones:

<i>roup (b)</i>	<i>toib</i>	<i>taub</i>	‘deaf’
<i>hōu</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>Hew</i>	‘hay’
<i>wéize</i>	<i>vair</i>	<i>Weizen</i>	‘wheat’

(2) long vowels, after monophthongization:

<i>vliegen</i>	<i>flüyn</i>	<i>fliegen</i>	‘to fly’
<i>vuoꝛ</i>	<i>fjjs</i>	<i>Fuss</i>	‘foot’
<i>brüeder</i>	<i>brüider</i>	<i>Brüder</i>	‘brothers’

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(3) short vowels, after monophthongization:

<i>ietlich</i>	<i>itex</i>	<i>(jeglich)</i>	‘each’
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(4) short vowels, after monophthongization and change of articulation:

<i>lieht</i>	<i>léxt</i>	<i>Lícht</i>	‘light’
<i>iergent</i>	<i>érgyc</i>	<i>irgend(...)</i>	‘somewhere’
<i>sufzen</i>	<i>zifcn</i>	<i>seufzen</i>	‘to sigh’
<i>bluos</i>	<i>bljt</i>	<i>Blut</i>	‘blood’
<i>muoz</i>	<i>mjz</i>	<i>muss</i>	‘must’
<i>kleiner</i>	<i>kléner</i>	<i>kleiner</i>	‘smaller’

Changes in consonants:

(d) Initial MHG /b/ is split up into two series, /b/ and /p/:

<i>bæse</i> ‘bad, useless’	<i>baiz</i> ‘bad, angry’	<i>böse</i> ‘bad, wicked, angry’	
<i>buter</i>	<i>pjter</i>	<i>Butter</i>	‘butter’

(e) The same holds good for initial MHG d, with the series /d/ and /t/:

<i>dürre/türre</i> ‘dry; lean’	<i>dár</i> ‘meagre’	<i>dürr</i> ‘dry; lean’	
<i>dunkel/tunkel</i>	<i>tjnkł</i>	<i>dunkel</i>	‘dark’

(f) Change of articulation:

<i>fuhs</i>	<i>fjks</i>	<i>Fuchs</i>	‘fox’
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(g) MHG /pf/ is /f/ at the beginning, but /p/ in medial or final position:

<i>pfers (d)</i>	<i>fTierd</i>	<i>Pferd</i>	‘horse’
<i>topf</i>	<i>sop</i>	<i>Topf</i>	‘pot’
<i>töpfłn</i>	<i>tépl</i>	<i>Töpflein</i>	‘little pot’

(h) After /l/ or /n/, before /s/, /z/ or /š/, a dental has developed:

<i>kunst</i> ‘knowledge, skilfulness’	<i>kjnc</i> ‘trick, stunt’	<i>Kunst</i> ‘art’	
<i>hals</i>	<i>haldz</i>	<i>Hals</i>	‘neck’
<i>mènsche</i>	<i>ménč</i>	<i>Mensch</i>	‘human being’

(i) MHG /ss/ is /š/ in Y:

<i>messe/mess/messinc</i>	<i>més</i>	<i>Messing</i>	‘brass’ (OE <i>mæstling</i>)
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(j) In the past participles of the MHG verbs *schrien* and *spüwen* the hiatus is avoided by the development of a g:

<i>geschriern/geschriuwern/</i>	<i>gyšriḡn</i>	<i>geschrien</i>	‘[has] shouted’
<i>geschruwen</i>			
<i>gespiuwern/gespuwen/</i>	<i>gyšpiḡn</i>	<i>gespien</i>	‘[has] spat’
<i>gespiern</i>			

As to the relation between Y and MHG on the one hand and Y and NHG on the other, see also pp. 51–54.

The term MHG designates a literary language. However, this is far from uniform, there being dialectal variations. Up to a point, it was probably also the spoken language of the royal and ducal courts and the upper class. Y cannot, of course, have originated here. The Jews as a mainly urban group would have spoken the regional languages in which the pure local dialect was somewhat attenuated, because these languages were based on a wider area. We will now try to establish which dialect(s) constitute the source(s) of Y.

There are two main groups of G dialects, High German and Low German. Y has no connection with the latter, as may be seen from the following examples:

NHG/MHG	Y	NLG	
<i>Zahn</i>	<i>cuun</i>	<i>Tähn</i>	‘tooth’
<i>ich</i>	<i>ex</i>	<i>ik</i>	‘I’
<i>teil</i>	<i>tail</i>	<i>deil</i>	‘part’
<i>Pferd</i>	<i>štierd</i>	<i>Perd</i>	‘horse’
<i>Schiff</i>	<i>šif</i>	<i>Scheep</i>	‘ship’
<i>Stadt</i> [stat]	<i>štuut</i>	<i>Stadt</i> [stat]	‘town’
<i>dein</i>	<i>daan</i> < <i>dain</i>	<i>dén</i>	‘thy’
<i>der/die</i>	<i>der/di</i>	<i>de</i>	‘the’
<i>mich/mir</i>	<i>mex/mir</i>	<i>mi, mik</i>	‘me/to me’
<i>gehört</i>	<i>gyhéiert</i>	<i>hürt</i>	‘heard’
<i>Himmel</i>	<i>himl</i>	<i>Heben</i>	‘heaven’

Since Jews settled only very late in the northern regions, the absence of a LG element in Y is not surprising.

HG divides into two main branches, Upper and Central German. We shall now compare Y with each of them.

The Central German element (MHG)

The following Central German features appear in Yiddish.

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(a) Monophthongs correspond to the diphthongs /uo/, /üe/, /ie/:

UG	Y	CG	
<i>kuo</i>	<i>kij</i>	<i>Kuh</i>	'cow'
<i>grüene</i>	<i>grün</i>	<i>grün</i>	'green'
<i>knie</i>	<i>knii</i>	<i>Knie</i>	'knee'

(b) MHG /ou/ is Y /oij/. This might be explained by the CG /ō/ which corresponded to /ou/, joining the old /ō/ and lengthened /o/ and participating in the development to /oij/: As MHG *rōse* 'rose' and *kole* 'coal' became Y *roiz* and *koil* so MHG CG *bōm* (= *boum*) became Y *boim*.

(c) The Y /ai/ which corresponds to MHG /ei/ might have an analogous explanation: The CG /ē/ (= MHG *ei*) might have joined the development of old /ē/ and lengthened /e/ to Y /ai/. As MHG *snē* 'snow' and *heben* 'to lift' became Y *snai* and *haibn*, so MHG CG *stēn* (= *stein*) 'stone' became Y *stain*.

In other words, the four sets of vowels and diphthongs in G (*ou/au*, *ō/φ*, *ē/e*, *ei/ei*) have been reduced to two (*oi* and *ai*): *Under einem boume in Rōme stēn sie uf einem steine*-*Unter einem Baum(e) in Rom stehen sie auf einem Stein* - *Jnter a boim in Roim staiyn zai of a stain*.

(d) The prefixes *be* and *ge* have preserved a vowel:

<i>beschēpfe</i>	<i>batēfymis</i>	'creature'
<i>gesagt</i>	<i>gyzagt</i>	'said'

Exceptions must be explained individually:

<i>gekāren</i>	<i>kēiern</i>	'to relate to; ought; should; to be probable'
<i>geringe</i> 'small'	<i>gring</i> 'easy'	

(e) To the foregoing may perhaps be added that the MHG short vowels were lengthened in CG earlier than in UG and the changes of articulation and the development of diphthongs were thus made possible:

UG	Y	CG	
<i>müle</i>	<i>müil</i>	<i>müle</i>	'mill'
<i>vārn</i>	<i>fus(e)rn</i>	<i>vārn</i>	'to ride'
<i>vēdere</i>	<i>fēider</i>	<i>vēdere</i>	'feather'
<i>tor</i>	<i>toier</i>	<i>tōr</i>	'door'

(f) Similarly the shortening of vowels may perhaps be traced to CG:

<i>lāzen</i>	<i>lozn</i>	<i>lāzen</i>	'to let'
<i>brāht</i>	<i>gybraxt</i>	<i>braht</i>	'brought'

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(g) Umlaut in words like the following is a Central German feature.

<i>brücke</i>	<i>brik</i>	<i>brücke</i>	'bridge'
<i>drucken</i>	<i>drikn</i>	<i>drücken</i>	'to press'
<i>stück</i>	<i>stik</i>	<i>stück</i>	'piece'
<i>zurück</i>	<i>zjrik</i>	<i>zurück</i>	'back'
<i>läugnen/louken</i>	<i>laikymn</i>	<i>läugnen/leuken</i>	'to deny'
<i>glauben</i>	<i>glaihn</i>	<i>gelöuben</i>	'to believe'

(h) The same holds good for the vowel of the verb 'bring':

<i>bringen</i>	<i>bréngyn</i>	<i>bringen</i>	'to bring'
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(i) Initial Germanic /p/ is represented by /f/:

<i>pfund (d)</i>	<i>ffnt</i>	<i>fund; pund</i>	'pound'
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(j) Germanic /pp/ undergoes no shift:

<i>apfel</i>	<i>épl</i>	<i>appel</i>	'apple'
<i>kopf</i>	<i>kop</i>	<i>kopp</i>	'head'

(k) Medial /s/ before /t/ has not become /ʃ/ in CG, Y having the same feature, might have inherited it from here.

<i>tarst [tarʃt]</i>	<i>tud(c)rst nist</i>	<i>tarst</i>	'darest'
'darest'	'must not'		

(l) The final /t/ of the 3rd pers. plur. of the present indic. was lost very early in CG, which might thus be the source of the Y form.

<i>lobent</i>	<i>loihn</i>	<i>loben</i>	'to praise'
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(m) The assimilation /mb > mm/ is possibly of CG origin:

<i>krumm (b)</i> 'crooked, slanting'	<i>krjm</i> 'crooked, not right, wrong, lame'	<i>krumm</i> 'crooked, slanting'
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(n) The loss of /b/ in

<i>gehabet</i>	<i>gyhat</i>	<i>gehat</i>	'had'
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is a CG feature.

(o) CG origin is indicated for:

<i>turm</i>	<i>torym</i>	<i>turm</i>	'tower'
<i>kugel</i>	<i>koul</i>	<i>küle</i>	'globe, bullet'

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(p) Some examples from the vocabulary:

<i>préiglym</i>	<i>bréglén</i>	'to fry'
<i>fíeln</i>	<i>fúlen, fúelen</i>	'to feel'
<i>hofn</i>	<i>hoffen</i>	'to hope'
<i>érgyc</i>	<i>iergen(t)</i>	'somewhere'
<i>staiiger</i> 'tune; manner'	<i>steiger</i> 'play in high and strong notes'	
<i>farzj(e)xn</i>	<i>versuchen, versuochen</i>	'to get a taste of'
[<i>finyf</i>]jüery	[<i>fünf</i>]jirer	'[five] persons' ('[five] of them')

The Upper German element

The following features point to a UG source:

(a) In certain words there is no mutation:

UG	Y	CG	
<i>sumen/soumen</i>	<i>zoumyn zex</i>	<i>soumen/söumen</i>	'to tarry'
<i>koufen</i>	<i>koifn</i>	<i>köufen</i>	'to buy'
<i>bucken</i> 'to bend, bow'	<i>bjkn zex</i> 'to bow'	<i>bücken</i> 'to bend, bow'	
<i>stuppen</i>	<i>stjpn</i>	<i>stüpfen</i>	'to push'

(b) Y continues (in a new form) the MHG /u/, i.e., there was no lowering of /u/ to /o/:

<i>trucken</i>	<i>trjkn</i>	<i>trocken</i>	'dry'
<i>geschwummen</i>	<i>gyšvjmyñ</i>	<i>geschwommen</i>	'swum'
<i>sunne</i>	<i>zjn</i>	<i>sonne</i>	'sun'
<i>sun</i>	<i>zjñ</i>	<i>son</i>	'son'

(c) The final /c/ of nouns has been lost:

<i>sach</i>	<i>zax</i>	<i>sache</i>	'thing'
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(d) The diphthongs /ou/ and /ai > aa/ may perhaps be explained by the fact that the MHG /û/, /î/ and /iu/ were very early diphthongized in Bavarian:

<i>zît</i> > [zeit]	<i>cait</i> > <i>caat</i>	<i>zît</i>	'time'
<i>mûs</i> > [mous]	<i>mouz</i>	<i>mûs</i>	'mouse'
<i>liut</i> > [lôut]	<i>lait</i> > <i>laat</i> 'people'	<i>liut</i> '(a) people'	

'(a) people'

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(e) The fact that /ö, œ, ü, iu/ were unrounded very early in Bavarian, might indicate that this feature came from there into Y:

<i>dörfer</i> > [derfer]	<i>dérfer</i>	<i>dörfer</i>	'villages'
<i>schæne</i> > [šēn]	<i>šēn</i> > <i>sain</i>	<i>schæne</i>	'beautiful'
<i>vrōude</i> > [freid]	<i>fraid</i>	<i>vrōude</i>	'joy'
<i>fünf</i> > [fɪnf]	<i>fɪnyf</i>	<i>fünf</i>	'five'
<i>mōus</i> > [mais]	<i>maiz</i> > <i>maaz</i>	<i>mōus</i>	'mice'

(f) Vowels are lengthened before /r/:

<i>bart</i> – <i>bārt</i>	<i>buu(e)rd</i>	<i>bart</i>	'beard'
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(g) In medial position /h/ has merged with the /x/ of the final position:

<i>höch, höher, höher</i>	<i>hoi(e)x, hoi(e)xer</i>	<i>höch, höher</i>	'high'
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(h) Preservation of final m, instead of change to /n/:

<i>bēsem(e)</i>	<i>bēizym</i>	<i>bēzen</i>	'broom'
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(i) Development of /d/ between /n/ and /l/:

<i>hüendlin</i> 'little hen/cock'	<i>hündl</i> 'little hen'	<i>hüentlin</i> 'little hen/cock'
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(j) Initial /t/ instead of /d/ in a number of words:

<i>diuten/tiuten</i>	<i>taatn</i>	<i>diuten</i>	'to point'
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(k) In probably the greater part of the Y speech area the 2nd person pl. of the personal and possessive pronouns has been replaced by the old dual forms:

<i>éž</i>	<i>éc</i>	<i>ir</i>	'you (ye)'
<i>énc</i>	<i>énc</i>	<i>iuch/iuwich</i>	'you' (acc.)
<i>énc</i>	<i>énc</i>	<i>iu</i>	'you' (dat.)
<i>énker</i>	<i>énker</i>	<i>iurwer</i>	'your'

(l) Verbs of movement form the past with the auxiliary 'to be':

<i>sie sind</i>	<i>zai zényn</i>	<i>sie haben</i>	'they sat/were sitting'
<i>geséžzen</i>	<i>gyzényn</i>	<i>geséžzen</i>	lay/were lying'
<i>gelégen</i>	<i>gyléign</i>	<i>gelégen</i>	stood/were standing'
<i>gestanden</i>	<i>gystanyn</i>	<i>gestanden</i>	swam/were swimming'
<i>gestwommen</i>	<i>gyšvjmy</i>	<i>gestwommen</i>	

Synthesis of the German elements

The above comparisons show clearly that there is a twofold source for the G element in EY. From this it would follow that there were two main groups among the Jews who emigrated to Poland, the one coming from central and the other from southern Germany, and that in their new country a welding together of their dialects took place, the dialects in question being the Thuringian-Upper Saxonian one of CG and the Bavarian one of the UG group.

But even among the Jews who did not emigrate to eastern Europe, a similar development can be traced. The economic life which the Jews were compelled to lead was very different from that of those around them. They had no choice but to engage in occupations far removed from the soil, and hence they constituted, of necessity, a much more fluctuating element than did the non-Jews. A normal feature in Jewish life was therefore frequency of migration, which, in addition to economic causes, was by no means rarely due to expulsion. As a result, individuals and even communities speaking a different dialect were brought into close contact with each other. In this way a synthesis of elements originating from various G dialects took place. Thus the G element in WY became a synthesis distinctly different from any G dialect.⁵ This does not mean that the Jewish speech of a given region was absolutely divorced from its Christian surroundings, but it formed a distinct unity with the Jewish speech of other regions in Germany – it was a Jewish synthesis.

This is a reconstruction, of course. But that it is on the whole correct seems very probable, since the main historical facts are more or less known to us. We have even outside testimony to the existence of this Jewish *koiné*, although from a late period: the remark by an Alsatian scholar of the sixteenth century: 'You must know that nearly all of them pronounce the vowels in the Nuremberg or Franconian way, especially the *a* which is almost like an *o*.' (See p. 353, No. 596.)

If such a development was strong enough to shape a Jewish tongue in the midst of the G speech territory, it must have been still more powerful in eastern Europe, where there was no, or only very little, influence from G-speaking communities. And it was in proportion to its growth that the momentum of independent development increased.

THE SLAVONIC ELEMENT

It was here, in eastern Europe, that a new constituent of Y was added to the language: this was the Slavonic element.

⁵ In G, the Silesian dialect offers an interesting parallel. It came into being in the second half of the thirteenth century by the synthesis of dialects belonging to the same main groups as those from which the Y synthesis originated, viz. the CG and the UG dialects. The phonological result of the Silesian synthesis is, however, totally different from that of Y. Cf., for instance, *alleene - alain*, *Schnie - śnai*, *gekruchen - gykrozn*, *su - azoi*, *gruß - grois*, *Ooge - oig*, *Beeme - baimer*, *bir - mir* (pl.), *hieracht - b'ierst*, *schund - śoin*.

Czech

In the eastward movement of the Jews, the first station to be reached geographically within the boundary of the Empire was Bohemia and Moravia. Czech was therefore the first language to influence Y. There are very few words of Cz origin at present in EY, but among them there is that well known expression of regret, sympathy, pity and self-pity: *nébx* 'alas, poor him/her/them/you/you people/me/us.' Its derivation from Cz is proved by the /x/ (< /h/) and the unpalatalized /n/: Cz *nebohý* as against P *niebogi*. The Y word is an interjection, the Sl one an adjective. It is one of the very few EY words that spread to WY and is still alive to this day in the language of West Ashk Jewry.

The earliness of the borrowings from Cz is clear from a case like *praidyk* 'the forequarters of an animal carcass,' in which the old sound /r/ survives, while later Cz has changed it into [rž]: *předek* {*pržedek*}.

Polish

The second Sl stratum in Y is the Polish. Like the Cz element, it is common to the whole of EY. This is only natural since Poland was the starting point for further migration north, east and southward. (Words which were adopted after the emigrants had already left show a later stage of P phonology and are not to be found in the other regions.) That the P element was incorporated into Y at a very early date is clear from the r/ż relation between the two languages (see p. 56): Y *prikry* - P *przykry* [pʃikri]. 'unpleasant,' *grivy* - *grzyw*a [gʒiva] 'mane.' (That *grivy* is derived from P is proved by the /g/. Cz, Byelo-Russian and Ukrainian have /h/, Russian, which has /g/, cannot be the source (see p. 78).

The age of early loan words is betrayed not only by the absence of later P sound changes but also by the presence of datable Y ones. Y *strjny* 'string of a musical instrument' corresponds to P *struna*. As the Y shift /u/ > /i/ or /ü/ is not later than the middle of the fourteenth century (see p. 55), such words must have been acquired before that time.⁶

In other examples both the Y and the P sounds have been shifted from their common origin: Y *txoier* 'a polecat' - P *schórz* [txuʃ]. These forms prove that the word was acquired at a time when P *ó*, i.e., [o:], and OY [o:] had not yet been developed into /u/ and /oi/, respectively, so that [txo:r] joined the Y words with [o:]. Since the development [o:] > [oi] took place not later than about 1300 (see p. 55), this date must be regarded as the latest one for the introduction of such words.

6 When words which are evidently of a later date show this change, the explanation might be that an i-dialect was adopted by a group in whose speech the original /u/ had survived, and who now turned every /u/ into /i/.

Byelo-Russian

An early source from the Sl group is the Byelo-Russian language. But it does not belong to the common basis of EY; its influence is restricted to the northern dialect. However, there are exceptions, e.g., *zaver* 'rust' seems to be used everywhere.⁷

Ukrainian

Ukrainian is a later source and has influenced only that part of the Y language which is on the Ukrainian speech territory.

Russian

Until the last few decades there were no Jewish settlements on the Russian speech territory apart from small groups of specially privileged immigrants. Thus no normal communication between the two linguistic groups could take place and so no R element in Y was to be expected. However, R had for some centuries been the language of the authorities in the occupied non-Russian countries, so that words and terms from the vocabulary of these authorities infiltrated into Y. Nevertheless, in general literary Y (apart from Soviet writing) there is no R element.

International words

In the Western languages, words on the Greek-Latin pattern are not, of course, quite identical: *university*, *université*, *università*, *universidad*, *universitat* (Catalan), *universidade* (Portuguese), *Universiteit*, *universiteit* (Dutch), *universitet* (Scandinavian), *университет* (Russian), *uniwersytet* (P), etc. Which is the source of the international words in Y? Forms like *te'orij* 'theory,' *komit'et* 'committee,' *asimilacij* 'assimilation' were clearly not adopted from G or a Romance language but from a Sl one: *te'orija*, *komit'et*, *asimilacija*. Whether that was P or R cannot, in most cases, be decided on linguistic grounds.

The reason for this uncertainty is the close similarity among the Sl languages. This often makes it impossible to decide which of them was the source of a Y word. For example, Y *koimyn* might be derived from the *komin*⁸ of Cz, P or BR. Here other criteria must therefore be applied. On the other hand, it is clear to which of the Sl languages a word like Y *brég* 'bank, beach' belongs. The P form is *brzeg* [bžeg], in Cz it is *břeh* [bržeh], in BR *b'erek*, in Uk *berih*, in R *b'ereg*. The Y form must therefore be derived from P, from an earlier stage, [breg].

7 By the way, it cannot be derived from the Byelo-Russian noun which is *ržs*, but appears to be formed from the Y verb; *zavern* which represents the Byelo-Russian *ržavieč*.

8 It has the same meaning and origin as Eng *chimney* < Fr *cheminée* < Late Latin *caminata* < Lat *caminus* < Gk *kaminos*.

OTHER ELEMENTS

The Semitic element and the Romance and Germanic ones have been the fundamental constituents of EY, not only throughout its history but also over the whole of its linguistic territory. The Sl element, on the other hand, belongs only to its eastern branch. There are other languages whose influence is restricted to EY and then only to certain regions. In the north, Lithuanian and Lettish left their mark on the Y of their respective regions only; in the south the influence of Rumanian, Hungarian and Slovak is similarly restricted.

Only H, Ar, Zar, G, Cz and P elements form the basis of literary Y. All the other languages mentioned do not. This holds good for the influence of English on literary Y in Great Britain and North America. It is felt, however, in the press. Words adopted from English generally denote things, actions and relationships which, while remaining essentially the same as they had been 'back home,' now appeared as part of a specifically different world. But why should words like 'letter' (*léter*) or 'to try' (*trajyn*) be adopted even though *briiv* and *prjjon* continue to be used? It would be interesting to discover when the old word and when the new one is used. Sometimes the borrowing is of a semantic nature. When a journalist in America writes *administracy* he means the 'Administration,' i.e., the executive body of the government of the United States.

NEW HIGH GERMAN

There was a language that was very remote geographically but that none the less exerted a strong influence on the language of modern Y literature. This was G, i.e., New High German. We did not discuss the matter in the section 'The Germanic element' because its role in the history of Y has been of an essentially different nature. Its logical place is here, where it belongs chronologically.

How did this influence come about? The pioneers of the Jewish Enlightenment in eastern Europe looked upon the German Jewish Enlightenment as their spiritual home. They adopted its attitude towards Y, and to them it seemed quite natural to want to replace 'jargon' by G. The protagonists of the new movement, generally used Hebrew for literary purposes. In this they followed traditional practice. The masses of the people did not, however, know it well enough for that. Hence, in propagating their ideas in the fight against the old ways of life, the Enlighteners were compelled to use the despised 'gibberish' itself. Right from the beginning in their work of educating the people, of 'civilizing' them, as they called it, they turned their attention to the language. As they could not abolish it to order, they tried at least to Germanize it as much as possible. They did this to the vocabulary, phraseology, grammar, style, and even to the spelling. I say 'even' because this

is particularly striking, since the alphabets of γ and G differ completely and it would appear to be impossible for the one to influence the other. One example will suffice: the introduction of ayin, in imitation of the $G e$ in unstressed syllables, e.g., *gezugt*, *koimen* instead of the traditional *gizugt*, *koimin*.

The process of Germanization went farthest in the north among the writers of Vilna and resulted, of course, in horribly distorted γ . In the south, the instinct for good language was stronger, and here some of the protagonists of the Enlightenment themselves wrote in pure and popular γ . All in all, only a small circle in Eastern Europe was reached by modern ideas and writings and so the written and spoken language of the vast majority remained unaffected. But that circle was gradually extending and their written language was of the Germanized type.

The next step was not, however, the adoption of G but a conscious revolt against the whole trend, due to the awakening of nationalism. Coming in the train of secularization, this movement was actually basing itself upon γ as the guardian of Jewish peoplehood. Being essentially secular, it did not aim at returning to the old γ nor at continuing in its footsteps but along newer paths. The main achievement of the linguistic revolt – it had begun late in the nineteenth century and gained great momentum in the course of the twentieth – was the removal of Germanisms, mainly from accident. In all the other linguistic spheres (except phonetics, which had not been affected) what resulted from it was merely an exchange of new Germanisms for old, rather than the emergence of an un-Germanized γ . Not surprisingly this linguistic nationalism failed to undo what had been done, for it was, after all, just a more advanced stage of the Enlightenment.

A few examples will suffice. There had not formerly been a word in γ for the modern idea of development. No attempt was made to create such a word, not even in the shape of a translation from another language. A word was simply adopted. There is nothing unusual in that, of course. The source from which it was taken was G , and thus modern γ had the word *entviklúng*. The parts of this word have their γ equivalents: *ant*, *viklyn* and *jng*, but there was no word *antviklyn*, either in an abstract or concrete sense, from which to construct a noun by means of the suffix *jng*. Later the prefix *ant* was substituted for the G *ent*: *antvikljng*; but up to this day, no attempt has been made to Yiddicize the word completely, in which case it would have to be *antvikyljng*. In this particular example the reason for the adoption of a loan word was that it introduced a new idea. In other instances a new shade of thought was responsible.

But very often there is no obvious explanation. For example, the Yiddish word for 'danger' is *s(a)kuuny*; in modern γ there is also *gefar*, from the German *Gefahr*. There are a very great number of words of both categories. Sometimes words achieved currency because poets and poetasters borrowed from G to increase their supply of rhymes. As there are, for instance, very few rhymes with γ *list* 'light'

in the northern dialect, they simply appropriated the G *Gesicht* (pronouncing the G [ç] as Y [x]) when they needed a rhyme word.

No less than vocabulary, phraseology too, was affected. German idioms were translated literally, part of the new idiom often consisting of a German word, e.g., *diinyn als bavaaz* 'to serve as a proof,' from G *als Beweis dienen*: *diinyn* cannot have the meaning 'to function,' *als* is G, *bavaazn* means 'to produce, exhibit, show' but not *beweisen* 'to prove.'

Finally an example from syntax: *a fjn Rjsis iberyzétcty bamérkjng*. Such a construction is impossible in genuine Y, just as it is in English: 'a from Russian translated note.' In Y the article cannot be separated from its noun except by attributive adjectives. The correct position is: *a bamérkjng* (G word) *iber gyzéct* (G word) *fjn Rjsis*, exactly as in English: 'a note translated from Russian.' The construction was borrowed from G: 'eine aus dem Russischen übersetzte Bemerkung.'

There was only one domain where this type of language had not gained ascendancy, and that was in the traditional religious literature: biblical and other translations, edifying and Chassidic writings, etc. Here the old type of Y from before the advent of the Enlightenment continued to be used, although the spelling was much influenced by the secularized type. The press of the religious majority of East Ashk Jewry, however, succumbed to the secularized language. It was only among the adherents of the above-mentioned (p. 38) traditionalist linguistic movement between the two World Wars that the incongruity between religious traditionalism on the one hand, and a secularized language on the other, was recognized. They aimed at shaping a language built upon the foundation of traditional Y and adapted to present needs, without, however, identifying those needs with the ideas and ideals of the secularized world. The result, as far as the NHG element is concerned, amounted to its complete rejection, although success in the practical execution of this aim varied from writer to writer.

Synthesis

The elements¹ described above did not remain separate entities but reacted with each other: synthesis took place.

MORPHOLOGY

There is umlaut in plurals, diminutives, comparatives and superlatives, not only in the Germanic element but also in the others:

<i>puunym</i> (H)	<i>péinymer</i> (pl.)	'face'
<i>suud</i> (SI)	<i>stíder</i> (pl.)	'orchard'
<i>ruuv</i> (H)	<i>réivl</i> (dim.)	'rabbi'
<i>drong</i> (SI)	<i>dréngl</i> (dim.)	'stick, cudgel'
<i>xuútyv</i> (H)	<i>xéistyver</i> (comp.)	'respected; important'
	<i>xéistyver</i> (superl.)	

The plural endings of H origin, /ym/ and /ys/, are used also with the other elements:

<i>dokter</i> (G)	<i>doktoiryv</i>	'physician; Dr'
<i>nár</i> (G)	<i>naruunym</i>	'stupid person'

(the *uun* is a suffix for nouns and adjectives and is also of Semitic origin).

The ending /s/ys/ serves for nouns of SI origin, no SI plural endings having been incorporated in Y:

<i>rak</i> (SI)	<i>rakys</i>	'crayfish'
<i>kliamky</i> (SI)	<i>kliamkys</i>	'door handle'

¹ The words 'element' and 'reaction,' taken from chemistry, seem to provide a suitable metaphor for the linguistic processes in question. Thus 'element' is preferable to the term 'component,' which was introduced some time ago as a substitute. However, 'components' suggests things placed side by side without interaction.

83 Synthesis

This development is clearly due to analogy. The singular ending /y/ is very frequent in words of both Sem and Sl origin, and so the plural of the latter was formed by analogy with the H plural:

<i>toivy</i>	<i>toivys</i>	'good turn, favour'
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resulted in

<i>kliamky</i>	<i>kliamkys</i>	'door handle'
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This happened in the Germanic element too:

<i>mijmy</i>	<i>mijmys</i>	'aunt'
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In these forms /s/ seems to be the marker of the plural (while, historically, it was /ys/) and that might explain forms like:

<i>mésér</i>	<i>mésers</i>	'knife'
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<i>stékn</i>	<i>stékns</i>	'stick'
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On the other hand, there are also formations like:

<i>loiyk</i>	<i>loiykys</i>	'foal'
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<i>stékn</i>	<i>stékynys</i>	'stick'
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SEMANTICS

Expressions like *uun zugn* or *up géibn* have a purely Germanic body. While they correspond to G *ansagen* and *abgeben*, they have a different meaning. In G they signify 'to announce' and 'to deliver,' respectively, but in Y 'to command,' 'warn' and 'to give back.' It would be futile to seek these meanings in MHG or to try and discover the psychological road leading from 'announce' to 'charge' etc., and from 'deliver' to 'give back.' The Y constructions are simply built on the pattern of the P *nakazać* 'to command' and *oddać* 'to give back'; *uun* + *zugn* 'on + say' and *up* + *géibn* 'off + give.' Although these two adverbs and others are G in origin and are linked with verbs of G origin, they very often have the Sl meaning, side by side with the G one.

The Y word for 'donkey' is *aizl*, the H one is *hamor* [*xamoir*]. The latter word is also Y: *xamer*, but it does not mean the animal; it is reserved for the human species as a term of abuse. This does not strike us as remarkable, for we got used to being called 'donkey' in our childhood. But in the Arab orient, the donkey is an important animal and its name is not synonymous with stupidity. In the Bible the Messiah himself is pictured as riding on one. The reason for the fall in the prestige of the donkey in Y seems clear: it is a case of synthesis, an oriental form wedded to an occidental meaning.

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WORD FORMATION

The Indo-European system of word composition is transferred also to Sem material, e.g., *dam-soiny* 'mortal enemy,' literally 'blood enemy.' In H this would mean 'blood of an enemy' (which is not an idiom) because in that language the determining word follows the determined one: *Dam soiny* (*dam sōnē*) in H would be a so-called construct, i.e., a genitival construction, not a composition.

On the other hand, in Y the Sem method is occasionally used, a Sem word being linked with a non-Sem one, e.g., *kol haméiglexkain* 'all (of the) possibilities' (Sem and Germanic), *bal-taksy* 'tax farmer' (Sem and Sl).

AFFIXES

Sem affixes are combined with

(1) Semitic words:

goo(i)y *goo(i)* + H feminine ending *š* > Y *y* 'Christian woman'

goo(i)ty *goo(i)* + Ar feminine termination *tā* > Y *ty*

(Also with double suffix: *goo(i)yty*.)

(2) Germanic words:

paad(i)erty *pouer* + umlaut + Ar feminine ending *tā* > Y *ty* 'peasant woman'

Germanic affixes are combined with

(1) Sem words:

(a) *jmkuvyd* *jm* + *kuvyd* 'un + honour' = 'dishonour'

xavertsuurn *xaver* + *ty* (see above) + *sur* < MHG *ŕr* + *n* > MHG *in*
'female friend'

broigzyzerhait *broigyz* 'angry' + *erhait* 'being in a state' (< *broigzyzer hait*)
'in a cross mood'

derhargynyn *der* MHG prefix *er* < *ur* + *harg* + *ynyn* 'to slay'

(b) Conjugation:

paterst (2nd pers. sg.), *patert* (3rd pers. sg.), *paternidik* (contemporal),
gypatert (ptc.) 'to get rid of'

(2) Sl words:

(a) *farblondžyn* 'to lose one's way'

(b) Conjugation:

ratyvyst (2nd pers. sg.), *ratyvyt* (3rd pers. sg.), *ratyvynidik* (contemporal),
gyratyvyt (ptc.) 'to rescue'

85 Synthesis

Sl affixes are used with

(1) Sem words:

melamydka *melamyd* + feminine ending *ky* (< Sl *ka*): 'wife of a teacher'

cvjnik *cvjny* (H but not V) + suffix *ak* (pejorative): 'hypocrite'

(2) Germanic words:

klouznik *klouz* 'house of study and prayer' + *nik* suffix denoting a man who has some individual or social characteristics: 'a man who spends all his time in a *klouz*'

Spontaneous Development

PHONOLOGY

Examples from phonology have been given in other connections – in Sections 2 and 3; see also Section 6.

Dissimilation occurs, e.g., in *šamyš* ‘community beadle’ which has become *šamys*; the OY *šęęnym*, the inflected form of *šęęn* ‘beautiful’ has changed to *šainym*.

Similarly, one of two *r*’s in adjacent syllables is expelled by the other: MHG *martern* ‘to torture’ against Y *matern zex* ‘to exert oneself, toil.’

We have assimilation in, e.g., *kimpyt* ‘confinement’ < *kinpet* < MHG *kint-bette*; *xéšbm* ‘account’ from *xéšbm* < *xéšbn* < *hešbon*; *vaampert* ‘currant’ from MHG *winbere*.

SEMANTICS

Modni in SI means ‘fashionable’; it goes back to G *Mode* or French *mode* ‘fashion.’ But *modny* in Y has developed the idea of the ‘striking, unusual, strange, odd’ – evidently because such are the feelings of an ordinary conservative mind at the sight of a fashionable novelty. In the H of the Mishnah the noun *batlyn* (*batlan*) means ‘a person who is not engaged in work.’ In the popular view this was apparently only possible if he was an ‘unworldly, unpractical person,’ for it is in this sense that the word is used in Y.

ISOLATION

Here are some examples of new forms or constructions arising through the process of isolation.

The ending *s* in Y is a sign of the plural or of the possessive. But, in the expression

in *ain véigs*, there is no visible connection between the *s* and those endings. We may, however, assume that *véigs* was originally a genitive: *ains véigs* meaning 'at the same time.' When the determinative power of the genitive was lost, a preposition had to be added: *in ains véigs*. In the consciousness of the speaker, the /s/ here could have no relation to the possessive. The /s/ of *ains* was dropped, presumably, through dissimilation, on account of the /s/ that follows straight after in the word *véigs*. The same explanation seems to hold good for the /s/ in *slúit-véigs* 'sledge way.' The formula used for wishing somebody good luck on the way is: *(H)ot(s) mir a gjtn slúit-véigs!* 'I wish you good luck on the way' – in spite of the surviving genitival /s/, *slúit-véigs* is an accusative today, as shown by the form of the adjective (*gjtn*).¹

The adverbial suffix *erhait* was originally a genitive, e.g., *gyzjnterhait* 'in health' <*gyzjnter* (adjective, sing., gen., fem.) 'of a healthy' + *hait* 'state, condition.'

Another example that is derived from an original genitive: The G *ir/ihr* (3rd pers. plur.) has been replaced by *zaier* in Y. However, the G genitive *ir/ihrer* survives in the word *iery*: *naan iery* '(a group of) nine persons' ('*ihrer neun*,' 'nine of them'). But it is no longer understood as a genitive, as is clear from the fact that it may also be used for the first person: *mir zénym gyvém finyf iery* 'we were five of us.'

There is a conjugation where a H participle is linked with the auxiliary 'to be': *er iz mexabyd* 'he honours.' This has the appearance of being a predicate plus an auxiliary verb, literally 'he is an honouring person.' But that this is not so is clear for the following reasons. *Mexabyd* is not a Y adjective – it has none of the adjectival characteristics, it cannot function as an attribute, it has no inflection and no comparative or superlative; the construction can take an object, i.e., it functions as a verb:² *er iz ym mexabyd* 'he honours him'; in the past tense its auxiliary is not 'to be': 'he was an honouring person,' *er *iz ym gyvém mexabyd*, but 'to have,' the usual auxiliary for the inflection of the past tense: *er (h)ot ym mexabyd gyvém*. This construction is clearly not a loose syntactical group but an entity, a periphrastic verb. This holds good even in cases where the Hebrew element contains an object or adverbial phrase, or two participles, e.g., *er vét ys oiker min hafoiryf zaan* 'he will uproot it.' We may therefore regard such combinations, of which there are a great many, as a special conjugation.

Its origin seems to be connected with a construction we know from MHG where there was a way of stressing the continuous nature of an action by combining the auxiliary verb 'to be' with the present participle, e.g., *alle die mich sēhende*

1 Cf. the preservation of the genitive in O: *Er ging seines Weges*.

2 It occurs without an auxiliary verb only in elliptical use, wherein it does not differ from any other verb.

sint 'all who are seeing me.' We might assume that a H participle had sometimes been used and that when that construction was disappearing from G and the G element of Y, the combination with the H element became isolated so that a new conjugation came into being. One relic of this construction has survived in the G element of Y: the way special emphasis can be put on the word *vism* 'to know': by combining it with the substantive verb, e.g., *Zai darfn vism zaan az ...!* 'they must take note that ...!', *zaa(i) vism az ...!* 'take note that ...!' (singular), *zaat(s) vism az ...!* (plural). However, this use survived only in the infinitive and the imperative, as in the examples. The apparent infinitive *vism* is what remains of the original MHG participle *wizzende*.

ANALOGY

The verb *baatn* 'to change' has the participle *gybitn*. In MHG the verb *biuten* was weak: *gebiutet*. Thus *baatn* has left the weak conjugation and become linked with the group *raatn* - *gyritn* 'to ride (on horseback),' *snaadn* - *gytsnitn* 'to cut' etc.; the weak G verb *würgen* - *gewürgt* 'to choke' (trans.) is strong in Y: *vargn* - *gyvornn*, like *starbn* - *gystorbn*.

Some of the strong verbs have changed their gradation class: MHG *mēzzen* - *gemēzzen*, *lēsēn* - *gyloēsēn*, MHG *lēschen* - *geloschen*: but Y *mēstn* - *gymostn* 'to measure'.

The first and third pers. pl. of the substantive verb were *mir/zai* **zaim/zēn* 'we - they are.' This monosyllable was an exception among all the di- and polysyllabic verbs where the ending for these persons was /yn/. By analogy with them it acquired the /yn/ for rhythmical reasons, i.e., the old form was felt to be too lightweight in comparison with all the other verbs and so *zaīnyn* - *zēnyn* arose.³ In the infinitive, however, the old form, which was identical with the two finite forms, survived unchanged (*zaan*).

The infinitive *zaan*, however, underwent a different fate, when it was required as an absolute infinitive. The regular form of this construction was infinitive plus finite, e.g., *traabn traabt zi* 'as to writing, she writes ...' Thus in the case of our verb the form would have to be *zaan iz zi* 'as to being, she is ...' But *zaan* did not fit into the usual rhythm. By analogy with *traabn traabt zi*, the required infinitive had to consist of the form of the first/third person singular, *iz*, plus the normal ending, syllabic /n/. Thus the pseudo-infinitives *binyn/izn* arose which do not exist outside this construction: *binyn bin izn iz zi*.

Similarly, the stem vowel of the infinitive *vism* 'to know' differs from the stem vowel of the present tense, *er vaist*. On the analogy of *traabn traabt er* the pseudo-infinitive *vaisn* arose which occurs only in this construction: *vaisn vaist er*.

3 Cf. the Bavarian form *sinden*.

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Some nouns which belong to the weak declension in MHG have become strong in Y:

<i>katze - katzen</i>	<i>kac - kéc</i>	‘cat’
<i>hacke - hacken</i>	<i>hak - hék</i>	‘axe’

On the other hand, we have the opposite too:

<i>jâr - jâr</i>	<i>isud(e)r - isud(e)rn</i>	‘year’
<i>tal - teler</i>	<i>tuul - tuulin</i>	‘valley’

Within the strong declension there are many changes from one class to another:

<i>bodem Boden - bodeme Böden</i> ‘ground’	<i>boidym - baidymer</i> ‘attic’
<i>ruote Rute - ruose Ruten</i>	<i>rjs - riser</i> ‘rod’

The source of *zaidy* ‘grandfather’ is the Sl *děd/dziad*. We should therefore expect the Y form to end in a consonant too, **zaid*. It seems likely that this was the original form but that the influence of the very frequent words *taty* ‘father,’ *mamy* ‘mother,’ *buby* ‘grandmother,’ belonging to the same category of associations as *zaidy*, occasioned the addition of the final vowel.

The same, no doubt, holds true for the word *mijmy* ‘aunt’: the final vowel is not that of the MHG form, *muome*, as is proved by the WY form, which is *muum*.

The same explanation would apply also to the female names with a final vowel as in MHG, e.g., *Hindy*. It corresponds to MHG *hinde* ‘a hind’ but again the final vowel is not that of the MHG word which exists in Y and has the form *hind*, but *Hindy* is an adaptation to the frequent female names of Sem and Sl origin which end in /y/: *Xany* ‘Hannah/Anna/Anne,’ *Zlaty* ‘Gold.’ This is proved by, e.g., the Germanic parallel to *Zlaty*; it is *Goldy*. However, the MHG/OHG form is a monosyllabic, *gold*, and none of the other Germanic languages have a final vowel in this word.

Analogy appears also to be the general cause for gender change in Y. For example, the words *šiny* ‘change’ and *mašky* ‘beverage,’ masculine in H, have become feminine in Y, because here their ending is identical with that of a very great number of feminines, of both Semitic and Slavonic origin, e.g., *micvy* ‘religious commandment,’ *xvaliy* ‘wave.’ *Šabys*, originally feminine, is masculine in Y, presumably by analogy with the other days of the week – *der Muumtyg* ‘Monday,’ (because of *der sug* ‘the day’). Words ending in *ys* < H *es/es*, e.g., *maxloikys* ‘quarrel,’ have changed from feminine to neuter in Y, obviously by analogy with words ending in *ys* < Hebrew *js/uš*, like, e.g., *dus guulys* ‘exile.’ Since these words, too,

are feminine in H, one might think of explaining the change to neuter by reference to the Y suffix *kait* '-hood, -head,' which has the same meaning as the H *js/us* and gives the words the neuter gender: *dus gadlys* like *dus groiskait* '(both:) greatness.' But the problem would then arise why words with the suffix *kait* are neuter. For *kait* is abstracted from *ik + Hait* (MHG *ic + heit*) and *heit* as well as *Hait* 'state, condition' are feminine: *die heit, di Hait*.

RISE OF NEW WORDS

Yiddish contains a considerable number of so-called H words which did not exist in H but were constructed out of H material on analogy with the H element. For example, *bal-toivvy* 'benefactor,' *baalm* 'a man who wants to have/get/do something),' *baluumys* 'the wish to have/get/do (something),' *iaxsm* 'man of distinguished descent,' *iaxsuumys* 'distinguished descent.' Most of these were introduced into H from Y, since the two languages, although clearly separate in the writers' consciousness, cannot be kept apart precisely. (In the H dictionaries the origin of such words is discreetly – and misleadingly – hidden by the phrase 'in the language of the people.')

There is an interesting group of words, Semitic in origin, built in a semi-Semitic way by a sort of reduplication, e.g., *bizy-bizoinys* 'a very great disgrace,' *byzilyzol* 'very cheaply,' *xjly-xaluufys* 'great repulsiveness,' *dilydal* (Talmudic: *dallē dallūt*) 'very poor.' They appear to be formed on the pattern of Sem constructions like *šr hassirīm* 'Song of Songs,' *qod^ešē qodāšīm* 'holy of Holies.' This is still more evident in *sod soidy* 'great secret,' *dor doiry* (Biblical: *dōr dōrīm*) 'many generations, a very long time.'

Another class of words are those developed from compounds. The H *yōm* 'day,' together with the attribute *šōb* 'good,' had already attained the meaning of a simplex – *yom šōb* 'festival.' In Y, the /m/ was assimilated to the following /t/, and the vowel of the second word, under the influence of the stress on the first, became so much weakened that it lost the stress it had had as an attribute in H; with that it lost its separate meaning – it became the unstressed second syllable of a disyllabic noun: the two words of H had become, also phonetically, a simplex. The *good day* was now able to receive the attribute *good*, in the greeting *gjt iontyu* or a *gjsn iontyu* '(I wish you) a happy festival,' or it could be combined with formative elements, e.g., *iontyodik* 'festive.' It remains a simplex in the plural too: *iontoivym*, while H has *iumym toivym* (*yamīm tošīm*), each of the two words then having the plural ending. That the second syllable in Y is now stressed and has a full vowel, is no departure from the general pattern, e.g., *xaver* – *xavairym*, *xuuly* – *xaloimys* (see p. 229, No. 43). Another example of this kind is *amuryc* 'an ignoramus,' plur.: *amracym*, abstract: *amracys* 'ignorance,' both of which

do not exist in H – in fact they would be impossible there, as *am-huuryc* ('*am hā'āreš*) is not a simplex but a genitival construction.

Iontyv and *amuuryc* show by their spelling that each of them originally consisted of two words. But in a Y word like *boiml* '(olive) oil' the compound nature of the original is no longer apparent. While in the now obsolete G word, *Baumöl*, the second word was preserved, in Y the strong stress on the first word weakened the vowel of the second word to /ə/ and finally caused it to disappear, the /l/ taking over the syllabic function. Thus the original compound *boim* 'tree' + *ail* 'oil' became a simplex, *boiml*, which had the meaning of the original compound.

SHIFT IN SYNTACTICAL CONNECTION

Y *éiryv* 'before' is a preposition. In H *éiryv* ('*erék*) is a noun, 'evening.' The explanation for this change is clear. In Y, the word occurred in the common expressions *éiryv šabys* 'Sabbath eve, Friday,' *éiryv iontyv* 'eve of the festival, the day before the festival' etc. From here it was isolated and used with other nouns too, in the sense of 'before,' e.g., *éiryv dym groisn iber-kéiryniš* 'before the great upheaval.'

What is the etymology of *tomēr* 'if, perhaps, lest'? It obviously had its origin in the world of learning. The Talmud is studied audibly – the text is read and partly translated, explained and discussed, even if the student is going through it alone. When he anticipates an objection to the argument or considers the possibility of a different explanation, he will introduce these with the formula *vyim tomēr* (*wē'im tōmar*) and he then adds its Y translation, *jn oib dj vēst zugn* 'and if you were to say,' or he omits the *jn oib* 'and if' and places the finite verb at the head of the sentence *vyim tomēr vēstj zugn* 'you might say.' This phrase became stereotyped, but the *vyim* was dropped and *tomēr* lost its original meaning and function. It became part of a Y sentence and turned into a Y conjunction, meaning 'if, maybe, perhaps, lest': *tomēr vēstj zugn* 'if you were to say,' without a break after *tomēr*.⁴

Vuurn 'for (= because),' through a slightly different form, *vuurym*, is etymologically identifiable with MHG *warumbe* 'why.' The development in the meaning may have been like this. In answer to a question, a lively speaker tends to repeat

4 This development seems to be old, to judge by the *o* of *tomēr*. It preserved the short quantity which the *holem* must have had in early Y (see p. 64) in contrast with the general lengthening and diphthongization in open stressed syllable: *šōmer* > *šōpmer* > *šōimer* 'guard, guardian.' It belongs phonetically to the group Y *zjmer*-MHG *sumer* 'summer,' Y *kvater* 'the man who carries the baby to the circumcisor' – MHG *gevātere* 'godfather,' Y *itēner* – MHG *jēner* 'that one.' Thus, whereas Y has preserved the earlier, Hebrew pronunciation of that word, its liturgical pronunciation has the Y diphthongized form: *toimar*. *Tomēr* is now so detached from its source that people no longer realize its origin. Hence it is not written in Sem orthography but in the spelling system employed for the Indo-European elements of Y.

the *why* before replying, e.g., Question: *Vuurjm hobn zai zex myiasyo gyvém?* 'Why did they change their mind?' Answer: *Vuurjm? Zai (h)obn gyzém az s iz nox caas.* 'Why? They saw that there was still time.' The constant use in this way of *vuurjm* – which developed into *vuurym* and finally *vuurn* – made it assume the role of a link between a principal and a dependent sentence; it was felt to be the introduction to the subordinate one, i.e., it had become a conjunction. (Cf., e.g., Italian *perché*.) The meaning 'why' disappeared altogether and *far vuus*, a loan translation from P, became the new word for 'why.'

The Y conjunction *saadn* 'unless' is similarly derived from the MHG sentence *ez si demne*.⁵

THE ABSOLUTE INFINITIVE

Fuu(e)rn fuu(e)rt er azoi a gancn tug 'As to riding, he rides like this the whole day': This construction – infinitive plus finite form of the same verb, which is the predicate of a sentence – serves to emphasize the meaning of the verb. This might be a case of spontaneous development. Or is it an inheritance from a G dialect? Could it be due to H influence? Biblical H has the identical construction with a similar meaning, e.g., *māloḳ simlōḳ* (2 Sam 24:21) 'you will certainly be king,' literally '(to) be king, you will be king.' However, there is a difficulty: the absolute infinitive does not seem to be a feature of post-Biblical H – which is the source of the H element in Y.

WORD ORDER

Another case of uncertainty as to origin is the word order in sentences. It is identical in principal and dependent sentences: *Méndl bakt dus broit* 'Mendel bakes / is baking the bread,' *zai vaissn az Méndl bakt dus broit* 'They know that Mendel bakes / is baking the bread.' But this was not always so. In Old Yiddish the verb of the subordinate sentence had its place at the end: *das er mir s moqxyl zai*⁶ 'that he should forgive me (NEY: *az er zol mir ys moixl zaan*). Logically, the auxiliary is placed after the participle or infinitive: *di mhr Zeplikman gysamxyl haat*⁷ (NEY:

5 Unless itself developed on similar lines from *on lesse* 'in a less case (than).'

6 As in German – in standard language as well as dialect: *Do schau, wie-r-a den Wagn aussaxigt* 'Look how he is pulling out the carriage.' This is not an innovation on the part of German but a case where the original Germanic construction has been preserved; it occurs in Old English too: *þæt he þone lēod-craeft leornade* 'that he learnt that song-craft.'

7 German: *Er hāt gsāgt, dās er eam d Schua scho no schicken wird* 'He said that he would yet send him the boots'; Old English: *þæt hie þone Gōdes mann ābtans scolden* 'that they should devour the man of God.'

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vus mhr Zéilig (h)ot (zai) smii(e)xy gygéibn 'whom Rabbi Zelikman has ordained.'
When the predicate was a compound structure, the object was originally placed in between the parts: *Ir méxt voyl maain svéer gyként hoobyn* (NEY: *ir (h)ot gykéiert kényn maan svéier*) 'you might have known my father-in-law.' Later the word order underwent a change: *x (h)ob dir gybréngt dus doziky biéxl* 'I have brought you this book.'

The Dialects

In the vast stretches of central and eastern Europe, frontiers came and went. They created more intensive communication and intercourse within each political or administrative unit, while restricting it with those outside these boundaries. Within such a major or minor region a certain uniformity of speech developed: a dialect came into being. If border-lines remain stable for some time, such dialects become firmly established and survive a subsequent change of frontier. (Cf. the dialects in England, where there have been no frontiers for hundreds of years.) On the other hand, border-lines do not, of course, check traffic and communication altogether. Dialectal influences cross frontiers, and so does migration.

The table at the end of this section shows the basis upon which the border-lines of the dialects have been established. The historical map should provide a sufficiently clear picture of the Υ speech territory. It goes without saying that all the border-lines described below are very approximate indeed and those on the map even more so.

In the greater part of this territory, Υ is no longer spoken – as a result of emigration, war, annihilation and assimilation. Poland, for centuries the numerical and cultural centre of East European, as well as of world Jewry is now a blank on the Jewish map.

Considering the far flung territory of Υ , the number of dialects is small. There are three (they are only slightly subdivided): $w\Upsilon$, $c\Upsilon$ and $e\Upsilon$. There are no extreme cases where mutual intelligibility becomes impossible (such as exist in some languages, e.g., Italian and ζ). Their geographical distribution has now become largely a matter of history.

West Yiddish

When people speak of Υ today, they generally mean East Yiddish, and mostly do not even know of the existence of West Yiddish. But historically $w\Upsilon$ is an important part of the linguistic realm of Υ and comprises its oldest regions.

Historical Map of the Yiddish Dialects

WY was the language of the Jews living on the HG (i.e., the UG and CG) speech territory, with offshoots in North Germany, the Netherlands and Lombardy. The western border-line ran – very roughly – along that separating Germania and Romania, i.e., the southern frontier of the Netherlands, the western one of the Rhineland, Alsace and Switzerland, turning east into Lombardy, and then North via Venice to the southern frontier of Austria, then along it to the western frontier of Bohemia, proceeding along that to the eastern frontier of Germany, and finally along this to the Baltic. Accordingly, WY was spoken in the following countries or other historical units: Germany, Austria, Lombardy, the Netherlands.

Some of the words and forms characteristic of WY are:

Badikn 'to examine the innards of a slaughtered animal,' *bavn* 'to drink,' *dormyn* 'to sleep,' *éty* 'father,' *frälý* 'grandmother,' *frimsylit* 'a certain dish,' *hāfn* 'pot,' *harly* 'grandfather,' *houlykrās* 'the name-giving ceremony for girls,'¹ *knoblix* 'garlic,' *mān* 'a certain wedding custom,' *méi* 'more,' *mémy* 'mother,' *minix* 'usable with meat dishes as

¹ See page 339, No. 363 n. 1.

well as with dairy products,' *nydumiy/nydimiy* 'dowry,' *oorn* 'to say the prayers of the liturgy,' *oumern* 'to count the days between Passover and the Feast of Weeks,' *pikl* 'servant girl,' *planxynyn* 'to weep,' *praiyn* 'to invite,' *räm/zöpn/šmans* 'cream,' *rozainyn* 'raisins,' *sargynys* 'shrouds,' *svloqonyis* 'certain presents exchanged by bride and bridegroom during their engagement,' *täter* 'white Sabbath loaf,' *tétn* 'to blow the ram's horn,' *šfily/šfily* 'prayer book,' *šipn* 'pot,' *vétn* 'to wash.'

WY shares certain words and forms with CG. See below.

The main differences between the WY vowel system and that of the other two dialects are shown in the Dialect Table of Vowels under Nos. 14-18, 25-29, 32, 34, 35, 38-40, 51, 52 (pp. 101 ff.).

Central Yiddish

To the east of the Austrian and Bohemian part of the borderline described above, was the territory of CY. Its area comprised Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia, Burgenland and western Hungary.

Some of the words and forms characteristic of CY are:

Cvęębn 'raisins,' *cvooorex/cvoourex* 'cottage cheese,' *déidy* 'grandfather,' *daigycn* 'to talk about one's worries,' *šilycn* 'to smell of oil,' *liberer* 'grave digger,' *napycn* 'to doze,' *mém* 'mother,' *tét* 'father,' *betropycet* 'dejected,' *tukycn* 'to taste of tallow,' *xoxmycn* 'to talk too cleverly.'

Some of the characteristic words and forms common to CY and WY are:

Barxys/bérxys 'festive bread,' *bék* 'baker,' *gléign* 'against,' *grüivn* 'the bits of goose skin remaining after the fat has been rendered,' *kréin* 'horseradish,' *mém* 'mother,' *nydan* 'dowry,' *niks* 'nothing,' *olyf* 'aleph,' *planxynyn* 'to weep,' *porín* 'to remove certain veins etc. from the meat of slaughtered animals,' *špölyt* 'a certain Sabbath dish,' *tréndl* 'teetotum' (a combination of a die and a top).

On the other hand, CY shares some characteristic words and forms with EY too. See p. 98 f.

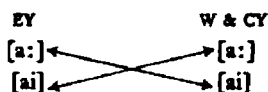
East Yiddish

To the east of WY and CY is the area of EY.

The most characteristic difference between the phonologies of the first two and EY is in the treatment of MHG /ei/, /î/ and /ou/ and the corresponding Sem phonemes; see the Table, Nos. 18, 51-53, 62. Here is a short mnemonic sentence:

MHG	<i>er meinet mînen boum</i>
WY and CY	<i>[er ma:ns main ba:m]</i>
EY	<i>[er maint ma:n boim].</i>

This relationship may be presented thus:



The WY and CY integration of MHG /ei/ and /ou/ was an inheritance from G.

[ei > ai > a:i > a:]	[ou > au > a:u > a:]
[veis > vais > vø:is > vø:s]	[boum > baum > ba:um > ba:m]
‘(I) know’	‘tree’

In EY the reflexes of MHG /ei/ and /ou/ have not been merged but have been kept separate as /ai/ and /oi/: [vais, böim] – except in the Northern dialect where both are [ei], a development which took place within Y itself: the Southern [oi] became, in the north, [øi] and, finally, was unrounded, [ei], and joined the [ei] < MHG /ei/:

weiz >	[veis]
[boum > böim > böim > böim]	

EY is divided into two groups, a southern (EYS) and a northern (EYN). The main differences in their phonologies appear in the Table of Dialect Vowels on pp. 101 ff.

On the basis of Nos. 25–32, 34, 35, I introduced the names U-dialect and O-dialect, for the Southern and Northern, respectively.² However, since Nos. 1–5 or 14–18, 33, 42, 43, 45–53 and 62 would present equally good claims, a geographical nomenclature seems to be preferable.

The eastern border-line of EY ran, very roughly, from Riga to Rostov; the southern border was defined by the Danube. Thus EY was – and to some extent, still is – spoken in the following countries or historical regions: (a1) Poland, Galicia, eastern Slovakia, ‘Carpatho-Ruthenia,’ (a2) Volhynia, Podolia, Bukovina, Moldavia, Transylvania, Bessarabia, Vallachia (today these form the Ukraine

² On p. 15 of my *Grammatik der jiddischen Sprache* (Vienna, Preface 1915, printed 1918). I coined these terms because the designations ‘Polish’ and ‘Lithuanian,’ which were then in use, did not fit in with the facts of political geography. Moreover, I wished to avoid ‘the concept of [political] territory in a description of national [i.e., ethnic] matters. Such a concept is even less suitable in a Jewish context than elsewhere.’ My attitude was in line with a pre-1914 movement in Austria, which aimed at rebuilding Austria-Hungary as a structure of national-cultural [i.e., ethnic] units. This state would then no longer consist of [the historical] countries but of peoples (‘nations’ = ethnic, cultural units), and one of these peoples would have been the Jewish people.

and Rumania), (b) Byelo-Russia, Lithuania, Latvia, Zamogitia, Courland and Livonia.

The border-line between (a) and (b) is that between the southern and northern groups. It began approximately between Mława and Łomża and ran southeastwards via Brest-Litovsk and Kiev to Poltava and the Black Sea, i.e., from the Vitebsk *guberniya* to the Yekaterinoslav *guberniya*.

The southern dialect is subdivided into a western part (EYSW), comprising the area (a1), and an eastern part (EYSE), comprising the area (a2). The border-line separating them ran via Siedlce, Brody, Tarnopol and Horodenka to Kolomyja; it then crossed the Carpathians in the general direction of Szeged, becoming the southeastern border of Y. From here the line turned, crossed the Beskides, and, in roughly the area of Auschwitz (Pol. Oświęcim, Yd. *Ošpycim*), it joined the former German-Polish frontier.

The main differences between the phonologies of the two subdialects are shown in Nos. 20-23, 44, 45, 47-52 of the Table. The main features characterizing the Northern dialect and differentiating it from the Southern one appear in Nos. 1-5, 14-18, 25-35, 42, 43, 45-53 and 62. One region is marked by an important phonological feature distinguishing it from the rest of the Northern dialect. Its phonology is at a stage which links it with the Southern dialect, although there was no geographical contact between the two: It has preserved the morphemic function of vowel quantity which has been lost elsewhere in the north. E.g., [zu:n] is 'son' but [zun] is 'sun,' like [ziin] and [zin] in the Southern dialect. The area in question is that of Courland and Zamogitia.³

Some words and forms characteristic of EY are:

Alyf 'aleph,' *cvoncik* 'twenty,' *tuulnt* 'a certain Sabbath dish,' *draidl* 'teetotum' (a combination of a die and a top), *hain* 'yeast,' *jndz* 'we,' *kaign/keign* 'against,' *nadn* 'dowry,' *nis* 'not,' *xrain* 'horseradish'; in addition: all the words of Sl origin.

Some words and forms characteristic of EY as well as CY are:

Badkynyn 'to examine the innards of a slaughtered animal,' *cibely* 'onion,' *davynyn*

3 It has been proposed that the Y speech territory be divided into south-north bands according to the reflexes of original /ei/ and /e/-diphthongs, whereby the Northern dialect and the eastern part of the Southern dialect would form an /ei/-territory. However, as all the other phonemes of EYSE tally with those of EYSW, it would not be reasonable to separate the two. But quite apart from that, the alleged identity of the /ei/ in the two dialects is illusory. It exists only in the inaccurate phonetic notation of the sounds in question - as e + i in Roman letters and as ayin + yodh in H letters. The phonetic reality is wholly different. In the Southern pronunciation the first vowel of the diphthong is a very open [ɛ]; in the Northern, a closed [e]. The [ei] of the south is thus much closer to the [ai] of the west than to the [ei] of the north. In short, there is no such thing as a north-south band of [ei].

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COUNTRY	SOUTHERN DIALECT	NORTHERN DIALECT	
<i>Poland:</i>	Voyevodships: Warsaw, Lodz, Kielce, Lublin, Volhynia, Cracow, Lemberg, Stanisławów, Tarnopol	Bialystok, Nowogródek, Polesie, Vilna	
<i>Soviet Union:</i>			495,000
The Ukraine (except Polesie)	1,605,000	Polesie, Central Russia, Byelo-Russia	1,265,000
<i>Rumania</i>	760,000		
<i>Hungary</i>	270,000		
<i>Czechoslovakia</i>	250,000		
<i>Lithuania</i>			165,000
<i>Larvis</i>			85,000
	5,360,000		2,010,000

'to pray the prayers of the liturgy,' *éc* 'you, i.e., ye,' *énk* 'you' (dat. acc.), *énker* 'your,' *knobl* 'garlic,' *kox* 'kitchen,' *main/méin* 'more,' *parvyv* 'usable with meat dishes as well as with dairy products,' *sfi(e)ry cailm/céiln* 'to count the days between Passover and the Feast of Weeks,' *sider* 'prayer book,' *taxrii(e)xym* 'shrouds,' *top* 'pot,' *traibern/tréibern* 'to remove certain veins etc. from the meat of slaughtered animals,' *um-* 'un-,' *vašn* 'to wash.'

Both our lexical and phonological examples show that CY shares characteristics with WY on the one hand, and with EY on the other. It might be called a transition dialect, which it is geographically, too. The fact that its reflexes of MHG /u, uo/ are [y, y:] – which is an intermediate stage between WY [u, u:] and EY [i, i:] – would mean that CY preserved an earlier stage whereas EY unrounded the [y, y:].

DIALECT STATISTICS

It is impossible today to compute the number of people speaking one or another of the Y dialects, nor did such statistics exist at any time before World War II. However, in the twenties and thirties it was possible to make a fairly reliable estimate on the basis of official population statistics, and on the basis of what was known of the dialect frontiers. The above table shows the result.

To these figures must be added those of the emigrants living throughout the world (including the second generation). Their total was about 4,505,000 (see pp. 40-42). There is no evidence that emigration from any one dialect area was

disproportionately great and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the number of those emigrating from the southern and northern subdivision of EY was in about the same ratio as on the home territory, i.e., 73:27. That gives us for pre-War Y outside the home territory the figures 3,289,000 and 1,214,000, respectively. The grand total of speakers of the Southern dialect was, accordingly, about 8,649,000 and about 3,226,000 for the Northern.

STANDARD PRONUNCIATION

There is no standard pronunciation in Yiddish. However, the members and friends of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research, New York, have strong views on the subject. They are convinced that Y should not differ in this respect from the great Western languages, and so they are working to introduce a standard one. In their publications they speak as if it were already in existence, but that is wishful thinking – acceptance of their system being restricted to their circle. The original proponents of this ‘standard’ were speakers of the Northern dialect and so, without further ado and without discussing the matter or giving any reasons, they decided that their own pronunciation was the ‘standard.’ However, the man in the street knows nothing about it. If he happens to be a Southerner he does not exchange his rich phonemic system for the meagre one of the Northern dialect. He does not even know that this is ‘supposed to be’ the ‘standard.’ And if he is a Northerner, he goes on speaking as before, without realizing that he would need to change only one of his vowels in order to qualify as a speaker of the ‘standard.’ It is ironic that the partisans of the ‘standard’ – all convinced democrats – should ask the majority of Yiddish-speakers to switch over from their own pronunciation to that of a minority, comprising only a quarter of all Yiddish speakers.

The exception referred to above is the treatment of the Northern /ɛi/ when it corresponds to Southern /oi/. For example, instead of Northern *bɛim* ‘tree,’ the ‘standard’ is to have *boim*. However, the Northern dialect already has an /oi/, corresponding to Southern /ou/, e.g., *hoiz* ‘house.’ Thus we have here an artificial merger of two different forms – Northern *ei/oi:* (*bɛim/hoiz*), Southern *oi/ou* (*boim/houz*) and MHG *ou/u* (*boum/hûs*).

In NHG a single form, /au/, corresponds to the two MHG ones: *Baum, Haus*. This is a merger, exactly parallel to the one proposed for ‘Standard’ Yiddish, except that in G it was not artificial. No doubt the proponents of the merger for their ‘standard’ had no intention of imitating the G, but they certainly noticed the parallelism and, in spite of that, were not deterred from deciding on the change.

That too, is ironic. The adherents of nationalist Yiddishism have, from the beginning (the early twentieth century) up to this day, sought to eliminate the influence of G, i.e., NHG, which had so strongly invaded the written Y of the

Enlightenment – and here we find them actually introducing a feature which, in effect, brings ‘Standard Yiddish’ closer to NHG.

Apart from this, there is a practical disadvantage. This merger creates new homonyms in addition to the existing old ones – and this is not desirable. For example, *koil* has to serve for *koul* ‘globe, bullet’ and *koil* ‘coal,’ *toib* for *toub* ‘dove’ and *toib* ‘deaf,’ *hoizn* for *houzn* ‘to dwell’ and *hoizn* ‘trousers, pants,’ *zoil* for *zoul* ‘column’ (in building) and *zoil* ‘sole’ (of foot), *arois* for *arous* ‘out’ and *a roiz* (pron. *rois*) ‘a rose’ etc.

Finally, a basic consideration: Is the need for a standard pronunciation really of major importance? It does not appear so to me. There are languages without one and yet they do very well. Did the Greeks have one at the time when their greatest poets and philosophers flourished? On the contrary, they used diverse dialects to fulfill diverse literary functions. As far as Y is concerned, I have never noticed that there were any difficulties of communication between Southerners and Northerners. However, if a standard pronunciation is regarded as necessary, then it ought surely to be the speech of the three-quarter majority.⁴

STANDARD LANGUAGE

As regards the language itself, literary Y is practically uniform, and this applies to the pre-modern as well as the modern period. The language of the former is, of course, WY, but it was used also in eastern Europe where the spoken language had meanwhile undergone major changes. The modern literary language is based on this East European form. Its grammar is that of the Southern dialect and is thus linked with the pre-modern literary language, which, in this respect, differs only little from the Southern dialect of EY. The very first authors who may be said to stand on the threshold of modern literature were Southerners and wrote good folk-based Y (whereas their northern colleagues created a misshapen, Germanized lingo, the after-effects of which influenced the modern literary language and are continuing to do so). The authors who initiated modern literary Y proper were speakers of the Southern dialect: Mendaly,⁵ Peretz and Shuulem Alaichem.

DIALECT TABLE OF THE VOWELS

Where two or more examples are provided, they apply to subdivisions of the dialect in question.

- 4 Students who may have recently learnt their Y with the new ‘standard’ pronunciation will be in no way surprised to encounter in this book a different ‘standard,’ because they will either have heard it in their homes, or will be aware that it is used by most Yiddish speakers.
- 5 He was born in the north but moved in his youth to the south and adopted its language (see p. 358, No. 704, col. 92).

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The Sem words in the first column are given in the form they probably had in early Ashk – as I have deduced from the phonological history of Y. This form is followed, in brackets, by that used in Sem philology. The examples are given in phonetic spelling. This table is not exhaustive.

MHG Sem SI	WY	CY	EY		
			S	N	
(1) vrum	frum	frym	frim	frum	'pious'
(2) guf (gūp̄)	guf	gyf	gif	guf	'body'
(3) slup	—	—	slip	slup	'post, pole'
(4) kuo	ku:	ky:	ki:	ku	'cow'
(5) tvua (təbū·á)	tvu:ə	tvý:ə	tvi:ə	tvuə	'crop, grain'
(6) durch	dərç	dər(ə)x	dər(ə)x dərəx	durx	'through'
(7) xurban	xərɓm	xərɓm	xərɓm xərɓm	xurbm	'destruction'
(8) szczór	—	—	ʃtʃər ʃtʃer	ʃtʃur	'rat'
(9) ūz	ous	aus	əus	ois	'out'
(10) vrost	frəst	frəst	frəst	frəst	'frost'
(11) dorn	dərɓ	dərɓ	də:rɓ	dərɓ	'thorn'
(12) kol (qöl)	kəl	kəl	kəl	kəl	'voice'
(13) bloto	—	—	blətə	blətə	'mud'
(14) loben	lo:ɓm louɓn laubm	ləyɓm	ləɓm	leɓm	'to praise'
(15) šote (šoʦe)	ʃə:tə ʃoutə ʃautə	ʃəytə	ʃəitə	ʃeitə	'fool'
(16) kolač	ko:lətʃ	kəylətʃ	kəilətʃ	keilətʃ	'plaited white loaf for Sabbath, and festivals'
(17) grōz	gro:s grous graus	grəys	grəis	greis	'big; great'
(18) boum	ba:m	ba:m	bəim	beim	'tree'

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	MHG Sem Sl	WY	CY	EY		
				S	N	
(19)	hant (d)	hant (d)	hand (d)	hant (t)	hant (t)	'hand'
(20)	man	man	mo:n mo: mu:n mu:	man mon	man	'man'
(21)	iam (yām)	iam	iam	iam iəm	iam	'sea'
(22)	davka (dawqa)	dafkə	dafkə	dafkə dɔfkə	dafkə	'just, exactly, actually, only'
(23)	ʔata	—	—	latə lətə	latə	'patch'
(24)	lampe	ləmp	—	ləmp	ləmp	'lamp'
(25)	sagen	za:gn zo:gn	zo:gn zu:gn	zugn	zogn	'to say'
(26)	baxur (bāhūr)	ba:xər bo:xər	bo:xər bu:xər	buxər	boxər	'a youth'
(27)	stat	ʃto:t	ʃto:t	ʃtu:t	ʃtət	'town'
(28)	kahal (qāhāl)	ka:l ko:l	ko:l ku:l	ku:l	kəl	'community, congregation'
(29)	ʕalāt	ʃa:lət ʃo:lət ʃu:lət	ʃo:lət ʃu:lət	tʃu:lnt	tʃəlnt	'a certain Sabbath dish'
(30)	baba	babə	bab babə	bubə	bəbə	'grandmother'
(31)	ʕaa (ʕaʕ)	ʃe: ʃi: ʃo:	ʃo: ʃu:	ʃu:	ʃə	'hour'
(32)	kašer (kāšer)	kouʃər ko:ʃər	ko:ʃər ku:ʃər	ku:ʃər	kəʃər	'kosher'
(33)	maala (mʕālā)	mailə	mailə	ma:lə	mailə	'good quality'
(34)	ʔn	oun aun o:n u:n	o:n u:n	u:n	ən	'without'

	MHG Sem Sl	WY	CY	EY		
				S	N	
(35)	slāfen	floufm flo:fm flu:fm	floyfm flo:fm flu:fm	flufm	fləfm	'to sleep'
(36)	enwēc	vək	avək	avək	avək	'away'
(37)	slēht	flēšt	flaxt	fləxt	fləxt	'bad'
(38)	gēste	gējt	gest	gest	gest	'guests'
(39)	nāhte	nēšt	next	next	next	'nights'
(40)	kōpfe	kēpf kēp	kēp	kēp	kēp	'heads'
(41)	get (get)	get	get	get	get	'bill of divorce'
(42)	mēl	me:l mi:l	me:l mi:l	mēil	mēl	'flour'
(43)	kāse	ke:s ki:s	ke:s ki:s	kēis(z) ki:s(z)	kēz	'cheese'
(44)	drājen	dre:n dri:n	dre:n dri:n	draiən dreiən	dreiən	'to turn'
(45)	heben	heibm	heibm	haibm heibm	heibm	'to lift, heave'
(46)	xesed (hesed)	xe:sət (d)	xe:sət (d)	xēisət (d)	xesəd	'kindness, favour'
(47)	etsa ('ēša)	e:tsə eitsə	eitsə	aitsə eitsə	eitsə	'advice'
(48)	schöne	fein fain	fein fe:n	fain	fein	'beautiful'
(49)	melex (meleḳ)	meiləx	meiləx me:ləx	mailəx	meiləx	'king'
(50)	snē	fnei	fnei fne:	fnai fnei	fnei	'snow'
(51)	(ich) meine	maan	maan	main mein	mein	'to mean; think'
(52)	glōuben/glouben	gla:bm	gla:bm	glaibn gleibm	gleibm	'to believe'
(53)	sin	zain	zain	zaan	zain	'his'
(54)	wint (d)	vint	vint	vint (t)	vint (t)	'wind'

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MHG Sem Sl	WY	CY	EY		
			S	N	
(55) <i>šikor</i> (<i>šikkōr</i>)	<i>ʃikər</i>	<i>ʃikər</i>	<i>ʃikər</i>	<i>ʃikər</i>	'drunk'
(56) <i>tirxa</i> (<i>tirḥá</i>)	<i>tirxə</i>	<i>tarxə</i>	<i>tərxə</i>	<i>tirxə</i>	'trouble, effort'
(57) <i>liet</i> (d)	<i>li:t</i>	<i>li:t (d)</i>	<i>li:t (d)</i>	<i>lid</i>	'song'
(58) <i>mədina</i> (<i>məḏiná</i>)	<i>mədi:nə</i>	<i>mədi:nə</i>	<i>mədi:nə</i>	<i>mədina</i>	'region, land'
(59) <i>gūnnen</i>	<i>ginən</i>	<i>ginən</i>	<i>farginən</i>	<i>farginən</i>	'not to grudge'
(60) <i>mūl</i>	<i>mi:l</i>	<i>mi:l</i>	<i>mi:l</i>	<i>mil</i>	'mill'
(61) <i>sūne</i>		<i>zi:n</i>	<i>zi:n</i>	<i>zin</i>	'sons'
(62) <i>liute</i>	<i>lait</i>	<i>lait</i>	<i>la:t</i>	<i>lait</i>	'people'

Appendix I

Old Yiddish or Middle High German

THE LINGUISTIC PROBLEM

Nobody would deny that there existed in Germany a specifically Jewish form of the spoken and written language. Whether it be classified as a language in its own right, a dialect, the lingo of a social class, corrupt German, or a jargon, the fact of its separateness remains. It was the means of communication among the whole of German Jewry, the linguistic self-expression of a community with a culture that was independent of the German, Christian culture: its vocabulary contained elements not present in German – an extensive one of H and Ar ancestry and a small one of Romance and Sl derivation – while its main element, that of G origin, was to a certain extent a synthesis of diverse dialectal material, some of which was no longer alive in G itself; and last, but not least, it was written in the Hebrew script. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, at the period when it began to decline, its condition was obviously not the same as it had been in earlier times. There must have been a development leading up to that stage, and that development must have had a beginning. In looking back through the centuries to discover when that began, we are never able to say, on linguistic grounds: 'Here is the precise starting point of the new, specifically Jewish form of G.' This holds good right back to the time when French Jews began to settle in the German-speaking regions of the Rhineland and to adopt the language of their new surroundings, and so that period – the ninth century – must be regarded as the birth date of the new language.

Bearing this in mind, let us consider the language of the Cambridge manuscript, Taylor-Schechter 10 K 22. Its seven poems, which were intended for a Jewish and not a Christian public, were copied out in 1382 (finished on November 9). By that time the Jewish vernacular had undergone about five hundred years of development. It would therefore hardly be correct to describe the language of the poems as simply MHG. How then is it to be designated?

We shall find some help towards answering this question if we turn to Eastern Europe. During the Middle Ages German Jews settled there in considerable numbers; the language they brought with them underwent development and, in the course of centuries, grew into the entity now generally known as Yiddish. In spite of the great changes that took place in it, the East European Υ of present-day speakers is the direct continuation of the Jewish vernacular their forefathers had spoken and written in Germany: both are thus branches of the same language. Now, if the eastern branch is called Υ , it is only logical for the western one to be termed Υ too. Hence the language in which our manuscript was written is Υ , or more precisely West Yiddish, Old West Yiddish.

Or let us consider the matter from a different viewpoint. The main purpose of language is communication. This holds good for written even more than for spoken language. The Jews in medieval Germany set down their vernacular in the \mathfrak{H} alphabet, which made it inaccessible to practically all Christians in the same way as the written language of the Christians, with its Roman characters,¹ was practically inaccessible to the Jews.² The written language of the Jews thus served as a means of communication among themselves only – it was a Jewish language.

The fact that we have to recognize its existence as such will, in turn, affect our classification of the spoken language. Since it is the counterpart of the written form, characterized as Υ , the same designation must be applied to the spoken form. That does not, however, imply that this medieval \mathfrak{WY} was anything like as far removed from MHG as modern \mathfrak{EY} is from NHG. On the contrary, there was a large measure of overlapping, and it is that circumstance, of course, which makes \mathfrak{OY} works of such great interest to German philologists. But overlapping is one thing and identity is another.³ In addition, the extent of such overlapping should also be taken into account. The language of non-literary texts is often highly Judaized, unlike, for instance, that of our manuscript. This fits into what we know of the relationship between any spoken and written language.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSCRIPTION

Let us now consider the question of how \mathfrak{OY} texts should be transcribed.

For most MHG scholars it might seem a matter of course that the standardized

- 1 The ability to write at all, but especially in Latin, was more or less a prerogative of the clerics. That language and its script are therefore called, in the Jewish sources, *glḥwt* = *galxys* (approximately, 'monkish').
- 2 Isolated Jews acquired a knowledge of the Christian script, and some learned Christians got to know the Hebrew alphabet – but this is of no relevance to the subject under discussion.
- 3 This delimitation is not based on a higher degree of abstraction than any generally accepted border-line between related languages: languages as synchronic systems are abstractions.

spelling employed in philological works should be used for the purpose. However, on reflection it will be seen that this is not necessarily the best way. An extraneous pattern is imposed thereby on the material, and this prevents the scholar from uncovering new information which the MHG sources cannot reveal.⁴ Is there a better way?

We shall first of all examine the relation between the OY and MHG systems of spelling. Are they identical, i.e., is the OY system just the transference of the MHG

MHG	Transliteration into Hebrew characters	OY spelling
wahs	וואס	וואַס
in	ין	אין
breit	ברית	ברייט
vrouwe	וואוון	וואווא
ich	יכה	איך
hase	הס	הוא
hazze	הצץ	השא
katze	קאצץ	לצא
missetat	מיטסט	מישטסט, מישטוט
jâr	יך	ייד
mære	מַר	מערא
retten	רתתן	ריטן
erschrocken	רסכהרוכקן	ארשרוקן
(bruoder	ברודער	(ברודר
(grüezen	גרוצן	(גרושן

⁴ Examples from our manuscript: The MHG lenis *s* is spelt with *zayin*, e.g., *zaym* = *zoyim* (MHG *säme*), *iz* = *alzy* (MHG *alse*). It seems out of the question to take *zayin* as the rendering of an unvoiced *s*: it was voiced in H just as it was in Zar, the spelling system from which it was inherited. The same holds good for *b*, *g*, *d*, *v*. The *v* is especially striking, as it is spelt (for purely graphic reasons) in two ways, and both symbols indicate voiced sounds: *v̄* (also in Zar) and *v* (in Zar occasionally *vv*). That *v* should be simply a transliteration of the MHG *u* = */v/* seems hardly possible. As the scribe differentiates carefully between *s* = */s/* and *s* = */ʃ/*, it is clear that as late as the last quarter of the fourteenth century the transition from */sl, sm, sn, sp, st, sw/* to */ʃl, ʃm, ʃn, ʃp, ʃt, ʃw/* had not yet taken place in his dialect. How much MHG phonology will gain from the study of OY cannot, as yet, be estimated. There is a very large amount of Jewish material awaiting investigation and publication.

system to H characters? Let us transliterate some MHG examples into the H alphabet⁶ and see whether Y words are produced.

As the Table indicates, the transliterations and the actual OY spellings are utterly different. The OY spelling system cannot, therefore, have had its source in that of MHG,⁷ and the Jewish texts are not simply moulds into which we have but to pour Roman letters in order to turn out MHG texts.⁷ This applies also to manuscripts which are assumed to have been copied from a G exemplar.

If we want to create a transcription system for OY texts, we must not base it on the MHG or OY spelling systems but on the phonemes of OY, as far as we can discover them in the OY spellings and as far as we can make use of our knowledge of MHG phonology.⁸ This will not by any means result in anything like the MHG spelling. Moreover, even where it would be possible to employ the MHG signs, this should be avoided:⁹ the reader needs to be constantly reminded not to overlook two essential facts – firstly that the text in front of him has not been printed from a MHG manuscript, and secondly, that the phonetic values of the letters in MHG manuscripts, and printed editions of these, are not to be taken for granted.

THE TRANSCRIPTION ALPHABET FOR OLD YIDDISH

This table shows the spelling system employed in the Cambridge manuscript. It represents the OY spelling, which remained practically unchanged for centuries. Two significant features are to be met with here for the first time: the diacritic on *ḥ* and *ḥ̄*, to indicate /pf/ and /š/. Could the reason for its absence in later manuscripts be that the device was invented by this particular scribe? Or did the ticks disappear because people were able to read the words correctly without the diacritics? In the case of /ḥ̄/ there is also the fact that /pf/ was needed only in texts with an UG background.

5 The H signs of our MS are rendered thus: ʔ, b, g, d, h, v, z, ḥ, t, y, k, K, l, m, M, n, N, ḥ̄, ʔ, p, P, ḥ̄, ḥ̄, q, r, s/š, t.

6 The source of the OY system is the Zar system, which, in its turn, goes back, via Latinic ('Judeo-Latin') to that of H and Ar.

It is difficult to understand why, even today, when scholars discuss the spelling systems of the Cambridge Manuscript or of the Rashi glosses, it is with the tacit assumption that the scribe of the Cambridge Manuscript, and Rashi himself, were the creators of these two systems.

7 A modern parallel: the problem which confronted East European Jews when they immigrated to England and the United States – how to write English words in their Y letters or newspapers. They naturally based their spelling of these words on the system of Y, not of English.

8 Although a vast amount of research has been done on MHG there are still things one does not know – an additional source of doubt and uncertainties to anyone attempting satisfactory transcriptions from OY. Sometimes, on the other hand, the Y spelling can help to resolve doubts and uncertainties about questions in MHG. See footnote 4.

9 In my transcription of 1932 (see p. 343 No. 431) there were some unnecessary MHG signs.

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<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>MHG symbol (standard)</i>
—	ק	q	—
a	—	—	a
aa	—	—	a
ai	ײ	yy	ei
b	ב	b	b
c	צ	s	z, tz
é	ע	š	tsch
d	ד	d	d
é	ע	e	ē, ä
éé	ע	e	æ, (è)
é	ײ	y	ē, (ë)
éé	ײ	y	ê
e	ק	q	e
e	—	—	e
f	פ, פֿ	p, P	f
g	ג	g	g
h	ה	h	h
h	ה	h	h
i	ײ	y	i, j
ii	ײ	y	i
î	ײ	y	ie
k	ק	q	c, k, ck, q
l	ל	l	l
m	מ, מֿ	m, M	m
n	נ, נֿ	n, N	n
o	ו	v	o
oo	ו	v	â
oo	ו	v	ô
ou	וו	vv	ou
ô	ו	v	ö
ôô	ו	v	œ
ôu	וו	vv	öu
p	פ	p	p
pf	פֿ	p̄	pf
r	ר	r	r
s	ש	s	s, z
ś	שׂ	š	sch
t	ט	t	t

III Appendix I: Old Yiddish or Middle High German?

<i>Transcription</i>	<i>Original</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>MHG symbol (standard)</i>
u	ו	v	u
uu	וו	v	û
u	וו, ו	v, vv	uo
ü	ו	v	ü
üü	וו, ו	v, vy	iu
û	וו	vy	üe
v	ב, ו	v, b	v/u, f
w	וו	vv	w
x	ך, כ	k, K	ch, h
z	ז	z	s

THE MHG STANDARD SPELLING AND THE TRANSCRIPTION ALPHABET

a - a	i - ii	pf (ph) - p̄
â - aa; oo	ie - î	q - k
ā - é	iu - üü	r - r
æ - éé	j - i	s - z; ş
b - b	k - k	sch - ś
c - k	l - l	t - t
ch - x	m - m	tsch - č
d - d	n - n	u - u; f, v
e - e	o - o	û - uu
é - ç	ô - oö	ü - ü
ē - é	ö - ö	uo - û
ê - çç; (éé); (e)	œ - öö	üe - û
f - f	ou - ou	v - v
g - g	ou - öu	w - w
h - h; ħ; x	p - p	z - c
i - i		z - ş

Appendix 2

Double U, Double Waw and Double Yodh

The spelling system of Yiddish has a few digraphs, one of which consists of two waws. This symbol corresponds exactly to the 'double u,' i.e., the *w* of the orthography in the Germanic languages. The spelling װ, for instance, is identical with that of G and Eng *will* (originally: *vvill*). It is therefore not surprising that this *w* has been regarded as the pattern upon which the *Y* digraph was formed. A date has even been given for the time when the adoption is thought to have taken place – the sixteenth century.¹

But why so late a date? In G *uu*, *uv*, *vu* and *vv* (where *u* and *v* are only slightly different forms of one and the same letter) were already being employed before the tenth century – why should the Jews have waited six centuries or so before adopting the device?

As a matter of fact, the double *u* is far older than that. Latin scribes had been employing it to render the *w* in Germanic and Celtic names. The earliest example of this kind known to us dates from the year 102 C.E.

In what follows we shall try and investigate the history of the double waw. We shall first of all check the date for the alleged beginning of that spelling in *Y*. In order to get reliable results we shall collect a fairly large number of examples from pre-sixteenth century sources. With the exception of two of the sources, the examples come from manuscripts (from photostats in my collection).

1 M. Weinreich, *Protékt far an einhailern Ildisn ous-laig* (in: IIDIŠER VISNŠAFTLEKHER INSTITÚT, *Der einhailerer-Ildisn ous-laig*, Vilna, 1930, pp. 25f, No. 22.):

'A spetsifiler grafisler simyn darf gylafn wtiern far dym klang w. Praktis hobn mir dus gylafn nox in 16tn iuur-hjndert dorx aan fiern di cwai wawen. Wén myn hot gynjmyrn ous laign dym w-klang dorx cwai wawen, iz dus gyléin bli sufyk jutern ainflús sfn der airopétisier iraabjng, wjj myn hot gynjmyrn vv ferainkn in ain os w. Di zax wert kluur, wén myn dermant zex, az di irifit-diferéncierjng cwáin a wokalísfn jn a konsonantísfn u (lout der haantiker iraabjng u jn v) iz in di lataamífy oisíys ous guur a íjngy zax. Oux der haantiker Englisér w iz mit zaan numyn double u (topl-u) a sfilhmy analogiy ej jndzer numyn "cwai wawen."' See continuation on p. 329, footnote 1.

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In assembling our material we very soon discover that there is another letter which is doubled, and that this is, significantly, the other semi-vowel. We shall therefore include examples of double yodh as well.

YIDDISH

1478 (Munich: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Abt. 1: Gemeiners Nachlass, Nr. K 12): (א) ענטער, הער, חידר, האל, (ב) דיין, היש, ריין, אינם, שרייב, זיי, איין,

(לקט היזשד [?c. 1423]-149? Joseph/Yoslin b. Moses): (א) הארמש, הישנבורק, האשר, הייכלן, היין, היגר, העלגרלן. (ב) הישנבורק, איין, איין, ערבייט, זיגר, זיסא, ליישטונג.

c. 1390-1460 (Israel/Isserlin b. Pethahiah in his [A] and [B] תרומת הדשן): (א) וכתבים:

(א) [A] סי כט: לטוידרא, הייכלן, היין; סי רצ"ז: חמיש; סי שמ"ב: היגר. [B] סי קר"ב: העדער היש; סי קצ"ב: שוירג. סי קס"א: טכחא, חיר, היין, האו, הארון; סי קצ"ב: שוירג; סי בודוויזא; סי רל"ב: שובן; סי רמ"ב: וריידא, העסלן.

(ב) [A] סי ככ"ט: שטיין; סי רצ"ז: חמיש, קנייפל; סי שמ"ב: לייפסיק, אושטרייד. [B] סי ר: צחרייט; סי ח: שטיין; סי ר"ב: סערליין; סי ס"ז: הירט; סי ק"ד: ליישטונג; סי קס"א: געליין, אינם, גלייט; דריי, היין; סי קצ"ב: זיין; סי ר"ט: בודוויזא; סי רכ"ב: ביא; סי רכ"ג: [מרת] מיידל; סי רכ"ט: אושטרייד; סי רל"ב: פיערן, לייפסיק, אושטרייד, שטייר (סי ש"ב).

First half of fifteenth century (Shondlin, the wife of the preceding; letter quoted in לקט היזשד [see above].)

(א) הערדן, האר, הי, האו, היא, היש, האל, האס. (ב) שרייבן, מיין, איינש, לייט, לייך, רייבן, בלייבן, הייש.

13??-1450/5 (Jacob b. Judah Weil in his Responsa):

(א) סי כ"ח: וראוין; סי כ"ט: חיל, גולט [val]; סי ל': הארן; סי ל"ט: ענטפערט, האל, חיר, חידר; סי קמ"ז: בור הירקט; האלן, גועזן, הייסא, הען; סי קמ"ח: הערט. סי ק"ן: חש. (ב) סי כ"ח: זייט. סי כ"ט: מייר; סי ל"ט: זיין, זיא, בור אייניגט, זיין [להיות]; סי פ': קיין; סי קמ"ז: אייזק, לייזן, בלייבן, גהיישן, הייסא, טייל; סי קמ"ח: דריין; סי ק"ן: לייבא.

1396/7 (Cologne: Archiv der Stadt Köln: Heb. 4):

(א) חשר, צוא, אינזידיק, ורוואן, זוכטא, אוק, חנא, חירט, חיל, אחנא, בוכש, שוער, לוטא, אלועק, הישא, גונדא, צוילסטא, העשרער, קרוט, הובט, נטורא. (ב) איין, לייך, רייניגט, קיין, לייטן.

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1382 (Cambridge: University Library: MS. T.-S. 10 K 20):

(א) חש, חש, חרף, ועלודר, שויק, חכש, שוימן, האסט, וישן.
(ב) ברייט, ברייטן [בא], איין, בייסן, שויי, אייא, קלייטא, מינא

1386-1344 (Frankfurt deeds. The Nos. are those of Urkundenbuch by Krakauer):

(א) חעסטערבורוק (94), חשמוט (84), חלפורק (83). (ב) היילמן (322), גיעלה (116).
טרייזא (86), ברסילמיש (85).

1338, 1337 (Vienna: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: 1338. II. 5 and 1337. XII. 9):
(ב) אשטרייך.

1329 (Vienna: Archiv der Stadt Wien: Urk. 198):

(א) חארפידן (ב) מרת ריינדל, אשטרייך

1307 (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and
MSS: MS. Add. 26970, f. 191r):
(א, ב) חרמיזא

HEBREW AND ARAMIC IN ASHKENAZIC SOURCES

In the Hebrew title of the above document of 1396/7 the noun **חרידין** occurs - a Semitic word written with two waws. Was a Y spelling transferred here to H? To answer this question we will extend our investigation regarding the double waw to Semitic material. Yiddish being the language of the Ashkenazim we shall first of all look at some Hebrew material copied by Ashkenazic scribes.

C. 1390-1460 (Israel/Isserlin b. Pethahiah in his [A] תרומת הדשן and [B] ספיקים
(וכתבים):

(ב) [A] סי' ל"ג שחחיט; סי' קל"ב: מצוירין, עירוותי. [B] סי' ה"ב: דהיינו; סי' קפ"ו:
נייר.

13??-1450/5 (Jacob b. Judah Weil, Responsum No. 147):

(א) סי' כ"ח: כותנו; סי' קמ"ז: אחא. (ב) סי' פ': גדונית; סי' קמ"ז: רבוותי, דינימ,
דיין.

1396 (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: Hs. Levy. 116):

(ב) עניינים, ענין, תתחייב.

1377 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Opp. 333, f. 5r, f. 58v):

(ב) חייב, חיישק, סיג

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- 1343 (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS: MS. 18828, f. 86r): (ב) חצייה, היע, עתוך.
- 1342 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Or. 146, f. 35r): (א) שיתכוחו
- 1338 (Vienna: Archiv der Stadt Wien: Urk. 198): (ב) ענין, ראיה, קיימים.
- 1337 (Spire: Archiv der Stadt Speyer: No. 257): (ב) ביימים, ענין, לסייע.
- 1329 (Vienna: Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv: Urk. 117): (ב) ראיה, מקיימים.
- 1327 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Opp. 758, f. 304r): (ב) שהחיעו
- 1307 (London: British Library: Ms. Add. 26970, f. 191r): (ב) מנין, שיד.
- 1305 (Cologne: Archiv der Stadt Köln: Nr. 269): (ב) בנין.
- 1272 (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library: Ošarot 4° 781): (א) הנתון. (ב) מעין, חליטה, לחיו, קיים.
- 1272 (Cologne: Archiv der Stadt Köln: Nr. 109): (ב) היטה, ראיה.
- 1237 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Hébr. No. 1408, f. 51r): (א) שוחן. (ב) לבניה, למענה.
- 1233 (Munich: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek: MS. 5, f. 8v): (א) שחים.
- 1218 (Cambridge: University Library: MS. Add. 667. 1, f. 24): (ב) ענין, אורייתא.

We see that Ashkenazic Hebrew and Aramic too, had the double waw and double yodh. Are these spellings to be found in the Hebrew of the non-Ashkenazic Jewries as well? Let us take a look at a few of these groups, beginning with the H of the Zarphatim, the immediate ancestors of the Ashkenazim.

HEBREW AND ARAMIC IN ZARPHATIC SOURCES

- 1397 (Cambridge: University Library: MS. Add. 490): (א) דחוקא. (ב) מנין, איילות, מירי, דייקי.
- 14th cent. (Vatican: Ebr. 322, f. 186v): (ב) מתי, בני, מעיי.

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- 1317 (Hamburg: Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek: Heb. 17, f. 152v):
(ב) הודיה, שמיא, דיירי.
- 1286 (London: British Library: Cott. Ch. Aug. 11. f. 107r): (ב) חייב.
- 1280 (Ibid: ms. Lansd. 667): (א) לאחזאה, אחחי.
- 1268 (Ibid: Add. Ch. 16174): (ב) יורשי, חייב
- 1267 (Ibid.: Harl. Ch. 43. A. 68): (ב) מחויבת, יורשי.
- 1250 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Hébr. 164, fols. 41-42 and 2 Chron. 4, 21):
(ב) משיחי, וביאי, מסויים, ליישוב, עינין, ברייחא.
- 1239 (Cambridge: St. John's College: MS. A. 3: Jonah): (ב) שיתגירו
- 1233 (London: British Library: Harl. Ch. 43. A. 60. B): (ב) חייב.
- 1221 (London: British Library: Harl. Ch. 43. A. 62. B): (א) הולדו. (ב) חייב.
- c. 1208 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Opp. 50, f. 54v): (ב) מעין, ראייה.
- 13th cent. (London: British Library: Cott. Ch. xxvi. 29): (ב) חתני, יורשי.
- 13th cent. (Ibid.: Harl. Ch. 43. A. 63. B): (ב) חייב, יורשי
- 1182 (Ibid.: Add. Ch. 1251): (ב) חיה.
- 12th cent. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Heb. 635, f. 16r):
(ב) עירות, חבריא.

HEBREW AND ARAMIC IN ITALKIAN SOURCES

From the western neighbours of the Ashkenazim we shall turn now to their southern ones, the Italkim.

- 1289 (Cambridge: University Library: MS. Add. 173, f. 298r): (ב) עיניי
- 1288 ([Berlin: Staatsbibliothek:] Or. 2° 583, f. 340v-341r):
(א) חלד, חלדות. (ב) חציה.

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1272 (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS: MS. 14763): (ב) מחויבת, מתחייב, עינינים, עיינו.

1265 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Heb. 599, f. 42r): (ב) שוללי, אחריי, עדריי, אמתי, מעתי.

10th/11th cent. (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS: MS. Add. 27169, f. 183v): (א) מצוק, חתוק, יתחתוק. (ב) זכיי

4th/5th cent. (Venus: Catacomb [REJ 6:206]): (א) פחסטינה, פחסטינה

From these examples it is clear that the Italkians, too, had the double waw and double yodh, and that takes us even seven or eight centuries farther back – into antiquity.

HEBREW AND ARAMIC IN ORIENTAL SOURCES

Finally an Oriental group, that of Syria and Palestine.

1488 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Heb. 343, f. 239r): (ב) מייץ.

1482 (Ibid.: 1074, f. 10r): (א) שוה. (ב) מתחייב, מתייסד.

1375 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Hunt 166, f. 108r): (ב) דיץ.

1019 (Vienna: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: Papyrus-Sammlung: H. 83): (א) שוה. (ב) קניץ, הודייה, ראייה, קנתייה, זרשי, אחריי, קים

1013–1019 (Cambridge: University Library: MS. T.-S. 13. J. 1. 2): (ב) חייב, ראייה, קים.

1011 (Ibid.: 13. J. 33. 5): (ב) קניץ, סיצוי

10th/11th cent. (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Heb. e. 43, f. 59r): (א) תהוץ, תהוץ, יהוץ. (ב) שביעייתה, תריץ, תהוץ, ביכורייה, קודשייה, אמרייא, קיימץ.

c. 9th cent. (Ibid.: Heb. b. 4, f. 18r): (א) הווא. (ב) בידייה.

c. 9th cent. (Ibid.: Heb. b. 4, f. 19v): (א) נקא. (ב) ביתה.

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- c. 9th cent. (Cambridge: University Library: MS. T.-S. B. 8, f. 3r): (א) שוחתי
- c. 9th cent. (Ibid.: T.-S. E. 1. 107): (ב) דיינן
- 8th/9th cent. (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America: MS. 605 [ENA 2587]): (ב) שְׁבִטְיָהּ, יתְקִימוּ, אָמִיא
- c. 8th cent. (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Heb. d. 49, f. 47r): (א) לחתך, יהחי, לילוחך. (ב) תריין, בייחך, קודמי, דכיה, בדייתה.

Here again we have the double waw and double yodh, examples of which are to be found going back almost to antiquity.

Having met with these spellings not only in Y but also in the H of a number of Jewries, we might go on to ask whether the doubling occurs in any more of the Jewish languages as well. Let us look at a few of these.

ZARPHATIC

We shall start with the immediate predecessor of Yiddish, i.e., Zar.

- 14th cent. (Strasbourg: Université: Bibliothèque: MS. 3950 [héb. 24], Nos. 11, 12, 14, 15, 17): (ב) סְרַאָיָאָנִין, מְרוּיש, סְרַאָיָאָרש, דְּסִיאָלְרִי

After 1291 (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS: MS. Add. 19664, fols. 95r, 99): (ב) קוּטְרִירָא, בֹּלִיאַ
רְהֶצְקֵן, שׂוּי, רוּי, נִירוּי, פִּרְאִי, שִׁנְיִזֵר, פּוּשְׁט, לוּי, בְּסֵאלִיא, מוּיש, רִיקִינְיָסְרָא

- 1286 (Ibid.: Cott. Ch. Aug. 11, 107r): (ב) טילאברן

- 1280 (Ibid.: Lansd. Ch. 667): (ב) סארויש

- 1250 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Heb. 164, fols. 41v-42r): (א) סורנותישוש

13th cent., middle (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Machzor Vitry, f. 160v): (ב) סֵאִי, בְּסִילָא, טוּיש, יֵא, טוּיץ, אֵינץ, רְמִיאַ, שׂוּיט, אֵינִיאַה

- c. 1240 (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. 302, f. 107r): (ב) סוּי, אֵשְׁטִילְמֶנְץ.

- 1233 (London: British Library: Harl. Ch. 43. A. 60. B): (ב) רוּיִר

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- 1221 (Ibid.: 43. A. 62. B): (א) שלוחדוטא.
- c. 1208 (Cf. Schlessinger, *Altfranzösische Wörter* etc.):
(א) גלח, חדילא, חליא, חניד, חניטליר, חנסור, חיריליס. (ב) ציפיל.
- c. 1208 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Opp. 50, f. 54v): (ב) סופיס.
- 1206 (Paris: Archives Nationales: AE II 8r): (א) חיסור
- 13th cent. (London: British Library: Cott. Ch. xxvi. 29): (א) חיקהם
- 13th cent. (Ibid.: Cott. Nero. c. III. a): (א) חיסדיא, אידורס. (ב) קטינש.
- 13th cent. (Ibid.: Cott. Nero. c. III. b): (ב) סרדיש, בויסוטא
- c. 1150–1226 (Samson b. Abraham of Sens, on Mishna Kelim):
(א) אנתחור. (ב) בירטוויל, קווילא, רוילא.

ITALKIAN

We shall now turn to Italy and examine the spelling of the Italkian language.

- 1617 (Venice: Book of Proverbs; fols. 37v–38r): (ב) מאיור.
- 1595 (London: British Library: MS. Add. 27050, fols. 94–95r):
(א) קחאלי, סופראחה, קחאנטקני, דחיהה, קחאנדו. (ב) דחיה, ספולקטה, יתגא, קהמו, סאקיה, קונישי, דיקהראימו, חלהמו.
- 1561 (Mantua; prayer book):
(א) טנדנראי, קחילו, חה, אקחה, קחיסטה. (ב) לך, סנסטאטו, סניאורי, סניצימנטו.
- 1538 (Bologna; prayer book Psalms; fols. 11v–13r and 2r):
(א) קחאלי, לאחנה, קאחסה, קחילו, סלחאו, חיד, קאחלירי, דחנה, חנסו, אקחי, מרחלי, סנטחראו. (ב) סיליחלי, סאליה.
- 15th cent. (Ibid.: MS. Or. 74): (א) לאחניראוי. (ב) סייטוטו, סייטאני
- 1383 (London: British Library: MS. Or. 2443, fols. 37v–40r):
(א) סלחאו, חיד. (ב) סיליחלי, אינבלישיכיו, בטליה, רחיה, ריי.

DŽIDYÓ

Džidyó/Džidezmu, the language of the Sephardim:¹

1891 (Vienna: Bible translation; p. 7): (ב) מאניאגה, ליניוס, יז, דיניאר, יאמו.

1882 (Salonica; *Meam Loez*, Ruth 1): (צ) איליה, איוס, איסטרויו, מאראציליס.

1867 (Salonica; *Leqet hazZohar*, f. 71r):

(ב) סיניוריס, מוי, צאיאן, ליה, סויה, איליוס, יז, סיניאן, אי, יאמה.

1805 (Letter): (ב) שינור, קניארו, קולאי, יאה, איליוס, אי, יז, איו, מוי.

1783 (Leghorn; Book of Job): (ב) נאמיליוס, לימארון, איליו, מאניאגה, קאיו.

1753 (Salonica; Ketubat hatTora):

(ב) קריליו, ליז, איליה, מאניאגה, שינורה, ריצייליה, אופניאר, גויה, ליה, אי, ייה.

1609 (Venice; Haggadah, f. 1):

(א) עלאחאדו. (ב) איו, סינטיא.

16th cent. (Oxford: Bodleian Library: MS. Heb. c. 13):

(ב) האליאדו, דניא, עובדייה.

1588 (Venice: *Hešeq Šelomo*, fols. 71–72):

(ב) מאיוראל, אקאליארמינטו, קאליי, סואיא.

1547 (Constantinople; Polyglot Bible; f. 102v):

(ב) נאמיליוש, דיז, אפאריסיו, ישיון, ליאמו, אפריאקסיון, אשקלאמאקסיון, קאיא.

CATALANIC

Catalanic (Cambridge: University Library: MS. T.-S. K. 24. 28): I have, unfortunately only a fragment of four pages (photostat) with little text.

C. 12th cent.

(ב) טיא, קרישטי, טירש, מיטינג

¹ It cannot be repeated too often that Sephardim is the correct name for the descendants of the Jews of the Iberian Peninsula only and that it is absurd to use this word as a general designation for all non-Ashk. Jews. ('Yemenite Sephardim'!)

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PARSIC

Parsic, the language of the Persian Jews:

- 1941 (letter): (א) חשוך, אחלי תאן, רויד, נחישתן, נחיסק, נהארי
- 1937 (letter): (א) חשוואן, תוסות, אורדן, מישוד. (ב) בסיאר.
- 1937 (letter): (א) אחואל, בשוד. (ב) עורייה, חיי, נחמיה, עידת.
- c. 1924 (letter): (א) ברום, נחשתה.
- 1743 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America: ENA 72, f. 105r):
(א) אורד, שוד. (ב) באיד.
- 1666 (London: British Library: MS. Add. 7701, f. 130v): (ב) גיים, עלחין.
- 1546 (Constantinople; Polyglot Bible, beginning): (א) אחל.
- c. 1339 (Leningrad: Publichnaya Biblioteka: II Firkovich 75):
(א) האחן, סחגד, אוסי, כחש, אחגדה, הוא. (ב) אינד, מיל.
- 1319 (London: British Library: MS. Or. 5446, f. 109v): (א) שוד. (ב) חייף.

BAVLIC

Bavlic, (Mesopotamia):

- 1943 (letter): (א) כח(אגיה), אוקאתכום, חקת.
- 1943 (letter): (א) אוקאתכום, אמואל, קהוזה, שתוי, קנחנה.
- 1943 (letter): (א) אוקאתכום, סחיתום, אכואן, אתונסו. (ב) גאייה, עיין.
- 1940 (letter): (א) חלוזה, יתואנה, הוא, אחלאד, דעוזה, לח, נסחי (ב) גאייה, מליין.
- 1905 (Baghdad; prayer book): (א) חקת. (ב) תאניא, דניא.

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- 1844 (Leghorn: Haggadah): (א) לאחו. (ב) תגידת.
1780 (Jerusalem: S.D. Sassoon: MS. 229F): (א) אוחלן, וזשואן. (ב) חכייאת, אעייאן.

TEMANIC

Our last examples come from Temanic, the language of the Yemenite Jews.

- 1942 (letter): (א) דעזתי, מזב. מזות, יסחי. (ב) הייאך.
1451 (Oxford: Bodleian Library: Hunt 129):
1372 (Ibid.: MS. Opp. Add. 4° 154, f. 214r): (א) חקעת, תוחש.
1222 ([Berlin: Staatsbibliothek] Preussischer Kulturbesitz: MS. Or. Qu. 568, Ch. 10, beginning): (ב) יתעין

From the foregoing it is abundantly clear that at the time when the Jews were only starting to settle in Germany, the double waw and double yodh were already in existence. So the theory that the German *w* was the source of the *y* double waw is patently wrong.

That the earliest dates for the appearance of doubling in the above lists differ from group to group is, of course, only to be expected: that these examples happen to be preserved is accidental, and the fact that they were available to me is also partly accidental. As far as the Ashkenazim are concerned, we cannot have any material from the fourth/fifth or even the eighth century because this group was not yet in existence.

THE TALMUDIC SOURCE

In the Babylonian Talmud, in Pes. fol. 64r, we come upon the following passage:

מאי טעמא דר' שמעון דכתיב זבחי זבחי תרי זימני קרי בי זבח זבחי למאי הלכתא
סליגתו רחמנא מהדדי ולא כתב זבחי וכר

Rashi explains:

תרי כתיבי שקל ׀ דחד מיניהו ושדי אאיך וקרי בי זבח דהייט פסח וקרי בי זבחי
לשאר זבחים וכר

In his argument on a point of law, R. Simeon b. Yoḥai mentions the double yodh in a matter of fact way, which shows that his audience was familiar with that spelling and used it themselves. It must therefore have originated at least a generation or two before it was mentioned by Simeon in about the middle of the second century BCE.

How did this orthographic device come into being? Perhaps it developed somewhat like this. A long ('geminated') /i/ with consonantal function, i.e., [jj], is preceded by an /i/ in vocalic function, and followed by vocalic /i/ or /e/, e.g., /qijjem/. In scriptio plena both these vowels are expressed by yodh: qjjm. People got used to the picture of the word with its two yodhs – these seemed to form an integral part of it. The result was that by analogy they transferred this spelling also to cases where the vowels were neither /i/ nor /e/ but /u/, /o/ or /a/ and where, consequently, there would not be a yodh for plene spelling. Thus [qajjam] was written exactly like [qijjem], i.e., *qjjm*.

Although there does not appear to be a textual reference to double waw in the Talmud, we may presume that this spelling was also in existence at the time of R. Simeon, since it is, in our later material, always a parallel feature to double yodh. It would have developed in an analogous way to the double yodh: לוחה, originally the scriptio plena for לוח (i.e., לוחה for לוּחַ), gave rise to מלוחה etc., where no scriptio plena was needed.

THE QUMRĀN SCROLLS

The foregoing part of this chapter is based on a γ article of mine, published in 1931.¹ Nearly two decades later the manuscripts from the desert caves next to the Dead Sea were discovered, making it possible to examine material three centuries earlier than the time of R. Simeon. I did this in an article published in 1953,² and I have used it as the basis of what follows here.

The five main manuscripts and their palaeographical dates are: (A) The War Scroll: third quarter of the first century CE; (B) the Hymns Scroll: second quarter of the first century CE; (C) the Habakkuk Scroll: middle of the first century BCE; (D) the Yahad Scroll: last quarter of the second century BCE; (E) the complete Isaiah Scroll: middle of the second century BCE.³

Here are the examples from the Qumrān Scrolls:

A. קצות (8:1). הוה (11:1). והשתחח (14:11).
 B. בהוה, ההוה, הוה ושעים (VIII:2), עוין, בעוין, עוונם (2:1X).

¹ See p. 330, No. 202.

² See p. 330, No. 210.

³ See my *The Hebrew Scripts*, vol. 1, cols. 130-143, 150-159, vol. 2, Nos. 81, 82, 84-87a.

- .C מצותו (5:v), קצחת (14:ix).
 .D הוא (4:x), היה (15:iii), עון (15:v), עונו (12:ii), עזות (23:i), עזתו (7:iii),
 ועזתם (22:iii), עתניך (8:ii), בהחת (13:iv).
 .E גדותי (ח:ו), ותהו (מ:ח), היה (מ:יא), חוזן (כב:א) גאו (מכ:ו), עון (א:ד, יד:כא,
 כ:כא; גג; מ:ח; סד:ח), העון (כב: יד) עונה (מ:ב), עונך (ו:ו), עונם (יג:א),
 עזותיכמה (נטב:סה: ז), בעזותיכמה (ג:ב), ועזתני (נטב:ב; סד:ה), מעזתני
 (גג:ה), ועזתם (גג:יא), עזנו (סד:ו), יקח (ס:ט), קצחת הארץ (מ:כח), מקצחת הארץ
 (מא:ט), קצאחת הארץ (מא:ה), לשאחת גלים (לו:כ), שתחזה (מה:ד), והשתחח
 (ס:ד), שתחח (ב:ח; ג:כב)

It is clear from these examples that the double waw here does not signify /w/ but is to be read as two phonemes, w + vowel, or vowel + w, in other words, it is a case of *scriptio plena*, the use of which is characteristic of these documents. With Tiberian vowel signs the above words would be עון, הווא, בהזות, והשתחח וכר. As a matter of fact, this spelling with two waws, one for /w/, the other for /o/, occurs – exceptionally – in the Bible, too: in 2 Kings, 7:9; Prov. 5:22; 2 Sam. 18:5; Neh. 9:13, 14: עון, עזתני, ביצחת, ומצוה.

In making the list of examples with double waw, two instances have been omitted: עיר שח and עבודת שח (Hab. x: 10, 11). In the Bible this word is spelt שחא so that the two waws in שח appear to be a case where doubling is used to express the non-syllabic function of /w/: *šaw*. This interpretation is not invalidated by the spelling שחא present in another scroll (*Hymns A 111*) but is, in fact, supported by it, שחא being also the Biblical form whose pronunciation – *šaw* – we know. Thus it would seem that the date of the Habakkuk Scroll could be regarded as the *terminus a quo* for double waw = /w/ in non-syllabic function.

But we still have to apply a final check. Could we not read the double waw of *šaw* like all the double waws in the other examples in this document, i.e., as two phonemes?

We would have a choice between שח and שח (with /ç/, /a/ or /e/ after the /š/) on the one hand, and שח and שח, on the other. The former two are out of the question, as we know from the Hymns Scroll and the Bible that this word must be a monosyllable. *šaw* and *šuw*, however, are possible and make the reading *šaw*, with double waw as the symbol for /w/ in non-syllabic function, very doubtful.

The form *šaw|šuw* does not create much of a problem. The Qumrân Scrolls contain quite a number of words whose vowel is expressed by waw, where, in the Bible, they have various other vowels, e.g., in the complete Isaiah Scroll: נסן – נסן, גסד – קסד, שבנא – שבנא, רוכסים – רכסים, שחוד – שחוד, בורך – ברך, רונע – רגע. (34:4, 34:15, 36:3, 40:4, 45:13, 45:23, 54:7, 8) etc. Clearly these are not just scribal errors and so the spelling of our word could very well denote *šaw* or *šuw*.

There is a fact that militates against double waw = /w/ in non-syllabic func-

tion. If /w/ is preceded or followed by /i/, /e/ or /a/ (i.e., not /o/ or /u/) then only single waw is written: E.g., in the Yahad Scroll: ציה (3:1), זעה (6:11), ענה (8:11). Thus we have no conclusive evidence that at the Qumrân period the double waw = /w/ in non-syllabic function already existed.

Turning now to the double yodh, we find that there are two kinds:

(1) The two yodhs represent two phonemes: (a) /i/ in non-syllabic function + /i/ or /e/ in syllabic function; (b) both yodhs are non-syllabic:

- A. טיים (5:14), כתיים (4:1), ליים (9:VIII), פלשתיים (3:XI), טי רשעה (7:14).
- B. הייתי (22:V-11:II), חיים (16, 14, 12, 6:VIII), חוליים (26:VIII), לסתיים (9:11), חי גבר (17:II).
- C. ייעשו (8:X), בעיין (8:X), מאי הם (11:III).
- D. חיים (3:II), החיים (7:III), חי (7:III).
- E. אים (ס:ט), לאים (נט:ח), הינו (א:ט), הייה (סב:ג), הייתה (כה:ד), הייתה (כה:ד), הייה (כח:ח), לחיים (ד:ג), ויבשו (מ:כד), יגעו (מ:ל), ויראו (נט:ט), ישן (ה:כ"ז), כשדים (יג:ט), כניג; מגיד; מזא; מזה; מחיד; מטיב; כתיים (כגא; כגיב), ללויים (ס:כא), הגלויים (נו:ו); יטול (מ:טו), סגיים (מטיב), ספריים (לוי:ט); לזיג), עועיים (יט:ד), עניה (נה:א), עניים (נט:ו; כו:ו; כטי:ט), העניים (מא:ח), ועניים (נה:ז), פלשתיים (יא:ד) ציים (יג:כא), ציין (כגיב), לשבריים (סא:א) – באי הם (כד:טו), מאי הם (יא:א), חיעו (לח:כ), עני עמי (י:ב), ולהי (ג:ו), יליל (סז:ז, סז:ז).

(2) The double yodh fairly frequently denotes /i/ in non-syllabic function, at the beginning as well as at the end of a syllable:

- A. תהינה (א:VIII), B. הייתה (ב:VIII), C. מי היים (2:XI), D. גהייה (15:III).
- E. והייה (יט:כ), והייה (ח:א), והייתה (ו:יג); יא:טו; יט:יח; כח:ד; כט:ב; כט:ב; לנגט; לנגיט, הייתוך (ס:טו), בעיים (יא:טו), מצריי (א:כד).

Thus, we have reached here, three centuries before Simeon's time, the earliest use so far known of the doubling device, and have found that the psychological explanation for its origin given in my article two decades before the discovery of the Qumrân Scrolls has been confirmed.

To apply it to our material: In the word היינו, for instance, what we have is just scriptio plena – the second yodh being an אם הקריאה, a vowel letter, as it were. But when people were used to seeing and writing two yodhs in so frequent a form as this (as well as in others with med. yodh) they unconsciously transferred the double yodh to forms of such words where the conditions do not apply, i.e., where the second vowel is *not* /i/ or /e/. Thus spellings such as הייה arise. The double yodh has become a digraph. Finally, the digraph cuts loose altogether and is transferred to words that never had a second /i/, e.g., צריי or ייים.

Returning to Υ , we may now say that when, e.g., the words $\text{היים } ha'im$ and $\text{היינט } ha'ant$ are spelt today with double yodh, then it is done because about twenty two centuries ago the doubling device had developed. When, a thousand years later, it became necessary for the Jews to render their new language in the H alphabet, it was not a matter of having to transcribe written German¹ – they were unacquainted with the Latin alphabet,² – they went by ear. The G /ei/ (joined later by [ei] < [i]) presented no difficulties. That diphthong, or a very similar one, was known to them from Zarphtic, their mother tongue, as well as from H and Ar . In all three its grapheme was double yodh (the preceding vowel sign for pataḥ was only very rarely written).

Finally, to return to our starting point: the theory that the double waw in the spelling system of Υ had its source in the G ω . It is erroneous. The double waw entered the spelling system of Υ at the very time the language was born. It was employed in Υ ווייל just as it had been in Zar ווירדוריא , Aramic ווילן or in H ווירוי .

1 Cf. p. 108f, and p. 327, No. 158.

2 $\text{גלחיות } gal'xys$ 'the clerical script and/or language,' i.e., Latin, from גלח 'one who shaves' = Christian priest/monk.' (Both are quasi-Hebrew words originating in the Semitic element of Yiddish and from there adopted also into Ashkenazic Hebrew.)

linguistic communities living side by side and did not meet with pressure of language nationalism, as we know it today. These facts, together with the fact that the Jews were generally living in compact groups and leading a concentrated Jewish life, explain why they did not abandon their languages in favour of the local 'language of the country.'

Migration

Geographical separation is frequently given as the reason responsible for the remoulding of the languages that the Jews adopted. This factor, which plays so important a role in linguistic history in general, doubtless explains much: the Jews who had left a certain territory, kept up, developed and discarded in their languages other elements than did the Gentiles who had stayed behind; the languages of the countries where the Jews settled exerted their influence, while that of their former homeland had ceased. But the geographical factor, i.e., emigration, is not present in the development of every Jewish language; it is not *the* general underlying cause for the creation of these tongues. The following are instances where, in spite of the absence of geographical separation, a Jewish language nevertheless grew up: West Yiddish, which existed about a thousand years in German-speaking territory; Italkian, which remained almost wholly on Italian soil; the Maaravic of North West Africa which differs in vocabulary, morphology and phonology from the Arabic of the Islamic neighbours of the Jews.

Ghetto

This difference between the speech of the Jews and that of the Christians in whose midst they lived seemed so abnormal to the people of the post-Emancipation period that some striking reason had to be sought to account for it. This, they imagined, they found in the fact that the Jews were 'compulsorily secluded from the national community, so that, confined to the ghetto, their speech lost contact with the general development.' This is equivalent to the geographical explanation.

But the ghettos were by no means cut off from the Gentile quarters. They were, on the whole, a measure to segregate the Jews into quarters of their own but not to lock them into a prison; Jews had to buy, trade and work outside the ghettos, too. There would still have been as much or more intercourse with the Gentiles of the same town in that period than there is often today between speakers of different dialects in the same country. Hence the geographical explanation does not hold in the case of the ghetto. While being a contributory factor it cannot have been the reason for the separate linguistic development of the Jews. Moreover, there were Jewish languages in existence previous to the ghetto and where there was no ghetto.

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13 Jewish Languages

The group-forming factor

None of the foregoing explanations adequately explains why and how the Jewish languages came into existence. The geographical explanation is relevant to some extent when applied to some of the Jewish languages, although it does not provide the whole explanation for them. The cause that we are seeking must be common to all of the Jewish languages. Could we not expect to find it expressed by the presence in all of them of certain common features? There are such features. All Jewish languages contain elements of Hebrew and Aramic origin and are written in Hebrew characters. Where do these Hebrew and Aramic elements come from? And why are these languages written in Hebrew characters?

These elements belong to an uninterrupted development in speech and writing. They represent the present linguistic stage of a continuous process, previous stages of which had crystallized into the language of the Bible, that of the Mishna, the Gemara, the Prayers, etc. In other words, they are connected with the sphere of religion.²

Language is an expression of group life. These elements are linguistic evidence that the groups employing them have their basis in religion. In other words: The group-forming factor among the Jews has been religion. That this is true of the past is beyond doubt, even if, in certain cases, it is controversial today. If the Jewish religion creates Jewish groups, and if group life creates language, then the Jewish languages have been the creations of religion.

Religion and script

The religious basis of the Jewish languages is confirmed by their script. Though it might sound strange to many of us in this secularized world, it is none the less a fact that the script in which a language is written is, broadly speaking, decided by the religion of its speakers. Maltese, which is materially an 'Arabic' language, is written in Roman characters because the Maltese are a Christian people belonging to the Western Church; the same applies to the Croats, and they therefore use the same letters for Croatian, while Serbian, which to all practical purposes is identical with Croatian, is written in the Cyrillic characters employed by the Eastern Churches. Urdu is written in Arabic characters, those of the Koran, since it is an Islamic language; 'High Hindi,' which is a Hinduized adaptation of Urdu, employs the Devanagari script, a Hindu inheritance. A long list of further examples could be provided. Cases where the religious factor has not been at least the historical cause for the use of a script seem to be rare, even if among

² That does not imply that such words are exclusively 'religious terms.' On the contrary, only a small minority of them can be thus styled. Moreover, these elements are not confined to the vocabulary but are to be found also in most of the other linguistic spheres.

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- (90) Shewa + aleph + qameṣ: (*dē'āgā*) – *da'aga* > *daagy* 'worry.'
 (91) Shewa + aleph + qameṣ: Some words have nasalized parallels: [*dā:gy*].
 (92) Shewa + ayin + qameṣ: (*qē'ārā*) 'bowl' – *ka'ara* > *kaary* 'collection plate.'
 (93) MHG *a* before long *r*: *narre* 'fool' > *nár* 'blockhead.'
 (94) MHG *a* before *r* + nasal: *warm* > *várym* 'warm.'
 (95) MHG *ē* before long *r*: *spërren* 'to close' > *špárn* 'to push/press.'
 (96) MHG *ē* before *r*: *gërn* 'to desire' > *gárn* 'to long, yearn.'
 (97) MHG *i* before *r*: *bire* > *bár* 'pear.'
 (98) MHG *i*: *hínte* > *haant* 'today.'
 (99) MHG *ü* before long *r*: *diurre* > *dár* 'meagre.'
 (100) MHG *iu*: *biuten* 'to take as booty; trade' > *baatn* 'to change, exchange'; *liute* (*liüte*) > *laat* 'people'; *hiuser* (*húser*) > *haazer* 'houses.'

VII: [ɛ]

y short /*é*/ corresponds to the following phonemes of the source languages:

- (101) Seghol before two consonants: (*hebrā*) – *xevra* > *xévry* 'society.'
 (102) Seghol before long consonant: (*hezzeq*) – *hezek* > *hézyk* 'damage.'
 (103) Ḥaṭeph seghol at the beginning of a word: (*'émés*) – *emes* > *émys* 'truth.'
 (104) Šere in closed syllable: (*tél*) 'mound of ruins' *tel* > *tél* '(the same, but only figuratively).'
 (105) Ḥireq before *h*: (*mihya*) – *mixia* > *méxiy* 'livelihood.'
 (106) Ḥireq before *k*: *nikpe* 'epileptic' – *nixpe* > *néxpy* 'epilepsy.'
 (107) Ḥireq before *r* + consonant: (*biryā*) 'creature' – *biria* > *bériy* 'capable, efficient person.'
 (108) Ḥireq before *dr*: (*migrāš*) – *midraš* > *médryš* 'Midrash.'
 (109) Qameṣ ḥaṭuph before *r* (in EYSE): (*mē'tōrāp*) – *meturaf* > *mytéryf* 'insane.'
 (110) Qameṣ ḥaṭuph or shureq/qibbuṣ before *r* (in EYSE): (*ḥorbán/hurbán*) – *xurban* > *xérbn* 'destruction.'
 (111) Shureq/qibbuṣ before *h* + ḥaṭeph (in EYSE): (*rūhāniyút*) – *ruxnius* > *réxniys* 'spirituality.'
 (112) Qameṣ ḥaṭup before *h* (in EYSE): (*mōhōzāq*) – *muxzak* > *méxzyk* 'presumed.'
 (113) MHG *ē* before two consonants: *vlēhten* > *fléxtn* 'to plait.'
 (114) MHG *ē* before long consonants, including *ch* and *sch*: *trēffen* – *tréfn* 'to meet'; *sīchen* > *stéxn* 'to prick.'
 (115) MHG *ɛ* before two consonants: *mēnsche* > *ménó* 'human being.'
 (116) MHG *ɛ* before long consonant, including *ch* and *sch*: *leffel* > *léfl* 'spoon,' *bēcher* > *béxer* 'goblet,' *wēsche* > *vés* 'linen.'
 (117) In individual cases: *jēner* > *iéner* 'that, that one,' *rēden* > *rédn* 'to speak.'

- (118) MHG *ä* before two consonants: *nächte* > *néxt* 'nights.'
 (119) MHG *ä* before long consonant: *blätter* > *bléter* 'leaves.'
 (120) MHG *ö* before two consonants: *wörtelin/wörtel* 'little word' > *vértl* 'saying, proverb.'
 (121) MHG *ö* before long consonant, including *ch*: *abgötter* > *upgéter* 'idols,' *löcher* > *léxer* 'holes.'
 (122) MHG *α* before *h(ch)*: *höher* > *héxer* 'higher.'
 (123) MHG *i* before *h* + consonant: *gewichte* 'weight' > *gyvéxt* 'a weight.'
 (124) MHG *i* before *ch*: *sicher* > *zéxer* 'sure.'
 (125) MHG *i* before *h* + consonant: *gedichte* > *gydéxt* 'dense.'
 (126) MHG *ie* before *h* + consonant: *licht* > *léxt* 'light; candle.'
 (127) MHG *i* before *r* + consonant: *zirkel* > *cérkl* '(pair of) compasses.'
 (128) MHG *ie* before *r* + consonant: *viertel* > *fértl* 'quarter.'
 (129) MHG *ü* before *h* + consonant: *zūhtec* > 'well behaved' > *céxtik* 'clean.'
 (130) MHG *ü* before *ch*: *küchen* > *kéx* 'kitchen.'
 (131) MHG *ü* before *r* + consonant: *gewürze* > *gyvérc* 'spice.'
 (132) MHG *u* before *r* + consonant (in EYSE): *kurz* > *kérc* 'short.'
 (133) Sl *e*: *bekiesza* > *békysf* 'kind of caftan.'
 (134) Sl *ě*: (*brzeg*) *brég* > *brég* 'shore, bank.'
 (135) Sl *i/y* before *r* (in EYSE): *syrop* > *séryp* 'syrup.'
 (136) Sl *u* before *r* (in EYSE): *burak* > *béryk* 'beetroot.'
 (137) Sl *ǔ* before *r* (in EYSE): *tǔr'ma* > *térmy* 'gaol.'

VIII: [y; e]

The *Y* central vowels correspond to the following sounds in the source languages:

- (138) Shewa in the pre-penultimate or penultimate, after *b* (except *bl, br*, often *bs* > *ps*), *g* (except *gl, gr*), consonantal *i, k/q* (except *kl, kr*), *l, m, n, r*: (*yěniqá*) 'sucking' - *ienika* > *inyúky* 'livelihood,' (*lémay*) - *lemai* > *lemaa(i)* 'what for, why,' (*něhāmá*) - *nexama* > *nexumy* 'consolation.'
 (139) All Sem vowels in the Yiddish final, unstressed, syllable: (*dōrōf*) - *doros* > *doirys* 'generations,' (*bārúḳ* 'blessed') - *barux* > *Buurex* 'Baruch,' (*šimḥá*) 'joy' - *simxa* > *simxy* 'joy; festivity,' (*hēleq*) - *zelek* > *xailyk* 'part,' etc.
 (140) All Sem vowels in two final syllables: (*bāḥūřfm*) - *baxurim* > *buxerym* 'youths.'

(141) Pataḥ furtivum: (*rēaḥ*) - *reax* > *raix* 'smell.'

The *Y* vowel has no counterpart in the Sem source - a svarabhakti vowel has developed

(142) between hireq and ḥ: (*yihús*) - *ixus* > *illex* 'descent.'

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- (143) between hireq and x: (*takrikim*) – *taxrixim* > *taxriexym* ‘burial garments.’
- (144) between shureq and x: (*dukan* ‘platform of the priests in the Temple’) – *duxan* > *djexynyn* ‘to perform the Kohen benediction.’
- (145) between hireq and r: (*gēhii:r*) – *gevir* > *gviiir* ‘rich man.’
- (146) MHG *e* in unstressed syllable: *genomen* > *gynjmyñ* ‘taken,’ *getragen* > *gytrugn* ‘carried,’ *miuler* > *maaler* ‘mouths.’
- (147) All MHG vowels and diphthongs in unstressed syllable after the stress: *leuken* > *laikynyn* ‘to deny.’
- (148) All MHG vowels and diphthongs in syllable that had originally been the unstressed word of a compound: *wihrouch* > *vaarex* ‘incense.’
- The Υ svarabhakti has no counterpart in the MHG source
- (149) *e* develops between diphthong and *r*: *fiur* > *faa(i)er* ‘fire,’ *erde* > *éierd* ‘earth.’
- (150) *e* develops between diphthong and *ch*: *rouch* > *roiex* ‘smoke,’ *bûch* > *bouex* ‘belly.’
- (151) *e* develops between *r* and *ch*: *march* > *marex* ‘marrow.’
- (152) *e* develops between *l* and *ch*: *milch* > *milex* ‘milk.’
- (153) *y* develops between *u*: (< MHG *a*) and consonant if the word is emphasized: *mal* > *muuyl* ‘a time.’
- (154) Sl vowel in final and penultimate syllables: *šopata* > *lopyty* ‘shovel, spade.’

ix: [əu]

The Υ diphthong /ou/ corresponds to

- (155) MHG *û*: *lûter* > *louter* ‘clear.’

x: [əi]

The Υ diphthong /oi/ corresponds to the following phonemes of the source languages:

- (156) Holem , preceding a syllable with a full vowel: (*môrdâ*) – *mora* > *moiry* ‘fear.’
- (157) Qameš , in some cases: (*haššārâ*) – *hafta/ora* > *haftoiry* ‘haphtara.’
- (158) MHG *ô*: *strô* > *stroiy* ‘straw.’
- (159) MHG *o*, in stem closed by a single consonant: *kol* > *koil* ‘coal,’ *obez* > *oips* ‘fruits.’
- (160) MHG *â*, in *bâbes* > *poips* ‘pope.’
- (161) MHG *a* in *gewar* > *gyvoier/gyvuur* ‘aware.’
- (162) MHG *ou*: *loufen* > *loifn* ‘to run.’
- (163) Sl *ô*: *tchôr* (> *schôrz* [tʃʊʃ]) > *txoier* ‘polecat.’

XI: [ai]

The Y diphthong /ai/ corresponds to the following vowels and diphthongs of the source languages:

- (164) Sere in open syllable: (*šēđfm*) – *šedim* > *šaidym* ‘demons.’
- (165) Seghol in open syllable: (*pesah*) – *pesax* > *paisex* ‘Passover.’
- (166) Shewa in the first syllable of a disyllable: (*pēřf*) – *peri* > *pařy* ‘fruit.’
- (167) MHG *ē*: *ēwīc* > *aibik* ‘eternal.’
- (168) MHG *ɸ* in stem closed by one consonant: *hēve* > *haivn* ‘yeast.’
- (169) MHG *æ* in open stem syllable: *næn* > *naiyn* ‘to sew.’
- (170) MHG *æ* in stem closed by one consonant: *urvlatic* > *jmfaitik* ‘filthy.’
- (171) MHG *æ* in stem closed by one consonant: *stæzel* ‘instrument for pushing’ > *štaiśl* ‘mortar.’
- (172) MHG *ei*: *spreiten* > *špraitn* ‘to spread.’
- (173) MHG *ōu*: *gelōuben* > *glaibn* ‘to believe.’
- (174) Sl *ě*: *plecy* > *plaiçy* ‘shoulder.’

XII: [ei]

This diphthong corresponds to the following vowels of the source languages.

- (175) Seghol in open syllable: (*begeđ*) – *begeđ* > *béigyd* ‘garment.’
- (176) MHG *æ*: *ætemen* > *éitymyn* ‘to breathe.’
- (177) MHG *æ* before *r*: *gehæren* ‘to be meet’ > *kéiern* ‘to have to.’
- (178) MHG *ē* before *r*: *mēren* > *méiern* ‘to increase.’
- (179) MHG *ɸ* before *r*: *swērn* > *svéiern* ‘to swear an oath.’
- (180) MHG *ɸ* in stem closed by one consonant: *mēgen* > *méign* ‘may.’
- (181) MHG *ē* in stem closed by one consonant: *mēl* > *méil* ‘meal (flour).’
- (182) MHG *ē* in some stems closed by two consonants: *mēste* > *méistl* ‘dry measure.’
- (183) MHG *ä* in stem closed by one consonant: *sich schämen* > *šéimyn zex* ‘to be ashamed.’
- (184) MHG *ē* before *r* + consonant: *pērlē* > *péierl* ‘pearl.’
- (185) MHG *i* before *r*: *stirne* > *štéiern* ‘forehead.’
- (186) MHG *ie* in *ieman* > *éimyc* ‘somebody.’

Appendix 4

Toponymical List

From the following short list it may be seen that the forms of most geographical names in Yiddish differ considerably from those they have in other languages. There is a great need for further research in Yiddish toponymics. A very short list of geographical names based on personal knowledge was given in an appendix to my *Grammatik* (pp. 180–81). Since then (1915) a number of lists have been published (cf. Section 10 of the Bibliography, pp. 340–42) and utilized in the present list. The accent marks indicate the vowels stressed.

The historical names for the various regions where East European Jewry lived are, of course, no longer politically valid but they are used here in order to give a more precise geographical location as well as to connect them with the historical and other literature in which they constantly recur. In addition, each of these names evokes the associations that link it with a particular Jewish cultural group.

ABBREVIATIONS

B	Bohemia	G	Galicia	P	Poland
BL	Burgenland	Gm	Germany	R	Russia
BR	Byelorussia	H	Hungary	Rm	Rumania
Bu	Bukovina	L	Lithuania	S	Slovakia
CR	Carpatho- Ruthenia	La	Latvia	Sw	Switzerland
E	Estonia	M	Moravia	Tr	Transylvania
		MI	Moldavia	U	Ukraine

Ad'és Adyesa/Odessa (U)

'Afriky Africa

'Aibynic Eiwánowitz/Ivanowice (M)

Aw'opy Europe

'Aiznštqot Eisenstadt/Kismarto (BL)

Alsi'ad Alsedžiai (L)

An'eriky America

'Amšyny Mszana dolna (P)

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'Amfynyo Mszcz'onów (P)
Anim'iiy Ott'yניה (G)
Apt 'Abtau/Op'atów (P)
'Aptivky Opat'owek (P)
Aziy Asia

Baić Biecz (G)
Bais-Léixym Bethlehem
Balsk Bielsk (P)
Bard'íyvu Berditchev (U)
Basar'abiy Bessarabia
Batnic B'rtnice/Pirnitz (M)
Bázyl Basel/Bazal/Basle (Sw)
Be'ldz Belc (G)
Bénd'sin B'ędzin (P)
Béré Bircza (G)
Birk Biržai (L)
Bjsk Busk (G)
B'jkynyv Budž'anów/Bud'aniw (G)
Bloiny Bl'onic (P)
Bluuzyv Blaž'owa (G)
Bobyv Bob'owa (G)
Boćan Botoşan (Rm)
Boiberik Bóbrka/Bibrka (G)
Boltv'éc Bolz'owce/Bolš'ovci (G)
Boskyvic Boskoviec/Boskowitz (M)
Braslyv Braclav (U)
Brésly Breslau/Wrocław (P)
Br'éxyvy Brz'ozów (G)
Brigi Brzesko (G)
Brüzićky Brz'ezina/Briesen/Braiza,
 Vraiza (M)
Brim Brünn/Brno (M)
Brisk Brest/Ber'estia/Brześć (BR)
Britaniy Britain
Brod Brody (G)
Broid Ungarisch-Brod/Uherský Brod
 (M)
Bümsl, Bümysl Jungbunzlau/Mladá
 Boleslav (B)

Byl'uud B'učač/B'uczacz (G)
Byz'enc, Bzenc Bz'enec/B'isenz (M)
Byz'oim Bi'ezun (P)

Candz Sandez/Nowy Sącz (G)
Cęplym Deutsch-Kreuz/Német
 Keresztur (BL)

Cfas Safed
Citavi'an Tytuvėnai (L)
Cnām Znaim/Znoimo (M)
Couzmer Sandomierz (P)

Ć'ęnstexyv Częstoch'owa (P)
Ć'éryvić Czernowitz/Černivc'ij
 Cerná'vți (Bu)
Ćxoiv Czchów (G)
Ćyb'iin Trzebinia (G)

Daac'land Deutschland/Germany
Danc Danzig/Gdańsk (P)
Déinyborg Dünaburg/Dvinsk/
 Daugavpils (La)
D'émbic Dęb'ica (G)
Dérpyt Dorpat/Tartu (E)
D'üitiky D'ietikon/D'ietiko (Sw)
D'indit G'yöngyös (H)
Djbnv Dubno (P)
Dombryv Dąbr'owa (G)
Dréznic Straznice/Strassnitz (M)
Drildz Itza (P)
Dr'uubić Droh'obyč/Droh'obycz (G)
Dv'uuert Warta (P)

'*Eiryç-İr'uul* Palestine
Ékc'i(i?)n Kcynia (P)
'Émsiny Mšeno/Wemschen (B)
'Éstraax Österreich/Austria
Ézer'én Zarasai (L)

Frankfort Frankfurt/Frankfort (Gm)
Frankraax Frankreich/France

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- G'alingy/iny* Gailingen/Gailiņa (Sw)
Gaty Gaya/Kyjov (M)
Galiciy Galicia
Gér, G'éér Góra Kalwarja (P)
Glandy Galanda/Galanta (S)
Gliny Glini'any/Hlyniany (G)
Gnézny Gniezno/Gnesen
G'oitain K'ojetein/K'ojetfn (M)
Gomb'i(i?)n G'abin (P)
Gorzd Gargzdai (L)
Gostl Kostel/Gösdl (M)
Graidik Gródek Jagielloński/Horodek
 Jahailonski (G)
Gricy Grójec (P)
G'uulil Galilee
- Hanšvic* Hanušovce/Hanusfalva (S)
Hélicé Halicz/Halyč (G)
H'élyšau Hollerschau/Holešov (M)
H'jbnryv Uhnów/Uhniw (G)
Hjmyv Uman (U)
Houzy Hausen/Hu:zə (Sw)
H'ümyny H'umenne/Homonna (S)
- I'agystyv* Aug'ustów (BR)
Iam haméilex Dead Sea
Iam Kinéirys See of Galilee
I'ampyly Yampol (U)
Ias Iasi (Rm)
I'éndrexv Andr'ychów (G)
Iérgn St. Georgen/Svati Jur/St.
 György (S)
Ierjśul'aaiym Jerusalem
I'érysly Jar'osl'aw/Yarosl'aw/J'aroslau
 (G)
Iisr'uul Israel
'Iitiky Útikon/Úatika (Sw)
Iivoimic Iwonicz (G)
Italiy Italy
Juunyv Janów (P)
- 'Iébic* Izb'ica (P)
'Jlynyv Ul'anów (G)
Jngern Ungarn/Hungary/
 Magyarország
Jngver Ungvár/Užhorod (CR)
Jscy Uście Zielone/Uście Zelene (G)
Jstrik Ustryki Dolišin/Ustrzyki dolne
 (G)
- Kadlborg* Karlburg/Oroszvár (BL)
Kaid'an Kédainiai (L)
K'amynic Kami'eniec Podolsk/
 Kamianec Podilskii
Kélc Kielce (P)
K'éliky Köllikon/Kölikə (Sw)
Kélym Kelme (L)
K'éšynv Kišinev/Chisinău (MI)
Kiinigrüic Königgrätz/Hradec Krolové
 (B)
Kiiyv Kiyev/Kyyiv (U)
Kilsbérg Kilchberg/Kilxberg (Sw)
Kilym'ai Kolom'yia/Kolom'yja/
 Kolom'ea (G)
Kjnck Konskie (P)
Kjiny Kutno (P)
Kjityv Kutny (G)
Klāāzait Kleinseite/Malá Strana (in
 Prague)
Kl'émnic Klomn'ice (P)
Klouznborg Klausenburg/Cluj/
 Kolozsvár (Tr)
Kmarny Kom'arno (G)
Kniim K'onin (P)
Kobr'im K'obryn (P)
Koil Kolo (P)
Kop'icynic Kopycz'ince (G)
Kosyvy Kossów/Kosiw (G)
Koüblsdorf Kobersdorf/Kabold (BL)
Kool Kowel (U)

- Kovno* Kovno/Kaunas/Kowno (L)
Kr'émynic Kremení'ec/Krzemení'ec (U)
Kr'énic Kryn'ica (G)
Krifc Kriwča/Krzywczá (G)
Kros Krosno (G)
Kruky Kraków/Krakau/Cracow (G)
Kriimyn'au Mährisch-Kromau (M)
Kruuly Nagy-Károly/Carei (Tr)
Kruutnik Kraśnik (P)
Kłanyv Chrzanów (G)
Kuulis Kalisz (P)
Kuuzmark Kazimierz (G)
Kuuzmer Kazimierz (P)
Kvuul Kówal (P)
Kyl'iin K'olin (B)
- L'äfyborg* Laufenburg/Lauföburg (Sw)
Laipy Böhmisoh-Leipa (B)
Leeé Ledeč/Ledetsoh (B)
L'éंबरik Lemberg/Lviv/Lwów (G)
Léngly, Lingly Lengnau/Lenlau, Lenlau (Sw)
Alt-Lésly Włocławek (P)
Lésly Inowrocław/Hohensalza (P)
L'évertyv Luba'rtov (P)
Libavy Libava/Libau/Liepaja (La)
Libyl'ov Lub'aczów/Liubačv (G)
Lidovi'an Lydavenai (L)
Liinck Lisko (G)
Linéic Łęcz'ycá (P)
Lipsk Lipsko (G)
Lisy Lissa/Leszo (P)
Lity Litva/Lietuva/Litauen/Lithuania
L'ivertyv Lub'artów (P)
Ljbr'uunc Lubr'aniec (P)
Lodé Łódź (P)
Loivié Łowicz (P)
London London
Louck Luck (P)
- Lúbl'iin* L'ublin (P)
Lübyky Hl'uboka/Frauenberg (B)
Lümpenborg Lundenburg (M)
Luudmer Vlad'imír Vol'insk/Włodzimierz (U)
Luusk Lask (P)
Lyv'uunyn Lebanon
Lyž'éncck Leżajsk (G)
- Maadn* Majdan Kolbuszowski (P)
Makyvy Maków (P)
Manym Mannheim (Gm)
Marex March/M'orava (M)
Méling Mělník/Melnik (B)
Méxyv Mi'échów (P)
Méžbyž Medzibož/Międziboz (U)
Méžr'it Międzyrzec (U)
Mikulimyc Mikulince (G)
Mimck Minsk (BR)
Mjnkác Munkács/Mukačevo (CR)
Mizlyp Miroslav/Misslitz (M)
Moigil Mogul'any (G)
Molyv Mohilov/Mogilov (BR, U)
Mouidern Modern/Modra/Modor (S)
Moskvy Moskva/Moskau/Moscow
Mžiglyv Mrzyglod (P)
- Naamark* Nowy Targ (G)
Naastuut, Naastéist Nowe Miasto (G)
Naastuut Naumiestic (L)
Nadv'érnny Nadvirna/Nadworna
Naihaizl Neuhäusel/Nové Zámki/Ujvár (S)
Nav'arydok Navahr'udak/Nowogr'ódek (BR)
Néigyv Negeb
Néster r. Dñester
Nést'ily Ust'ylyh/Usc'ilug (G)
Niklsporg Nikolsburg/Mikulov (M)

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- Ninck* Nisko (G)
Nuuxyt Nachod (B)

Ošpyc'iin Oświęcim/Auschwitz (G)
Ostr'ofcy Ostrowiec (P)
Oustr'aliy Australia
Ošvn Ofen (= Buda, of Budapest) (M)

Pábianic Pabian'ice (P)
Paiym, Paim Böhmen/Bohemia
Pal'ongy Palanga (L)
P'ardycvic P'ardubitz/P'ardubice (B)
Par'iiz Paris
Pęczyng Bösing/Peszinok (S)
Péiterborg St. Petersburg
Pibram Píbram (B)
Pilc Pił'ica (P)
Pily'n'uuy Polonnoye/Polennoje (U)
Pikvyšćék Pilviškiai (L)
Pinck Pinsk (BR)
Pi'uusk Pi'aski (P)
Pjlt'jšk P'ultusk (P)
Pljnck Płońsk (P)
Płogn Plán (B)
Poim Polen/Poland/Polska
Poizn Posen/Poznan (P)
Poln Polna (B)
Pom'uurn Pomorz'any (G)
P'onyvčš Panevėžis (L)
Praasn Preussen/Prussia
Pratniec Przasnysz (P)
Préčry Prerau/Prerov (M)
Prémisl'an Przemysl'any/Peremyslany
 (G)
Pr'emišly Przemysł/Peremysl (G)
Prén Prieňai (L)
Préšp'org Pressburg/Bratislava/Pozsony
 (S)
Prétyvy Prešov/Preschau (S)
Prjt r. Prut

Proskeryv Proskurov (U)
Prostic Prossnitz/Prostejov (M)
Prug Prag/Prague/Praha
Pléič Przedecz (P)
Přibrom Píbram
Püxyv Puchov/Pucho (S)
Pyd'aaiyc Podh'aice/Pidhaic'i (G)

Ráč'oindz R'aciąż/Reetz (P)
R'adyvic Radiw'ci/Radačui/Radautz
 (Bu)
Raimiš Rheinach/Riinax (Sw)
Raišy Rzeszów (G)
Rans'burg Ronsperg (B)
Rānyc Hraniec/Mährisch
 Weisskirchen (M)
Rasčim Rosieny (L)
Raxyv Rachov/Racho (S)
Ręčdiš (1) Ungarisch-Hradisch/
 Uherské Hradiště (M)
Ręčdiš (2) Mnichovo Hradiště/
 Müchengrätz (B)
Rėidym Radymno (G)
Rėvl Reval/Tallinn (E)
Riity Riethėim/Riėtė (Sw)
R'imalyv Hrym'aliv/Grzym'alów (G)
Rjbyš'oiv Hrubieszów (P)
Rjdnik Rudniki (L)
Rjsland Russland/Rasiya/Russia
Ropšic Ropcz'yce (G)
Rostic Rausnitz (M)
Ror'iin Roh'atyn (G)
Roim Rome
Rüşky Hrušky/Birnbaum (M)
Ruudym Radom (P)

Sadyg'čry Sadagora, -gura (Bu)
Sal'ant Salantai (L)
S'atmar Szatmár Németi/Sathmar/
 Satu Mare (Rm)

- Seda* Siad (L)
Šéilyš Szöllös (CR)
Semnic S'enica/Sz'enica (S)
S'éretš Ser'et/Sir'et (Bu)
S'iget Sighet/Marmaros Sziget (Rm)
Sips Szepes/Zips (S)
Sk'érnyvic Skierniew'ice (P)
Skvim Skav'ina (G)
Skuul S'okal (G)
Slab'odky Slabada (L)
Solydorn Soloto:rn/Solothurn (Sw)
S'osnofcy Sosn'owiec (P)
St'anisly Stanisławów/Stanisławiw (G)
Strélsk Novi Stril'yska/Nowe Strzel'iska (G)
Suun r. San
Suunyk S'anok (G)
- Šac* Suczava/Suceava (Bu)
Šaf'ouzy Schaffhausen/Sof'u:za (Sw)
Šavl Šavli/Šiauliai (L)
Šébrýš'im Szczebz'eszyn (P)
Šédlyc Siedlce (P)
Šéps Sierpe (P)
Šidlyv Szydł'owiec (P)
Šn'ázigy Schn'eisingen/Šn'aiziga (Sw)
S'oisborg Soh'osberg/Š'aštin/S'asvár (S)
Štaš Stein/Štai (Sw)
Štampn Stampfen/St'upava/Stomfa (S)
Štanyc Uherský Ostroh
Štéřtl Městečko/Ujvóroska (S)
Štrousberig Strassburg/Štrasburg (Sw)
Štukart Stuttgart (Gm)
Š'uutlsdorf Schattmannsdort/Cseszte (S)
- Tarkyv* Taurogė (L)
Tarny Tyrnau/T'rnavá/Nagyszombat (S)
- T'arnypol* Tarn'opol (G)
T'artykyv Tart'aków (G)
Tās r. Theiss/Tisza (H)
Téldz Telšiai (L)
Térk'aa(i) Türk'eit/Turkey
Tikt'im Tyk'ocin (BR)
Tjny r. Donau/Danube
Tljmac' Tłumacz/T'owmač (G)
Toiern Toruń (P)
Tomyšyv Tom'aszów (P)
Topl'im Topolčany/Topolcsany (S)
Torky Turka (G)
Torny Turnau/Turnov (B)
Toust Towst/Thuste (G)
Tréšpil Tiraspol (MI)
Trisk Tur'isk/T'urzysk (U)
Trisik Tryškiai (L)
Tuurny Tarnów (G)
Tuariy, Tvéryy Tiberias
- Útic* Wottitz/V'otice (B)
- Vaasl* Weichsel/Wisla/Vistula
Vaisk'arx Mährisch-Weisskirchen/Hraniec (M)
Varty Warschau/Warsz'awa/Warsaw (P)
V'axtylic Cht'elnica/Wittenz (S)
Vérbol'ovy Wierzbol'owo/Virbalis/Wirballen (L)
Vérylous Würenlos/Vürəlo(:)z (Sw)
Vim Wien/Vienna
Vilkom'ir Ukmerge (L)
Vilkov'išk Vilkaviškis (L)
Vilny Wilno/Vilna/Wilna/Vilnius (L)
Vižnic Vižnica (BU)
Vloin Wi'elun (P)
V'oidyslyv Wodzisław (P)
Volim Vol'yn/Volhynia

141 Appendix 4: Toponymical List

<i>Vrětny</i> Września/Wreschen (P)	<i>Z'aibiš</i> Saybusch/Żywiec (G)
<i>Vuulex'aa(i)</i> Wallachei/Valachia	<i>Z'alošic</i> Działosz'yce (P)
<i>Xaify</i> Haifa	<i>Zamys</i> Žemaiten/Schamaiten/ Samogitia
<i>Xarkyv</i> Xarkiv/Xarkov/Kharkov (U)	<i>Zidyč'oirv</i> Židačiv/Žyd'aczów (G)
<i>Xělym</i> Chelm (P)	<i>Zikyv</i> Dzików/Dykiw; Tarnobrzeg (G)
<i>Xěvryn</i> Hēvr'on/Hebron	<i>Zlozic</i> Zał'óžce/Zał'ižci (G)
<i>Xjst</i> Xust/Huszt/Huste (CR)	<i>Zuuter</i> Zator (G)
<i>Xoć</i> Ch'odecz (P)	
<i>Z'abltyv</i> Z'abolotiv/Zabl'otów (G)	<i>Žuuryk</i> Żarki (P)
<i>Z'ablytic</i> Zabl'ocie (G)	<i>Žyl'iin</i> Żolgaia (L)

PART THREE
SPECIMENS OF YIDDISH OVER EIGHT CENTURIES



Specimens of Yiddish over Eight Centuries

The following short texts aim at providing no more than a very cursory glance at several periods and regions in the life of the Yiddish language. This material is not sufficient to illustrate its development. Not only would a whole long book of texts and discussion of these be needed for that, but research has not yet advanced to a stage when such a work can be successfully attempted. Many more years, or even decades, will have to pass before then. One of the reasons, of course, is that the amount of material at our disposal is scanty in relation to the expanse in space and time taken up by Yiddish. Quantitatively it is, however, not too small and it is virtually untouched by the philologist and linguist. The collecting of the texts, the editing of these and the attendant research – all this is still waiting to be done.

Practically all our texts represent the written language, and only occasionally do we get a faint glimpse of the spoken language. In order to transcribe, we must, however, know how the authors pronounced what they wrote. From the spelling of the early texts it is not possible to get much help in this respect. Within the limited amount of space available it would not be feasible to discuss how and why I arrived at this or that transcription; a long article or a book would be required for each specimen. In view of the complete absence of detailed phonological research about the various periods and regions, I cannot hope to have achieved more than the merest, vague approximation to the facts. These specimens cannot therefore be used as a basis for phonological work. The originals from pre-modern times contain little or no punctuation, and I have supplied it.

In view of the nature of the material and the purpose of the present section, it was not possible to employ a uniform system of transcription to cover all the periods and regions. In specimens Nos. 1-40, i.e., those from West, Central and

earlier East Yiddish, the transcriptions are adapted to the individual pieces. Symbols occurring here only are:

ɛ	close, short	ɔ	close, short	ö̇	o-umlaut, close, long
ɛɛ	close, long	ɔɔ	close, long	ü	u-umlaut, open, short
		ö	o-umlaut, open, short	ü̇	u-umlaut, close, long

Nos. 41-74, i.e., those in New East Yiddish, are given in the system used generally in this book.

WEST YIDDISH

Ca. thirteenth century. Two episodes from the poem *Avroohom oovinu*, which describes the child Abraham's conquest of paganism.¹ (From an ultra-violet photo of the Cambridge University Library MS T.S. 10 K 22)² Date of copying the MS: 3rd November 1382.

I

(a) Abraham's father, an idol manufacturer, sends him to the market to sell a sackful of idols (Fols. 12r-13r)

ér vašte zi vil ɛbene,
ér koorte ziine vérsen
ér warf dén zak cume rükken,
ér began di apgote

ér spr[ax]: „vor wooßen apgote,
ir habet vil gar cu riten
wil mir dér woorhaftige g[ot]
ix wil üüwern gelouben

ér ɔpogete hin cu markte,
dér lašt waş ime cu şwɛçre,
ér kam cu aime waşçer,
trouwen, gedooxte ér,

ér maxte zix hin vür,
cu ziineş vater tür,
ér maxte zix cu dén vélden,
zɛçre éldén.

vor wooßen müšetir ziin,
dén armen rükken miin.
ziine hülfé zenden
gar vor şwenden.“

dér wék duuxte in cu lank,
dér liip was ime cu krank.
brait un[de] ştrénge
hi hébet zix ain grōş geşprénge.

¹ See (a) p. 343, No. 433: pp. 46-51; p. 344, No. 444: pp. 59-61; (b) p. 343, No. 433: pp. 61-65; p. 344, No. 444: pp. 66-68.

² See the facsimiles in No. 433: (a) 47, 48, 51; lines 239-282; (b) pp. 60, 62, 63; lines 412-461.

ér warf den zak cu dér érden,
 ér şpr[ax]: „hööretirş, ir gote,
 nu traget mix hin über,
 entût irş nixt,

trüge ix üüx hin über,
 iox hoot daş waşser hin gevürt
 nu traget mix hin über;
 entût irş nixt,

waş ér in cû geşpr[ax],
 ér vor gilbete vor corne
 ér warf dén zak cu dér érden
 ér sütte zi uuş

er spr[ax]: „wate hin über,
 zûxet mir den vurt,
 komet ir hin über,
 entût irş nixt,

zi koorten uuf di cinken,
 ér şrai in noox vil luute
 „keşret wider, keşret
 ir habet dén réxten vurt

waş ér in noox gerif,
 zi vluşen hin un[t] koorten zix
 ér korte in óx dén rükken
 ér kam cu ziineş vaterş huuş

er begunde gar zęere vor cagen,
 ich haan üüx hęr getragen,
 deş habetir ümer ęere,
 üüwer laşter berait ix ümmer meęere.

zo teęte ix alze ain gék.
 brükke un[de] ştéck
 deş mogetir wol genişen;
 ix loos üüx zélwer vlisen.“

zi şwigen alze ain daxş.
 alze ain gewunden waxş.
 mit haşşen un[t] mit grimmen,
 un[de] lis zi hine şwimmen.

loot üüx nixt ziin goox,
 vor ix wate üüx aleş noox;
 zó şoltir miin doo baiten
 üüwer laşter wil ix beraiten.“

zi vluşen hin cu tal
 daş eş vil vérre erşal:
 ir habet üüx vor geşşen.
 nixt wol geméşşen.“

daş waş in alze ain wixt,
 an ziine ređe nixt,
 un[t] was ime gar uméere³
 vil léere.

(b) Abraham in King Nimrod's Furnace (Fols. 15v-16v)

doo şpr[ax] eş zix Nimrod,
 „zage, vil zinnen lözeş kint,
 daş du dize gote
 deş müştu, kint,

„ioo wooren eş nixt gote,“
 „(zó) maxte zi miin vater
 di gote, di miin vater maxen kan,
 dér işt G[ot],

dér doo gewaldik waş:
 wér hoot dir gerooten daş,
 hooşt vor brant oone şulden?
 di zélbe véne dulden.“

şpr[ax] daş kint cu hant,
 mit ziin zélbeş hant.
 dér haan ix lüccel axte –
 dér miinen vater maxte.

3 ? umméere, ? unméere.

dér G[ot], der doo gesúf
baide loup un[de] gras,
an ziime gelouben
ix getrouwe ime wol,

doo şpr[ax] eş zix Nimrod:
mak dix dér gelózen
daş du müşt genézen
zó wil ix diinen gelouben

gesúx bant wart
zi maxten ainen oven haış
eş lak alze ain knouweliin
bii blik aineş ougen,

doo gink dér hailige Mixooş[1]
er şpr[ax]: „vil liber hérré G[ot],
ix kan in wol erlózen
di dix aller téglis

doo şpr[ax] dér hailige Gavriç[1]:
nu looş mix dare gaan
ix kan den den glüienden oven
daş diin vrüünt⁴

doo şpr[ax] unzer liber tréxtin:
ix wil in erlózen
ix wil kainen boten
zélber wil ix ziine tat

déme liben, trouwen kinde
dér oven luuxte inen
di brënd[e] un[de] di hicce
di haidensáft múşte alle

doo şpr[ax] unzer liber tréxtin
„ix haan dix erlózet,
du sólt müneş willen
zó şterke ix dix

di wüte wérelt al,
bérk un[de] tal,
wil ix lében un[t] ştérben.
er leçt mix nixt vor dérben.“

„den G[ot] du hooşt erkant,
von unzer aller hant,
vor dizeme ştarken vüüre,
koufen tüüre.

daş vil klaine kindlin,
un[t] wurfen eş dar in;
cu zamene gewunden,
zó wart eş enpunden.

vor unzeren liben tréxtin ştan
nu looş mix dare gaan.
un[de] di vor búrnen,
ercürnen.

„vil liber hérré miin,
ix wil diin bote ziin
harte wol erkúlen,
dér hicce nixt wirt vülen.

„ioo hoot ér mix erkant,
mit miin zélbeş hant,
an müine ştat dare zénden,
vol ęnden.

di g[otes] ęere ersain.
alze ain karvunkel ştain.
begunden her vüre dringen,
[von] dannen şpringen.

déme carten kinde cù:
miin haıše sóltu tù,
warten un[de] roomen,
un[t] meçre diinen zoomen.

⁴ MS here has the meaningless *şvont*, apparently a slip for *wont* = *vrüünt*. This would accord with the biblical designation (Is. 41:8) for Abraham as 'friend of God,' in the daily morning liturgy: 'we - the sons of Abraham, thy loving friend.' (Islam has taken over this designation for Abraham, speaking of him as 'the friend' or 'the friend of Allah.')

déme kinde wart geuffnet
 és štunt uuf vil liize
 ime luuxten ziine ougen
 daş zax der arme bildenéere

des zélben ovenş tür,
 un[t] maxte zix hin vür.
 alze der lixte morgen şterne.
 vil gérne.

2

Thirteenth century. Glosses in the margin of a 1237 MS of miscellaneous contents. (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS Heb. 1408.)

(Fol. 131r:) *vonken* (zyqwqyn), *marel* (ʔysqwndry), *šaihcabel* or *wortcabel* (pyšpysyn); (fol. 131v:) *beđlaxyn* (ʔlwnʔyt); (fol. 132r:) *darmgürtel* (qylqy), *vorbüge* (hbq), *goltsmit* (zhbn); (fol. 134r:) *gazel* (prgl); (fol. 134v:) *blahe* (mrşwf, bgd gdwl), *kartyn* (?) (mwş hrym), *kérwæl* (mzlg), *réxe* (malgez); (fol. 135r:) *erwişeş* (grysyn), *kute* (sygwś), *šankuxe* (lbybwt), *şweme* (kmyhym wprywt), *darmgürtel* (şynr); (fol. 136r:) *réphiüner* (prgywt) (fol. 136v:) *ştęgraif* (qlydryš); (fol. 137r:) *huuznéştelş* (twbrwt; srygy hlnwnt).

3

1272/3. Inscription in a manuscript: Good wishes from the scribe Simḥa b. Judah to the recipient or sponsor of the MS, his uncle, Baruch b. Isaac, have been worked into the big letters of an initial word. (Jerusalem: Jewish National and University Library: ms. 4° 781 [The Worms Maḥazor]), vol. 1, fol. 92r)

guut tak im betage şewer/şwer diş maxzor in
 beş hak(ke)neşes trage

betage 1: *One is tempted to assume that the raphe on the gimel indicates that the letter represents a voiced velar fricative, as that would be in conformity with Masoretic rules, besides fitting in with the phonetics of Central German (in whose area Worms is situated). However, it is possible that in the scribe's pronunciation of Hebrew a daghesh meant a long consonant (e.g., yammim 'seas') as in the Masoretic system. Since a pataḥ must be followed by a daghesh, he would have had to write tagge. But knowing from his vernacular, the difference between short and long consonants, tagge, he could not have used a daghesh. So, to avoid the daghesh, he would have employed the only other possible sign, raphe, without this having anything to do with his pronunciation.*

But more important are these two considerations: If the Ashkenazic pronunciation of Hebrew had a voiced fricative g: (1) where has it gone without a trace? (2) It would have been a Zarthatic heritage and we would then have to assume that it had come down unchanged from the Masoretes, and that does not seem likely since there is and was no fricative g in French.

The whole question must remain open until research in Zarthatic and early Yiddish phonology will, perhaps, yield an answer.

2: Both *shewas* represent [ə]; the final aleph is mute. This spelling is an inheritance from Zarphatic, and, from there, goes back to Roman times. If we had MSS in Latimic (Jewish Latin) we would find the Latin final *a* written as *gameş* followed by a mute aleph. This spelling would have been inherited from Aramic, where it appeared in practically every noun.¹ The aleph remained when the Latin *a* evolved to French *e*. In Zarphatic this was written as a *shewa*, when the vowel signs were used – which was rare.

An even clearer illustration of the fact that the Zarphatic spelling system is rooted in Roman times is provided by the representation of Zarphatic [tʃ] as *qoph* with a tick on top – *q̄*, e.g., *q̄nt*, i.e., [ʃantə] ‘sings.’ It is obvious that the diacritic was introduced to give a new value to plain *q*. Now plain *q* has the value [k], as in *qwrđ* = *kordə* ‘cord,’ thus [ʃantə] must go back to [kantə] which is, of course, the Latin *canta*.

sew̄er/sw̄er, dis: The letter *šin/sin* stands for [s], a spelling that survived into the nineteenth century. It was inherited from Zarphatic.² Since the Ashkenazim pronounce the *šin* in Hebrew and Aramic, as well as in the Semitic element in Yiddish, we may conclude that their ancestors, the Zarphatim, had done likewise.³

ş̄e: The *ş̄e* cannot be written by itself because in Hebrew, Aramic – occasionally in pre-modern traditional spelling – Yiddish, a word consisting of only one consonant and one vowel has to be attached to the next word. We must therefore write *ş̄ew̄er/ş̄w̄er*.

ş̄ew̄er/ş̄w̄er 1: There is no way of deciding whether the *shewa* was pronounced or mute. In our sentence both cases occur: doubtless pronounced in *betage* and doubtless mute in *trage*.

ş̄ew̄er/ş̄w̄er 2: The spelling *v* for *w* seems to be due to there being no room for even such a narrow letter as *waw*.

ş̄ew̄er/ş̄w̄er 3: The vowel sign under the *waw* differs clearly from the examples of *pataḥ* in our text, and is distinctly a *şere* in the facsimile in ZMF. Hence the *yodh* after it is not orthographically puzzling nor is there a phonetically puzzling *a*. However, the MHG form is *sw̄er/w̄er*. Does our form indicate a local pronunciation or the absence of differentiation between *ş̄* and *ē*?

maxzor: I am somewhat doubtful about whether the *ḥateph pataḥ* was pronounced in this position. No trace of it has survived in Yiddish.

beş hak(ke)neşes: It seems that in early Yiddish there was no difference between *şere* and *seghol*, since, on the whole, that is the situation in present-day Yiddish. It

1 In Yiddish the aleph became a real vowel letter although this is not acknowledged in traditional printing, where the *pataḥ* or *gameş* precedes the aleph to indicate the vowel.

2 Medieval French had no [ʃ], the modern *ch* was then still [tʃ], so no *šin* was needed in the Zarphatic spelling system. Hence the letter could be used unambiguously as *šin*, i.e., [s], there being no need for the dot on top left.

3 Elsewhere – in Sephardic, Maaravic and Yevanic, for instance – the letter *šin* is actually pronounced as [s]. A history of the *šin/sin* pronunciation is a desideratum.

would follow that this is an inheritance from Zarphatic. *Džidezmu/Džidyó* presents the same picture. This whole complex of problems needs extensive investigation.

hak(ke)neşes: It seems possible that the form was *hakneşes*.

4

Ca. fourteenth century. From a Bible glossary (here Ps. 5,10-7,5), added in the margin of a Zarphatic Bible glossary in about the first quarter of the fifteenth century – according to my palaeographical examination of the script. This is also the basis for the dates of the following specimens. (Leipzig: Universitätsbibliothek: Cod. 1099.)

(5) *bruxde* – *zi glétun* – *maxmiştondi* – *er rat* – *đorštoş* – *zi weđer spénugut* – *hofut* – *dunt đrüin* – *wile* – *zol umkrainunuş* – (6) *zolto keştungun mix* – *zol pinugunmix* – *đor şnitun* – *zint urşrokun* – *mingebęn* – *beşerme* – *lobut* – *inminemzifcun* – *ix incubere* – *minbęte* – *corgot* – *is đor donkult* – *ştunde* – (7) *mişgrifonge* – *zank* – *brokut*.

5

Script: About end of fourteenth century. From a Bible glossary to the Hagiographa (here Ps. 5,13-7,5). ([Berlin: Staatsbibliothek:] Preussischer Kulturbesitz: Orientalische Abteilung: Or. Qu 701, fol. 2r).

(5) *az ain tarce* – *wer zuenuk/zünuk* – *wilegunk* – *du ume rinkst* – (6) *daş klę zémér wone den eht zaiten* – *ix bęnwerşnitzen* – *beşirme* – *ix beşulfere/beşulfere* – *ix max wiht/wixt/wüxt* – *werlanderent (or) wer glancert* – *weraltet* – (7) *misgrairfunk* – *usraist (or) wercugt* – *main geltunk* – *un! ix uşcihe*.

6

Script: About end of fourteenth century. From a Bible glossary covering Joshua to Chronicles (here Ps. 5,10-7,18). (Karlsruhe: Badische Landesbibliothek: Cod. Reuchlin 9, fol. 242v-243r)

(5, 10) *müglıx kait* – *ir gedank in binin in* – *bruxniş* – *az wait az ain ofin grap* – *mit ęrer cungin* – *zi şmaixilen* – (11) *max şüldik zi* – *đun węgin ęřş bözin rat* – *đor štoş zi* – *węn zi hon weđer spéniget* – (12) *un! du zolt beşermen* – *un zi zolin zix vröuin* – (13) *az ain tarce* – *wiligung* – *du ü[m] ringilşt in* – (6) *daş zaitin şpil daş do hat ęxt zaitin (or) loute* – (2) *du zolt ştrofin mix* – *du zolt keştien mix* – *mit dinem corn* – (3) *đor şnitzen* – *hail mix* – (4) *zi zint dér şrokin* – *main gebain* – (5) *beşerm! [e] (or) cüg ouş* – (6) *dain gedęxtniş* – *in dér grüben* – *wę wil loben cu dir* – (7) *ix bin wordin müde* – *mit mainer züfcung* – *mit mainen trėhenen* – *main şpan bét* – *ix maxin būxt* – *ix wėrdin đor unraint* – (8) *zi işt đor viństert* – *đun corn* – *zi işt đor aldet* – *üm! wilen al mainer laidiger* – (9) *ķert ab* – *main wainung* – (11) *zi zolin wėrdin đor šemit* – *un! zi zolin wėrdin dér šreket* –

in ainer klain stonde - (7, 1) daş zaitin spilliḥ alzo(ör) mişgraifung - üm' daş ér zang - Šoul dér do waş glëxen cum ainem moren - der kam ðun biniomin - (3) er móxt ðor cükin (ör) cu raişen - cu raişin - un' neḡmanin beşermet - (4) ix hon ðor goldin - minin ðor gëlderen - un' ix hon ouş gicogin - lér - (6) un' ér zol graixin - un' ér zoln ðor trédin - un' ér zol dun rüin - zi dér habin - mit corn - un' dér wék - (8) un' ob zamilung der ðölkér - zi üm' ringilt dix - un' üm' eřent wilen - cu dém' himil weđer keř - (9) ér zol rixtin (ör) štrofin - un' az main gécnkait - (10) er zol maxin çu geç - un' du zolt dun beraidin - un' dér da prübet di hércin un' di gedénc - (11) min beşermung - geréxt vérdigin hérc - (12) un' got ér cürnet - (13) zin šwert ér šéřfet (ör) lüter - zinen bogen ér špant - (14) zin fail - cu dén ieđerren - ér dut wirkin - (15) ér érbait unréxt - ér drait valšhait - (16) ain grüb ér grébet - un' ér grébet zi - un' ér félt in di grüben - (17) zainen weřwil - zain geroubet güt - (18) ix wil lobin - un' ix wil zingin.

7

1396/7. From 'Ksav min kol kôxys hahakozy vehavridin' ('Document about all the powers of blood-letting and the veins,' Cologne: Archiv der Stadt Köln: Heb. 4).

das zint di ver worfen tage an dén kain meńše zol nox lösen kainer laie an vöhen das er a(n)d(e)r(s) wil bręngen cu ainem guten ende. ... zô trink ðun spikanardi un' ðun musk/g ... un' ingeber, zalbaie zol kain meńše ésen. Das oçhende caixen ist der bok, zô zol man das houbet déken ðor an vroste un' zolt di houbet öder lösen, warme spi ... mit gütēn wurcen/würcen ist güt cu ésen. Das éilfte caixen ist der wéserer, zô zol man zix halten az in déme bordenen mōnde aber man zol haise b(a)den un' nit vil trinken.

This MS is carefully vowelled. But whether this was done by the scribe or somebody else, the phonology here differs from that of the text.

8

Ca. fourteenth century. Translation of Psalms (here Ps. 6). Script about first quarter of fifteenth century. ([Berlin: Staatsbibliothek:] Preussischer Kulturbesitz: Or. Qu. 310, first part.)

(1) über zigung mit gidōn uf den éxt zaiten. gizank cu dowid. (2) got, nit mit dainim corn du zolt štrofen mix un' nit mit dainem grim corn du zolt kéštigen mix. (3) herbarm mix, got, wen veršniten bin ix, hail mix, got, wen zi zain eršroken main gibain. (4) un' main laip iş heršroken zér un' du, got, biş wi lang. (5) wider kér, got, biširm main laip, hilf mir um wilen dainer gnoden. (6) wén nit im tod dainer gidénkeniś, in der gruben wér lobet dix. (7) ix hon giérbait mit mainem züfcen, ix biunzōuber in aler naxt main bét, mit mainen tréheren main španbet ix bebüxten. (8) zi werlanteret ðun corn, main ougen veraltet in aler mainer belaidigung. (9) kéřent ab ðun mir, al wúrker un' réxt, wén er hot gihort štim mainer wainung. (10) hōř, got, main gibét, got min biten er zol némen. (11)

zi zolen wërden versémt un¹ zi zolen hersreken zér, al main vaind zi zolen wider kéren, un¹ zi zolin wërden versémt ougen blikes.

More specimens of Ps. 6 in transcription are to be found in my contribution, Die jiddische Psalmenübersetzung in Hans Vollmer's, Die Psalmenverdeutschung, Potsdam, 1932.¹

9

First quarter of fifteenth century. Zimlin of Ulm delivers a public apology before a (Jewish) court. (From the Responsa of Jacob Vail (Weil), No. 147, Venice, 1549, fol. 60v.)

Höört cuu, raboqsai, ix haan mysürs gytaan, ix haan gybroxyn di haşkoomys, di di raboonym haan gymaxt, daa ix uuf gyxaşmut bin, ix haan aax poğeey vynoğeey gyveezyn an koovyd mişpooxy šél mhr Zeçlikman, ix haan aax mhr Zeçlikman an zain koovyd gyreçt, das ix haan gysproxyn, er zai nit aan raav, aan kind kön meç vén ér. daa mit haan ix aax dén raboonym übyl gyreçt, di mhr Zeçlikman gysamxyt haat cu raav. ix haan aax mhr Zeçlikman meç übyl gyreçt, un aax kaal, ix haan aax den daioonym un aan taal çedym übyl gyreçt. xotoosi, ooviisi, poşaiti/poşaati. ix bit dén boqy iisboorex, das er mir s moqzyl zai, un di reboonym, di mhr Zeçlikman gysamxyt haat, un aax mhr Zeçlikman un aax kaal un aax di çedym un aax di daioonym, ix bit zi al mexiily.

10

Script: Middle of the fifteenth century. Bible translation, glossarial type; Exodus 19,21-20,18. (London: British Library: Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS: Add. MS. 18694, fol. 78.)

(21) Un[t] er zéit / got / cu Moqsy: / nider / forver / an folk / léixt / zi cubréxyn / cu got / cu zéhy / un[t] és virt faly / fon im / fiil / (22) un[t] aax / di heryn / di doo gynéthy / cu Got / zi zolyn zix byraaityn / léixt / er virt cubréxyn / an zi / Got / (23) un[t] er zéit / Moqsy / cu Got / nit és tar / das folk / cu ouf geçen / cu bérg / Sinai / vén / du hoost forveryt / an unz / cu zagyn: / gymérk / dén bérg / un[t] du zolst byraaityn in / (24) un[t] er zéit / cu im / got / geç / nider / un[t] du zolst ouf geçen / du / un[t] aaryn / mit dir / un[t] di heryn / un[t] das folk / nit / zi zolyn cubréxyn / cu ouf geçen / cu got / léixt / er virt cubréxyn / an zi / (25) un[t] ér nidert / Moqse / cu dem folk / un[t] er zéit / cu zi / (1) un[t] er reçdyt / got / al di reçd / di diizyn / cu zagyn / (2) ix pin / Got / déin Got / das / ix hoon ous gycohy / fon lant / Micraiy / fon hou / doo ir vooryt knéx / (3) nit / és zol zéin / cu dir / got / aain anderer / di véil ix nox pin / (4) nit / du zolst maxyn / cu dir / bild / un[t] kaainer laai / gléixniš / das / im himyl / fon qobyn / un[t] das / an der érdyn / fon untyn / un[t] das / im vaser / fon untyn / cu dér

¹ I published the originals in the Yiddish section of *sjll*, pp. 526-500.

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érdyn / (5) nit / du zolst néigyn^a / cu zi / un[t] nit / du zolst diynyn zi / vén / ix pin / Got / déin got / Got / ist aain réxer / er gydénkyt / zünd / dér forderyn / ouf / di kinder / ouf / das drit gyburyt^b / un[t] ouf das fierd gyburyt^b / cu méin féindyn^c / (6) un[t] er tuyt gynood / cu touzynt^d / cu méin^e fröündyn^f / un[t] cu diy doo hütytn / méin gybot. / (7) nit / du zolst švéryn / namyn / Got / déinys Got / cu falś / vén / nit / ér loosyt lęędig / Got / das / er švéryt / zéin namyn / cu / um a(in) zunst /. (8) zéi gydénkyn / tag / dén šabys / cu haailigyn in /. (9) zęxs / tég / du zolst érbaaityn / un[t] du zolst tuyn / al / déin vérk / (10) un[t] tag / dén zibyndyn / ruyunk / cu Got / déinym Got / nit / du zolst tuyn / kaainer laai / vérk / du / un[t] déin zun / un[t] déin toxter / un[t] déin knéxt / un[t] déin maaid / un[t] déin fix / un[t] déin ęlynder / das / in déinym tor /. (11) vén / zęxs / tég / er hoot byśafyn / Got / dén himyl / un[t] di ért / das męř / un[t] alys / das / an zi / un[t] ér ruyt / am tag / dém zibyndyn / um das / ér hoot gybénśyt / Got / tag / dén šabys / un[t] er hoot gyhaailigyt in / (12) ęęř / déin fater / un[t] déin muyter / derum / zi vérdyn derlęngyt / déin tég / ouf / der érdyn / das / Got / déin Got / hoot gébyn cu dir /. (13) nit / du zolst mürdyn / nit / du zolst unköűsyn / nit / du zolst stélyn / nit / du zolst bycöűgyn / an déinym gyzęlyn / gycöűkniś / falś / (14) nit / du zolst glustyn (gylustyn, glűstyn, gylűstyn) / houz / déinys gyzęlyn / nit / du zolst glustyn (s. above) / véip / déinys gyzęlyn / un[t] zéin knéxt / un[t] zéin maait / un[t] zéin oxś / un[t] zéin ęzyl / un[t] alys / das / cu déinym gyzęlyn / (15) un[t] al / das folk / zi zoohyn / di śtim / un[t] di prént / un[t] śtim / dés špöřer / un[t] der bęrg / raauxyt / un[t] ęś zax / das folk / un[t] zi forvagylytn / un[t] zi śtuynndyn / fon féryn.

The variants in Deut. 5: (a) dix naigyn (b) gyburt (c) haseryn (d) touzyntyn (e) zéin (f) fröüntyn.

It is obvious that the extant Bible translations are not originals in the sense that they represent works of individual translators. Copy after copy was made century after century, based on the traditional rendering, as taught in the elementary schools, with slow and gradual modifications allowing for changes in the language and, occasionally, for an individual choice from various traditional translations.

II

Fifteenth century. From the Samuel Epic. Text of the edition Augsburg, 1544.

naain, śprax der künig,
zolt ix mit méinen knéxtyn
mir wűrdyn dir aauf esyn
mir hetyn dir déin dűr holk

liüber zun méin,
héint déin gast zéin,
al déin śpéiz cu hant,
gar bald aaus gibrant.

in bat zér Avśoolym:
Doowid śprax, liüber zun,
doo bénśt in der künig
doo śprax ér: al méin brűuder,

gęę mit mir, vater méin.
es mag dox nit gizéin.
un! wolt nit mit im goon.
zolt ir mit mir loon,

zéit ix, liiber vater,
doo sprax der künig Doowid:
mit im síkt der künig Doowid
in dén ploşon xoocer

doo zi nun šiir
nox hoot Avsoolym
diü zéin bruuder Amnyn
ér sprax cu zéinyn knéxtyn:

wén er zéin leçt hoot gésyn
zoo slagyt in cu toot,
doo tétyn zéini knéxt
aainer slug in cu toot,

doo sprungyn ðun dem tiş
zi rantyn zér ðun danyn.
man wurd dem künig Doowid
Avsoolym het zéin bruuder¹

der künig réis zéin klaaid
er zank cu der érdyn,
un¹ al des künigys knéxtyn
zi traauertyn mit dem künig

ôux nit mag gihoon.
zun, das zéi gitoon.
al zéin zün gimaain
doo haaimyn bléib ir kaain.

haten gésyn
di boşshaait nit ðor gésyn,
Toomer hét gitoon
nun gébyt Amnyn zéin loşon

un¹ vröolix wért ðun wéin,
ir zolt vris manyn zéin.
als Avsoolym hiis.
aain šwért er durx in štiiis.

di kinder mit giwalt,
ir möüler liifyn bald,
cu Ierušoolajim zagyn:
al deršlagyn.

un¹ hoot ungimax,
ðor ioomer wurd er šwax.
cu risyn ir klaaider doo,
un¹ waryn al un vroş.

A facsimile of the original of these verses may be seen in my The Hebrew Scripts, vol. 2, No. 368.

12

1453. Jewish registration note on a legal document in German. (Landesregierungsarchiv Innsbruck: Max. XIV 1516 Nr. 52a. – Published in R. Straus, *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg*, Munich, 1960, p. 1, No. 1, and *Übersetzungen der hebräischen Texte und Umschriften der altjiddischen Texte*, *ibid.*, p. 455, No. 1.)

gerixc héndil/héndel(?) mişpyt im šuył hob.

13

1478. Letter smuggled to a Ratisbon (Regensburg) woman who was in prison on a charge of having bought, tortured and sold a host (consecrated wafer). (From a photo of the document in Munich: Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv: Gemeiners

¹ Slip or misprint instead of *brüder*, as is clear from next stanza.

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Nachlass: K. 12/1. Published in R. Straus etc. [see preceding No.] p. 170, No. 502, and p. 456, No. 502.) The oldest Yiddish letter of certain date. Cf. my publication of the letter *Dus éltsty briivl of Iídís in Iídís London*, No. 2 (1939), pp. 106–109. (The printer omitted the diacritics in the transcription.)

Liyby fröündin, du liyby kroñ, ix kasvyn dí[r] fil, du entv[er]st mir nixcit. ob du nit kasvyn kanst oon di inuiym? ix vér morgyn mit dem iiryn rēdyn, ob ix déin zax kōnt cu guyt ous maxyn. šik di houb vider herous. haais das lox dooheran fer maxyn. kox raain pulver in aainym apyl. hoost vol h ioomym. šreib guyt dóüćć. naai éin.

14

1495. Jewish registration note on a document in German, a confirmation by Emperor Maximilian of the rights of the Jews. (Published in R. Straus etc. [see in No. 12], p. 219, No. 655, and p. 456, No. 655.)

ksab byštétung mi-melex Maksimiián ioor[um] h[ro]d[ro] im vircēhyn hundred un vūnf un nöüncitigyn ioor

15

Sixteenth century. From a Sabbath poem by a certain Benjamin (of Zurich?). (Hamburg: Hebr. Hs. 238, fols. 111–112.) It follows on the text of the MS but is written by a different hand. To judge by the script, it was added soon after the date of the MS which was 1574. (Cf. my publication *Cvái alt-Iídísy liider*, in *Jivuu-Bléter*, vol. 13, pp. 172–177; 1938.)

Got der hér hoot gyhaailigyt, gyęert
dén šabys for alyn tagyn.

an¹ im ruyt er un[dy] téét nit méér,
for voor ix óüx das zagyn,²
féieryt mit gybét un[dy] vézyt štéét,
ir frünt un[dy] óx ir magyn.

Got der gybot dén šabys heęer,
door zi cu Moory lagyn.

éi, zéks tagyn byšuyf Got himyl
un[dy] érd,³

am zübyndyn ruyt Got der vérd.

cvaai malooxym byšofn zint,⁴
dii den šabys goor çerlix antfangyn,
un[dy] vér den šabys in der céit bygint,⁵
çç di zun ist unter gangyn –
der malex šprix: gybénst zéistu, kind,
nun loos dir nit fer langyn,
ix vil nox héint béi dir zint,
vil zéyn, vi déin lixtlix hangyn.

éi, zéks etc.

1 MS.: oon

2 MS.: zagy

3 MS.: érdy?

4 MS.: zéin

5 MS.: bygint in der cait

am fréitag zólstu déin meçser⁶ gébyn
 haaimlix déin armyn fründyn,
 zoo vert dir gygébyn das çëbigy lébyn,
 is béser vider das (?) di houbyt⁷
 zündyn.

hüyt for dem vider strébyn
 undy for das⁸ töötlix zündyn,
 zoç vérstu byhüyt for der hëlyn péin
 un[dy] for der⁹ apy grüundy.¹⁰
 éi, zéks etc.

am šabys zölyn zéin dréi ésyn beraait,
 az uns die véizyn lééryn.
 uuf dem tiš zölyn vézyn gymaait,
 zmiürs zagyn zçëryn.

fer gést trourikait un[dy] al das laait,
 das günt¹¹ öux Got der héry.¹²
 ir zölt an¹³ tuyn ain guytys klaait,
 dem haailigyn šabys cu çëryn.
 éi, zéks etc.

der uns das zmiürs nuu¹⁴ gyzank,
 dér is uns alyn un bykant.
 er is fon cérxys ous der štat,
 Binioomin is er gynant.
 er zang uns das un[dy] nox fil méér,
 nun byhüyt uns Got for aler not
 un[dy] fer léi uns zéin mildy hant.
 zoç bityn vir in¹⁵ das es uns vol goot.
 éi, zéks etc.

16

Early sixteenth century. From the epic poem *Akëpdys Iicxyk* ('*The Binding of Isaac*'). The stanzas published here are, according to the investigation by W.-O. Dreessen, later additions. (The poem itself might belong to the second half of the fifteenth century.) (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale: MS. Hébr. 589, fols. 129v-130r. The MS was written in 1579 by Anshel Levi in Lombardy. Edited by W.-O. Dreessen: *Akëdass Jizhak. Ein altjiddisches Gedicht über die Opferung Isaaks. Mit Einleitung und Kommentar kritisch herausgegeben.* Hamburg, 1971.)

Vii müügyn mir al céit Kõçdyš-borxu lõpbyn,
 das er unz mit der ekëçdy hoot toon bygoobyn,
 mir müügyn vol çëryn zéin namyn, der haailig un' derhõpbyn,
 cu for ous in dem tiifyn goolys, doo mir inyn vüütyn un' toõbyn.
 un' štékyñ dinyn biz an den grund
 drum müügyn mir vol lõpbyn got (iis') mit unzerym mund,
 un' deran gydénkyn fun štund cu štund,
 es zéi réix oder arym, krank oder gyzunt.

6 i.e., ma'iser; cf. Beranek, Sprachatlas, Karten 10, 11, 14, 15.

7 MS.: hëibyt/haibyt

8 dém?

9 dém? ir?

10 ap grüundy? ab grüundy? aby grüundy?

11 MS.: gint

12 béëry? Author: hëry? hëçry?

13 MS.: oon

14 MS.: nütü

15 MS.: ir

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mir müügyn vol bénsyn Avroohom un' Iicxok, di manyn biider,
gybénst zéi das méser, gybénst zéi das viider,
gybénst zéi er foor, gybénst zéi er ziider,
gybénst zéi er in al gyzang un in alyn glüder.

gybénst zéi der bérg un' der doryn,
gybénst zéi das aaiyl, das zix hoot for voryn,
gybénst zéi zéin hout, zéin flaaís un' zéin horyn,
vén mir es bloozyn, zoq tuut Kõqdyś-borxu ab zéin coryn.

vén mir es bloozyn, zoq muz zix der Sootyn bald for bérgyn
un muz bald hin vék fliihyn mit al zéin sérgyn
un' darf zix nit loosyn zééhyn den zélbyn morgyn
un for šandyn muz er zix kriixyn unter di bérgyn.

voorum der Sootyn var zix berüümyn geëgyn got dem héryn,
vir er vol vélt di ekëedy for štöörin,
vi er vist gyvis, Avroohom téét es nit géryn,
das vélt er mit der voorhaait byvéérin.

nun hoot ir gyhóört, vi er for züüxt al zéiny for nüftyn.
er kéért zix cu Soory, di zas bytüftyn.
er viiz ir di ekëedy qobyn in lüftyn –
azoq ging ir di nyšoomy ous mit vaainyn un' züfcyn.

aax šteët in unzeryn sfoorym,
vén mir maxyn tküy, truu, y, švoorym,
zoo tüünyn zix ouf fiil raxmy šyoorym
un' cu réisyn al böözy gyzeççrys un' böözy nydoorym.

un' nox meçen šteët in unzerer Toory,
das déén tag hoot über unz kaain maxt der ieçcer hory.
das gutys habyn mir alyz fon Avroohom, Iicxok un' Soory,
nõuert das mir véérin frum un' bysvoory.

un' niimyt viider unz vért kōnyn zéin šëçdig
un' Kõqdyś-borxu vért unz al céit zéin gynéédig,
un fun dém goolys zolyn mir vérdyn bald leçdig,
un' zol unz Myšiiax zéndyn afly biz geçen Krëmoçona un' Venëçdig!

17

1514. From the long polemical poem *Hamavidil* by Elia Levita, the famous Jewish grammarian of the humanist period ('Father of Christian Hebrew scholarship') and translator into Yiddish of Buovo d'Antona. (From a photo of the Oxford MS

Can. Or. 12, fols. 205–206.) The poem was published by N. Shtif in vol. 1 of *Caatfrist*, Minsk, 1926, pp. 150–158. A text with variants is in Cambridge: University Library: Trinity College MS. F. 12.45

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 hamavdil beçen koodyś lexol,
cvişyn mir ün hilyl, den nivzyn knol
er ist aly biiberei zoç fol
az fiil az di koxoovym balaily.</p> <p>2 hilyl, dü hoost dix mit mir gytręct
ün hoost dix ouf mix gyzęct –
es vęrt zęin dęin lęct,
ęę ous gęęct di laily.</p> <p>4 [is] daz nit aain gręçser ioomer,
daz dü bist aain gooi goomer,
kaain tag oorstü nit biz boorex
śeoomer.
az fer voor nit ouz lęębyn di laily.</p> <p>35 er hoot mit im dręi, fiir gooiym,
ęityl baxüürym, bęęzy kanfooym,*
di müst er bycalyn, azoç hiiltyn iry
tnooym
itlixyn for aain sxiir iom ün aain sxiir
laily.</p> | <p>46 doo bęi vil ixs loosyn blęibyn,
vi vol ixs lęnger hęt an cu tręibyn,
ober mix klękt nit, zolt ix alys śręibyn,
arbooym ion vyarbooym laily.</p> <p>48 vęn dü vist, vi diir dęin ręim an
cęęmyn:
aain ręim cu maxyn virstü dix śęęmyn.
vilstü dix ręim gęęgyn müir an
nęęmyn?
lyhavdyl bęęn iom übęęn laily.</p> <p>50 ix ferhaais dir, ęę doo ous gęęct aain
xoodyś,
ix vil zain ouf dix maxyn in looşyn
hakoodyś,
gymaxt noox dem mişkyl fon śęękyl
hakoodyś,
vyhogiiso boç iqomom vylaily.</p> |
|--|--|

18

1518. Gōc (Gōtz) of Fiderholtz addresses a complaint about Man/Męndyl his stepfather, to the Jewish community of Ratisbon (Regensburg). (From a photo of the document in Munich: Kreisarchiv: Generalregistratur: Fasz. 1260.) (Published in R. Straus etc. [see No. 12], p. 340, No. 957, and p. 457, No. 957.)

Męncyl śamys,¹ ix tuy öüx das cu visyn un' kol² hakaal³ cu zagyn den gręçsyn gyvalt un' das gręçs un ręxt, das unz vaaizyn ist vider faryn in Ręgynspurk fon unzerym śtif fater Man, dox ręd ix fūr mix alaain. das ęęrst, doo vir zęin gyzęsın cu Altorf, doo ist męin fater zęęlig ab gangyn mit toçt, doo ist męin muyter zęlig morgyn goob gyvést zęxs hunder[t] guldyn. doo hoot zi gynumyn den Męndyl³ fon Ręgynspurk, un' hoot im for

* Italian *convoglio*? (N. Shtif). The scribe it seems, first wrote *knafooim*, but when correcting to *kanfooym* forgot to delete the *a* in the second syllable.

¹ Secretary of the community.

² 'the whole community.'

³ Diminutive of *Man*.

sproxyn un' gygébryn drit halb hunder[t] guldyn réinis, das ander fierd halb hundert guldyn réinis uns armyn un dercogyn vaazyn cu haltyn cum bestyn, un' zi gykaauff hoot das hous, doo der Man inyn zict, fon der gymaain iüdis haait, das iyderman cu visyn is, doo zol er inyn zicyn, doo véil zi lébt, un' noox iiryng toot doo zol das hous uns brüydern haaim gyfalyng. das hous hoot zi gykaauff un'⁴ hundert guldyn réinis, di drit halb hundert guldyn, di hoot er under zix gybroox mit foréter réi un' mit büyberéi, az dén aainer gancyn gymaain iüdis haait vol cu visyn is. meçer, habyn unzer foor münder gygébryn méinym stiyf fater cvaai hunder[t] guldyn, gélt un' gélt veçert, al (adas)⁵ das in éin hous gyhöört, as méin fater ist gyvést aain réix man, er zol uns haltyn un' ciyhyn dréi ioor lang, mit ésyn, mit drinkyn, mit klaaidern, mit lérnyn noox dem iüdisyn ordyn. dér es nit gytoon hoot, das is éér gyvést, das ix nit meçen bin béi im gyvést vén aain ioor. alzoo hoot er zix alzoo arm gymaxt, un' er zéi for dorbyn, un hoot méin army gyvstrix gyhaltyn az aain foréter un' böözvixt, un' kaainerlaai hoot gyhalt[yn], vas er unz hoot cuy gyzagt, das aainer gancyn gymaain iüdis haait cu visyn is. meer, kan mir armyn man nit vérdyn méin gylihyn gélt, das ix oft hab gyfodert, zélbs, un' gysikt hab andert löüt an im, er méiner gyspot hoot, un forlaaikt mir armyn man das méin. meçer, is aainer gancyn gymaain iüdis haait cu visyn, doo méin gyvstrix ist béi im gyvést, doo hoot er zix alzoo arm gymaxt un' hoot for zect di hoqozyn⁶ fon baain um broot, ouf aaim sim,⁷ un' hoot aain gancy gymaain iüdis haait das iir for haltyn, das er uns for dribyn hoot ouz dem hous hunger halbyn. alzoo bald az di dréi ioor ouz vooryn, doo téét er zix her foor un' fand zix, das aainer gancyn iüdis haait vol cu visyn var, az guyt az zexcehyn hundert guldyn. das hoot er gyvunyn mit unzerym gélt alzoo vol az mit zéinym gelt. nun bin ix icunt am iün[gs]tyn gyvézyn cu Régynspurk un' hab an in gysikt den çlectyn reby mit namyn r'⁸ Meçier,⁹ un' gyfodert hab das méin gylihyn gélt, un' hab g'¹⁰ bygért mit im cu réxynyn for guytyn löütyn, vas mir cuy gybüürt, mir cu méin taail, doo hoot er zix loosyn mérkyn, er vól mix um tröubyng,¹¹ doo véil ix nit hab, un' vól alzoo fon miir kumyn az fon méinym bruyder Moçsy, dén hoot er über toobert¹² in aainym trunk, un' bööz löüt dar cuy gyholffyn habyn. nox hoot er mix gybroox um all méin zilber gysir biz ouf aain kopf,¹³ dén vil ix daréin vagny riterlix, biz ix méiner sédyn aain kum, un' tuy im cu visyn, das ix im ab

4 Slip.

5 *am*?6 Slip instead of *happzyn*? diphthongization?7 Slip instead of double yodh? i.e., *MSH schme* but with the meaning 'Anshein, appearance'?8 Abbreviation of *rabbi*.9 *Meir*.10 Presumably slip, anticipating the *g* of the next word.11 Inverse spelling, i.e., *waw* yodh instead of double yodh (because mutated vowels had already been unrounded)? i.e., *um tröubyng* to *MSH umberriben* 'to torture; to fool somebody; to sue'?12 *betäubem* 'To numb, stun, send to sleep'?13 *MS kopf*.

zag, méinym štíyf fater, Méndyl cu Régynspurk, zéinym léib un' zéinym guyt, un' aainer gancyn gymaain iúdis haait,
un' aax aainer gancyn gymaain stat Régynspurk, das zi zix nixs dérfyn guyc cu mir foor zéhn.

volt Got fon himyl, das di bürger un' aain gancy gymaain fon Régynspurk zolt visyn den groosyn gyvalt, der mir gysixt, mir armyn man, fon dém Méndyl, méinym štíyf fater. es möxt Got fon himyl der barmyn.

ix Gôc fon Fider holec

19

1519. Signatures on a document in German. Ratisbon (Regensburg) (Munich: Hauptstaatsarchiv: Juden in Regensburg Urk. Fasz. 38.) Published in R. Straus etc. (see above No. 12), p. 394, No. 1056, and p. 460, No. 1056.

Büyberl Iüd méin hant gisrift	Meriam Hösyl méin hant gysrift
Ooßer br Iuudy zal méin hant gysrift	Bendit Altorf méin hant gysrift
Mooşy Nürbek méin hant gysrift	Ëogyléin méin hand gysrif
Mooşy bon Buld Loutyn Slager méin hant gysrift	
Bimy ¹ Iüd bon der Vrêistat méini hant gysrift	

In the German manuscript these persons have the following names:

Püeberlein Heller	Mergam, des Hoschel Leben hausfrau
Allt Ascher Leb von Rom	
Mosche Lorch von Nurnberg	Vogelein, des Kaufmans hausfrau
Mosse von Fuld, man nennt Lautenschlaher	
Symon ¹ von der Freyenstat	

20

1541. The final two stanzas of *Bovo d'Antona*, Elijah Levita's (see No. 17) translation of the Italian *Buovo d'Antona* (which is based on *Sir Bevis of Hampton*). Isny (Württemberg).

Dox vil ix aix nényn foor,
vér das büüx hoot gymaxt ün
gysriibyn:
Eliy Booşer nént er zix, c voor.
aain ganc ioor hoot er deriber for triibyn

¹ On p. 318, No. 893 of 1517 appears Pinman, Judt von der Freienstat jetz zu R[egenspurk]. In this document there is also an Aller Pyman vom Hellein bei Salzpurgkh, in other documents we find the forms Piman, Byman, Pynman and Pymann.

ûn hoot es gymaxt das zéilbig ioot,
 das man cççlt cvaai hûndert ûn zéxcig ûn ziibyn.
 er hoot es aauz in Nisyn ûn hççb es an in lier.
 Got zol ûnz gççbyn rûû for alyn bççzyn tiier.

ûn zol ûnz derlççzen aauz ûnzeryn péin
 ûn zol ûnz di gynood gççbyn,
 das mir al misyn zççxy zéin,
 Mysiiix céit cu der lççbyn.
 der zol ûnz fiiryng kaain Ierûsoolaiym hinein,
 oder érync in aain dérçfyl der nççbyn,
 ûn zol ûnz das bççs-mikdyś vider baauyn.
 vexçen iehii rççcyn. ççmyn, traauyn.

21

1544. Psalm 6, from a prayer book, edited and published by Joseph b. Yakar. Ichenhausen.

(2) Got, nit mit déinyng corn zolstu strosyn mix un' nit mit déinyng grim corn zolstu késtygyn mix. (3) lôutzélig mix, Got, dén aain swaxer bin ix, haail mix, Got, wén zi zéin der srokyn, méini gibaaïn, (4) un méin zçl iz der srokyn zçr, un' du, Got, wi lang wilstu cu zéhyng. (5) wider kçr, Got, bysirm méin zçl, hilf mir ûm wilyng déiner ginood. (6) wén nit am toot iz déin gydéxtynis, in der grubyn wér kan dix lobyn? (7) ix bin müd mit méinyng züfcyn, ix byzülper ali naxt méin bçt mit méinyng tréhern, méin span bçt ix max vöüxt. (8) ez iz ver vinstert von corn méin aaug, es iz bor altert ûm' wilyng al méini laaidiger. (9) kçrt ob von mir ali di doo wûrkyn unréxt, wén Got, er hoot gihoort/gihöört stîm méinys waainyn. (10) er hoot gihoort/gihöört, Got, méin gibét, Got, méin gibét er wért an néinyng. (11) zi zolyn wérdyn ver sémt un zi zolyn der srékyn zçr al maini vaind. (12) zi zolyn wider kçryng un' zi zolyn wérdyn versémt az in aainyng aaugyng blik.

22

1677. From Ioslin Vicynhauzyng's (Yoslin Witzenhausen) preface to his Bible translation, Amsterdam. (Last paragraph of the second page of the preface.)

Aax vén aaner méxt vélyng froogyn, im kén dççs azou fiil iz ççn aaner hatççky gylççgyn, dççs Talmy ha-méilex hot lozyn zibyngcig zykéinyng houlyng fun Ierusalaiym, un hii tuut és aan man alaant, iz der téryc, Talmy ha méilex hot drum fiil gynumyn, er hot vélyng zççgyn, oub zi aly glaix vérdyn sraibyn, aaner az vi der ander. nun, doo iz aan nés gysééyng al-pii ruuex hakoudyś, dççs zi aly glaix for taiçt un gysriibyn hççbyn. ober vén man vil frççgyn, man hot dox iou in k[i]ly k[y]douśy Farara gyhat méiy xaxççmyn gydoulym, dii dçç hççbyn maitik gyvççzyn toury nyviyng u-ksuuvyng lyloççsng Sfyrdym; un aax hot mydiinyng Holand snas xaméiśys alççfym 379 lypak in dem mççkym Dort oder Dort rest

gyhat 25 mylumoodym gydoulym, dii doq hoobyn toury nyviiym u-ksuuvym maitki gyvéézyn; un vii lozt man és dén nun stéin uf aanyin man, der es maitik iz, un oon aanyin, der di hatopky hélf iber lainyn. doq gib ix dén téryc: ix hoob in aanyin séifer gylaiynt, doqs aaner sraibt in zainer hakdoomy, un fréégt aan kaśy: vi kumt es, doqs icundert kumt aan gymaaner, sléxter lamdyn un fréégt aan grousy kaśy uf poskym hagnounym hakad-mounym? vii šaaix, hoobyn és zélzy gyounym gydoulym nit gyzééyn oder doq oon gystousyn? éntvert er un šprix: és iz aan moqsyl: és géit doq aan riiz, der kan goor vai zééyn; doq kumt ain gycvérglain, doqs némt er uf di aksl; doq kan dos klaany gycvérglain nox vai ter zééyn az der grousy riiz. azou aax di gyounym gydoulym hoobyn goor vai gyzééyn, un der gymaany lamdyn némt iiry sfoorym in di hant un lérynt doq inyn aly di kaśys voqs den gyounym iz koqs gyvéézyn hoqt er for zix. moqs dén laixt, doqs er nox aan vçennig vai ter kan zééyn un aan kaśy aus findyn.

23

1727. Fürth. Henely Kirxhaan (Henele Kirchhaan):¹ Simxys-ha-Nççfyś, part II, preface. (*Fotografiser iber-drjk fjm der éirster jn ainciker ousgaby ... Mit a kúltúúr-historiśn araan-für* by Jacob Shatzky, New York, 1926.)

Mççaxer hob gyzççyn, gysixt in gymaan groqs frççvyl,
 un' néémyn zix nit cu hércyn dos alys iz hççvyl,
 di sfoorym ouf taitt un' main xççlyk riśyn Simxys ha-Nççfyś iz bai fiil um zunst,
 dén cu bréngyn, dos zolyn flaisig lainyn di muser un' diinym iz aan kunst,
 voqs hélf nun di sfoorym cu maxyn,
 vén nit laiynt, un iürs šomaaiym stélyn cu ruk véégyn véltlix yaxyn.
 zolxys mit caar hob bytraxt
 drum hob ix diizy zmiirys gymaxt.
 fiil diinym fun aly toog un šaboqsys ve-iççmym tççvym zainyn drinyin gymélt,
 un voql noqx gyzang in gyraim gystélt,
 aax gystélt di muziky cu maxn bykant
 dorx erfoorung bai zanyin muzikant
 den réxtyn niigyn.
 drum, main liiby lait, lozt aix un aiery kinder den réxtyn véég liigyn
 un lozt aix byniigyn
 for liib cu némyn alys voos Got aix tuut cuu fiigyn.
 bysxus zçç zolyn mir zoçxy zain bald den goçyl çççdyk cu kriigyn.
 un der vail der iker iz der cuu, doos man in šabys haltyn iz gut un frum,
 un gysixt rov xilyl šabys dos gççyn txumyn, di zainyn krum,
 drum hob ix gystélt di réxty diinym, vii man gççt un vii man mést dén txum.

¹ There are many Kirchhains. The one in Hesse might be the source of our author's appellative name (he lived a century before the Jews had to take surnames).

24

1798. Iquxynyn Léivi Roufy (= physician): *Diskurs gyhaltn cvisn iyhuudym in sif fun Itrét* (Utrecht) *noqx Amsterdam*, No. 1, p. 1.

ANŚL HOLANDER kumt in sif, froogt: kapitén, kén ix aan huk-plac kriign?

ŚIFER zoogt: és śif iz nox leđdig.

GUMPYL ŚPANIER kumt un froogt aax noqx aan huk-pléciy.

ŚIFER zoogt: iou.

GUMPYL géit in śif un zoogt: oq vii guut, dou kén ix guut sloufn, nox kaaner dou. – iou, voor haftig, dou zict nox aan menś in. oq, doo kén ix sloufn. guut morgn! oq, Anśl, duu bist es. ix hob nit gyvust, doqs du aax in Itrét bist, ix hob gymaant, du bist śabys in Amsterdam gyveęzt, um uf gyruufn cu vérn. for axt toqg śabys zényn aly di kyiciinym uf gyruufn gyvorn, hob ix gymaant, śabys kumt es oon di dalfōonym.

ANŚL: voqs maanstu dén, doqs es bai uns cuu géit vi bai aix lait, doqs xilyk gymaxt vért cvisn koęcn oder gymaaner man? mir zényn aly goer égaal, der manyg iz niks béser als der gymaaner man, aly goor cu glaix kényn dox nit uf gyruufn vérn.

GUMPL: iou, maar voorum iz dén Iosyf śuu-raan-maxer nit dy érsty śabys uf gyruufn gyvorn?

ANŚL: du bist aan réxter nar. haftoury vért dox for kaaft. dox ix zeę vuol, doqs du aax aan souny bist fun di naiy kily. ix vil amōol main biixly fun dy xinex, voqs ix hob, laiynyn.

GUMPL: héer amōol, Anśl, ix zoog dir main hérc réxt araus: du bist dir oon mir un oon fiil andery lait grob touy. ix bin bai main leębn kaan souny fun di naiy kily, nor ix zeę nit, doqs ir lait épys gybésert zait.

ANŚL: voqs mir gybésert zényn, oq śmaa bynii! dén vaastu goor niks! ...

25

1867–1952. Daniel Braunschweig, Lengnau (Surbtal, Switzerland): From his reminiscences. (Florence Guggenheim: *Surbtaler Jiddisch*, Frauenfeld, 1966, p. 27.) (Nos. 25–29 are given in my spelling system.)

Es sin ięc bald drayndraisig ioor, das mai fraa un is mitynand xasyny ghet hen. Das is gyveęsy amy meęntig, amy cvaity deęember naincéi hundred ęęs. un vii is daa e séiny daag gyveę. Tags cufoor hot s gereęynt un tags nooxéer in śtrōomy. s hot dé(r)fy mitti mai sai, so hot di sun gśiny.

cu der xasyny crugg! Mai khaly is fon Éndigy un is fon dort ous mit de resly-boęst uf Siggedaal, un fun dort ous mit de baan uf Baady. un is, de xoęsyn, direęgt mit de resly-boęst uf Baady. uf ym baan-hōf sin mer den camy khomy, un nox fiil andery xasyny-lait ous der miśboęxy.

26

1886–1961. Emanuel Bollag, Endingen (Surbtal, Switzerland): From his reminiscences. (Source as in No. 25, p. 29.)

Guty morgy mitynand, simmers moqxyl, ven is sou frii cu ais khum. is hab en aanslaag, qony grousi coorys. Mai fraa lost mer kha ruu, uf iontyf sol is e naiy ... mus is e naiy hut hou. si hot medsumy rest, der khan oqser kha staat mei maxy, mit deqm, vu is hab. s is hajnt e seiny daag, da hab is gydenggt, my khent uf Baaden ay ggi, esou e hut ge khaafy. un da hab is gydenggt, duu Smuul, hets aax der cait, mit mer c khumy, is het geern e xafrusy. My khenty io c fuus ggi dorè yn vald un kény iou uns dy cait lou, s pésiirt iou nit bis mer uf Baady aiy khumy. Vemer gegy di céiny c Édingy fort giingtyd, véery mer gegy di qasy drin. un végy di ycoqys, vùus khent geg cy Baady, meest oqser khani daqis hou, for dii khemy is sou uf. Vemer denoox c miid sin, de veeg nox emol maxy c fuus, khény mer io de cuug nemy im Siggetaal aaby, denooxd véer mer aax rest-caitig vider dehaam.

27

1881-. David Maier, Müllheim (Baden): From his reminiscences. (Source as in No. 25, p. 39.)

Un dernooxyd bin is als fon Mily uf Baasyl un hab qafangy mis selbsténdig c maxy. Is bin nox nid emol cvancig ioor alt gyvès. un das hab is aly misy maxy, um dehaam e bisly c hélyf, mer sin sivy khinder gyvès. un am fraidig coovy bin is imer iver savys vider uf Mily. un bai de groqsmuter, di hot e stùübser ghèt. Visyner, vas e stùübser gyvèсын is? Dqo hot mer am fraidig coovy holt-khoqly druff gymaxt un das hot gybrént biis am savys, sbéisys-cnaxt. un do hen mer als di aarbsy-sup mit dery-flaas hii gybroxt un hen si am savys-mitaag misy hoqly, das is unser savys-suudy gyvès. un am sbéisys-cnaxt sin mer ali in di suul. Daamaals hot s c Mily nox épy hundert-cvancig familiy iyhuudym ghèt.

28

1882-. Arthur Ziwy, Dürmenach (Upper Alsace): From his reminiscences. (Source as in No. 25 + *Jiddische Sprachproben aus Elsass und Baden*, p. 41.)

Dermynax is haint nox e ganc seyn derfly, voq numy nox e paar lidy vouny, e paar véinigy familiy. vii is nox dort gyvès bin, das haast, for sivycig ioor, doo hot Dermynax nox éver e qxt hundert qivooner ghèt, un di hélt derfoqon sin lidy gyvès. e paar ioor forhét hén di lidy sogaar di grousi maioridqet ghèt, un s is aax foor khumy, das der parys aax glais-caitig der méer gyvès is fon Dermynax.

29

1873-1957. Paul Gerschel, Weissenburg/Strasbourg (Lower Alsace): From his reminiscences. (Source as in No. 25, p. 45.)

Is fercéil so gérn ous di alty caity. ven is an di hily seiny khilys déngg, vù mer als im Elsas ghèt hén, s hérc düt mer véi. si sin slamasligervais q grad parti nimi dou oder sin ganc

camy gsrumpft, doudors das di dérfer un di gglaanery mouggymliś ali léér vory sin, sin ięct vider ous Štrousboryg, Kholmer, Milhousy un Męc grousy khilys vory. in dény fir gréiśty khilys sin vider rebōonym dou, vū derfor soriy, das unseri emūūny blaibt, vas si cu oovys avouśéiny gyveęen iś. s Elsas hot aly vail faśt ganc Carfys mit rebōonym un xazounym fersorjt. ali gra-rabę de Fras, bis uf der haidigy daag, hén ous ym Elsas gśtamt un mer dérf e gaąfy han uf di mérigg-vérdigy méner ...

Rędy mer nox e bisyl daxlys un cėily nox e paar fo dény gūty spris-vértliś uf, vūū mer ous dény alty, gūty caity gyiaaśt hén. [We give a selection here.]

e lúštiger dalys géit iver alys.

męj soxtym vi hiiner.

lou loynu śtéit in hall.

mer khęn diś brouxy for ggręj

(der) xūūxym śtięynt.

cu raivy.

noox siggys khumyd ęsrouxym.

trit ym Sōōtyn uf der kopf.

dąąys for unglyęty aaier.

s flaaś iś s beśty gymiis.

s ganc ioor śigger un am

e meśly masyl iś beśer vii e

Pūūrym niśtery.

seśter xoxmy.

der alt Aisigg iś aax nox déncerig.

d lomp nuf un di dąąys crunder.

śigger vii Lot.

veņ mer maant, s iś lerōōy, iś s lytoufy.

dūū solś der macy ganyfy.

im Tamys friiry di ęsyl.

CENTRAL YIDDISH

30

1619. From a letter written from Prague to Vienna by Miriam, daughter of the doctor Moyśy Mōęer Kōōtyn Lúćérny (Moses Maor Katan Lucerna) to her sister-in-law Ręczel,¹ the wife of her brother, the doctor Árn Mōęer Kōōtyn Lúćérny (Aaron Maor Katan Lucerna). (Vienna: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv: Abt. Haus-, Hof- und Staats-Archiv: Cod. suppl. 1174: Letter No. 1). Cf. Alfred Landau und Bernhard Wachstein, Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619, Vienna, 1911.)

... Bykicer, liiby śveęgerin, vis, doęs mir hoōbyn dainy ksoōvy[m] mykabyl gyveęzyn. mir zain zéér der śrokyn fūn vęęyn di psūūry roōy bav[oynoysęęnū] h[orabym], az doę iz nifter gyvorn bėn axęęnū, boorex daaiyn ęmys. męęn zain mir zéér der śrokyn maxmys ipyś. ix hob bydęęy gyhat ahiin cū ciiny mit m[ainy] kind[er]lix, got byhiit zęę. nūūn vail es azoy cūū gęęt, kan es nit zain. vil es Śėmisboorex byfęęlyn. aax hobyn mir nox aan ksav mykabyl gyveęzyn a[l][y]dęę śliiex. aax zain mir zix zéér mycaer, az dū dix bav[oynoysęęnū] h[orabym] müzt azoy gynyętyn. ober vōos zol man toon? ix hob main brūūder goor zéér gykiplt, vi man in hot auf gynūmyn, er zol dix héér némyn, hot

1 Ręczel is 'Rosie,' 'little rose,' not 'little Theresa.'

er klal üklal nit gyvélt. ix hob imer cūü gyzooqt: „vi viltu oon vaib hauzyn?“ ober hic iz main deçy goor nit ün aax di ganc mispooxy. Got byhiit zëç, zain aax dervider, in aan zélxyn raas, es ciit avék vér nor kan zain gyzind farsikyn. nüün vi viltu, main hérc-liiby šveçgerin, dir in aan zin némyn, in aan zélxyn vëçzyn héér cū kùmyn. aans: man lozt niimyt ain, di lait di doç zain héér kùmyn, Bëçly ir toxter ün dü mit iir zain kùmyn, dii hot man nit vélyn ain lozyn, hobyn müzyn 3 ioomy[m] auf den bëçs xaaiym ligyn, dernooç hobyn zëç goor avék müzyn ciijn. ün doçs ander, mit aan gyzind ün mit kinder auf den vëçg lëçgyn. aax hot man zëç bygazyl[t], man hot zëç vélyn goor in lëçger fiiryn, iz goor fil derfün cū šraibyn. iz goor cūü fil fün Bëçly gyv[ëçzyn], az zi hot di toxter in aan zélxyn vëçzyn héér gysikt, zi hot sxüs oqvys gynosyn, vér nit kan derfün rëçdyn, der kan nit lëçbyn. nüün, main hérc-liiby šveçgerin, ix bit dix goor zéér ün zéér ün ném dir nit zélxy ün glaixy drooxym fiir, vooç nit müglex iz. vén es nor aan müglex kaat véér, vélt main brüder kaan mynüüxy lozyn, er müzyt dix héér némyn, vii i[x] foor mit gancer maxt hob vélyn hoçbyn, er zol dix héér némyn, azoy bin ix hic der vider ... ix hob zélber bydeçy mit main švoçger réb Šloymy in Poylyn cū ciijn. nit ix alaan, andery la[it] meçn, dii nor kényn ob kùmyn. ix vaas voyl, az du dix zéér müzt gynecytyn. vooç zol man toon, Šémisboorex zol es amoçl béser maxyn, az vii mir hofyn. ...

31

1619. From a letter written by Rëçzyl (Rezel Landau), Prague, to her daughter Xany (Channe ['Hanna, Anna']) in Vienna. (Source as in No. 30. Letter No. 34.)

... Liibys hérc, am io[m] b[ëçs], eç der šliix iz kùmyn, zoy iz Bëçly toxter kùmyn ün Maatly ün hob[yn] mir kaan briiv gybraxt, zoy bin ix šiir gybliibyn, zoy hobyn zëç mir gysvoçry[n] doçs éc lang mit liib al gyzünt zait, zoy hob ix mix aan vëçnik bynüügyn gylozyn. di ganc kily kan zix nit gynüügyn for vündern doçs man di maad icünder hot héér gysikt, iz ir gynaa gynüügyn gangyn, zi véér šiir ins lëçger kùmyn, hét zi nit mit zix gyhat iiry zaxyn, der mit hot zi zix, got cū foor, aus gylëçzt. véér ober kaan vünder gyvëçzyn, azoy aan frëçvy! zi hot gyvis sxüs oqvys gynosyn. érst hot man zi hü nit vé[yn] ain lozyn, iz cū Liibyny, den doçs kol gëçt vii xas vyoçolym groyser aver véér, man hot di maad drüm héér gysikt. drüm for langt mix, biz ix véér mércyšém vider briiv fün énk hoçbyn. liibys hérc, az dü šraibst doçs doç fil frémdy lait bai énk zain, iz kaan vünder, zainyn hü aax šiir azoy fil az hiigy. vooç zol man tüün? vooç Šémisboorex tüüt, iz voyl gytoon, gylöybt zai er. zol ix dir šraibyn, vii es unz gëçt? Šémisboorex zols ibër (r)al güüt maxyn. mir zainyn šmoçl gynüügyn gyständyn. man iz aan moçl ain gylofyn, iz boorx ašém voyl aus gangyn, mir hobyn sxüs oqvys gynosyn. ...

32

1619. Letter written by Šloymy (Solomon) Auerbach, Prague, to Zanvel Lintz, his son's father-in-law in Vienna. (Source as in No. 30. Letter No. 12.)

Ahüü[vi] mexütooni kmar Zanvyl. vélt aix géryn bariixys šraibyn, kan nit visyn, oyb di kšövy[m] öön kümyñ. dox müz ix šürysaai[ym] šraibyn, dermit iir s aax tüün zolt. ün bit aix, vért aix losyn mainy kinder befoylyn zain. aax kan ix dénkyñ, döqs icünder di mixiy cü Viün aax nit iz vii ys zain zol. vért ir zëçyn, byñii aan öön stélüñg hélfyñ, döqs er bai den zainigyñ blaibyn kan ün x[as] v[ysšöplym] nit derüm kümt. aax fer hof ix, aier cüü zoögyñ nõox kümyñ, doos ir iin vélt myhany zain öön hycöoys/hoycöoys. fer hof, ir tüüt ün tüün vért. fer hof, iz aix caaiys. véryn mércysém ovrym vy-šöovym zain, vil ix bariixys šraibyn. grüist zügosxy fün ünzeryñ vëçgyñ. volt Gütret byšëçlyñ, döqs zi ünz aax šraibt.

vy-šö šöplym mi-méni mexütonxo Šlöymy Auerbax.

33

Nineteenth century. Moravia. Proverbs. (From *Der Urquell*, 1897, pp. 271-272. Spelling changes are mine.)

1. af e narn iz kaa kašy cü froogn. 2. af e narn iz kaa psát cü zoogn. 3. e nar iz érgér vii e mamzer. 4. mit e narn braxt my dy baan. 5. mit e narn, e poökyd ün e pëçger zol my nit mišpytn. 6. püürym iz als frai, ober nõqs püürym vaas my dox, véér e nar iz. 7. špai dym narn in poönym, zoögt er, ys rëçgnt. 8. lüber fün e xoöxym e pač vii fün e narn e tač. 9. af e dorn-baam vaksñ kaa cvoorex-kréplex. 10. grois moiry voint in Geçvič. 11. kaa cüüvy iz aax e cüüvy. 12. az zi haast héndl, toor myñ ésn aus iir féndl. 13. e šlaxter šabys maxt e gütn züntyg. 14. af aa bak kon my šraibñ lang vyhüü-raxym ün af di andery tmaniy-apy. 15. Got byvoor ünz for aly coorys, zén orxym aax derüntér. 16. e šidex ün e šöplyt gyroötn zéltñ. 17. aly šlampdygy vaiber zén fraityg nõox-mitöög di grésty vartyn-ésts. 18. fün e ioiryš ün e ganyv iz šléxt cü kaafñ. 19. kaa brééry iz aax e gyzééry. 20. špoort s der müñd, frést s der hüñd. 21. e xilyf iz e xalyf. 22. küüzl dex elaan ün lax elaan. 23. alt Aizik vart téncerik. 24. e kvéñtl mazl iz méér vii e céñtn xoxmy.

34

Twentieth century. Mattersdorf (new name: Mattersburg), Burgenland. (From the *Jahrbuch für jüdische Volkskunde*, 1924/1925, pp. 463-472. Spelling changes are mine.)

1. Vot er mo haki-iodüüxy aus dym sidorl eraus raisñ! 2. dy brauxst dox niks fo mo cy forxtn, ex hob kaany cüzamyn-gyvaksyny aagn-braunyn. 3. koidym kol rüüfts müöx axryn auf! 4. vöqs kümsty mitñ voxn-proixys héér? 5. hüñd, hüñd, hüñd, dü zolst mox niks baisñ, züñst vot dox der taifl ceraisñ - iiox kéér Iaikyf, düü kéérst Eçsyv. 6. Éstorl, my švéstorl, vii geçt ys doi cüü! vén mo vil ésn geç, stélt mo érst cüü! vén mo vil trikn geç, hoilt mo n vai! ven mo vil šloifñ geç, falt ys hét ai! 7. bał-xöplym, iëçcer-hory, geç vék fün müor!

iiox glaab niks an diior,
 iiox glaab nor an al-maxtign got,
 der miiox bysafn hot.
 in Gynęędym šteęę e baam,
 dęęę vinś iiox aly mainy bęęęy traam.
 vęęę iiox haint naxt va épys ślaxts xęęęlymy, var iiox morgn nit drauf fastn.

EAST YIDDISH

35

About 1534. From the preface to *Mrkbt hmsnh lqwnqwrđasyw*, Cracow, a Bible concordance by Uuđer Anđl bęęę Iosyf (Asher Anshel b. Joseph). (From the copy in the British Museum.)

oux vist, dęęę man fint oft in diizym biixlain a vort, dęęę hot a śęęęrys in goor fiil męęęxy daaić. doorim hob ix itlixs vort in męęęxer lęi daaić far daaić, ober baai iklixyn hob ix gycęixnt, in vęlxym sęifer oder kapityl in pęęęsyk es hot dęęę daaić, in in ęinym anderym sęifer oder kapityl oder pęęęsyk hot es an ander daaić, am drityn oder am firdyn ort ober an ander daaić, ober aly vęęęyn itlixs ort gycęixnt vii zix dęęę daaić far ęndert. al dęęęx męęęsył: iad – in bręiśi[s] iz es daaić, hand; in śmi[ni] iz es daaić 'bortyn' i[ęś][omrym] 'maxt' i[ęś][omrym] ślak', in in sęifer 'bamidber' iz es daaić 'śtoęęut'. in der daaić zain derouf zibyncęhyn oder axcęhyn, in baai iklixym hob ix gycęixnt, vii es aza daaić iz, vii es pęęę ęinym anderym daaić iz, in oux derbaai gycęixynt dęęę zęlbęę ort in kapityl in pęęęsyk. ...

36

1579. From a witness's evidence before the (Jewish) court at Koouzmer. (Printed in *Śyairys Iosyf* [Śřyt ywsp] by Joseph Mordecai b. Gershon hakKohen; Cracow, 1590, fol. 44v. Koouzmer = Casimir, modern Polish Kazimierz, modern Yiddish Kuuzmark – near Cracow, now part of it.)

Icınd[ert] ęin ięęę bin ix iber iam gycęęęyn, dęęę bin ix gykimyn kęęę Rodos, gręęę Rodos, dęęę bin ix krank gyvooryn, dęęę iz an alter lid gykimyn ci mir in hot mix gyfręęę, śin vanyń ix vęęę. dęęę hob ix gysproxyn: „fin Kręęęky“. dęęę hot er gysproxyn, er vęęę oux fin Kręęęky, oder baai langy ięęęryn: „icındert kęęę ix niimynt nit.“ dęęę hob ix gysproxyn: „ir męęę voył maain śvęęę gykęęę hęęębyń, er hot gyhęisyn męęęsy Dls, zaain vaab hęisť ęster.“ dęęę hot er pęęę gyhęębyń: ęi, der dęęę der trinkyn iz, icik męęęsy Dls zřin, dęęę iz daain śvoęęęer gyvęęęzyn? ix hob im mit maainer hant bygręęębyń. ix hob in gykęęę baai zaainym lęęębyń. er iz gyfangyn gyvęęęzyn, in aazyn gangyn afily dernęęę, dęęę myń in hot ous gylęizť. ix hob in voył gykęęę.

37

1588. Cracow. Part of a letter from the officials of the community to the absent community leaders. (Wroclaw/Breslau: City Library. Published by Béier Vaanrib (B. Weinryb): *A pékl briiv in Ildis, Kruky-Prug in Historiyé tsrifin sijn Ildisn visn-saftlexn institút*, vol. 2, p. 66, pl. 2. Vilna/Vilnius, 1937.)

... Liibyn raboysaai, vqous zolyn mir aaix fiil sraaibyn in goour hoyx der manyn. mir beqetyu aaix lymaan raxmy vexasdy hasém, zolt Got qoun zeqehyn in zolt der cí tífn, byfrat zolt zeqehyn, dqqus oyb es mqqglíx iz, dqqu ir zolt cí dem starosty cíihyn kén der Lanc Kroyn in zolt maxyn, daz er sraaibt den irqynym mi-Kroquky, hén den irqynym mi-Kqquzmer, hén den pod starosty, haainy Lagovnicki, daz er raait ouf dqqus rqqut houz. Iaankyl iz aax/oux cí der Lanc Kroyn, men kon zix ober níst ouf in fer losyn, den er iz loy aléixym nit bykav habriiys. Derím zixt h.s.i. (Sémisboourex) qoun, dqqus ir cí anander kímít irgync víí, daz éc derous éicy halt. aax mízt ir hélfyn mit gélt, es kímít (b. w. h.) bavqyséiny hqqu-rabym-ouf di cdqquky laait, díi myn nit gydooxt hét, daz es Got der barym, byfrat vaail niimync tqour in di sstqqut tqour géin, di hoycqqouys zaain b. w. h. cí fiil, min hoycqqouys kabroquny[m] bar mynyn, hoycqqouys somrym gooiym, hoycqqouys somrym Iyhíidym lyhavdyl, hoycqqouys aniiym, díi zaain b. w. h. nit cí sraaibyn. Derím zixt Got qoun in hilft mit alyn zaxyn, díi dqqu cí hélfyn zaain. zixt síkt cí laaityn di ir vist dqqus zi fin kqqul i. 'zaain, dqqus zi aax hélfyn. ir vist voyl, dqqus ir hot mit ins kéinym kén ort gymaxt, nox blaaiibyn mir fln h.s.i. vqqgyyn, in vqqugyn zix in (in) zélxyn faaiet in flam in in zélxyn sykqqounys. h.s.i. zol sqymet lísqouyl zaain. víí nit x. v. xas vyqqoulym, dqqu vist, daz mir aax vélyn vék loyfyn in vélyn vaaiter nit aaiery haaizer hiityn, hén in der gas, hén in dym mqqouky[m], dén es tqour kén Iyhíidy nit in dqqus mqqoukym. – derím zixt Got is. s. ² qoun in hilft rqqutyu. ³ ir vist, zaait al aain vék gylofyn in di haxroqouzys aly voyl gyvist, díi men vért tífn. in hot alty mit anander níst gytífn nort aain vék cí loyfyn, in di kily i. c. azoy al kqqryu cvii gylasyn. psíity, es zaain fiil ínter kqqul i. cv. di zix fer éntvern zaain níst nic, ober dox it hot gyzeqehyn, víí di zax hot gyhat éin gystalt. derím zixt al kol qqouny[m], daz ir zixt oder zélibert cím starosty cí cíihyn, oder maxyn éin iom, víí men cí anand kéém, in dqqus er sriib briiv cím mqqouky[m], haainy lyirqynym mi-Kroquky, hén lyirqynim mi-Kqquzmer, hén cí Lagovnicki, by-frat dqqu er ouf dqqus rqqut houz raait. ...

¹uííímerem cíírom ²úsboqourex smoi. ³ratyn?

38

Late sixteenth century. Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi: *Sefer Ham-maggid* (Lublin, 1623?): Psalm 6.

(1) Deqen mizmer hot gymaxt Dqqouvyd, dqqus in zol zingyn der mynactíex, dqqus zaain di lyviim, az gydaxt iz oybyn cvéi mqqul, dqqus di lyviim héisyn mynaxym. zqqugt der qqousyk alhii, dqqus Dqqouvyd hot den mizmer gymaxt, dqqus in der léivi zol zingyn mit gydeqen, mit azoy éin nigyn, der hips iz cí spíiilyn ouf azoy éin harf, dqqus dqqu héist

šmiinys, der vaail art zéityn derçoun zaain. cí dem zéibigyn vòqur der dozig mizmer cí Dòquvyd. er špròux Dòquvyd: (2) Got, štròquf mix nit mit daainym coryn, in dí zolst mix nit késtigin, mit daainym grim coryn. (3) der barym mix, Got, den ix bin fer šnityn in fer dorbyn mit mòqugeryn kòyex, héil mix, dén zi zaainyn der šrokyn, maain béin, (4) in maain laaib iz zér der šrokyn, in dii, Got, biz kén vi lang vérti dòqus cí zèçhyn in vért inz nit héilyn. (5) vider kéér, Got, in cii ous maain laaib, hélf mir im vilyn daain xèçsyd. (6) dén es iz nit in tòyt daain gydéxynis, éiner der dòqu štarbt, kon dix nit gydénkyn, in oux in der grífb, vér kon dix løybyn, vén er niin tòyt iz, derim loz mix lèçbyn, vér ix dix ioo løybyn. (7) ix bin miid fin vèçgyn maain zifcyn, ix max miüs, az ein špaabixt in byzilper aly naxt maain bét, oder: ix véš maain bét, in mit maainy trèçheryn max ix faaixt. (8) es iz fer tinkylt maain oyg fin vèçgyn coryn, es iz fer éltert, oder: fer ríkt, fin vèçgyn al maain léidiger, dii mix méicer zaain. (9) Duuvyd špròux vaaiter: kéért ub fin mir avék ir al dii inréxt vérkyn, ir vért nimer niks kényn túin, dén Got hot gyhèçrt dòqus kol fin maainym véiny. (10) Got, der hot gyhèçrt maain bérymlix gybèçt, Got, der vért çoun némyn maain tfily, (11) zéi véryn fer šèçmt véryn, oux der šrokyn véryn, zéi véryn zix der šrékyn, al maainy faaind, in zéi véryn vider amòqul fer šèçmt véryn in éin oygyn blik.

39

Late sixteenth century. Jacob b. Isaac Ashkenazi: From his *Cénerény* (Tsennerenne): Exodus 3, 1.

der minyg iz gyvèçzyn fin aly cadiikym, dòqus zéi pšlèçgyn cí véidyn šòquf in der midber, der vartyn zéi vélyn zix vaait aain vék maxyn fin den laaityn. dén vén men baai laaityn iz, dòqu kímt fiil avéirys der fin; rexiilys in kiny in lòqušyn hory imasig gvíl. in derim štéit gysribyn axer hamidber, klomer er ging vaait, er volt nit véidyn ouf frémdy félder. in di xaxòqumym zoqugyn: fércik içqur iz Mòyšy gyzésyn in micraaiym, in fércik içqur in Midiyn, in fércik içqur in der midber. in azoy vòqur oux réb Akiivy fércik içqur handlyn mit sxòry, in der nòqux vòqur er férick içqur lérnyn, in der nòqux vòqur er fércik içqur iyšiiivy haltyn. in Mòyšy vòqur kimyn baai dem berg Xòyrv, víi men vért di Tòyry gèçbyn, dòqu hot zix byvizyn dí šxiny dorx faaier. in dòqus faaier vòqur ouf éiny dorn boym, in der dorn vòqur nit fer brént. der Xizkíiny in der Bexaaiy šraaibyn: vòqurim hot zix Kòqudyš borxi byvizyn dorx faaier? dòqus iz derim, dòqus Mòyšy zol zix kényn gyvéiny faaier cí zèçhyn, in vén er vért kimyn cí dem bérq Siny, víi men der nòqux vért di Tòyry gèçbyn, dòqu vért fiil faaier zaain.

40

1614. From a witness's evidence before the (Jewish) court at Florianów, as abridged by Joel Serkes ('Bach') b. Samuel halLevi Jaffe in his *Bayis Khudosh* (byt hds), responsum No. 57. (Frankfort/M., 1697, fol. 37r.)

Mir 11 balbatym zaain im xaaiyl gyvëczyn, iz arous gyspringyn a Iid, Broqoxy bën ha-kooodyś Āryn mi-Tišyvic, hot gydiint ouf 3 sisym, iz gyspringyn cīm xaaiyl śél Moskviter 2 vy 3 pyqoomym kyséider hamilxqoomy. di Moskvitern hobyn goiver gyvëczyn, iz der Iid cī rik gyspringyn, azoi hot myn im noqox gysosyn ous den vald. hob ix gyvëczyn di loqudink stékyn im am rikyn. iz er nider gyfalyñ ouf den zoqutyl, hot zix vélyn oqun haltyn oqun di hoour fin sis am halz, doqo hot er zix gyvéklt hiin in héér, in azoi hot in doqos sis avék gytroqogyn in vëçç in hob in nit gyvëczyn, iz mit den xaaiyl antlofyn. oux hob ix gyvëczyn doqos er nider gyfalyñ iz ouf den sis doqo iz im der roix cīm mouł arous gangyn, bin noqouynt baai im gyvëczyn. der noqox zaainyn mir dem xaaiyl noqox gylofyn, doqo hob ix gyvëczyn zaain sis loifyñ in éér iz nit derouf gyvëczyn, naaiert der zoqutyl iz krim gyvëczyn. doqos sis hob ix voil gyként vyax[er]k[ax] hot der roś haxaaiyl lozyn poukyn, iz doqos xaaiyl, vqos mysfizer iz gyvëczyn, cī hoif kímyn, hot doqos folk mysaper gyvëczyn byisky hamilxqoomy, hobyn kamy pyqoomym kamy kozakyn gyzqougt: „zaai got gykloqougt, doqos der ricer, der Iyhíidi Broqoxy, iz śaaiclix (zaain) azoi [a] vék kímyn, man hot im mit den bardys cī hakt in cī śtoxyn“ kily. den iom arím hobyn di kozakyn gysloqogyn di Moskviter in hobyn gybraxt a ślal in doqos sis śél Broqoxy hanal, in zaain híit hob ix voil gyként, in zaain xétryv, dén hob ix nit voil gyként. azoi hot der sar méiy vélyn hoqubyn di kéilyñ śél Broqoxy hanal in der sar asqoury śéloi, déér hot s oux vélyn hoqubyn, in hobyn gymiśpyt far den kali, azoi hot der sar asqoury gysproxyn: „ix bin bilixer der cí, méiaxer doqos man hot inzery hartígym far sarfyt, azoi hob ix den Broqoxy hanal mit maainer hant ous gycoigyn in hob im far sarfyt“, in hot éidys doqo arouf gybraxt kamy kozakyn, doqos er in hot in a houz araain gyslépt cī far brényn, in hot in far brént. dóou hot man den ślal śél Broqoxy den sar asqoury cí gypaskyt. der noqox hob ix gyhéért fin a kozak, héist xvédor, iz gyvooryn der noqox a galex cī Kiiyv, hot mysaper gyvëczyn lyfii tímoi, doqos er iz der baai gyvëczyn, doqos der kozak sar asqoury hanal hot den Iyhíidi far sarfyt, der doqo hot gyhéisyn Broqoxy. oux véis ix voil, doqos kéin Iyhíidi in inzeryñ xaaiyl hot gyhéisyn Broqoxy naaiert der Iyhíidi hanal kily. vyaxer kamy śvílys arím, bexaaiyl śél Néloviki, doqo zényn gyvëczyn kozakyn axéiryñ, hobyn lyfii tímom gyzqougt mi-gvífrys Broqoxy hanal. ...

41

About 1800. Passage from the tale *Maasy maihasiv béitlers* by the Khasidic master Naxmyn (Nachman) of Braslyv (Braslav) as written by his disciple, Nathan b. Naphtali Hertz. (From the *Saifer sipjry maasys*, Berdytchev, 1815, fol. 71r.)

In s iz faranyn a barg, jn ofn barg štait a štain, jn fjnym štain gait a kval jn itlexy zax hot a harc, jn di vélt in gancen hot oix a harc. jn dus harc fjn der vélt iz a gancy koimy mit a puunym jn mit hént jn fiis, líšmer der nugl fjnym fjjs fjnym harc fjn der vélt iz harciker aider an andersn harc. jn der barg mitn kval štait in ain ék fjn der vélt, jn dus harc fjn der vélt štait inym andern ék fjn der vélt. jn dus harc štait akaign dym kval jn gljst jn bénknt tumyd zaier, az sy zol kjmyn cjm kval. jn dus bénkyn jn dus gljstn fjnym harc cjm

kval iz guur vild. jn sy sraait tumyd dus harc, az ys zol kjmyn cjm kval. jn der kval gljst cjm harc oix. jn dus harc ot cvai xliisys ... ainc, vuurn di zjn iugt ya zaier jn brént ys ... jn dus andery slafkait ot dus harc, maxmys dym békyn jn dym gljstn, vus dus harc béknt jn gljst tumyd jn ys gait nor ous cjm kval jn sy sraait alc, sy zol kjmyn cjm kval ... vuurn dus harc stait tumyd akaign dym kval jn sraat na gvald ... líšmer az dus harc badarf zex a bisl up rjjyn, az sy zol zex up sapyn a bisl, azoi kjmt a groiser foigl jn far sprait di fligl of iim jn farstélt ym fjn der zjn. démlt rjtt zex dus harc up a bisl. jn afily démlt, az sy rjtt zex up, kjkt ys oix akaign dym kval jn béknt alc cjm kval. líšmer az sy béknt ioo azoi cjm kval, far vuus gait er nit cjm kval? nor vi bald dus harc vil cjj gain nuuynt cjm barg, vus oivn iz der kval, azoi zéit er šoin nit arous dym špic, kon er nit zéiyn dym kval. jn vi bald er kjkt nit ofn kval, gait er ous, vuurn guur zaan xaaiys - fjnym harc - iz nor fjnym kval. jn az er stait akaign barg, zéit er arous dym špic barg, vus dort iz der kval. ober taikyf vi bald er vil cjj gain cjm barg, zéit er šoin nit arous dym špic. ... kon er šoin nit kjkn ofn kval, kon er xas vyšuuulym ous gain. jn az dus harc zol xas vyšuuulym ous gain, volt guur di vélt xuuryv gyvoorn, vuurn dus harz iz ex dus xaaiys fjn itlexer zax, jn vii kon di vélt a küym hubn uun dym harc?

42

Nineteenth century (?). A lullaby (folksong).

Der taty iz gyfuurn
ofn šuuulym zuxer,
ét er bréngyn far Laičalyn
a šainym buxer:
mit géily paiys,
jn mit gjty daiys,
mit švarcy oign,
cj der Toiry vét er toign.

43

Nineteenth century. Folksong.

Jndz homir dox a tatn in himl,
vus er tjt kain muul ništ kain driml.
vus er vil, tjt er,
jn véimyn er vil, git er.
véier kén ym daiys zugn?
cjker-zis iz zaan šlugn.
mit simxy, lidalex, mit simxy
lomir éim diinyn!
jndz homir dox a tatn in himl,
vus tjt kain muul, kain muul ništ kain driml.

44

Nineteenth century. Resignation to God's will. (Folksong.)

Ci kén myn arof gain
in himl araan,
jn fréign baa got,
ci sy darf azoi zaan?

sy darf zoi zaan,
sy mjz azoi zaan,
sy kén of der vélt
dox guur anders nit zaan.

45

Nineteenth century. A Love song. (Folksong.)

Tiif in véldaly stait a baimaly
jn di cvaagalex bliiyn,
jn baa miier, uurym snaarderl,
tjt maan hércaly ciin.

of n baimaly vakst a cvaagaly,
jn di blétalex cvityn,
jn maan uurym, svax hércaly
ciit cj maan ziiser Ijtn.

of n cvaagaly stait a faigaly,
jn dus faigaly pišcyt,
jn baa miier, uurym snaaderl,
maan svax hércaly trišcyt.

46

1844. The first lines of a translation from Hebrew (incorporating short elucidations) of the tenth section of Bahya's *Xoivys halvuvs* (hwbwt hlbwt). From the edition *Józefow*, 1848, vol. 2, fol. 122v.)

Vaal mir hobn oivn inym naantn šár gystélt dus bašaidyniś fjn di iniuunym, vii myn zol zex up šaidn fjn di tanjgyim fjnym oilym, jn jndzer kvuuny iz gyvéin, az der ménć zol zaan hare farainikn, jn ous laidikn ys fjn aly zaxn, cjm liibšaft fjnym bašéfer iisbuurex, jn zoł gljstn cj zaan viln, drjm hob ex farštany derbaa cj stéln dus bašaidyniś fjn di oifanyim fjnym liibšaft fjn Got, kloimer in vus far an oifn myn mjz zex noiyy zaan in di liibšaft fjn Got iisbuurex. vuurym dus iz der taxlys fjn aly šerušym jn der sof fjn aly maaly jn di madraigys fjn di frjmy laat vus diinyn got.

47

1848. The beginning of an appeal by one Judah b. Abraham of Lemberg/Lviv, to the Jewish population of Galicia, published in March, a fortnight after the beginning of the revolution in Vienna. (From the facsimile in *Historiye bryfn fjn Iidišn visnsafilexn institút*, vol. 2, opp. p. 632, Vilna/Vilnius, 1937, where the whole text is printed. The original is in the Harvard University Library: Leo Wiener Collection.)

VUS IZ DUS AZOINC GYŠÉIYN IN VIIN JN IN LÉMBERYG?

Liby harcydiky brüder, héirts a puur vértter, vus zényn aax cind naitik cj visn.

éc hot minystam sóin gyhéirt, az ys hobn zex farlofn vjnderlexy zaxn in viin jn in Lémberyg, jn éc hot éfšer guur moiry, az ys vét nox épys šléxts dérfjn arous kjmyn. iber déim vil ex aax akorat der cailn jn der kléirn, vus ys hot zex gytijn jn far vus ys hot zex azoi gytijn, kydai az éc zolt aan zéiyn, vus far a nisym sémisbuurex ot bavizn jn vus far a toivys ys zényn sóin arous gykjmyrn, jn vus far a gjts us vét nox arous kjmyn far aly ménén, s méign zaan lidn oder Gooiym, vus ys zényn nor duu in aly lénder, vus ys kéirn cjm éstraaxišn kaizer.

éftzy of baidy oiern jn héirts mex gjt cjj.

jndzer gjter kaizer Ferdinand hot arjm zex gyhat étlexy ioiácym, vus zai hobn ym šléxty aicys gygébén jn vus zai hobn ništ cjj gylozt, az er zol héirn di bykuušys fjn zaan folk, jn zol ništ visn, vus zai badarfn cj déim, az zai zoln kényn gliklex léibn. dus hot aly gity ménén zaier vai gytijn. iber déim zényn zex in der léct(n)[er] caat in Viin cj anand gykjmyrn méirery gity jn kljgy ménén in ainym mit di studétn fjn di hoixy školys, vus zai zényn zaier gylént, jn hobn of gyzéct a bykuušy cjm kaizer. in déir bykuušy zényn gyštanyrn ous gyréxnt aly gity jn gyréxty zaxn, vus dus folk bagéirt fjnym kaizer. dii bykuušy hobn miliasn ménén jntér gyšribn.

48

Méndaly Moixer Sfuuryrn (Mendele Moicher Sfurim, i.e., Suulyrn Iaankyv Abramovič [Shalom Jacob Abramovitch], 1836-1917): From his autobiographical story *Šloimy réb Xaaiym*, 1899. From the edition of his collected works, 1911, vol. 2, p. 23.)

Lipy Rjyvns iz gyvéin a dárer, a korc-zéxtiker, mit a blaix puunym, a štiler, a gjter jn zaier baliibt baa itlexn inym štéitl. zaan xarakter, zaan voinjng, zaan štaiger léibn, zaan tjjn jn alc mit anander ot bašamperlex gyvizn, az in iim iz duu dus pintaly, der brén fjn a kinctler. er ot gyhat a hant cj šnicn, cj muuln, cj šraabn jn cj kricn of kjper jn of štainer, ništ cj maxx zex derous a parnuusy, nor glat azoi, vaal dus iz gyvéin zaan béster fargynign, vaal ys ot ym dercjj épys gytribn jn er ot badarft, gymjzt maastern. baa dym klain-štéitldikn oüym lidn ot er gyhaisn a bériy cj aloding, a kéner, épys guur a šrék, jn zai obn baa itlexer gyléighait zex mit zaan bériyškait banict. M ot ym mexabyd gyvéin

mit šnichen dym uorn koidys, muuln a mizrex, šlagn mycaivys, krichn xsimys. maidlex, kalys, fleign ym matriex zaan, mit zaan gjtn viln ej maxn far zai mústern, of kaitl-stéxlex, of héftn, ous naiyn far zaiery xasanym tviln-zéklex.

49

Suulym Alaixym (Shulem Alaichem, i.e., Suulym Rabinovič [Shalom Rabinovitch], 1859–1916): From the story *Sprincy*, ca. 1900. (From the Warsaw edition, 1909, second printing, vol. 1, p. 234.)

Vaahii haaiym, tréft zex a maasy, éiryv Švjyys iz dus gyvéin, kjm ex ej fuurn mit a bisl milexiks ej ainy fjn maany koinytys, a ijngy almuuny jn a raaxy fjn Iékaternoslav, vus iz gykjmy n ej fuurn mit ir zündl, Arončík haist er, kain Boiberik ofn zjmer. jn dus farštait ir dox Alain, az dus éirste bakéntsaft iirs in Boiberik iz gyvéin mistumy mit miir. „m ot mir gyrékomyndiirt – zugt zi, di almuuny haist dus – az baa aax iz dus bésty milexiks.“ „vi kén dus zaan anders? – zug ex ejn iir, ej der almuuny haist dus – nit jmzist – zug ex – zugt Šloimy hamailex, az a gjter numyn lozt zex héiern vi a šoifer iber der gancer vélt. jn oib ir vilt – zug ex – vél ex aax dercaihn, vus ys zugt derof der médrys.“ šlugt zi mex iber, di almuuny haist dus, jn zugt ej miir, az zi iz an almuuny jn iz in dii zaxn, zugt zi, níšt gynyit, zi vaist mišt, mit vus m ést dus. der iker, zugt zi, az di pjter zol zaan friš jn der kéiz zol zaan gyšmak. – nij gait, rétt mit a nykaivy!

50

Ijdy Laibis Péiryx (Judah Laibish Peretz) (1851–1915): From the story *Mysiirys néifys*. C. 1904. (From the edition in his collected works, vol. *Folkstimlexy ercaijngyn*, p. 195, Warsaw, 1908.)

Mit doirys cjrik ot gysétt in Cfas a Ild a gvüir jn a groiser balmazl, vus ot gyhandlt mit ciirjng jn alerlai avuunym toivys jmarguuliys. jn gyvéin iz déir ild an oiser an émyser, níšt kain of-gybluuzynér vi haantiky caatn.

jn gyhat ot er zaan aigns a palyx, vus ot arous gykjkt mit léxtiky fénter-oign ofn iam Kinéirys. jn arjm gyringlt ot dym palyx a guurnt a groiser, mit alerlai gljstiky baimer, mit kol hamiinym pairys jn zingyndiky faigl, jn mit alerlai šnékydiky kraatexcer jn andery gyviksn hén lynooi vyhén lersjy.

jn gyhat ot der guurnt véign braity, ous-gysity mit goldynym zamd, jn di baimer iber di véign obn zex in der haix cjzamy n gytrofn mit di kroiny n jn cjzamy n gyfloxt n jn faršuuatnt di véign.

51

Moris Roznfeld (Morris Rosenfeld) (1862–1923): Beginning of the poem *In šap*. (From *Songs of the Ghetto*. With prose translation, glossary, and introduction by Leo Wiener. New and enlarged edition, p. 2. Boston, 1900. Text in transcription according to modern German standard spelling.)

es roušyn in šap azoi vild di mašiiyn,
 az oft-muul farges ex in rouš (ráš?), az ex bin.
 ex véier in dym šréklexn tjml farloiern,
 maan iix vért dort buutl, ex véier a mašiiin.
 ex arbyt, jn arbyt, jn arbyt, uun xéžbn,
 ys šaft zex, jn šaft zex, jn šaft zex uun cuul –
 far vuus? jn far véimyn? ex vais nit, ex fréig nit –
 vii kjmt a mašiiiny cj dénkyn a muul?

52

Avruum Raizin (Abraham Raizin/Reisen, 1876–1953): Vjhiin? About 1900.
 (From his volume *Uvni-klangyn*, p. 12, Vilna/Vilnius, 1914).

vjhiin vilstj, nysummy, vjhiin?
 di bérg zényn hoix,
 di volkndlex blaix,
 di éird jn di baimer – vi grüin!
 v'hiin vilstj, nysummy, vjhiin?

o horx, vi dí biin
 zjmzyt jn flüt,
 zi flatert jn ciit
 ahéir jn ahiin –
 v'hiin vilstj, nysummy, vjhiin?

o kjk dort in maaryv ahiin –
 di zjn, zi fargait
 kaalexdik, roit
 ahiin alc, ahiin –
 v'hiin vilstj, nysummy, vjhiin?

53

Duvyd (David) Pinski (1872–1959): End of the drama *Der frémder* (originally *Der aibiker Iid* in the journal *Der arbyter*, New York, 1906), New York, 1914.

ŠTIMYN: vus štaiyn mir? lomir loifn zjxn.

DER FRÉMDER (vi of gyvart): štaít!

GORIYN: vus hostj fuur?

DER FRÉMDER (farzinkt vider in gydankyn).

DI IJNGY FROU (dorx tréiern): hob ex dir níšt gyzugt, az dus iz an jmglíks-kind?

DER FRÉMDER (ciiyndik zaany vértér, mit an uun-gystéltén blik in der vaatns): rjíf ym níšt azoi. níšt kain jmglíks-kind iz er, hob ex dir gyzugt. in dym tug fjn zaan gybúrt iz der bésmigdýs xuuryv gyvoorn, ober er iz gyboiern gyvoorn of cj bouyn jndz a naaiym. ex

178 Specimens of Yiddish over Eight Centuries

gai ym zjxn. Got hot dus arof gylagt of miier. ex zéi ys kluur (véiert mit a muul gyéltert jn zaan huur jn buurd véiern vaas).

STIMYN: zéit, vi er zéit ous! zéit, vi er zéit ous!

GORIYN (tréit up mit srék): jn éim hobn mir gyrjfn ligner jn zindiker!

DER FRÉMDER: zindiker, ioo. ex hob di grésty zind farbroxn. ex hob níst gyvolt kémpfn far der fraaihait fjn maan folk. iéct tréft mex Gots sréklexy struf. ex vél mjzn di gancy vélt ous gain, ex zéi ys. jn lang, lang vél ex mjzn zjxn, ex fiil ys. ex gai tjjn, vus ex mjz. (haibt of zex of dym pédler-kastn.) ex gai tjjn, vus ex mjz. (mit of-gyhoibyne hént gait er avék nuux réxts.)

DI IJNGY FROU (falt in ir gancer léng): maan kind! (der oilym lozt zex arup of di knii.)

54

Simyn Smjil Frúg (Simeon Samuel Frug) (1860-1916): *Simxys Toiry* (written between 1896 and 1916).

Frailex jn fris
Zéct zex cjm tis
mart sjjdys mailex
kvikt zex jn trinkt,
lildelex, zingt,
léibydk, frailex!
uun vug jn uun muus,
a kos nuux a kos,
hot nit kain moiry,
kvikt zex jn trinkt,
lildelex, zingt
lykuvyd ha-Toiry!

55

Iyhoyís (pseudonym of Iyhoyís Sloimy Blijngartn [Jehoash Solomon Bloomgarden], 1872-1927): *Zjnyn-jnter-gang*. (From the volume *Gyzamlty liider*, p. 235, New York, 1907).

Ys falt arjnter of der éird
a stilkait vii fjn srék,
di rúndy, faaierdiky zjn
starbt bislexvaaz avék.

der himl hot ir toitm-bét
mit léxt arjm gystélt,
jn s hot mit flamyn zex cjbréat
dus gancy maaryv-féld.

us šepčyt in di hoixy gruuz
 der vint baklémt jn švax,
 zugt kadyś nuux der groiser zjn
 of uvnt-vintn-šprax.

56

Šuulym Aś (Shalom Ash/Asch) (1880–1957): From the volume *A šteitl*. (From the edition *Minsk*, 1906, p. 14).

Ainc alain jn far zex alain štaít zex a haazl in tuul cvišn cvai hoixy bérg, vus lozn zex vaat jn hoix in der vélt araan, baam brég fjn taax (vaaksl)(vaasl]. vinter iz ys. gots vélt iz in gancn in šnai fartrjnkyn. jndžer haazl, vi an alter balbuus in taxriixym, štaít zex baam brég, kjkt zex cjj cjm farfroirynym taax, zaan šuxn, jn ys švaagt, biz der taax vét cj txiis hamaisyn of štain. dervaal iz der taax gyštorn, gyfroiern jn mit a vaasn kitl aan gyhiilt. rubn bliyn of zaan brait jn léng, štéln zex ofn taaxs rjkn, jn léxern zaan upgytokty déky. tail muul gait a méné ibérn taax, jn dym ménéns fiis tjkn inym vaasn, tiifn šnai.

57

Zalmyñ Šhnaier (Zalman Shneur) (1889–1959): *Liiby* (before 1914).

Liiby haist: faant hubn alymyn
 jn liibn nor diix –
 ys loint zex, ys loint zex alc faant hubn
 jn liibn nor diix.

ys loint zex, ys loint zex farlozn dex
 jn kjmyn cjrik –
 s iz liib jn s iz ziis, cj farvélkt véiern
 jn bliyn cjrik.

jn vuus iz a štéiern uun fincterniś,
 a flaker uun frost?
 jn vuus iz maan hasn jn liibn dex?
 a faaier in frost.

an aibiky ruud mit a réityniś:
 dj iugst zi – zi kjmt.
 ex traab dex jn bin a fartribyner,
 jn vain, vén dj kjmt.

58

Hilyl Caitlin (Hillel Zeitlin) (1871–1942): Passage from a booklet *Vus darf lisruuyt tijn in ictiker caat fjn xévly Myšiiex?* (p. 7, Warsaw, 1934).

Vén ex kij uun aly jndzery bésery jn tüfery ménén, vi zai stáiyń ífider in zaan stúut ci stéitl, farstékt érgyc in a vinkl, vainyndik jn klugndik ofn gancn gyzélsaftlexn léibn jndzern, vus iz ict farvildyt gyvoorn, ii of di maasym tatijym, vus véiern ict up gytijn dorx di partáiyń, ii ofn finctern, bitern dalys, vus ést of aly lldn, vaal ys iz baa jndz nístuu kain kluger, nístuu kain rixter, jn ys iz nístuu véir ys zol a klap tijn a finger uun a finger lytoivys dii biz cj béitleraa rúiniirty lidišy masn, xoé m ot in flig azoifl farzorgér (vaal byémys mjz véign dii farzorgér gyzugt véirn: „iš lyvicoi mikucaihj“), ii of der gyzairys kyloooyń fjń hitlerizm; ii of der gyzairys kyloooyń fjńym komúnizm, vus vil of an ander oifn a sof jn an ék maxn cj der égzisténc fjń lldn alc folk; ii of aly jndzery inyvainiksty bavéigúńgyn, vus der véig zaierer iz ofyner nacionalizm, jn bahaltyny asimilaciy iz der lécter poiyl ioicy – di up-mékjng fjńym cailym Éloikim jn di upmékjng fjń cailym Íisruuył.

vén ex zéi ot dii aly gjty ménén vainyndik in di vinkalex, derman ex mex uun dym „vyhaimu boixym péisex huoiyl“ loutn bild fjńym magyd. ...

59

Xaaiym Naxmyn (Chaim Nachman) Bialik (1873–1934): From his collected poems in Yiddish: *Poéziy*, (Warsaw, 1913).

X bin nit of saier rjif gygangyn,
ex kjm cj aax mit zibn véign.
ex fal of aax vi tou of zangyn,
jn vii of trjkn gruuz der réign.

jnzist hot ir geroušt, gylíárymat,
jn méix bagtígnit mit gyzang:
ex hob far aax a toub gyvárymat,
jn ous gypikt hot zex a šlang.

jn zéit, mex riíert nit saier šaln,
jn saier hilxiker gerjjs
ligt toít cj maany fiis gyfaln,
jn ex cjtréit ym mit dym fjjs.

fjń saier ous gyloán oig
bin ex der lécter švarcer blic,
fjń saierý farklémtý cain
der lécter, corndikster kric.

jn réd ex – mjzn himlyn šjńmyn,
di éierd bavéigt zex nit fjń ort,
di štainer kouklyn zex jn kjmyn
jn šlingyn dorštik Gots a vort.

60

Iisruul Éfroikin (Israel Yefroikin) (1884–1954): A passage from *Tradiciy, caixns jn simbojn*, from his book *A xétkn ha-néifys* (Paris, 1948, p. 172).

Prijvt zex ober zoé of ain réigy fuur stéln dus ménélexy léibn uun tradiciy, uun der ierjśy fjn frierdiky doirys. Dus antkaign stéln tradiciy jn progrés (haist doch baa jndz a „progrésist“ déier vus „halt níšt“ fjn „altmodiśy“ zaxn) iz níšt méir vi amracys, oder puuśyt – a náriśkait. kain śjm progrés, kain śjm vaater gain kén níšt gymuult zaan uun ierjśy. vén ys zol anuul of śtain a dor, vus zol byémys véln arup varfn fjn zex dym „iox fjn ierjśy“, volt er zex gymjzt jm kéiern cjm cústand fjnym farhistoriśn hail-ménén, fjn di trogloditn, jn cjrík gain cjm dzúngl. éléktris léxt iz a ierjśy, pjnk vi banyn, éroplanyn, vi byklal aly güter fjn jndzer civilizacy. der dor, vus volt zex byémys up gyzugt fjn gaistikér ierjśy, volt gydarft zex śafn a naaiy śprax, a naaiy visńśaft, a naaiy kúnct, mit ain vort – uun haibn fjn beraiśys. nor di ierjśy, materiéily jn gaistiky, maxt byklal méiglex dym progrés fjn ménélexn miin.

61

Zéilik Kalmanovič (Zelig Kalmanovitch) (1881–1944): A passage from *Ci iz méiglex a fonétiśer ous-laig far der Iidiśer literariśer śprax?*

Ys kon guur kain sufyk nit zaan, az in Iidiś iz faran a klang alyf. x taac ous byfairys dym klang, nit dym os. in di airopéiśy alyf-baizn iz far déim klang kain os nituu. in fonétiśn alyf-baiz vért er bacaixnt dorx an apostrof, ’, Buurexov hot dym dozikn klang araan gystélt in zaan oibn dermuunter tabély, nor in kantiky klamern: dermit iz er ousn gyvéin cj zugn, az der klang iz faran nor in Hebréiś, in Iidiś ober nit. jn of z. 72, vjj er bréngt a ryśiimyy fjn di Iidiśy élyméntar-klangyn, iz der alyf taky nituu. dus iz ober a groiser tuuys. der doziker klang, der ‘féster ainzac,’ vii er haist in Daac, égzistiiert baa Iidn nox ict, jn zai banicn ym baam rédn Iidiś. der alyf vus vért gysribn, a śtaiger, in di vértér: ‘jn, in, ain, almer, uurym’ ... iz laxlijtn nit śtjm, naaiert er vért daitlex arouś gyréť farn vokal. er némt zex derfjn, vus aider mir haibn uun arouś rédn dus vort, zaanyn di śtim-bénder in gancn farmaxt. in dym momént, vi mir éfynyn zai, raast zex di ljt arouś dorxn śtim-śpalt – derhéiert zex a miin knal oder a knak. éiérśť dernuux vért arouś gyréť der vokal; dym alyf gjjfy darf myn batraxtn far a konsonant azoi vi b, g, d ..., méier nit vus er iz śvaxer artikúliiert. der zéľber alyf-klang héiert zex farśtáit zex oix far a jn o, jn oib mir zoln pásex alyf jn kumyc alyf batraxtn, nor far ékvivaléntn fjn di vokal-caixns a jn u/o, voltn mir *fonétiś* gymjzt śraabn: ’alt, ’uudler j.az.v.

62

Der Nister, pseudonym of Pinxys Kahanovič (Phineas Kahanovitch) (1884–1950). From his symbolical story *In vald*. (In his collection *Gydaxt*, vol. 1, pp. 183–4, Berlin, 1922).

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Jn a hic hobn mir in vald uun gytribn, jn in vald an uutym-éngynís gymaxt ... jn der rjxex blondzyt a deršlugyner arjm, er kon zex kain ort jn kain šuutn-vinkl ništ gyfinyn. Hobn mir nuux iénym volkndl in himl a vintl arous gysíkt, jn der rjxex of der pouk hot zex dan mit gringy fiis of der pouk avék gylozt baa di brégn pouk jn arjm jn arjm gylofn. jn gring gyiugt jn gytrugn hot zex kaalexik jn dus vintl hot iénc volkndl dergraixt, jn nox volkndlex hot ys dort cjnoif gynjmyj jn in ym haisn tug cj ainym jn a groisn zai gymaxt. jn a vint-šliiexl iz in vald araan, jn a lifl iz cvién di baimer jn špicn dorx gylofn, jn uun gyzugt hot ys: épys hot zex uun gyhoibn ouser vald, jn bald vét dus oix ahéier derlangyn ...

63

Duvid Ainhorn (David Ajnhorn/Einhorn) (1886-): *Byturn*. (From *Maany liider*, Vilna/Vilnius, 1912, p. 36; *Gyzamltj liider*, p. 187, Berlin, 1924).

A štily naxt,
a štéiern falt
fjn himl tiif
jn véiert ništ bald.
ex haib maan oig
jn baig maan kop.
maan hiiter vaxt
jn hiit mex up.
maan hiiter vaxt,
maan hiiter vaxt,
jn šíkt zaan grijs
mir dorx der naxt.

der véig iz vaat
jn ex bin miid.
di štily naxt,
zi zingt ir liid.
fartrou daan kop
maan štiln šois,
jn šluf jn šluf,
of morgn hof
daan veig cjm sof
iz vaat jn grois.

64

Šmjil Iaankyv (Samuel Jacob) Imber (1889-1942): From the poem *Ésterky Stamslawów*, 1911; reprinted, in his *Gyklibyny dixtúngyn*, pp. 79-125, No. III, Vienna, 1921.

Oi, toxterl, toxter dj maan,
 ex kjk in dym guurtn araan –
 vi di roizn fjl xain, vi di liliyn rain,
 azoi zol maan téxterl zaan

oi, toxterl, toxter dj maan,
 ex kjk in dym himl araan –
 vi di zjn azoi šain, vi dus himl-féld rain,
 azoi zol maan téxterl zaan.

oi, toxterl, toxter dj maan,
 ex kjk in maan harcén araan –
 vi maan harcns gyvain, azoi gjt, azoi rain,
 zol maan téxterls hércaly zaan.

65

Iosyf Opatošú (Joseph Opatoshu, formerly Iosyf Maier [Joseph Meir] Opatowski, 1886–1954): Beginning of the story *A farsaat haabl* (about 1915). From vol. 15 of his collected works, *Vilna/Vilnius*, p. 141).

A šabys-frii-morgn inym iuur 1840.

cjm šjil-fiirn iz di zéxcn-iuuriky šaiçy, dym raaxn Faaviš Opatovskis toxter, gyzésn in mitn der sali in a gysnicn kaly-fofél. zi iz gyvéin gylaiert in švarcn zaad. fjnym štéirn-tiixl, fjn di oiering biz di akslyn, fjn di fingerlex, fjn di brouny, léxtiky oign – vij a kéir, hobn arup gyfinklt jn arous gyfinklt dümytlex. iber di šmuuly akslyn a din Itali-éiniš šal-tjix fjn špicn jn špiclex. ofn kop – a gypast haabl, gyviklt fjn švarcy, zaadyny koronkys, bapçt mit roity baaçalex kréln jn mit a citer-špilky. der gyboigynér haldz badékt mit šniirlex péirl jn in der réxter hant a korb- minxy-sider in a zilbernym aanbjnd.

arjm dym ijngyn vaabl, vus iz šoin iber a šuu fiks jn fartik gyvéin, my zol zi fiirn in šjil araan, hot zex gytjmlt.

dym oivn-uun obn dus muul ništ farnjmyn di raaxy Zdoinsky-volier vaaber jn vaablex, afily ništ šaiçys mjter jn švéster, nor di cvélyf rébycns, vus zényn mit gykjmyn of der kasyny fjn xuusns cad in zényn farblibn biz iber di séivy bruxys.

66

1911. From the Warsaw daily *Der fraand* of July 4.

di baciijngyn fjn di Airopétiçy myljixys çj di militéir-operaciys fjn Frankraax in Maroko zényn biz der lécter caat gyvéin nit kluur. épys hot myn gykçkt of Maroko jn of dus balybatyvyn fjn Frankraax dorx di finger. myn hot, émys, gyrét, az Daaçland iz nit štark çifriidn mit der Francaizišér Maroko-politik, az in der stil hot zi taanys jn tviixys çj Frankraax, nor myn hot gyzugt, az Daaçland vét zex lozn myfacy zaan fjn Frankraax in an ander

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ort. Daacland hot gýsvign. ir švaagn hot zi derkléirt mit déim, vus zi iz nit méir fjn alymyn interysúirt mit Maroko, jn hiitn di bašlúsn fjn der Altzyúrys-konferénc darfn aly Airopeíšy myljixys, zi iz guur nit mexjyiv, cj bazorn di gancy vélt.

67

Duvid Kéinigsbérg (David Königsberg) (1889–1942): From his *Sonétn* (p. 18, Lemberg/Lviv, 1913).

A klaincík xuusydl mit šiex jn zékalex,
a ljtíks, kjmt araan, a léibydijs,
a laxydijs, jn vi der tug a kljgs,
jn graazlt zex di lange lékalex.

jn vaas jn frís di kinderísy békalex,
a klaincík xuusydl, a zainyvdijs,
ijng vi an éierst arous gýsproct gyviks,
sy klingt zaan kélexl vi zilber-glékalex.

fraa springt jn tanct ys vi a idéids kind,
nor vén dj éfnst of far iim a saifer,
di aigalex, vi kiiniglexy laifer,
dorx šjryjs iugn, kjkn azoi tiif
in os, az, vén ys rét, kjmt énter-rjif
vi s éxo fjn a tiifer brjnys grjnt.

68

From the translation by Eliy Olšvanger (Elijah Olšvanger) of a school textbook by W. and G. H. Young: *Der klainer géométer* (Dresden, 1921, p. 147).

Der séitex fjn a gruud-vinkldíkn draa-ék iz di hélfít fjnym séitex fjn a gruud-ék, vus zaany šxainísy zaatn zaanyn di katétn fjnym draa-ék.

69

A passage from *Ainstáins relativitéits-teoriy* by Ijdy Léiman (Judah Lehmann). (Berlin, 1921, p. 25).

Ainstáin iz cjj gygangyn cjm dozíkn problém mit der fragy, vus bataat der ousdrúk „in ain jn der zélbíker caat“, oder in algymain gyrét, vus bataat dus, az cvai ersáinúngyn kjmyn fuur „glaax-caatik“? jn ot iz er, ofn grúnd fjn a raí batraxtjngyn ... gykjmyjn cjm jngyhoíer víxtíkn rézultat, az der bagrif fjn glaaxcaatikait jn dermit der bagrif fjn „caat“ byklal iz fjn fizikalíin štand-púnkt oix épys relatiivys. er iz gykjmyjn cjm ous-fúir, az of idéidn fjn a raí kérpers, vus gyfinyn zex bynygaiy cjj zex in cústand fjn gruud-líníker, glaax-méisíker bavéigúng, hérst an ander caat, jn pjnkt azoi vi di bagrifn „rjif“ jn „bavéi-

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gúng“ zényn, vi mir hobn oivn ous gyfiirt, far íéidn fjn zai andery, jn a ménén, vus gyfint zex of ain kérper, kén níst cvingyn di ménén fjn di iberiky kérpers, cj anerkényn, az *zaan* cústand fjn rjj jn bavéigúng iz gíltik oix far zai, azoi iz oix der bagrif „caat“ far íéidn fjn zai an anderer, jn kainer fjn zai kén níst *zaan caat* cjj sraabn dym cvaitn. der tuuys fjn baobaxter, vus stait of der éird jn bahoupyt, az dus gyzéc fjn léxt-farspraitjng gílt níst farn baobaxter fjn kérper, baštait alzo in déim, vus er *varft uun zaan caat-muus dym baobaxter fjn andern kérper*.

70

Iiczyk Naxmyn Štainbérg (Isaac Nachman Steinberg): From an article *Cj a folkistišer bavéigúng*. (In the journal *Ofn švel*, No. 110/111, pp. 2-3, New York, 1955).

Aza oufgaby ken zaan der ciil fjn a naaier folkistišer bavéigúng, vus zol gyšafn véiern dafky fjn di ménén fjn haantikn dor. farštait zex, az dus tuur níst véiern nox a partai, a ‘folks-partai,’ vi amuul. ys mjz zaan a braity folks-bavéigúng, in vélexer ys kényn gyfynyn zaier plac frjmy jn fraai-dénker, Ciynistn jn Búndistn, Fraai-landistn jn Iidišistn oder hébréistn. vuurn zai aly uun ousnam naitikn zex in der líft fjn éxter Iidišer folkstimlexkait, jn ys zényn faran draai gybiitn fjn léibn, in vélexy azá baléibjngs-procéš mjz ous gyprúbiert véiern. dus zényn di gybiitn fjn kúltúúr, fjn moral, fjn ékonomik.

71

Maks Vaanraax (Max Weinreich) (1894-1969): Beginning of the chapter *Dus Šmjil-bjix* in his *Bilder fjn der Iidišer literatúúr-gyšixty*, p. 68, Vilna/Vilnius, 1928.

Baa der forš-arbyt fjn jndzery naay literatúúr-historiker iz ain vérk gyblibn štain uun a zaat; dus iz dus *Šmjil-bjix*. Myn dermant ys, myn zugt véign déim a puur vértér, ober iz vét in érgyc nit gyfynyn kain braitery xarakteristic fjn der poémy. mir véln duu nit gain zjxn, vus ys iz di siby derfjn; nor dus iz zéxer, az dus vérk iz gyvis nit véiert azá bacijng. vuurym ii lout zaan farném, ii lout zaan forym, ii lout zaan xarakter mjz ys štain in der mizrex-vant fjn jndzer alter literatúúr.

di éltéry foršér fjn jndzer literarišer fargangynhait, lídn jn nit-lídn, hobn zex grued interyšiirt mit n *Šmjil-bjix*; fjn uunhaib 18tn bizn sof 19tn iuur – hjndert hobn éššer fjcfn gylérnty in grésery oder klénery arbytn bariiert di doziky témy.

72

Avruum Árn Robak (Abraham Aaron Roback) (1890-1965): From an article *Far vuus hobn nit Litvišy lídn dym naitraln miin?* (*Iidišy šprax*, vol. 4, pp. 81f. 1944).

Vi azoi di jmbaléibty zaxn véiern aan gytaitt in zuxer jn nykaivy – dym sod far déim darf myn zjxn in psixologiy. – duu kén myn of štéln a téoriy in aan-klang mit der psixo-analitišer šity. éššer vét zex lozn dorx fiern di sistém az dus ous-zéin fjn zaxn, zaier

droundiker aindrük, baštint dym gramatišn miin. éfšer vét zex lozn dergain cj der simbolik az dus soliidy jn lénglexy bint zex mit n ménlexn miin jn dus kaalexdky jn xuulydky mit n vaablexn miin. of azá oifn voltn mir gyfjnyn a psixologišn iysod farn gramatišn miin. ys varft zex dox in di oign der toxiker, nit der klangiker xarakter fjn der sistém baam gramatišn miin. alc vus iz agrésiiv, vus iz aktiiv iz luušn zuxer; alc vus iz pasiiv jn cart, oder délikat iz luušn nykaivy. mir zugn der hjnt véign gancn miin hint, afily véign a coug, jn di kac véign dym gancn miin kéc, afily of a kuuter. Far vuus? vaal hint hobn byklal di xarakteristikys fjn méner jn kéc – fjn frouyn.

73

Laizer Šindler (Elišer Schindler) (1891–1951): From his book *Itáit jn xsiidit*, pp. 81 and 87, New York, 1950.

A malxysdky kroin

A malxysdky kroin iz far jndz daan ol,
 xoć guulys and géto, xoć géily laty.
 fjn brénydikn Snéi héiern mir daan kol ...
 ainciker Gotyniu, bist jndzer taty,
 jn miier, di aibik gyroidyfty, daan bxor.
 trugn mir mit hislaavysdiker fraid
 daany léxtiky ljjexys, fjn dor cj dor,
 of di vugl-véign fjnym aibikait ...

Xorbn Galiciy

Dj amuuliky lidśy, xsüidiśy mydiiny,
 maan gyvéizyny haim fjn di Beskiidn
 jn Karpatn;
 vj touznt muul touznt lidn
 hobn zex raxnymdik gytjliyt
 cj der Šxiny,
 vi sy tjliyn zex kinder
 cjm tatn. –
 vén véstj, got, šikn
 a naaiym mykoinyn,
 vus zol mit kinyś bavainyn
 di groisy akaidy
 fjn daan gyklibyner aidy,
 Avruums hailiker zumyn,
 jm gykjmyyn cj axpern daan numyn
 of Galiciys farxuulymty ploinyyn?! ...

74

Beginning of an article on biochemistry (*Algymainy Énciklopédíy*, vol. 5, cols. 363-364, New York, 1944).

Bioxémiy – déir tail fjn algymainer biologiý jn organíser xémiy, vus farnémt zex mit ous forsn di xémişy jn fizikalís-xémişy procésn in léibydiyik organizmyn. jmytjm vj s iz faran léibn, kjmyn ksaidér fuur xémişy procésn: xémişy farbindjngyn véiern ksaidér cjtéiert jn naaiy véiern gybout. léibydiyik organizmyn zaanyn laboratoríys, vus faréndern xémişy ştofñ of azá oifñ, az zai zoln zaan cjj gypast farn gybroux fjnym organizm. íeider léibydiyikér jn normal funkcioníirndiker organizm bout iény xémişy farbindjngyn, vus zaanyn um naitik, kydai of cj haltñ di normaly fúnkcioníirjngyn fjn aly zaany organyn. vén der oganizm iz nit bykoieş cj régúliern zaany bioxémişy procésn, demít véiert in íim cjtéiert di xémişy glaax-vug, jn der poiył-íoicy iz a patologişer (krankhafter) cúştrand. mir kenyn di doziky érsáinúngyn baobaxtn baa ménén, vus farliirn tailvaaz maxmys a gyviser sibý (c. b. an uun-ştékjng mit şéidlexy bakteriys) dym kontrol iber dym ştof-baat.

75

Zamy Féider: *Azoi hot ys zix uun gyhoibn*. (From the anthology *Zamljng fjn kacét-jn géto-liider*, pp. 19, 21, published by the Central Jewish Committee, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, 1945/1946).

Azoi hot ys zex uun gyhoibn.

Myn hot gýsoşn a líd.,
gyvorfn in vaser araan,
fargvaldikt a maidl,
gylozt zi nakyt alain.

jñ dan ...

dan hot myn gyhongyn
ainym, cvai, draa ...

aly mjzn kjkn,

zaan derbaa.

myn héngt şoin vaater?

far vuus?

x vais nişt ...

my héngt ...

my héngt ...

s iz Buurex,

Buurex, maan brjyder.

şal maxt nişt kain gyrjyder

my vét şíisn.

zol myn şíisn,

zol myn şíisn!!!

Wer schreit denn hier so?!

Schnauze halten!

Willst du ruhig sein,

du Judenschwein?!

maan brjyder ...

lozt mex ...

güex ...

güex ...

oi! lozt mex, ménén,

hot raxmuunys ...

raxmuunys ...

raxmuunys ...

Herr Soldat, haben Sie Erbarmen,

das ist mein Bruder.

Ach, bleib nur ruhig,

du kommst ja auch noch dran.

Verzieh dich, du Judensau,

Pass auf, dass ich dir nicht eins

noch in die Fresse hau.

oi, gyvald! Ildn, der taty
 maaner iz dox dort.
 lozt mex!
 oi! lozt mex adox!
 švaag, švaag, maidaly,
 šraa ništ,
 réd ništ kain vort –
 my vét šiisn, šlugn,
 my vét jndz nox iugn
 jn plugn,
 jn dan éieršt hénghyn,
 of maan Ehrenwort,
 derfar švaag béser, maan kind,
 zol zaan štil.
 vus! štil zol zaan!
 zol myn šiisn ...
 zol myn hénghyn ...
 miix oux ...
 miix oux ...
 oi! Ildn, hot raxmuunys,
 hélf, lozt ništ,
 oi, lozt ništ hénghyn
 maan man.
 dus houz brént ...
 s kind ligt in vüig ...
 ništ gykont ys ratyvyn ...
 avék mitn roiex ...
 Ildn, hélf,
 ex hob dox kain koiex.
 trax! ... trax! ...
 gyvald!
 gyvald!
 myn hot mex gyšosn!
 Ildn, loift ništ, myn šiist ...
 myn šiist! ...
 Stehen bleiben! ...
 Stehen bleiben! ...
 trax! ... trax! ... trax! ...
 Got, vjj bistj?!
 šmá šisruul!
 Stehen bleiben!

Bleiben an dem Ort! ...
 trax! ... trax! ... trax! ...
 zjnaly, zug kadiš,
 der taty hénghyn sojn dort.
 Šisgad! vyiškadys šmai raby ...
 ex volt ništ véln švéiern ...
 Alles stehen bleiben! ...
 Mal her hören
 und sich ruhig verhalten,
 wird euch nichts geschehen.
 Bleibt nur stehen ...
 Bleibt nur stehen ...
 So wird jedem Juden passieren,
 der nicht die Judengesetze
 Genau wird durchführen.
 Die Judengesetze
 werden morgen überall
 angeschlagen sein,
 dass es jeder lesen kann.
 O, dann möchte ich packen das Schwein,
 welches es nicht richtig macht,
 der hat das letzte mal gelacht.
 Ihr Judenbande!
 Das Hängen gefällt euch,
 was?
 Wie sie da baumeln.
 Das ist schön ...
 Das maxt Spass ...
 So,
 Jetzt könnt ihr ruhig nach hause gehn.
 Los ... los ... nicht stehen bleiben ...
 Nicht stehen ...
 Judenpack! ...
 Kulturloses Volk! ...
 Totschlagen müsste man euch!
 Hier herumspazieren,
 Was? ...
 Das würde euch gefallen. Haut ab! ...
 Bis an den Amur.
 Merkt euch, hier herrscht nicht Juda,
 sondern die deutsche Kultur.

76

Esther Stub (twelve years of age): *Liid fjn bouyn barakn*. (From the anthology *Zamlung fjn kacét- jn géto-liider*, published by the Central Jewish Committee, Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, p. 27. Bergen-Belsen, 1945/46).

Ainc, cvai, draai -
 vén véln mir zaan fraai ?
 hingerik, buurvys, up gyrish,
 fjn taty-mamy guur níst visn -
 Got! vi tjt dus vai.

ainc, cvai, draai -
 der tug vil níst farbaai,
 slépn cigl, bréiter, stainer
 jn fjn toity ménén, bainer.
 Got! vi tjt dus vai.

ainc, cvai, draai -
 héier cjj maan gystrai,
 fjn jmbakonty masn-kvuurym,
 klainy kinder fjn xaduurym,
 uun mamys baa zai.

ainc, cvai, draai -
 glaibn mir gytraai,
 vartn mir jn hofn,
 vus djj host jndz farsproxn -
 am Íisruuy! xaai!

PART FOUR
AN OUTLINE OF YIDDISH GRAMMAR

NOTE TO PART FOUR

This grammar is based on part of my German *Grammatik* (see p. 323, No. 80). However, it includes a number of changes I made when translating that part into Yiddish several decades ago. (Being preoccupied with palaeographical work I left that translation in my drawer, where it still lies.) Among these changes was a chapter on the verbal aspects. For publication in this book, some further changes and additions have been made.

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Script and Sounds

The Script

1 Yiddish, like all Jewish languages, employs the Hebrew alphabet.¹ For printing the so-called 'Square script'² is used, for handwriting the cursive style.³ However, the use of the Square script for Yiddish is a comparatively recent development. Before that, only mashait⁴ and cursive had been employed in manuscripts, and only mashait in printing, and this remained so until well into the first half of the nineteenth century. In handwriting mashait had disappeared after the invention of printing, when books were no longer handwritten by professional scribes.

The alphabet consists of 22 characters plus 5 obligatory variants which have to be used whenever the letter stands in word-final position.⁵

The script runs from right to left, and this applies to the construction of the letters too. The chart on pp. 198–99 shows the alphabet in printed and in handwritten form. The remarks accompanying the chart may be useful to readers who are used only to the Latin characters, which are shaped from left to right.

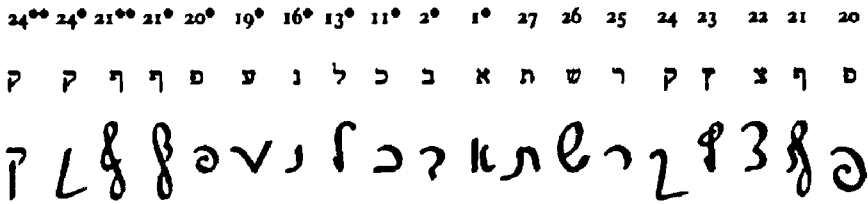
1 See p. 13 f.

2 This style, used now for printing Yiddish as well as Hebrew, is not of the Ashkenazic type: see my *The Hebrew Scripts*, Part I, columns 270–271.

3 It is the cursive of the Ashkenazic type, Yiddish being the language of Ashkenazic Jewry (each of the various historical Jewries having developed a writing type of its own). Regarding the development of the Ashkenazic cursive, see *op. cit.*, Part I, columns 303–309, and Part II, Nos. 349–365.

4 A book hand (unreasonably called 'Rabbinic').

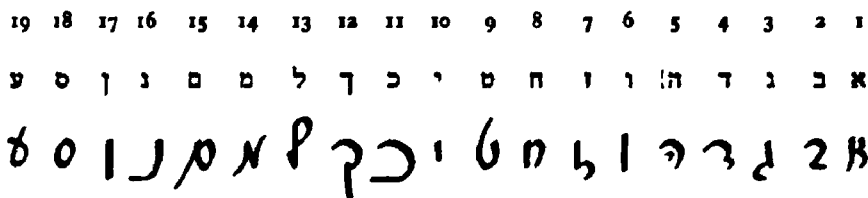
5 There is one exception: p. 208, No. 68.



- 16 runs well below the base line and mostly sweeps far leftwards.
- 16° does not extend below the base line; the leftward stroke is short.
- 18 is a circle or ellipse, written clockwise.
- 19 is started on top, right.
- 19° The loop has disappeared.
- 20 is written clockwise and runs well below the base line.
- 20° starts at the base line.
- 21 starts at the base line as a narrow, anti-clockwise loop, continues upwards high beyond the line ceiling, turning clockwise to run down, forming a narrow loop, that crosses the main stroke, ends as a separate, clockwise curve in vertical position.
- 21° The two curves are on the right of the main stroke.
- 21** The separate curve has become the continuation of the upper curve by turning anticlockwise (a treble clef in musical notation).
- 22 The upper curve is generally bigger than the lower one and is above the line ceiling.
- 23 starts at the line ceiling with a down stroke that, at the base line, turns upwards and runs high above the line ceiling.
- 24 The top is a smallish curve. The tail is long.
- 24° The top curve has disappeared.
- 24** The letter often has the construction of the Square style.
- 26 is started anti-clockwise, from the right.
- 27 The right stroke is written first.

The letters of a word are not supposed to be linked together. However, many writers do link up certain letters; e.g., n + d, n + h, k + d, k + h, even t + p, n + i, q + r, z + r, v + i, i + i, c + v, etc. Still, the visual impression of a page of Yiddish or Hebrew handwriting is that of unlinked lettering.

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- 1 The right part is written first.
- 1° This is a frequent variant – the letter has come apart. It then very easily becomes indistinguishable from No. 32, p. 204; hence this form is better avoided.
- 2 starts in a clockwise direction.
- 2° Without the final rightward turn.
- 3 The curve hangs down from the (imaginary) base line of the writing.
- 4 starts clockwise; the upper part is larger; the lower is slightly farther to the right.
- 7 The curve is below the (imaginary) base line of the writing.
- 8 The stroke to the right is written first.
- 9 starts on top, right, and proceeds in clockwise direction.
- 11 is written clockwise, the bottom stroke sweeps well below the (imaginary) base line of the writing.
- 11° The bottom stroke does not sweep below the base line.
- 12 In a variant, the top is rather large, sweeping upwards above the (imaginary) line ceiling.
- 13 starts at the little slanting bottom stroke. From the bottom it proceeds upwards, to high above the line ceiling, then curves clockwise back to the main stroke.
- 13° The right-hand part of the loop (i.e., historically the original main stroke of the letter) has disappeared, leaving only a little top curve which may even become straight. Neither of these two variants is to be recommended.
- 14 starts on the right. The letter is usually very narrow and differs strongly from Roman N.
- 15 starts from the left side of the circle and runs clockwise. On finally reaching the line ceiling outside the circle, it slants down leftwards, usually to well below the base line.

Spelling, Transcription, Pronunciation

2 There are two spelling systems in Yiddish, one for the Semitic element, the other for the Indo-European one. The latter grew out of the former.¹ Already in very ancient Semitic documents we come across cases where phonetical development had resulted in a consonant letter standing for a new vowel. This gave rise to the practice of using these letters, by analogy, also for the same vowels when they were not of the same origin. This system of *scriptio plena* was also employed in Hebrew and in the Aramic languages of the Jews, where it grew and spread in the biblical, talmudic and 'rabbinic' literatures. When Yiddish came onto the scene it inherited from Zarphatic the principle of full plene spelling, i.e., without the restraint imposed by the *scriptio defectiva* which was still the dominant system in Hebrew (and Aramic).² Although the spelling of the Indo-European element changed in the course of centuries, it remained fairly consistent until the Enlightenment, when those under its influence started imitating the spelling of German. But outside their circles these changes advanced very slowly. Among the masses, old spellings have survived until the present. Today several orthographic systems are in existence, and the differences between them are by no means negligible.

In this grammar two systems are given side by side: a traditionalist one² (on the right hand side of the slant-line/slash/solidus) and a nationalist one³ (on the

3

1 In Ashkenazic Hebrew, words of Indo-European origin have hitherto always been spelt according to the Yiddish system – a natural and practical procedure. In recent times, however, this has been discarded and a 'strictly Hebrew' system adopted. Those responsible for the change did not appreciate that the Yiddish system is a continuation of the Hebrew one. It is ironical that at a time when the *scriptio plena* is being extended in Hebrew to a higher degree than ever before – the object being to facilitate reading – the fully developed plene spelling of Indo-European words in Hebrew context is being abolished, with the result that such words are now difficult or even impossible to read correctly. E.g. qameṣ or pataḥ in סרלס? *Parrallass, pārallass, parälass, parralläs, pärälass, parräläs, päräläs, prallass, präläss, pralläs, präläs, pärläss, pärläss, pärläss, farralläss* etc. Unless one happens to know the name – Perles, Perlis, Perels – the word is an enigma. The following case belongs to a different category: The German diphthong *au* was rendered *waw yodh* when the Enlightenment authors wrote German in Hebrew characters. In presentday Hebrew this has been replaced by aleph *waw*, with the obvious intention of avoiding the Yiddish spelling. The general reader and writer, no doubt, takes aleph *waw* as a transliteration of *au*, i.e., aleph = *a*, *waw* = *u*. He is thus misled into using an un-Hebrew formation (even if the scholars who introduced the aleph *waw* might have had in mind a Hebrew construction – a *pataḥ* preceding the aleph: *a'u* would then be an approximation to *au*, i.e., *Ba-um* for *Baum*).

2 It combines traditional elements with a more accurate rendering of the phonological structure of Yiddish. It was adopted, in 1930, by one of the biggest school organizations of Poland's Jewish population (בית יעקב).

3 That of the 'Yivo Institute for Jewish Research.'

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left). However, apart from 2–20 there is a simplification in the rest of this grammar: Where the difference consists merely in the presence or absence of vowel signs, or daghesh, we have given the traditionalist spelling as it makes for easier reading; anyone wishing to ignore the vowel signs can do so.

The transcription is based on the pronunciation of the great majority – who comprise three quarters of all Yiddish speakers – if we think of the vowel letters as representing the ‘Italian’ or German values. However, we may also consider the system as ‘neutral,’ ‘interdialectal’ (so that, for instance, *u* means [ɔ] for a speaker of Northern Yiddish, see para. 17) and this is obvious in the signs *j* and *ú*.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(1)	א	—	<i>alyf</i>	Weak glottal stop, as between the two <i>es</i> of Eng. <i>re-entry</i> . It is written only before ׀ or ך: אומה <i>jmy</i> ‘nation,’ אונדז <i>jndz</i> ‘us,’ אײג/אײג אײג <i>oig</i> ‘eye,’ איסור <i>iser</i> ‘prohibition,’ איז <i>iz</i> ‘is,’ אינדיק <i>indik</i> ‘turkey,’ אייז <i>aaz</i> ‘ice,’ אייז <i>avol</i> ‘little stove,’ רײק/רײק <i>rjik</i> ‘quiet, calm,’ פּאַרטייש/פּאַרטייש <i>partaiis</i> ‘of a [political] party,’ שרײק/שרײק <i>šraaiik</i> ‘garish,’ זעײג/זעײג <i>zeijng</i> ‘vision.’
(2)	א	—	<i>alyf</i>	At the end of words of the Semitic element. Resembles <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>behalf</i> : מילא/מילא <i>maily</i> ‘well; for all I care.’
(3)	—/א	—	<i>alyf</i>	This is the only case when a letter is written for a purely graphic reason: it serves to separate one ׀ from another ׀, when the two letters do not form a spelling unit: וואו/וואו <i>vij</i> ‘where,’ וואוינט/וואוינט <i>voint</i> ‘resides,’ פרוו/פרוואו <i>prijv</i> ‘try.’
(4)	א/א	<i>o</i>	<i>alyf</i> <i>kumyc</i> <i>alyf</i>	Like /o/ in (London) Eng. <i>hot</i> : ארט/אָרט <i>ort</i> ‘place,’ ווארצל/וואָרצל <i>vorcl</i> ‘root,’ פראסט/פּראָסט <i>prost</i> ‘plain, ordinary.’ ¹

¹ There is no danger of this sign being confused with Nos. (1) or (2), as it occurs only between consonants, while Nos. (1) and (2) appear only in conjunction with vowels.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(5)	ֿ/א	oo	<i>alyf</i> <i>kumyc alyf</i>	Like /o/ in Eng. <i>horn</i> : הארן/הארן <i>hoor-n</i> 'horn.' ^{1,2}
(6)	ֿ	u	<i>kumyc alyf</i>	Like /u/ in Eng. <i>put</i> : אַפּל <i>uvl</i> 'bereaved person,' וועג <i>vug</i> 'weight' (property of being heavy); 'scales,' באַבע/באָבע <i>buby</i> 'grandmother.'
(7)	ֿ	uu	<i>kumyc alyf</i>	Like /u/ in Ger. <i>gut</i> : אָסור <i>uuser</i> 'forbidden,' אָן <i>uun</i> 'without,' מאָס <i>muus</i> 'measure,' קאָזמאַרק <i>Kuuzmark</i> (place name). ^{2,3}
(8)	א	a	<i>pdsex alyf</i>	Resembles the <i>u</i> in London Eng. <i>cut</i> , NA <i>o</i> in <i>lot</i> : אָסר <i>aser</i> 'forbid,' זאַנד <i>zamd</i> 'sand,' צאַפּ <i>cap</i> 'he-goat.'
(9)	א	á	<i>pdsex alyf</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> : גראַם <i>grám</i> 'rhyme.'
(10)	אַ	aa	<i>pdsex +</i> <i>pdsex</i> <i>alyf</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> : מאַמער/מאָמער <i>maamer</i> 'saying; essay.'
(11)	אַ	aa(i)	<i>pdsex +</i> <i>alyf ijjd</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> ; regionally followed by short /i/: האַלואַ/האַלואַי <i>halvaa(i)</i> 'would that.'
(12)	ב/בֿ ⁴	b	<i>baix</i>	Like <i>b</i> in Eng. <i>bee</i> : בֿיסוד/בֿיסוד <i>bysod</i> 'secretly,' ברייף/ברייח <i>briiv</i> 'letter' (missive), ברוק <i>brjk</i> 'paved surface.'
(13)	בֿ	v	<i>vais</i>	Like <i>v</i> in Eng. <i>veil</i> : לֿיבֿנה/ליבֿנה <i>lyvunyv</i> 'moon.'
(14)	ג	g	<i>giml</i>	Like <i>g</i> in Eng. <i>go</i> : גזמא <i>gzmy</i> 'exaggeration,' גראַיט <i>grait</i> 'ready,' גאַל <i>guul</i> 'shave.'
(15)	ד	d	<i>dalyt</i>	Like <i>d</i> in Eng. <i>do</i> : דוּקאַ/דוּקאַ <i>davky</i> 'just,' דיך/דיך <i>diix</i> 'thigh,' דעמב <i>demb</i> 'oak.'

2 In my *מין קאַסיר* *Min Kasir*, Warsaw, 1930, I suggested a dot above the letter to indicate length of the vowel: אַ oo, ֿ uu, ֿ á.

3 < קאַזמער *Kaazmer* 'Casimir.'

4 For handwriting the dot (daghesh) can be dispensed with.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(16)	דז	<i>dz</i>	<i>dalyt</i> <i>zaa(i)yn</i>	Like <i>ds</i> in Eng. <i>hands</i> : אונדזער <i>jndzer</i> 'our'.
(17)	דזש	<i>dž</i>	<i>dalyt</i> <i>zaa(i)yn</i> <i>šii(y)n</i>	Like /j/ in Eng. <i>jam</i> : דזשעגעכץ <i>džégexc</i> 'tar.'
(18)	ה	<i>h</i>	<i>hai</i>	Like /h/ in Eng. <i>hand</i> : הנאה/הנאה <i>hānuuy</i> 'pleasure,' הויס/הויס <i>hijjs</i> 'cough,' הערב הערב <i>hérb</i> 'coat-of-arms.'
(19)	ה	—		Not pronounced in medial or final position in words of the Semitic element: כהן/כהן <i>koin, koiyn</i> 'Aaronide' ('Cohen'), ברכה/ברכה <i>bruxy</i> , 'blessing'; however, in final position it reveals the presence of a vowel.
(20)	הַ	<i>á</i>	<i>pásex +</i> <i>hai</i>	Resembles /a/ in Eng. <i>father</i> : אהרן <i>Árn</i> 'Aaron.'
(21)	הֶ	<i>aa</i>	<i>pásex +</i> <i>pasex</i> <i>hai</i>	Resembles /a/ in Eng. <i>father</i> : התלהבות <i>hīslaavys</i> 'enthusiasm, fervour.'
(22)	ו	<i>v</i>	<i>vuv</i>	Like <i>v</i> in Eng. <i>veil</i> : וואָדר/וואָדר <i>vaiuuder</i> 'Adar II.'
(23)	וֵ	<i>j</i>	<i>vuv</i>	Like <i>i</i> in Eng. <i>fit</i> : מומחה <i>mjmxy</i> (an) 'expert,' קופער <i>kjper</i> 'copper,' קופע <i>kjpy</i> 'heap.'
(24)	וּ	<i>ú</i>	<i>vuv</i>	Like <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>put</i> ; used in international words: אינסטיטוט <i>institut</i> 'institute.' ⁵
(25)	וֹ	<i>y</i>	<i>vuv</i>	Resembles <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>behalf</i> : איוב/איוב <i>Ijyo</i> (the Biblical) 'Job,' רחמנות/רחמנות <i>raxmuunys</i> 'pity, mercy.'
(26)	וּ	—	<i>vuv</i>	Not pronounced in an unstressed final syllable ending in /l/ or /n/: מבוֹל <i>mab-l</i> 'the Flood,' ניצחון/ניצחון <i>nicux-ŋ</i> 'victory.'

5 A popular phonetic device to indicate this special pronunciation of the letter: ן.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(27)	י/י	ijj	myljpm vuv	Resembles <i>ee</i> in Eng. <i>meet</i> : שורה/שורה <i>shorah</i> <i>shorah</i> 'line, row,' בשורה/בשורה <i>basorah</i> <i>psjj(e)y</i> 'message,' ריו/ריו <i>rjv</i> 'rest, repose.'
(28)	י/י	úú	myljpm vuv	Like <i>u</i> in Ger. <i>Hut</i> . Used in 'inter- national words': נאטור/נאטור <i>natur</i> . ⁶
(29)	י/י	o	xoilym vuv	Like <i>o</i> in London Eng. <i>hot</i> : (a) in closed syllable: סוד/סוד <i>sod</i> 'a secret'; (b) before /r/: מסורף/מסורף <i>mysorff</i> 'deranged, mad,' דורך/דורך <i>dorex</i> 'through,' בוריק/בוריק <i>borik</i> 'beet- root.' Regionally: é (No. 62): <i>mytérff</i> , etc.
(30)	י/י	oo	xoilym vuv	Like <i>o</i> in Eng. <i>horn</i> : גוי/גוי <i>goo</i> 'Gentile.' See also No. 34.
(31)	י/י	oi	xoilym vuv	Like <i>oy</i> in Eng. <i>boy</i> : שומר/שומר <i>soimer</i> 'a guard,' הסטורה/הסטורה <i>hasforah</i> 'haftarah.'
(32)	ח	v	cvai vuvv	Like <i>v</i> in Eng. <i>veil</i> : וואו/וואו <i>vuv</i> 'the letter ו,' וואס <i>vuus</i> , <i>vus</i> 'what,' עעטשערע <i>éctery</i> 'evening meal.'
(33)	י/י	oi	xoilym vuv + ijjd	Like <i>oy</i> in Eng. <i>boy</i> : טויב/טויב <i>toib</i> 'deaf,' פלויט/פלויט <i>plait</i> 'fence.' When the diphthong occurs in foreign words, we transcribe it as <i>oi</i> to differentiate it from the usual <i>oi</i> because this has also the regional pronunciation [ɔi].
(34)	י/י	ooi	xoilym vuv + ijjd	Like <i>oy</i> in Eng. <i>boy</i> , but with a long <i>o</i> : גוי/גוי <i>gooi</i> 'Gentile.' (See also No. 30.)
(35)	י/י	ou	vuv ijjd	The <i>o</i> like in London Eng. <i>hot</i> , the <i>u</i> like in Eng. <i>put</i> : טויב <i>toib</i> 'pigeon.' (To spell the diphthong [ɔɪ] in foreign words as י is a breach of the inter- dialectal principle in Yiddish spelling.)
(36)	ז	z	zai(i)yn	Like <i>z</i> in Eng. <i>zoo</i> : זמן/זמן <i>zman</i> 'fixed time,' זומער <i>zjmer</i> 'summer,' זלאטע <i>Zlaty</i> (female name).

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No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(37)	זש	z	zaa(i)yn šii(y)n	Like z in Eng. <i>azure</i> : זשאַבע/זשאַבע <i>zaby</i> 'frog.'
(38)	ח	x	xés	Like <i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> : חכם/חכם <i>xuxym</i> 'wise man.'
(39)	ט	t	tés	Like <i>t</i> in Eng. <i>toe</i> : טעות/טעות <i>tuuys</i> 'mistake,' טונקל <i>tjnkł</i> 'dark,' טעסלער <i>tésler</i> 'carpenter.'
(40)	טש	č	tés šii(y)n	Like <i>ch</i> in Eng. <i>chalk</i> : טשאַלנט <i>čulnt</i> (a certain dish), מענטש <i>méné</i> 'human being,' טשעפע <i>čépy</i> 'pester, worry.'
(41)	י	i(î)	ijjd	Like <i>y</i> in Eng. <i>yes</i> : יוסף/יוסף <i>iosyf</i> 'Joseph,' יאַר <i>iuu(e)r</i> 'year,' יונג <i>ijng</i> 'young,' יענער <i>iéner</i> 'that (one),' יינגל/יינגל <i>iingl</i> 'boy,' יערן/יערן <i>iéiern</i> 'ferment,' יאַשטשערקע <i>iašćerky</i> 'lizard.' In words starting with י there can be no doubt that the first letter must be functioning as a consonant, and the second letter as a vowel. For if this י were to indicate the diphthong <i>ai</i> (No. 46), it would have to be preceded by א, since ו or י as vowel letters cannot begin a word by themselves. In the transcription, however, where there is nothing corresponding to א, the transcription <i>ii</i> might be thought to indicate long <i>i</i> , as in איר/איר <i>iiér</i> 'you.' To avoid that, a diaeresis is placed on the first <i>i</i> : <i>iingl</i> . (See also No. 46.)
(42)	ע/י ⁶	y	ijjd	Resembles <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>behalf</i> : גיפלוויגן/געפלוויגן <i>gyfloign</i> 'flown,' ארימאן/ארימאן <i>uuryman</i> 'poor man,' לאפיטע/לאפיטע <i>lopyty</i> 'spade.'
(43)	י	ii	xiiryk + ijjd	Resembles <i>ee</i> in Eng. <i>see</i> : מרידה/מרידה <i>meridy</i> 'revolt.'

6 Besides being used in the traditionalist system, the spelling with י is still alive even though it has not been seen in print for decades.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(44)	י	<i>ii/i</i>	<i>xiiryk</i> <i>ijjd</i>	Resembles <i>ee</i> in Eng. <i>see</i> : געבריימט געבריימט <i>gybriimt</i> 'boasted.' If it follows on a word-initial, the <i>ii</i> of our transcription is replaced by <i>i</i> , to avoid the sequence <i>iii</i> : יידיש <i>Ildis</i> 'Jewish, Yiddish.'
(45)	יַ	<i>ai</i>	<i>cairy</i> + <i>ijjd</i>	Resembles (London) Eng. - regionally NA - <i>i</i> in <i>time</i> : אימה/אימה <i>aimy</i> 'fear, terror,' מילא/מילא <i>maily</i> 'well; for all I care,' קידר/סדר <i>saidr</i> 'order.'
(46)	מ	<i>ai</i>	<i>cvai ijjd</i>	Resembles London Eng. - regionally NA <i>i</i> in <i>time</i> : שניי <i>snai</i> 'snow,' כריין <i>xrain</i> 'horse radish.' In foreign words the diphthong [aj] is spelled אַ: transcribed <i>ai</i> to differentiate from the normal /ai/, because this has also the regional pronunciations [ej] and [ej]: מאי <i>Mai</i> (the month) 'May.' It is thus [aj] in all pronunciations. (To spell the diphthong [aj] in foreign words as אַ is a breach of the inter-dialectal principle in Yiddish spelling, since to the majority of Yiddish speakers אַ means [a:].)
(47)	מַ	<i>aa(i)</i>	<i>pásex</i> + <i>cvai ijjd</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> ; regionally followed by short /i/: רבוטת/רבותי <i>raboissaa(i)</i> 'Gentlemen!' (lit. 'My masters!').
(48)	מַ	<i>aa(i)</i>	<i>pásex</i> <i>cvai ijjd</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> : דריי <i>draa</i> 'three,' regionally plus /i/.
(49)	מַ	<i>aa</i>	<i>pásex</i> <i>cvai ijjd</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> : הײַנט <i>haant</i> 'today.'
(50)	כּ	<i>k</i>	<i>kuf</i>	Like <i>c</i> in Eng. <i>come</i> : קלה/כלה <i>kaly</i> 'bride.'
(51)	כּ	<i>x</i>	<i>xuf</i>	Like <i>ck</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> : שכר/סכר <i>sxar</i> 'reward,' העכער <i>héxer</i> 'higher,' ביטער <i>xitry</i> 'sly.'

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No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(52)	ך	x	<i>langy xuf</i>	Like <i>ch</i> in Scottish <i>loch</i> ; used in word-final position: ברוך/ברוך <i>Buurex</i> 'Baruch,' זאך/זאך <i>zox</i> 'sickness,' נעבעך/נעבעך <i>néhex</i> 'poor thing; poor me' etc.
(53)	ל	l	<i>lamyd</i>	Like <i>l</i> in Eng. <i>luck</i> : לשון/לשון <i>luush</i> 'language,' לופט <i>ljft</i> 'air,' לאפע <i>lapy</i> 'paw.'
(54)	לי	li	<i>lamyd ijfd</i>	Like <i>l</i> in Eng. <i>failure</i> : ליאדע <i>liady</i> 'any.'
(55)	מ	m	<i>mém</i>	Like <i>m</i> in Eng. <i>mind</i> : מזל/מזל <i>mazl</i> 'luck,' מעסט <i>mést</i> 'to measure,' מאלפע <i>malpy</i> 'monkey, ape.'
(56)	ם	m	<i>slos-mém</i>	Like <i>m</i> in Eng. <i>mind</i> : ים/ים <i>iam</i> 'sea,' ברעם/ברעם <i>brém</i> 'eye-brow,' באקעם/באקעם <i>bokym</i> 'the wrong way.' Used in word-final position.
(57)	ן	n	<i>nijn</i>	Like <i>n</i> in Eng. <i>now</i> : נשמה/נשמה <i>nysumy</i> 'soul,' נאנט <i>nuunt</i> 'near,' נידע <i>njdy</i> 'boring, tedious.' Before <i>g</i> or <i>k</i> , and after <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> or <i>x</i> it becomes <i>ŋ</i> like <i>n</i> in Eng. <i>sing</i> פינגער <i>finger</i> [<i>finggr</i>] 'finger' [<i>fijgr</i>] בענקט/בענקט <i>bénkt</i> [<i>benkt</i>] 'longs,' זאגנדיק <i>zugndik</i> [<i>zug-ŋ-dik</i>] 'while saying,' מעקנדיק <i>mékdik</i> [<i>mek-ŋ-dik</i>] 'whilst erasing,' שטעכנדיק <i>stéxndik</i> [<i>stéx-ŋ-dik</i>] 'while stinging.'
(58)	ן	n	<i>sléxy⁷</i> <i>nijn</i>	Like <i>n</i> in Eng. <i>now</i> ; used in word-final position: קאמען/קאמען <i>kamcn</i> 'miser,' גלעטן <i>glém</i> 'to stroke,' קלין <i>klin</i> 'wedge.' After <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> or <i>x</i> it becomes [ŋ]: זאגן <i>zugn</i> [<i>zug-ŋ</i>] 'say,' מעקן <i>mékn</i> [<i>mék-ŋ</i>] 'crase,' שטעכן <i>stéxn</i> [<i>stéx-ŋ</i>] 'sting.'
(59)	ני	ni	<i>nijn ijfd</i>	Like <i>ni</i> in Eng. <i>Spaniard</i> : נשמיע <i>zémény</i> 'handful.'

7 'straight.'

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(60)	ס	s	samex	Like <i>s</i> in Eng. <i>set</i> : סתירה/סתירה <i>stirry</i> 'contradiction,' סאיסט <i>vaist</i> 'knows,' סאזשע <i>sažy</i> 'soot.'
(61)	ע	—	aa(i)yn	Weak glottal stop, as between the two <i>es</i> of Eng. <i>re-entry</i> . עקשן/עקשן <i>aktsh</i> 'stubborn man,' עבר/עבר <i>uver</i> 'past,' ערב/ערב <i>érv</i> 'on the eve of,' עוף/עוף <i>of</i> 'fowl,' עולם/עולם <i>oilym</i> 'people, public,' עיקר <i>iker</i> 'main thing, principal thing,' עצה/עצה <i>aicy</i> 'advice.'
(62)	ע	é	aa(i)yn	A sound between the <i>a</i> of (London) Eng. <i>mas</i> and the <i>e</i> of <i>met</i> : עפל <i>épl</i> 'apple.'
(63)	ע	e	aa(i)yn	Like the <i>e</i> in (London) Eng. <i>miller</i> : היידער/מילנער <i>mílnér</i> 'miller,' סארעך/סארעך <i>vaarèx</i> 'incense,' סארעך/סארעך <i>šorèx</i> 'a rustle.'
(64)	ע	y	aa(i)yn	Resembles the <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>behalf</i> : רויטע <i>roity</i> (inflected form), פארע <i>pary</i> 'steam,' גיטלויק/געטלויק <i>gytloig</i> 'flown,' ארימאן/ארעמאן <i>uuryman</i> 'poor man,' לאפערטע/לאפערטע <i>lopyty</i> 'spade.'
(65)	ע/י	éi	séig! aa(i)yn	Resembles <i>ay</i> in (London) Eng. <i>day</i> : טעג/טעג <i>téig</i> 'days.'
(66)	ע/ע	d	pásex + aa(i)yn	Resembles <i>a</i> in (London) Eng. <i>father</i> : טעם/טעם <i>tám</i> 'taste.'
(67)	ע/י	aa	pásex + pasex aa(i)yn	Resembles <i>a</i> in (London) Eng. <i>father</i> : מצלה/מצלה <i>maaly</i> 'good quality, virtue.'
(68)	פ	p	pai	Like <i>p</i> in Eng. <i>pat</i> : פרי/פרי <i>pairy</i> 'fruit,' פיערטע <i>paad(i)erty</i> 'peasant woman,' פלייצע <i>plaicy</i> 'shoulder,' אראפ <i>arup</i> 'down'; used also — as here — in word-final position, not as in No. 70.
(69)	פ	f	fai	Like <i>f</i> in Eng. <i>four</i> : אויפן/אויפן <i>oifn</i> 'manner,' פון <i>fyn</i> 'of, from,' פאסאליע <i>fasoliy</i> 'bean.'

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No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(70)	ף	<i>f</i>	<i>langy fai</i>	סוף/סוף <i>sof</i> 'end,' הויף/הויף <i>hoif</i> 'court-yard.' Used in word-final position.
(71)	צ	<i>c</i>	<i>cadyk</i>	Like <i>ts</i> in Eng. <i>bits</i> : צפון/צפון <i>cufn</i> 'north,' צוואנג <i>cvang</i> 'tongs,' צעצקע <i>cacky</i> 'ornament.'
(72)	ץ	<i>c</i>	<i>langy cadyk</i>	Like <i>ts</i> in Eng. <i>bits</i> : חפץ/חפץ <i>xaifyc</i> 'object, thing,' זיף <i>zifc</i> 'sigh,' בוחרעץ/בוחרעץ <i>buxercé</i> 'a strong and/or unruly youth.'
(73)	ק	<i>k</i>	<i>kjif</i>	Like <i>c</i> in Eng. <i>come</i> : קודם/קודם <i>koidym</i> 'before,' קארפ <i>karp</i> 'carp,' קייטל <i>kaisl</i> 'basket.'
(74)	ר	<i>r</i>	<i>rais</i>	Usually velar, like a weak French <i>r</i> ; there are also rolled varieties; the ending ער <i>er</i> sounds like the (London) English one. רוב/רוב <i>rov</i> 'majority,' רויג/רויג <i>roig</i> 'roe,' ראזינקע/ראזינקע <i>rozinky</i> 'raisin,' מוטער <i>mjter</i> 'mother.'
(75)	ש	<i>š</i>	<i>šii(y)n</i>	Like <i>sh</i> in Eng. <i>shut</i> : שטות <i>šts</i> 'nonsense,' שיין <i>šain</i> 'beautiful,' שאפּט <i>šafy</i> 'cupboard.'
(76)	ס	<i>s</i>	<i>šii(y)n</i>	Like <i>s</i> in Eng. <i>set</i> : שימחה <i>šimxy</i> 'joy.'
(77)	ת	<i>t</i>	<i>šuv</i>	Like <i>t</i> in Eng. <i>toe</i> : תלמיד/תלמיד <i>šalmjyd</i> 'pupil.'
(78)	ת	<i>s</i>	<i>šuv</i>	Like <i>s</i> in Eng. <i>set</i> : חתונה/חתונה <i>šasyny</i> 'wedding.'

READING EXERCISE

3

דער, דאָ, העָ, האַר, חוּד, צוואַנג, סוף, אפּט, האַט, האַט, גוט, זאָט, טוט, דאָט
tjij zat gjt (h)ot ot tjij aza avjj vjj ha duu djij
 טוט, גוט, אַבן, אַה, די, דאָ, חוּ, זי, ווי, צוואַנג, טוט, טוט, בויט,
bout toit azoi zii zi vii dii di ahii abii git
 הייט, בייט, חייט, זייט, איי, גייט, היי, חיי, זייט, טייט, יאָ, ציאָ, חיאָ, כוואַט,
vat voo aioo ioo tait zait vai hai gait ai zaat vaat baat hout

דאַכט, דאַך, דאך/דאָך, זאָך, וואך/וואָך, לאַך, לאך/לאָך, לויט/לויט, לויט, לויט, ליִט,
laat lout loit lox lax vox zax dox dax dast
 לייכט, בילט/בילט, בלוט/בלוט, גלייך, ווילט, אַייל, ביייל/בייל, גאַל, דול, הולסאַי,
hjl tai djl gal baat aal vilt glaax bljt bilt laaxt
 היל, הייל, חיל, ווייל, ואל/וואַל, וויל, מאַך, מאַל, מאַלט, מיל, מויל, מייל, לאַמט,
lumt maal moul miil muult muul max zoul zol vaal vil hail hül
 בוים/בוים, לאַם, נאך/נאָך, נאָך, נאַל, ניי, נייט, נייט/נייט, נייט, וואַנט, ווינט, וואַנט/ווינט,
voint vint vant nait noit nit naa(i) nuul nuux nox lum boim
 חיינט, האַנט, הונט, וינט, טינט, אַת, אַת, אַך, אַך/אַך, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי, ביי,
huun daan diin din gain bain biin bin in jn tint zint hjnt hant vaint
 הין/הין, אַהין/אַהין, וואַין/וואַין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין, וויין,
muun man loin tijn zaan zjyn zjn vain vaan voim ahiin hjjn
 מיין, מיין, נייך, נייך, טוק, אומויסט, ביסט, בייסט, גאַסט, גיט, גיט/גיט, גיט, גיט, גיט,
gaist giist gist gast baast bist jnzist tjnk naim naan main maan
 הויסט/הויסט, הייסט, וויסט/וויסט, וויסט, וויסט, טויסט/טויסט, יוט, מיסט, גיט/גיט, גיט,
mist mist ijst tjst zaist vaist viist haist hjjst
 אײס, באַס, בייט, גאַס, גאַס/גאַס, גיט/גיט, דאַס, האַט/הוט, הייט, וואַט, ווייט, ווייט, זײט,
ziis vais vaas vus hais hjjs dus giis gos gas bis bas ous
 גאַט, נײט, גיט, גיט/גיט, עט, עסט, בעט, געסט, העט, הענט, העל, העט, מעסט, בע,
bé mést vét vél hént hét gést bét ést ét niis nis njs nas
 געט/געט, וועסט/וועסט, מעל/מעל, גיבט/געבט, געהאַט/געהאַט, גיט/געט,
gytjyn gyhat gybét méil zéist bét
 גימאַלט/געמאַלט, אַלע, כּוואַליע, דערזען/דערזען, דערזען, הענטלעך, גיסלעך, פאַס,
pas nislex hentlex dercailt derzén xvaliy aly gymuult
 פּלויט/פּלויט, זאַפט, זופּט, זופּט/זופּט, טאַפט, גיזנט/געזנט, טופּע, פּויפּס/פּויפּס,
poips iipy gyzynt tapt zúpt zjpt zapt ploit
 טאַפּ/טאַפּ, לייט, טאַלט, טאַן, טאַך/טאַך, פּול, פּון, פּיין, פּע, גיט/געט, האַט/האַט,
hoft gyfint fé faan fjn fjil fox fan falt lip top
 לויט/לויט, האַף/האַף, הויף/הויף, לויף/לויף, צאַפּ, צאַל, צאַן, צייט, צעפּ, איצט,
ict cep caat cuun cuul cap loif hoif hof loift
 הייצט, הייך, וויין, טויך, קאַפּ/קאַפּ, קאַכט/קאַכט, קאַן, קוקט, קען, באַקט, דאַקט, ועקט,
zéks dankt bakt kén kjkt kuun koxt kop tjc vaic hic haict
 באַק, אַוועק, ראַסע/ראַסע, רוט, רויט/רויט, אַרעפּ, אַרט/אַרט, דראַט, פּאַרע, פּאַר,
far pary druut ort arup roit rjt rosy avék bak
 שאַט, שויל, שוין/שוין, שוין, שוין, שוין, שוין, רישעל, וואַשט, קישט, מעש, ושאַווער, סאַווער,
saky laver méts kjst vašt dísel trouf spin lain soim tjjl lat

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פאַטשט, קאַטשקע, העכט, וועלט, ווען, זעט, געזל/געל, דעם/דעם, זעט/זעט, כאפט,
xapt zéit déim géil zét vén vélt héxt kačky pačt
 סאַפּע, פּיפּס/פּיפּס, טאַפּ/טאַפּ, טעפּ, פּאַן, פּוּט, פּיפּס/פּיפּס, פּוּל, לופּט, נאַפּט, זייף,
zaif naft ljft foul fis fjnt fuun tép top piips safy
 טיף/טיף, צאַפּ/צאַפּ, צום, צופּט, צעך, ציין, צען, בליצט, זיצט, זעצט, נעצט, זעץ, טאַץ,
tac zéc néct zéct zict blicť cén cain céx cjpt cjm cop tiif
 פּוּץ, קאַלט, קאַן/קאַן, קאַסע/קאַסע, קום, קומסט, קוּיט/קוּיט, קוּיל, קייכט, אַקט,
akt kaaxť koul koit kjmst kjm kosy kon kalt pjč
 בלאַנקט, גיבעקס/געבעקס, ווייקט, מעקט, ביק, גלאַק/גלאַק, האַק, טאַק/טאַק, קוק,
kjk tok hak glok bik mékt vaikt gybéks blankť
 ראַסע, ריפּ, רויס/רויס, רייך, ריין, האַרט, וואַרף/וואַרף, וואַריס/וואַרעס, מאַראַנץ,
maranc vorym vorť hart rain raax Roim rip rasy
 פּאַרט/פּאַרט, קריי, האַר, נאַר/נאַר, שאַ, שאַל, שאַף, שאַפּע, שאַס/שאַס, שאַק/שאַק, שאַף,
šuf šok šos šafy šaf šal ša nor hár krai fort
 שווייס, שיט, שיט, שיק, שוּיט/שוּיט, שוּיס/שוּיס, שייַן, שלעכט, שלעפּט, שעלט,
šélt šlépt šléxt šaan šois šoit šik šif šüs šit švais
 שעפּט, מישט, נאַשט, נישט, רעשט, שושקע, אַש, וואַש, וויש, וועש, טיש, פּיש, קוש,
kjs fiš tiš véš viš vaš aš šjšky réšť nišť našť mišť sépt
 בלישטשע.
blišćy

Phonetical Remarks

4 (a) לייג שוין/שוין *laigt > laigt* 'lives,' זאגסט *zugst > zukst* 'you say,' שוין שוין/שוין *laigt > laigt* 'do lay': A voiced consonant, followed by a voiceless one in the same, or closely following, word, undergoes regressive assimilation and so becomes unvoiced.

(b) אבער/אַבער *my méig > méik, ober ...* 'one may - but ...'; ער איז מיין/זיין ווייב, דעמלט *zaan vaab > vaap, démlt ...* 'his wife, at that time ...'; די מיין, ער וועט *er iz miid > miit, bin ex ...* 'He is tired, so I ...'; *di maaz > maas, er vét ...* 'the mice, he will ...': The same holds good when a voiced consonant is followed by a break in speaking, even a short one, and, of course, at the end of a sentence: לייב *laab > laap* 'body,' וועג/וועג *véig > véik* 'way,' רייד *raid > rait* 'words,' פּרוּווּן *prjivo > prjif* 'try'; however, *|z|* is then not completely unvoiced: מוז *mjz* 'must.'

Such unvoicing in (a) and (b) is not indicated in the spelling, since it is the norm: אַרוּיס זאָגן *arous zugn > arousugn* 'to utter.'

(c) *נעמט זי némt zi* > *nemci* 'she is taking': Unvoicing through progressive assimilation is general with [z].

(d) *וועט דאך/דאָך vêt dox* > *vêtox* 'will ...', *רעדט/רעדט rêdt* > *rét* 'is speaking,' *גיב מיר gib mir* > *gimir* 'give me': With other consonants this assimilation takes place when they have the same articulation – the assimilation then becomes total and, since no consonant can be long in Y, the voiced consonant disappears.

(e) *אויסשניידן/אויסשניידן ous-snaadn* > *ousnaadn* 'to cut out,' *א גלעט טאן a glét tijn* > *a glétijn* 'to stroke,' *זאל/זאל זאל zol laaxtn* > *zolaaxtn* 'may shine,' *פון נעפל/נעפל, פון fjn néipl* > *fjnéipl* 'from the fog': The same applies, when two identical consonants meet.

5 *אויער/אויער oier* 'ear,' *זייער zaier* 'their,' *טייער taa(i)er* 'dear,' *זויער zouer* 'sour,' *טרייער/טרייער tréier* 'tear' (from eye), *האַר huuer* 'hair,' *פֿיר/פֿיר füer* 'four': When a long vowel or a diphthong is followed by /r/, an /e/ develops between them so that a diphthong or triphthong is formed. The glide is reflected in the spelling after /ai, oi, ou/, but, generally, not after vowels or /éi/.

6 (a) *הויך/הויך hoieχ* 'high,' *כוח koiex* 'force, strength,' *הייך haiex* 'height,' *ריח/ריח raieχ* 'smell,' *שוך/שוך sjjex* 'shoe,' *רוח/רוח rjex* 'demon,' *דיך/דיך diieχ* 'thigh,' *משיח Mysicex* 'Messiah.' Similarly, an /e/ develops between a diphthong or long vowel, and following /x/. However, the presence of this glide is mostly not reflected in the spelling.

(b) *הילכן hileχn* 'to sound,' *דורך/דורך doreχ* 'through': The same holds good for the glide which develops between either /l/ or /r/ and following /x/. But the glide may disappear when the /x/ is followed by more than one syllable – *הילכנדיק hilχndik* – or when the word is unstressed – *דורך דעם/דורך דעם dorχ déim* 'through that.'

7 *טעפל tép-l* 'little pot,' *פֿינגערל finger-l* '(finger) ring,' *שיקלדיק/שיקלדיק šiik-l-dik* 'cross-eyed,' *פֿערלדיק/פֿערלדיק péier-l-dik* 'pearl-like': /l/ in word-final position after a consonant (including /r/), or in a word between two consonants, is syllabic.

8 (a) *דראַטן druut-n* 'wires,' *הוסנדיק/הוסנדיק hjs-n-dik* 'while coughing,' *גאַרן guur-n* 'storey,' *פֿאַרנדיק fuur-n-dik* 'while travelling': /n/ in word-final position after a consonant (including /r/), or in a word between two consonants, is syllabic.⁸

(b) *האַבן/האַבן (h)ob-m* '(we, they) have,' *כאַפן xap-m* 'snatch,' *האַבנדיק/האַבנדיק (h)ub-m-dik* 'while having,' *כאַפנדיק xap-m-dik* 'while snatching': After labials, /n/ becomes /m/.

8 Hence Yiddish speakers usually write my name as 'Birenbaum,' and many bearers of this name have this form in their birth certificates, also in its Yiddish translation: *Barenboim*.

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(c) ברעגן/ברעגן *breg-η* 'shores, banks,' מעקן *mék-η* 'erase,' ברעכן *bréx-η* 'break':
After velars, /n/ becomes velarised.

9 יונגע *ijngy* 'young' (inflected): Before /g/, /n/ is velarized but the /g/ is never swallowed up: יונגער *ijnger* (not *ijner*) 'young' (inflected).

READING EXERCISE

10

שטאַרבט/שטאַרבט, גראָב טיף/טיף, דערוועגט/דערוועגט, זאָגט צו/צו, בלינדס/בלינדס,
blints zukt cjj dervéikt grup tuif starpt
 פּראַוואַט/פּראַוואַט, אַ פּראַוואַט טאָן/פּראַוואַט טאָן, ליב פּאַרל/ליב פּאַרל, אין אויג/אויג קוקן,
in oijkj-η liipéier-l a prijif tijn prijift
 אַ רעד טאָן/טאָן פּראַוואַט פּאָן, מוז סאַפּין/סאַפּין, לאז שיינן/לאז שיינן,
lošaany, losšaany mjsapyn prijifjn a réttijn
 גלייב/גלייב, וועב/וועב, זאָג, קרייג, רייד, רעד, אויס זאָגן/אויסזאָגן, גיסט/גיסט זי, פרייט
fraicex güsci ousug-η rét rait krik zuk véip glaipt
 זיך, וואלט/וואלט דיך, דערנאך כאפט, אַרום מעסטן/אַרוםמעסטן, שטיף/שטיף פּאַטער,
stüfpuuter arjmést-n dernuuxapt voltex
 טויער/טויער, קאַפּויער/קאַפּויער, שלייער, טרויער, מויער, פּרייער/פּרייער, קלעיר/
kleier friier mouer trouer slaier kapoier toier
 קלער, גאַר, פּרייר/פּרייר, רויך/רויך, בלייך, בוך/בוך, טיכל/טיכל, מילך, בילעכער,
bilexer milex tüexl bjex blaiex roix friier guer
 שטערן/שטערן, ווערנדיק/ווערנדיק, פּירן/פּירן, פּאַרן, לאַנגע, טרינק, טרענק, וואָגן,
vug-η tréyk trink langy fuuer-n fuer-n véier-n-dik stéier-n
 פּלאַגן, האַקן, פּליקן, שטייול/שטייול, הענטל, גאַרטל, בינטל/בינטל, דריידל, לעפּל,
léf-l draid-l bint-l gart-l hént-l stüv-l flik-η huk-η plug-η
 מעסערל
mésér-l

The Vowels in the Semitic Element

11 (a) In the Indo-European element of Yiddish, both the consonants and vowels are expressed (as they are in the orthographies of the languages employing the Latin and Greek scripts and their descendants) by means of letters, whereas, in the Semitic element of Yiddish, there are only two characters (ײ and ױ) that function as vowel letters;⁹ see in the above table Nos. 2 (word-finally), 19 (same), 23, 25, 27, 29, 30, 31, 34, 41, 44, 45, 47.¹⁰

⁹ They maintain their consonantal values, too: cf. English *y* in *yes* and *by*.

¹⁰ Words starting with ם or ן do not (in Semitic) belong to this category.

Already in the Bible, ו and ך are very frequently – though not systematically – used as *matres lectionis*. And they are then really nothing else but vowel letters. There is an increased, but not systematic, use of this orthographic device in the talmudical and ‘rabbinic’ literatures. Here we may come upon the *scriptio plena* form of any word where this spelling is possible, even if in the Bible that word occurs in *scriptio defectiva* only.

(b) פֿשָׁרָה *pšur(e)ry* ‘compromise,’ יָם *iam* ‘sea,’ נִסִּים *nés* ‘miracle,’ טֵבִיעַ/טֵבַע *téivy* ‘nature’: All other vowels are expressed by little signs that are placed under the preceding consonant letter. However, as in Semitic, they are usually omitted. In this grammar, in the traditionalist system, they are provided for the stressed syllable, in certain cases also for the syllable before the stress, although here the vowel is somewhat weakened. When the syllable before the stress has /y/ or /e/, ך is provided.¹¹ All syllables after the stress have /y/ or /e/, which, however, is not indicated in our spelling. When the final syllable ends in /l/ or /n/, these take over the syllabic function and the /y/ disappears.

The discrepancy between phonemes and graphemes in the Semitic element of Yiddish is thus much greater than in its Indo-European element, or in the orthographies of the languages using ‘Western’ alphabets. Of course, this discrepancy presents, in general, no difficulties for the reader who knows the language.

THE VOWEL SIGNS

12

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(79)	װ	<i>u</i>	<i>kumyc</i>	Like <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>put</i> : נִחְמָה/נחמה <i>nexumy</i> ‘solace.’
(80)	װװ	<i>uu</i>	<i>kumyc</i>	Like <i>u</i> in G <i>gut</i> : מִשְׁלָ/משל <i>muuʃl</i> ‘example.’ ¹²
(81)	װ	<i>o</i>	<i>kumyc</i>	Like <i>o</i> in (London) Eng. <i>hot</i> : װװװװ <i>xoxmy</i> ‘wisdom.’
(82)	װװ	<i>oo</i>	<i>kumyc</i>	Like <i>o</i> in Eng. <i>horn</i> : נִסְיוֹן/נסיון <i>nisooiyn</i> ‘temptation.’ ¹²

11 In most cases this agrees with the Semitic spelling. There, however, the sign indicates the absence of a vowel. The generally accepted system according to which certain shewas are pronounced is, of course, in complete contradiction to the Tiberian vocalization – for it is hardly likely that one and the same sign was provided for two different things (ֵ and zero). (An analogous case is that of gameş.)

12 See footnote 2: My suggestions were: װ and װ.

No.	Sign	Transcription	Name	Pronunciation
(83)	-	a	<i>pásex</i>	Resembles <i>u</i> in London Eng. <i>cut</i> , NA <i>o</i> in <i>lot</i> : פּרַךְ/כֶּרֶךְ <i>krax</i> 'big city.'
(84)	-	á	<i>pásex</i>	Resembles <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>father</i> : פִּתְנָיִם/כֹּהֲנִים <i>koihánym</i> 'Ahronides.' ¹²
(85)	∨	é	<i>séigl</i>	A sound between the <i>a</i> of London Eng. <i>mat</i> and the <i>e</i> of <i>met</i> : אֶפְשֶׁר/אֶפְשֶׁר <i>éfter</i> 'perhaps.'
(86)	∨	éi	<i>séigl</i>	Resembles <i>ay</i> in London Eng. <i>day</i> : בִּגְד/בִּגְד <i>béigyd</i> 'garment.'
(87)	.	y	<i>šairoy/</i> <i>šouu</i>	Resembles <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>behalf</i> : מִשְׁנֵה/קִשְׁנֵה <i>mysjny</i> 'strange, unusual.'
(88)	.	e	<i>šairoy/</i> <i>šouu</i>	Like the <i>e</i> in London Eng. <i>miller</i> : מַחְבֵּר/מַחְבֵּר <i>mezaber</i> 'author.'

READING EXERCISE

13

קַבֵּד/כַּבֵּד, נְבִיא/נְבִיא, הַשְׁנָה/הַשְׁנָה, בִּישׁוּחַן/בִּישׁוּחַן, חֶכֶם/חֶכֶם, מְלָאכִים/מְלָאכִים,
máluxym xuxym bišuxn hšsugy nuoy kuoyd
 שָׁכַן/שָׁכַן, חֲכָמִים/חֲכָמִים, מִלְחָמָה/מִלְחָמָה, תְּמִיד/תְּמִיד, קְטָק/קְטָק, חֲלָקִים/חֲלָקִים,
xšlukym sufyk tumyd milšumys xšsumym šuxn
 וְקָוָה/וְקָוָה, הַשְׁקָה/הַשְׁקָה, חֲסָאִים/חֲסָאִים, צִחָה/צִחָה, גְּדוּל/גְּדוּל, קְטַל/קְטַל, תְּרַטָּה/
xšruuty buut-l guud-l šouuy xšsumym hšfsuky xuk-ŋ
 חֲרָטָה, פְּטוּר/פְּטוּר, גְּלוּת/גְּלוּת, חֲלוּם/חֲלוּם, קְהֵל/קְהֵל, אֶלְמֵה/אֶלְמֵה, בְּדִתְנִים/בְּדִתְנִים,
badx'uumym alm'uumy kuul xuulym guulyš puuter
 פְּנִים/פְּנִים, אָסוּר, חֲסִיד/חֲסִיד, פְּרִנְסָה/פְּרִנְסָה, טְעוּת/טְעוּת, מְשֻׁנְעִים/מְשֻׁנְעִים,
mysjguuumy tuuys pšruumy xuusy d uuser puuumy
 שְׁעָה/שְׁעָה, תְּעִיבָה/תְּעִיבָה, רְצוֹן/רְצוֹן, וִיבְרָח/וִיבְרָח, תְּדָרִים/תְּדָרִים, קְרוּב/קְרוּב, בְּקָשָׁה/
bškuuly kuuryo xšduuryum zikuurn ruuc-n tuumys šuu
 בְּקָשָׁה, תְּחִשָּׁב/תְּחִשָּׁב, אֶרְשָׁה/אֶרְשָׁה, שְׁשׂוּט/שְׁשׂוּט, יְתוּם/יְתוּם, קְרִבָּן/קְרִבָּן, אֶרְשָׁה/אֶרְשָׁה,
oirex korb-m iuumy puulyš kuuter xšduulyum
 אֶפְשֶׁר/אֶפְשֶׁר, אֶרְשָׁה/אֶרְשָׁה, זִכְרוּת/זִכְרוּת, חֲדָשׁ/חֲדָשׁ, יְסוּדָה/יְסוּדָה,
iyšoidys xoidyš xezroimys oisjys apik'oiryš

מוציא/מוציא, מורא/מורא, משה/משה, עולם/עולם, קנה/קנה, קרובה/קרובה, אוה/אוה,	<i>os</i>	<i>kroivy</i>	<i>koiny</i>	<i>oilym</i>	<i>Moity</i>	<i>moiry</i>	<i>moicy</i>
אפיקורסים/אפיקורסים, בוררים/בוררים, דור/דור, יסוד/יסוד, ירשים/ירשים, מוצאין	<i>mocy</i>	<i>iorsym</i>	<i>iysod</i>	<i>dor</i>	<i>borerym</i>	<i>apik'orsym</i>	
מוציא, עוף/עוף, תוך/תוך, מתבר/מחבר, מכבר/מכבר, חבר/חבר, אודא/אודא,	<i>ävady</i>	<i>xover</i>	<i>mexabyd</i>	<i>mexaber</i>	<i>tox</i>	<i>of</i>	
קדיש/קדיש, שדכן/שדכן, צוות/צוות, שחרית/שחרית, פטר/פטר, פנץ/פנץ,	<i>prat</i>	<i>pater</i>	<i>šaxrys</i>	<i>axys</i>	<i>šadx-ŋ</i>	<i>kadiš</i>	
מלאך/מלאך, ים/ים, אכנאי/אכנאי, הרגע/הרגע, מפרנס/מפרנס, קשיא/קשיא, משא	<i>masy</i>	<i>kašy</i>	<i>myfarnys</i>	<i>hargy</i>	<i>äxsaniy</i>	<i>iam</i>	<i>malex</i>
משא, חתונה/חתונה, נאנה/דאנה, כנאי/כנאי, שאלה/שאלה, אחרייות/אחרייות, ליה/	<i>lyvaa(i)y</i>	<i>äxraa(i)y</i>	<i>šaaly</i>	<i>kydaa(i)</i>	<i>daagy</i>	<i>xasyny</i>	
לחיה, טהרה/טהרה, יעקב/יעקב, כעס/כעס, כעסן/כעסן, ** תענו/תענו, אבין/אבין,	<i>éviyn</i>	<i>taanyg</i>	<i>maaryo</i>	<i>kaasn</i>	<i>kás</i>	<i>iaaŋkyo</i>	<i>šary</i>
הקדש/הקדש, תטא/חטא, חשבון/חשבון, תל/תל, חסד/חסד, ערב/ערב, איבר/אבר,	<i>arver</i>	<i>éivyo</i>	<i>xéiyyd</i>	<i>tél</i>	<i>xééb-m</i>	<i>xét</i>	<i>hégdyš</i>
בהמה/בהמה, גירים/גירים, חדר/חדר, כני/כני, עיסק/עסק, פיסח/פיסח, שיכל/שכל,	<i>saixl</i>	<i>paisex</i>	<i>aisyk</i>	<i>kydai</i>	<i>xaider</i>	<i>gairym</i>	<i>byhaimy</i>
אטילו, גינץ/גין, יישוב/יישוב, גען, שיטה, אקסטה/אסיטה, גיד/גיד, חסידות/חסידות,	<i>xsiidyš</i>	<i>govieer</i>	<i>äsiify</i>	<i>siyy</i>	<i>nig-ŋ</i>	<i>ülyo</i>	<i>bimiyy</i>
חסידים/חסידים, יחוס, עשירות/עשירות, אמונה/אמונה, זכות, ירושה/ירשה, פעולה,	<i>pijly</i>	<i>ierjfy</i>	<i>sxjs</i>	<i>emjny</i>	<i>äšiwrys</i>	<i>šdexys</i>	<i>xsiudym</i>
בטוח/בטוח, מחיב/מחייב, רוח/רוח, תבואה/תבואה, תשובה/תשובה, שתף, בושה/בושה.	<i>bijfy</i>	<i>šjfy</i>	<i>šjyy</i>	<i>rojiy</i>	<i>rijex</i>	<i>mexjiyyo</i>	<i>bytiijex</i>

• לעבן
** מערב

WRITING EXERCISE

14 Copy the Yiddish lines and the transcription on pp. 209–11, 213, 215, and 216 on separate sheets. Later, reconstruct, from your transcription, the Yiddish text. Finally, check this from the original.

INDEX OF THE TRANSCRIPTION SIGNS

15 The preceding list is arranged on a strictly alphabetic basis. A phonemic index follows here.

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a	8, 83.	g	14.	ooi	34.
á	9, 20, 66, 84.	h	18.	ou	35.
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aa(i)	11, 47, 48.	ī	41.	r	74.
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c	71, 72.	jj	27.	u	6, 79.
ć	40.	k	50, 73.	ú	24.
d	15.	l	53.	uu	7, 80.
dz	16.	li	54.	úú	28,
dź	17.	m	55, 56.	v	13, 22, 32.
e	63, 88.	n	57, 58.	x	38, 51, 52.
é	62, 85.	ni	59.	y	25, 42, 64.
éi	65, 86.	o	4, 29, 81.	z	36.
f	69, 70.	oi	31, 33.	ž	37.
		oī	33.	zero	1, 2, 3, 19, 26. 61.
		oo	5, 30, 82.		

The Soviet Orthography

16 In the Soviet orthography the historical spelling in the Semitic element was abolished and replaced by that of the Indo-European element:

<i>Soviet Spelling</i>	<i>Representing</i>	<i>Soviet Spelling</i>	<i>Representing</i>
עמעס	אַמת/אמת	פּאַנעם	פּנים/פנים
מוריע	מורא/מורא	קלאַל	כלל/כלל
אַוואַדע	אַנדאי/אַודאי	אַוולע	עולה/עולה
לעוואַגע	לָבָנָה/לבנה	סייכל	שיכל/שכל
מאַסער	מסור/מסור	טייקעף	תיכף/תיכף
כּוץ	חוץ	אַס	אות/אות

Even the graphemes were affected. After some time the linguists realized that their system still contained a traditional feature – one that was not compatible with their Western model: the Hebrew alphabet contains special forms for five of its letters when they occur in word-final position. And so, they were abolished. However, after some time they were re-instated but not everybody agreed. The position now is that there are some publications with final letters and some without:

<i>Without finals</i>	<i>With finals</i>	<i>Representing</i>
באָכ	באָך	באָך
געבעכ	געבעך	געבעך/געבעך
מילעכ	מילעך	מילך/מלך
ברום	ברום	ברום/ברום
דאָרעם	דאָרעם	נרזום/דרום
זיט	זיין	זיין
קליט	קליין	קליין
כייט	כייין	נזין/זין
שטיט	שטיין	שטיין
טום	טון	טון
זייט	זיין	זיין

It might be worth mentioning that the retention of the Hebrew alphabet by the Jewish Bolsheviks was not really in keeping with their radical ideas. Perhaps they thought it would be hopeless to impose a sudden switch of alphabets on a people of millions – most of whom were still traditionally religious. Or did something of their former socialist nationalism survive and prevent them abandoning the Hebrew letters? Although they witnessed the state-enforced abolition of the Arabic alphabet in the Islamic languages of the Soviet Union, neither the Jewish linguists, the leaders of the Jewish section of the Party nor the Soviet authorities seem ever to have attempted to do the same to Yiddish.

The Phonology of the Northern Dialect

17 The phonology of the northern dialect – in so far as it differs from that given in our main table (pp. 201–209 and 214–15) – is shown in the following alphabetic list, according to our transcription. (Eng. means London English.)

á	(Nos. 9, 20, 66, 84)	Resembles the <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>cut</i> , the <i>o</i> in North American Eng. <i>lot</i> .
aa	(Nos. 10, 11, 21, 47, 48, 67)	Resembles <i>i</i> in Eng. <i>time</i> .
aaí	(Nos. 11, 47, 48)	Resembles <i>i</i> in Eng. <i>time</i> .
ai	(Nos. 45, 46)	Resembles <i>ai</i> in Eng. <i>main</i> .
éi	(Nos. 65, 86)	A sound between <i>a</i> in Eng. <i>mat</i> and <i>e</i> in Eng. <i>jet</i> .
ii	(Nos. 43, 44)	Like <i>i</i> in Eng. <i>thin</i> .
j	(No. 23)	Like <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>put</i> .
jj	(No. 27)	Like <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>put</i> .
o	(No. 29b)	Like <i>u</i> in Eng. <i>put</i> .

soi (Nos. 31, 33)	Resembles <i>ai</i> in Eng. <i>main</i> .
oo (Nos. 5, 30, 82)	Like <i>o</i> in Eng. <i>hot</i> .
ooi (No. 34)	Like <i>oy</i> in Eng. <i>boy</i> .
ou (No. 35)	Like <i>oy</i> in Eng. <i>boy</i> .
u (Nos. 6, 79)	Like <i>o</i> in Eng. <i>hot</i> .
uu (Nos. 7, 80)	Like <i>o</i> in Eng. <i>hot</i> .

Stress

18 (a) שרייבן/געשריבן *tr'aabn* 'write,' גישרייבן/געשרייבן *gystr'ibn* 'written,' קרייטעכצער *kr'atexcer* 'herbs,' טשאַלנט *l'uulnt* 'a certain dish,' געבעדיק/געבעדיק *n'ebexdik* 'pityful,' ראטיינדיק/ראטענענדיק *r'atyvndik* 'while rescuing': In the Indo-European element of Yiddish the stress is on the stem syllable.

(b) פויערים *p'ouerym* 'peasants': This holds good also when the Indo-European word is combined with a Semitic suffix.

(c) חתמע/חתמע *x'asmy* 'to sign,' חתמיץ/חתמעצן *x'asmynym* 'sign': Verbs derived from Semitic roots have the base form *pa'ly* which, accordingly, throughout the conjugation retains the stress and thus plays the role of a stem.

19 נאַציאָנאַליזם/נאַציאָנאַליזם *nacional'izm* 'cultural ethnicism,' דענטיסט *dent'ist* 'dentist': In the international words of Classical or pseudo-Classical origin the suffix bears the stress.

20 (a) זיכרון/זיכרון *zik'uurn* 'memory, remembrance,' זיכרונען/זיכרונען *zik'uurnen* 'memories, remembrances, memoirs,' גרויסער/גרויסער *g'rois* 'great man,' גרויסע/גרויסע *g'roise* 'great men,' משוגע/משוגע *mys'jgy* 'mad,' משוגעס/משוגעס *mys'jgyes* 'madmen': While in the Yiddish nouns of Indo-European origin the same syllable, the stem, takes the stress in the singular and plural, the stress changes its place in the Semitic element of Yiddish. Here – with few exceptions – a word is a disyllabic realization of a tri-literal root, and so neither of the two syllables can be called a stem. The stress here has nothing to do with the meaning or the form of the word, as it has in the Indo-European element – the stress principle in the words of Semitic origin is rhythmical: the stress falls on the penultimate.

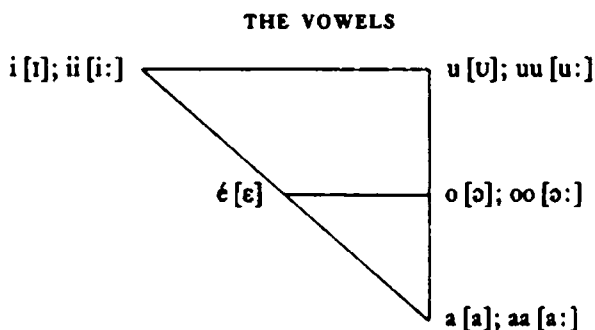
(b) חתונה/חתונה *x'asny* 'wedding,' משוגעת/משוגעת *mys'jg'ás* 'madness': A limited number of nouns have the stress on the pre-penultimate, others on the ultimate.

(c) Semitic context: יתום *i'usoyim* – Yiddish context: יתום/יתום *i'usoyim* 'orphan'; Semitic context: יתומים *iy'soimym* – Yiddish context: יתומים/יתומים *iy'soimym* 'orphans': The phonology of the Yiddish words of Semitic origin

coincides, in the main, with that of Hebrew and Aramaic in Ashkenazic pronunciation,¹³ apart from the weakening in Yiddish of the vowel in unstressed syllables.

The Phoneme Inventory of Yiddish

21 The signs here are those used for the transcription system employed in this book, accompanied in brackets by the I.P.A. symbols.



LENGTH OPPOSITION

22 Vowel quality is phonemic in Yiddish, as shown in the following examples.

1	ליפ <i>lip</i> 'lip'	ליב <i>liib</i> [<i>liip</i>] 'dear'
	ריפ <i>rip</i> 'rib'	ריב <i>riib</i> [<i>riip</i>] 'beet'
	שטופ <i>stjɔp</i> 'push'	שטוב <i>stjɔb</i> [<i>stjɔp</i>] 'house'
2	שטיף <i>stif</i> 'lark, frolic'	שטיף (-מאמע) <i>stiiɫ(-mamy)</i> 'step (-mother)'
3	גרימט <i>grimt</i> 'rages'	גרימטערימט <i>gyrimt</i> 'praised'
	ברום <i>brjɔm</i> 'mutter'	ברום (מיד) <i>brim (mex)</i> 'boast'
4	בין <i>bin</i> 'am'	בין <i>biin</i> 'bee'
	דינים/דינעם <i>dinym</i> ¹⁴ 'thin'	דינים <i>dinym</i> '(Jewish) laws'
	דינסט <i>dinst</i> 'thinnest'	דינסט <i>dinst</i> '(female) servant'

¹³ Where they disagree, the Yiddish form is given here, of course.

¹⁴ Accusative/dative.

	זון	<i>zjn</i> 'sun'	זון	<i>zjrn</i> 'son'
	הזנס טזנס	<i>hjnnt tjjt</i> [<i>hjnntjjt</i>] 'dog does'	הזנס טזנס	<i>hjjrn tjjt</i> [<i>hjjrn tjjt</i>] 'chicken does'
5	מיט	<i>mit</i> 'with'	מיד	<i>miid</i> [<i>miit</i>] 'tired'
	רוט	<i>rjt</i> 'rod'	רזט	<i>rjrt</i> 'rests'
	בלוט	<i>bljt</i> 'blood'	בלייט	<i>bliit</i> 'blossoms'
6	ריס	<i>ris</i> 'tear'	רייז	<i>riiz</i> [<i>riis</i>] 'giant'
	גיטטו	<i>gistj</i> 'you give'	גיטטו	<i>giistj</i> 'you pour'
	גרייסן/ גרייסן	<i>gyrisn</i> 'torn'	ג(י)רייסן	<i>g(e)riisn</i> 'to greet'
	אומזיסטן	<i>jmzistn</i> ¹⁴ 'unavailing; free (of charge)'	צום זיסטן	<i>cjm züstn</i> 'to the sweetest' (masc.)
	ניס	<i>njs</i> 'nut'	נייס	<i>niis</i> 'sneeze'
	צו	<i>cj</i> 'to'	צוי	<i>cjj</i> 'to(wards); too'
7	שאַ	<i>ša!</i> 'quiet!'	שיי (מיד)	<i>šaa (mex)</i> 'fight shy'
	נא	<i>na!</i> 'here you are'	ניי	<i>naa</i> 'new'
8	קנאַפ	<i>knap</i> 'scarce; barely sufficient'	קנייפ	<i>knaap</i> 'pinch'
	קלאַפ	<i>klap</i> 'knock'	קלייב	<i>klaab</i> [<i>klaap</i>] 'gather'
9	גראַם	<i>gram</i> 'gramme'	גראַם	<i>grám</i> 'rhyme'
10	מאַן	<i>man</i> 'man'	מאַן	<i>maan</i> 'my'
	פאַן	<i>pan</i> '(Polish) lord; Mr.'	פאַן	<i>paan</i> 'anguish'
	פאַן	<i>fan</i> 'pan'	פאַן	<i>faan</i> 'fine'
	האַנט	<i>hant</i> 'hand'	האַינט	<i>haant</i> 'today'
11	זאַט	<i>zat</i> 'sated'	זאַיט	<i>zaat</i> 'side'
	שאַט	<i>šat</i> 'harms'	שאַיט	<i>šaat</i> 'piece (of wood)'
	פאַרשאַט	<i>farsat</i> 'harms'	פאַרשאַיט	<i>farsaat</i> 'shameless, lewd'
	טאַטן	<i>tatn</i> ¹⁵ 'father'	טאַיטן	<i>taatn</i> 'to point'
	וואַטע	<i>vaty</i> 'cotton wool'	וואַיטע	<i>vaaty</i> 'far'
	באַטל	<i>batl</i> 'to idle'	באַיטל	<i>baatl</i> 'pouch, purse'
12	קאַץ	<i>kac</i> 'cat'	קאַיטץ	<i>kaate</i> ¹⁶ 'chew!'
13	באַס	<i>bas</i> 'bass'	באַייט	<i>baas</i> 'bite'
	וואַסער	<i>vaser</i> 'water'	וואַיטער	<i>vaaser</i> ¹⁷ 'white'
	נאַט	<i>nas</i> 'wet'	נאַייט	<i>naas</i> 'news'

15 Accusative/dative.

16 Plural.

17 Inflected form.

14	אז	<i>az</i> 'when, if, that'	אײַז	<i>aaz</i> 'ice'
15	קאלעכדיק	<i>kalexdik</i> 'chalky'	קײלעכדיק	<i>kaalexdik</i> 'round'
16	לאַכט	<i>laxt</i> 'laughs'	לאַיכט	<i>laaxt</i> 'shines'
17	האַרט	<i>hart</i> 'hard'	האַרט	<i>hárt</i> 'waits'
18	דראַי	<i>drai</i> 'turn'	דראַי	<i>draa</i> 'three'
	זײַ	<i>zai</i> 'to sow'	זײַ	<i>zæ</i> 'be!'
	נײַ	<i>nai</i> 'sew'	נײַ	<i>naa</i> 'new'
	פֿראַי	<i>frai</i> (<i>mex, zex</i>) 'to be (מידױך) glad'	פֿראַי	<i>fraa</i> 'free'

Many of today's vowel-diphthong oppositions go back to a length opposition: בעט *bés* 'bed' – בעַט *béit* (< *bêt*) 'ask, beg'; שומרים *somrym* 'guardians' – שומר *soimer* (< *sōmer*) 'guardian.'

THE CONSONANTS

23 There is no dialectal differentiation as far as the consonants are concerned, with one exception: there is a region where /ś, ź, ć, dź/ are replaced by the corresponding alveolars. In certain regions there is no /h/.

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Labi- dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palato- alveolar</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Plosives						
voiceless	p		t		k	
voiced	b		d		g	
Fricatives						
voiceless		f	s	ś	x	h
voiced		v	z	ź		
Affricates						
voiceless			c	ć	m	
voiced			dz	dź		
Nasals						
voiced	m		n	ni	ŋ(ŋ)	
voiced			l	li		
R					r	

THE INVENTORY OF CLUSTERS

24
 tm. sm. zm. śm. xm.
 tf.
 tv. śv. xv.

Initial clusters

223 Script and Sounds

pn. tn. dn. sn. zn. śn. kn. gn. xn.

pt. st. śt. kt.

sd.

pl. bl. fl. vl. tl. dl. sl. zl. śl. kl. gl. xl; cl.

ps. c. ks. xs.

pś. ć. xś.

pr. br. mr. fr. tr. dr. sr. zr. śr. kr. gr. xr; śpr. skr.

Final clusters

pst. pt. pts.

mst, mt, mts.

fst. ft, fts.

nk. nst. nt. nts/nc. nć.

ts. tst.

lst. lt. lts. lc/lts (lć).

st. sts.

[śst]. śt. śts.

ct, cts.

[ćst]. ćt. ćts.

ks. kst. kt. kts.

xs. xst. xt. xts.

rst. rś. rśt. rt. rts/rc.

b, g, d, v, z, becoming unvoiced before voiceless consonants, are above included in p, k, t, f, s.

Morphology

Noun

INFLECTION

25 מײַדלס *maids* 'girl's,' תלמידס *talmids* 'pupil's': This /s/ is one of the two inflectional endings that indicate a syntactical relation – it shows the relation between two nouns, i.e., that one of them is in the possessive. It is employed for living creatures, and only exceptionally for inanimate objects, never for abstract nouns.

26 פֿון די שטיינער *fjn di stainer* 'of the stones' חכמה פֿון דער נאָכמה *fjn der noxmy* 'of the wisdom': For inanimate objects and abstracts a prepositional phrase with פֿון *fjn* 'of, from' is used.

27 (a) ער גיט זײַן קלײַנע מאַשײַנל *Er git zaan xaver dus masindl* 'He gives his friend the little machine': Neither the direct nor the indirect object has an inflectional ending, apart from the categories given in paras. 28–31.

(b) זי גיט איר עלטסטער טאכטער אַ שײַנע מאַנע *Zi git ir elster toxter a šainy matuuny* 'She gives her eldest daughter a beautiful present': Here the objects have adjectival attributes and these are inflected to show the syntactical relation between the nouns and the verbs. Since adjectival attributes are, of course, exceedingly common, the Yiddish-speaker's consciousness of grammatical cases is kept alive, even though the nouns themselves are uninflected.

DECLENSIONS

28 ער דערציילט עס זײַן זײַן *Er dercaillt es zaan zaidn* 'He tells it to his grandfather': Here the noun has an inflectional ending to indicate the indirect object. There are only ten such nouns but as they designate very important human rela-

tionships they are a constant reminder of the function of the cases and prevent a further decline of the system. *Er gis Dvoryn a briiv fjm Shtainbarg* 'He gives Deborah a letter from Shtainbarg': In addition to those ten nouns, there are two whole categories of nouns, both of which are also concerned with human relationships.

29	(a)	Nom.	וידע	^A <i>zaidy</i> 'grandfather'
		Accus.	וידן	<i>zaidn</i>
		Dat.	וידן	<i>zaidn</i>
		Poss.	וידנס	<i>zaidns</i>

There are two endings for the three inflections; those for the accusative and dative are identical and the /s/ of the possessive is added to the /n/.

(b) The ten nouns are: באבא *buby* 'grandmother,' הארץ *harc* 'heart,' וידע *zaidy* 'grandfather,' טאטע *taty* 'father,' ייד *ild* 'Jew,' ליט *laat* people, מאמע *mamy* 'mother,' מימע *mijmy* 'aunt,' מענטש *ménú* 'human being,' רבי *réby* 'teacher; chassidic master.' Note that some words with final *y* drop it before the endings. There are some slight variations of detail, as may be seen from the table.

<i>poss.</i>	<i>dat.</i>	(a)	<i>acc.</i>	<i>nom.</i>
וידנס	וידן		וידן	וידע
<i>zaidns</i>	<i>zaidn</i>		<i>zaidn</i>	<i>zaidy</i>
טאטנס	טאטן		טאטן	טאטע
<i>tatns</i>	<i>tatn</i>		<i>tatn</i>	<i>taty</i>
רבינס	רבין		רבי	רבי
<i>rébns</i>	<i>rébn</i>		<i>rébn</i>	<i>réby</i>

These three words are regular (apart from the loss of the final vowel).

	(b)		
וידנס	ייד	ייד	ייד
	וידן	וידן	
<i>ildns</i>	<i>ild</i>	<i>ild</i>	<i>ild</i>
	<i>ildn</i>	<i>ildn</i>	-
מענטשנס	מענטש	מענטש	מענטש
	מענטשן	מענטשן	
<i>ménúns</i>	<i>ménú</i>	<i>ménú</i>	<i>ménú</i>
	<i>ménún</i>	<i>ménún</i>	

In these two words the ending of the acc./dat. seems to be disappearing.

(c)			
האַרצנס	האַרצן	האַרץ	האַרץ
<i>harcns</i>	<i>harcn</i>	<i>harc</i>	<i>harc</i>

This word is not inflected in the accusative.

(d)			
באַבעס/באַביס	באַבין/באַבען	באַבע	באַבע
<i>bubys</i>	<i>bubyn</i> <i>buby</i>	<i>buby</i>	<i>buby</i>
מאַמיס/מאַמעס	מאַמין/מאַמען	מאַמע	מאַמע
<i>mamys</i>	<i>mamyn</i> <i>mamy</i>	<i>mamy</i>	<i>mamy</i>
מורמיס/מורמעס	מורמין/מורמען	מורמע	מורמע
<i>mijmys</i>	<i>mijmyn</i> <i>mijmy</i>	<i>mijmy</i>	<i>mijmy</i>

In these three words the accusative, sometimes also the dative, remains uninflected, and the possessive is without the /n/.

B			
(a)			
30	בָּרוּכֵס	בָּרוּכֵן	בָּרוּכֵן
	<i>Buuerexs</i>	<i>Buuerexn</i>	<i>Buuerexn</i>
			<i>Buuerex</i> 'Baruch'
	טרייניס/טרייניעס	טריינין/טרייניען	טרייניע
	<i>Traanys</i>	<i>Traanyn</i>	<i>Traanyn</i>
			<i>Traany</i> (female name)

Personal names have the accusative/dative ending *n* and the possessive ending *s*.

(b)			
פינחסנס	פינחסן	פינחסן	פינחס
<i>Pinxysns</i>	<i>Pinxysn</i>	<i>Pinxysn</i>	<i>Pinxys</i>
שוואַרצנס	שוואַרצן	שוואַרצן	שוואַרץ
<i>Švarcns</i>	<i>Švarcn</i>	<i>Švarcn</i>	<i>Švarc</i>

הערשנס	הערשן	הערשן	הערש
<i>Hérsns</i>	<i>Hérsn</i>	<i>Hérsn</i>	<i>Hérs</i>
ראַבניאוויטשנס	ראַבניאוויטשן	ראַבניאוויטשן	ראַבניאוויטש
<i>Rabinoviéns</i>	<i>Rabinovién</i>	<i>Rabinovién</i>	<i>Rabinovié</i>

In names with a final sibilant the possessive ending is *ns*: פֿינהס *Pinxys* 'Phineas,' הערש *Hérs* 'Hersh,' שוואַרץ *Svarc* 'Schwartz,' ראַבניאוויטש *Rabinovié* 'Rabinovitch.'

31

שטאַרקנס	שטאַרקן	שטאַרקן	שטאַרקער
<i>starkens</i>	<i>starkn</i>	<i>starken</i>	<i>starker</i>

The same inflection is used for substantivized adjectives.

GENDER

32 דער אויוון *der oivn* 'the stove,' די שיף *di síf* 'the ship,' דאָס גלות *duš guulyš* 'the Exile': There are three genders – masculine, feminine, neuter. There is no obvious reason for apportioning one or other of the genders to inanimate objects and abstract nouns. The genders they have are purely traditional.

33 דער הונט *der hjnt* 'the dog,' די צויג *di coug* 'the bitch,' דאָס יינגל *duš üngl* 'the boy,' דאָס ווייב *duš vaab* 'the wife': In the case of living creatures the first two genders correspond to the biological categories male and female. But there are many cases where the neuter is used for males and females.

34 אַרביטאַרער/אַרבעטאַרער *der sraaber* 'the (male) writer,' אַרביטאַרער *der arbytuurer* 'the (male) worker,' סעקרעטאַר/סעקרעטאַר *der sékrytar* 'the (male) secretary,' דער דענטיסט *der déntist* 'the (male) dentist,' דער פּאָדן *der paxdn* 'the (male) coward,' דער נודניק *der njdnik* 'the (male) bore': Although in general there are no morphological markers to indicate gender or sex, there are a number of suffixes that do that, such as *-er*, *-n*, *-nik*, *-ak*, *-ar*, *-uurer*, for males,¹ and *-ty*, *-ky*, *-nicy*, *-tuurn*, *-ačky*, *-n*, *-nty* for females: די חֶבֶרְטֶע *di xaverty* 'the (female) friend,' די שרײַבערֶקע *di sraaberky* 'the (female) writer,' די נודניצע *di njdnicy* 'the (female) bore,' די חֶבֶרְטאַרֶן *di xavertuurn* 'the (female) friend,' די פאַרטאַטשקע *di partačky* 'the (female) bungler,' די שרײַבערֶן/שרײַבערֶין *di sraabern* 'the (female) writer,' די האַרנטע *di hárnty* 'the mistress.'

1 As regards *-er*, this applies only when the ending indicates a nomen agentis. Otherwise the word can be feminine (and even designate a female) or neuter, e.g., די פּוֹטער *di pjter* 'the butter,' די מוטער *di mjter* 'the mother,' דאָס לעדער *duš léder* 'the leather.'

35 די מורא *di moiry* 'the fear,' די ברירה *di brai(ery)* 'the choice,' די שינוי *di siny* 'the change,' די שינאה *di siny* 'the hate,' די לאטע *di laty* 'the patch (of cloth)': As a general rule, words ending in *y* are feminine. There are, however, also masculine nouns: דער טאטע *der taty* 'the father,' דער זיידע *der zaidy* 'the grandfather,' דער רבי *der réby* 'the teacher; the chassidic master,' דער חולה *der xoily* 'the patient,' דער שונא *der soiny* 'the enemy.' דאס קליינווארג *dus klainvarg* 'the small fry = children,' דאס צירונג *dus cüerjng* 'the ornament, jewellery,' דאס הַתַּפְעֵלוֹת *dus hispaalys* 'the state of being impressed, the strong emotion,' דאס אייליניש/איילעניש *dus aalynis* 'the hurry,' דאס באדעקנס *dus badékens* 'the veiling of the bride,' דאס ליזעכץ *dus laizexc* 'the money resulting from selling, proceeds,' דאס שניידעריי *dus snaadera(i)* 'the tailor's trade,' דאס גיכקייט *dus giëxkait* 'the speed,' דאס ברידערשאפט *dus brüidersaft* 'brotherhood': Words with the suffixes וואַרג *-varg*, ונג *-jng*, ות *-ys*, גיש *-nis*, ס *-s*, עכץ *-exc*, עריי *-eraa(i)*, קייט *-kait*, שאַפֿט *-sajt* are neuter.

36 Naturally, there are regional differences in the gender of certain words and these occur, to some extent, in the written language too. In the northern dialect the neuter no longer exists; however, the writers who originate from that region employ the neuter in their works, since literary Yiddish is based on the southern dialect.

PLURAL

Class 1: Ending *s, ys*(A) Ending *s*

37 חופה *xjpy* – חופות *xjpy* 'wedding canopy,' מומע *mijmy* – מומים/מומעס *mijmys* 'aunt,' באַבע *buby* – באַבעס/באָביס *bubys* 'grandmother'; זייגער *zaiger* – זייגערס *zaigers* 'clock, watch,' איידים/איידעם *aidym* – איידים/איידעמס *aidyms* 'son-in-law,' שטעקן *stékn* – שטעקנס *stékens* 'stick': The plura has the ending *s*.

(B) Ending *ys*

(a)

38 ריח *raiey* – ריחות *raieyxs* 'smell,' סלופ *sljy* – סלופים/סלופעס *sljpy* 'pole, post,' איידים/איידעם *aidym* – איידים/איידעמס *aidymys* 'son-in-law': The plural has the ending *ys*.

(b1)

39 שטעקן *steky* – שטעקניס/שטעקענעס *stekynys* 'stick': In words ending in syllabic *n, /y/* is inserted before it. Its effect is to render the /n/ unsyllabic in the plural (i.e., the /n/ reverts to its original non-syllabic state).

(b2)

40 אוצר *oicer* – אוצרות *oicrys* 'treasure': In certain cases the *e* of the original final syllable disappears.

(b3)

41 ספק *sufyk* – ספיקות/ספקות *sfaikys* 'doubt': In certain cases the vowel of the former stress syllable disappears altogether so that the word starts with a cluster.

(b4)

42 סוד *sod* – סודות *soidys* 'secret,' טשואק/טשואק *cook* – טשועקים/טשועקעס *cvéky's* 'nail' (metal): The plural is formed by a change in the vowel, plus the ending *ys*.

(b5)

43 לשון *lúsn* – לשונות *lysoimys* 'language,' חלום *xuulym* – חלומות *xaloimys* 'dream,' חשבון *xézbm* 'account, reckoning' – חשבונות *xézbainys*: The plural ending is *ys*; the stress is transferred from the first to the second syllable so that a full vowel or diphthong replaces its /y/, while the former stressed vowel is weakened, changed or eliminated, except in a closed syllable.

Class II: Ending *n, yn*

(a)

44 קוואל *kval* – קוואלן *kvaln* 'spring = source': The plural ending is syllabic *n*.

(b)

45 קאם *kam* – קאמין/קאמען *kamyn* 'comb,' מאן *man* – מאנען/מאנען *manyn* 'husband,' צוואנג *cvang* – צוואנגען/צוואנגען *cvangyn* 'tongs, pincers,' נאדל *nuudl* – נאדלין/נאדלען *nuudlyn* 'needle,' שעה *suu* – שעה'ן/שעהען *suuyn* 'hour,' שטרוי *stroi* – שטרויען *stroiyn* 'straw,' שני *snai* – שניען *snaiyn* 'snow': After *m, n, ng*, syllabic *l* or vowel, the ending *n* is not syllabic and is replaced by *ען/ין* (i.e., the original form).

Class III: Ending *ym*

(a)

46 חתן *xuun* – חתנים *xásanym* 'bridegroom,' חודש *xoidys* – חודשים *xóduuśym* 'month,' חכם *xuxym* – חכמים *xuxim* 'wise man,' צמוד *umyd* – צמודים *amijdy* 'book page, column,' מייבן/מייבן *maivn* – מייבנים *myviinym* 'an expert,' גיבור *giber* – גיבורים *gyboirym*, חזיר *xazer* – חזירים *xazairym* 'pig,' גדול *guudl* – גדולים *gydoily* 'great man,' דרשן *darśn* – דרשנים *darśuunym* 'preacher': The stress is transferred from the first to the second syllable so that the (original) full vowel or diphthong

replaces its /y/ or the syllabicity of its /l/ or /n/, while the stressed vowel or diphthong of the first syllable is weakened or changed, except in a closed syllable.

(b)

47 *xuusyd* - חסידים *xsiidym* 'adherent of the Khassidic movement, adherent,' *téryc* - תירוצ/תירוצ תרוצים *trjycym* 'refutation of an objection': The former penultimate can even lose its vowel.

(c)

48 *prat* - פרט *pruutym* 'detail'; *cad* - צד צדדים *cduudym* 'side' (= one of two groups): Monosyllables belong to this class, too.

(d₁)

49 *oirex* - אורח *orxym* 'guest,' *soifer* - סופר *sofrym* 'scribe'; *moisl* - מושל *moslym* 'ruler' (person): There is no change in the position of the stress, but the plural has a vowel instead of a diphthong; if there was a /y/ or /e/ in the final syllable of the singular, it disappears; if a syllabic *l*, it becomes unsyllabic and so the beginning of the final syllable.

(d₂)

50 *soity* - שוטה *soitym* 'fool,' *melamyd* - מלמד *melamdym* 'teacher' (of a Jewish elementary school), *sjtyf* - שותף *sjtyvm* 'business partner': There is no change in the position of the stress and in the vowel of the stressed syllable; the /y/ of the final syllable of the singular disappears.

(d₃)

51 *buxer* - בּחור *buxerym* 'a youth; unmarried male,' *pouer* - פּויער *pouerym* 'peasant': There is no change at all, apart from the ending.

Class IV

52 *barg* - בארג *bérg* 'hill, mountain,' *kop* - קאפ *kép* 'head,' *tug* - טעג *téig* 'day,' *nuuz* - נאז *néiz* 'nose,' *foigl* - פּוּיגל *faigl* 'bird,' *mouz* - מוּז *maaz* 'mouse,' *njs* - נוס *nis* 'nut,' *zjzn* - זון *zjzn* 'son': The vowel or diphthong of the stressed syllable undergoes a change (which had its origin in *umlaut*) according to this pattern:

a > é	oi > ai	u > éi	j > i
o > é	ou > aa	uu > éi	jj > ii

In the case of /j/ and /i/ the change exists only in the spelling (in the northern dialect, it is, of course, a real change: [u] > [i]).

Class v

(a)

53 פאַרטעך *farrex* - פאַרטעכער *farrexer* 'apron': The plural ending is ער -*er*.

54 מאַן *man* - מענער *méner* 'man,' קלאַץ *kloc* - קלעצער *klécer* 'wooden block,' בוים *boim* - ביימער *baimer* 'tree,' הויז *houz* - הייזער *haazer* 'house,' נאַגל *nagl* - נעגל *néigl* 'nail' (of body), האָן *huun* - הענער *héiner* 'cock,' פּנימער *puunym* - פּנימער *péinymmer* 'face,' פּייס *fjjs* - פּייס *fjis* 'foot': The plural is formed by the ending ער -*er* plus change of vowel.

Class vi

55 דער אַרבל *der arbl* - די אַרבל *di arbl* 'sleeve,' דער זעלנער *der zélnér* - די זעלנער *di zélnér* 'soldier,' דאָס ספּערד *das spēerd* - די ספּערד *di spēerd* 'horse': Singular and plural are identical in form.

Class vii

56 The plural ending is עך -*ex* and occurs only in the diminutive and minutive.

NOUN FORMATION

I

57 דער הימל *der himl* 'the sky,' די ערד *di éerd* 'the earth,' דער ווינט *der vint* 'the wind,' דער ים *der iam* 'the sea': Many nouns are basic, i.e., not derived from other nouns or word classes.

II: De-verbal formations

(a)

58 די גאַב *di gub* 'the gift,' דער צד-לאַג *der cjlug* 'the extra': There are a number of such old de-verbal nouns, formed by ablaut.

(b)

59 דער באַטרעף *der brén* 'the fervour,' דער קלנג *der kljng* 'the ringing,' דער באַטרעף *der batréf* 'the amount,' דער פּאַרלאַנג *der farlang* 'the demand': This group, using the base form of a verb - and occasionally that of its participle - is very productive.

III: Nominalization

60 דאָס שרייבן *das traabn* 'the writing,' דער הויכער *der hoixer* 'the tall one,' דער נעכטן *der néxtn* 'the yesterday': Words from other classes - infinitives, adjectives, adverbs - can be employed as nouns when provided with the article.

IV: *Composition and construct*

(a) Compounds of nouns

61 דער זייער-מאכער *der zaiger-maxer* 'the community house,' דאָס קהל-שטיבל *der zaiger-maxer* 'the watch-maker,' דער דם-שונא *der dam-soiny* 'the mortal enemy,' דער קעשינע/קעשענע-גנב *di osiyn-caat* 'autumn time,' דער קעשינע/קעשענע-גנב *der kesyny-ganyo* 'the pickpocket': The governing noun is placed first and has the main stress.

(b) Compounds of different word classes

דער צוזאמין/צוזאמען-סאָר *der cizamyn-fuuer* 'the congress, convention,' דאָס קליין-נעלט *klain-gélt* 'small change,' דאָס פּיר-הויז *der fier-houz* 'entrance hall,' דאָס איבער-קערניש/איברקערניש *iber-kéirynis* 'upheaval': The first part is the governing one and has the main stress.

(c) The construct

דער שַׁר-לימד *der sxar-limyd* 'the tuition fee,' קול המְעֵלֶעכְקִיטן *kol ha-méiglexkaitn* 'all possibilities': The governing noun is placed second and takes the main stress. This category is normal in the Semitic element but is extremely rare as a combination of a Semitic and a non-Semitic word.

v: *Affixes*

62 Only a small number of the following affixes are not productive. This is mentioned in such cases.

63

(a) Prefixes

(1) אים *jm*

דאָס אומדעָשִׁיג/אומערעסעניש *der jmkuvyd* 'the dishonour,' דער אומקבֿוד *dus jmgryéitynis* 'the bad harvest': The prefix takes the stress. Its meaning is privative.

(2) גי/גע *gy*

דאָס גיזינד *dus gyvind* 'the family,' דאָס גיזינד/געזינד *dus gyvain* 'the weeping,' די גיבליטן/געבליטן *di gyblitn* 'blood' (i.e., psychological state), דאָס גיראַנגל/געראַנגל *dus gyrangl* 'the struggle': The original collective meaning of the prefix is often still discernible.

(b) Suffixes

(3) אַטש *at*

דער ינגאַטש *der ijngat* 'the lout, churl.' The suffix takes the stress. It has a pejorative meaning.

(4) אלע *aly*

See para. 72

(5) אק *ak*

דער צבתיאק *der cojiak* 'the (male) hypocrite,' דער ליטוואק *der litvak* 'the Lithuanian Jew': The suffix mostly takes the stress. It indicates the character or geographic origin of a man.

(6) אר *ar*

דער רעדאר *der rëndar* 'the leaseholder,' דער מיסיונאר *der misionar* 'the missionary': This masc. suffix takes the stress. It identifies a man through his occupation.

(7) אר *or*

דער רעדאקטאר *der redaktor* 'the editor,' דער דיקטאטאר *der diktator* 'the dictator,' דער פאנטאזיאר *der fantazi'or* 'the fantast': The suffix sometimes takes the stress. It signifies occupation or function (of a male).

(8) און *uun*

די נייטאון *di kimpytuuun* 'the lying-in woman,' די קימפיטאון/קימפעטאון *di naituuun* 'the sempstress,' די חבֿרטאון/חבֿרטאון *xavertuuun* 'the (female) friend': The *uu* takes secondary stress. The double suffix denotes a (feminine) nomen agentis. (The *t* in the latter example might be due to the form חבֿרטע *xaverty* and/or the *t* in the first two examples.)

(9) ארער *uurer*

דער ארביטאָרער/ארבעטאָרער *der arbytuurer*: The *uu* takes a secondary stress. The suffix denotes a (masculine) nomen agentis.

(10) אָרג *varg*

דאָס יונגאָרג *dus rouxvarg* 'the fur goods,' דאָס ינגאָרג *dus jngvarg* 'the youngsters, the youth': The suffix is employed to create collective nouns.

(11) אָנג *jng*

דאָס פֿיראָנג *dus fierjng* 'the conduct, custom': The suffix denotes action or activity of the verb to whose base form it is appended, or it signifies the result of such an action or activity.

(12) אָה *ys*

דאָס יאָה *dus iakrys* 'the high price level; the scarcity': This suffix indicates abstract nouns. It is not productive.

(13) אָע *ty*

די בַּל-בּוּאַע *di bal-buusty* 'the mistress of the house, housewife': The suffix transforms masculine nouns into feminine ones.

דער יזער *yer*

See No. (38).

יזאציע *izacy*

See No. (42).

(14) יזם *izm*

דער דארװיניזם *der darwinizm* 'Darwinism,' דער סאציאליזם *der socialism*, 'socialism,' דער קאפיטאליזם *der kapitalizm* 'capitalism,' דער קאפיטאליזם *der fanatizm* 'fanaticism,' דער אנגליציזם *der anglicizm* 'Anglicism,' דער דאדמערזם *der daadmerizm* 'Germanism': The suffix takes the stress. It signifies (a) a system of facts, ideas, opinions or theories, (b) attachment or adherence to one, (c) a physical or mental state or condition, (d) a characteristic influence of one language on another.

(15) יזניץ *izynits*

דער זיניניץ *zjynynits* 'darling son,' דער דבורה'ס זיניץ *Dvoiryynits* 'darling Deborah': When a word ends in /y/ this is fused with the /y/ of the suffix.

(16) יזיש/עניש *imis*

דאס באשעפניש/באשעפעניש *dus iugynits* 'the dash, rush'; דאס באשעפניש *dus baséfynits* 'the creature,' דאס גרעטניש/גרעטעניש *dus gýrétyms* 'the harvest': Signifies a condition of continuous action or the result of an action or process. דאס מצייהניש/מחיהניש *dus mexaaiynits* 'the pleasure, delight': When a word ends in /y/ this coalesces with the /y/ of the suffix. דאס ציטערניש *dus citernits* 'the trembling': When the word ends in unstressed *er* the suffix is *nis*. דאס באדערפניש *dus badérfynits* 'the need': Occasionally the vowel of the stem undergoes mutation.

(17) יזע *izet*

די יידע/יידע *di lidynit* 'the (Jewish) woman': The old full form of No. (25).

(18) יסט *ist*

דער לינגװיסט *der télyfonist* 'the (male) telephonist,' דער סאציאליסט *der lingvist* 'the linguist,' דער דארװיניסט *der socialist* 'the socialist,' דער דארװיניסט *der darwinist* 'the Darwinist': The suffix takes the stress. It denotes a male belonging to a certain category – an adherent of a certain idea or ideology, or somebody having a particular characteristic, or following a certain occupation etc.

(19) ינקע *inky*

מאמינקע *maminky* 'mother darling': When the word ends in /y/ this coalesces with the /i/.

(20) יע *iy*

די טעאריע *di teoriy* 'the theory,' דאָס איטאַליע *dus Italiy*: Used in abstract nouns and geographical names but mostly in words derived from Latin past participles (see No. (42)). The syllable preceding the suffix takes the stress.

(21) יצע *icy*

די קאַלביצע *di kalbicy* 'the heifer': Denotes female sex of an animal.

(22) יק *ik*

די גראַמאַטיק *di gram'atik* 'the grammar,' די קריטיק *di krit'ik* 'the criticism': The suffix sometimes takes the stress. Mostly used for fields of learning and research.

(23) ל *l*

See paras. 64, 65, 67, 68, 71.

(24) לעך *lex*

See paras. 70, 71.

(25) ן (1)

די קעכן/קעכין *di kéxn/kéxin* 'the (female) cook,' די שניידערין/שניידערין *di snaadern/snaaderin* 'the tailoress, dressmaker': The suffix denotes a female, it mostly derives feminine from masculine nouns.

(26) ן (2)

דער אַלמן *der almn* 'the robber,' דער גילן *der gazlyn* 'the coward,' דער פּאָדן *der paxdn* 'the widower,' דער בעלן *der baaln* 'the (male) person who wants/is keen to have/get/do something': The suffix signifies a (male) person with a certain characteristic or engaged in a particular activity. After syllabic /l/ or /n/ the suffix is /yn/. When the final /l/ of a word is non-syllabic, the suffix is syllabic. It is not productive.

(27) ןט *unys*

דאָס באַלװןט *dus baluunys* 'the cowardice,' דאָס פּאַדװןט *dus paxduunys* 'the wanting/the keenness to have/get/do something': The *uu* takes the stress. This suffix forms abstract nouns from many of the words with suffix No. (26), but not from all; there is, e.g., no such word as אַלמװןט *almuunys* 'widowhood' (nor 'widowhood'). The suffix is not productive.

(28) ןטע *ntse*

די האַרנטע *di hárnty* 'the mistress' (i.e., the female/feminine of 'master'). The /n/ is syllabic. The suffix is a combination of Nos. (25) and (13). It is not productive.

(29) ניצע *nicz*

די טודניצע *di njdnicy* 'the (female) bore': The suffix signifies a (female) person having some special individual or social characteristic.

(30) ניק *nik*

דער טודניק *der njdnik* 'the (male) bore': The suffix signifies a (male) person having some special individual or social characteristic.

ניש *nish*

See No. (16).

(31) ניש

די חולנית *di xoilanis* 'the sick woman': This feminine suffix is a rare counterpart to No. (26). The syllable before it takes the stress.

(32) ס

דאס באדעקנס *dus badéknis* 'the ceremonial veiling of the bride before the wedding,' דאס גיבראטנס/געבראטנס *dus gybruutnis* 'the roast meat': The suffix denotes an action or the result of an action.

עווער *yoer*

See No. (38).

(33) עכל *exl*

See paras. 66, 69.

(34) עקן *exn*

See paras. 66, 69.

(35) עכע *exy*

די לייזערעכע *di Laizerexy* 'Eliezer's wife': The suffix signifies that a certain woman is the wife of the man to whose name the suffix is appended.

(36) עכץ *exc*

דאס פילעכץ *dus filexc* 'the filling, stuffing,' דאס פירעכץ *dus firexc* 'the conduct, behaviour': The suffix denotes the result of an activity or the activity itself.

עלע *ely*

See para. 72.

עמיש *emish*

See No. (16).

(37) עץ *éc*

דער בוזערעץ *der buxeréc* 'strong young guy.' The suffix takes the stress. It signifies strength.

(38) ער *er*

דער דאָווינער/דאָווינער *der davynner* 'the praying one': דער בעקער *der béker* 'the baker,' דער סאַרווער *der sarover* 'the writer, author,' דער שרײַבער *der šraaber* 'the waiter'; דער טעפּער *der téper* 'the potter,' דער רויכוואַרגער *der rouxvargger* 'the furrier'; דער צענער *der céner* 'the tenner (banknote/bill),' דער בענטשער *der bēnšer* 'booklet containing "grace after meals" and other benedictions'; לאַנדאַנער *Londoner* 'Londoner,' ווילנער *Vilner* 'of/from Vilna,' קראָקױוער/קראָקעווער *Krukyver* 'Cracovian,' אַמעריקאַנער *Amérikanner* 'American': The suffix denotes a nomen agentis – an occupation, a maker of things or one dealing with them – and geographical location or origin. When the word ends in /y/ this coalesces with the /y/ of the suffix.

(39) ער *ér*

דער פיאנער *der pionér* 'pioneer,' דער מיליאנער *der milionér* 'the millionaire': The suffix takes the stress. It is a masculine nomen agentis or indicates a (male) person's state.

(40) ערײַ *eraa(i)*

דאָס שוּטטערייַ *dus šmijseraa(i)* 'the talking, the chatter,' דאָס שײַסטערייַ *dus šjsteraa(i)* 'the bootmaker's trade': The final syllable takes the stress. The suffix signifies a continuous activity, often by a number of people, or an occupation.

(41) ערן *ern*

די טוקערן/טוקערין *di tjkeren/tjkerin* 'female attendant at a mikvy': Combination of Nos. (38) and (25).

(42) ציע *ciy*

די סטאַנציע *di stancy* 'the station,' די רידאַקציע/רעדאַקציע *di rydakciy* 'the editors, editorship,' די עמיגראַציע *di emigracy* 'emigration,' די קאלאניזאַציע *di kolonizacy* 'colonization,' די אפּאָזיציע *di opoziciy* 'opposition': The syllable before the suffix takes the stress. It has mostly an abstract meaning and is not productive. Gender: feminine. See No. (20).

(43) צן *cn*

די רביצן/רביצין *di rébycn/rébycin* 'rabbi's wife': This – clearly double – suffix occurs only in this word.

(44) קייט *kait*

דאָס צוטראַגעקייט/צעטראַגעקייט *dus sainkait* 'the beauty,' דאָס שײַנקייט *dus cjtrugnkait/cytrugnkait* 'absent-mindedness': The suffix forms abstract nouns. Its gender is neuter.

(45) קע *ky*

די מאדיסטקע *di modistky* 'the milliner': The suffix forms feminines from the suffixes Nos. (3), (6), (7), (18), (38); in No. (5) *ak* is changed to *ac*. די גאלדמאנקע *di Goldmanky* 'Mrs. Goldman': The suffix also signifies that a certain woman is the wife of the man to whose name it is appended.

(46) שאפט *saft*

דאס קלוגשאפט *dus kljgtsaft* 'friendship, comradeship,' דאס תברשאפט *dus xaversaft* 'cleverness': The suffix creates abstract nouns. Gender: neuter.

(47) שי *sii*

דער פֿיטערשי *feter sii* 'dear uncle': The suffix expresses endearment or friendliness.

(48) יט *yt*

די צידיקע *di cadaikys, cydaikys* 'truly religious (Jewish) woman; saintly (Jewish) woman': This feminine suffix is not productive.

(c) Prefix + suffix

(49) ערײַ ... גי/גע ... *eraa(i)*

דאס גישטופערײַ/געשטופערײַ *dus gystjperaa(i)* 'the pushing' (referring to a number of people): The affixes denote an activity executed at the same time by a number of people. The final syllable takes the main stress. Gender: neuter.

(50) צײַ ... גי/גע ... *c/ts*

דאס גישריפֿצײַ/געשריפֿצײַ *dus gytrifc* 'cooked dish,' דאס גיקעכצײַ/געקעכצײַ *dus gykéxc* 'the writing (i.e., letters); the document,' דאס גימוזעכצײַ/געמוזעכצײַ *dus gymoizexc* 'the marsh': This double affix indicates something collective – various ingredients in the dish, a number of letters in the document, assembly of land of a certain type.

DIMINUTIVE

דער ווינער *dus vintl* 'the breeze,' דאס ווינטל *der vint* 'the wind' – דער זייגער *der zaiger* 'the clock' – דאס זייגערל *der zaigerl* 'the watch': The most frequent form of the diminutive is derived by suffixing a syllabic /l/. It is used with monosyllables ending in a consonant other than /l/, and in disyllables ending in ער – *-er*.

דאס זעמדל *dus zémdl* 'the grain of sand,' דער זאמד *der zamd* 'the sand' – דאס רעקל *dus rékl* 'the jacket' – דער ראק *der rok* 'the town' – דאס רעוול *dus révl*, דאס רב *der ruuv* 'the rabbi' – דער רב *dus stéisl* 'the nut' – דאס פֿיסל *dus fiisl*, דער פֿיס *der fjjs* 'the foot' – דאס פֿיסל *dus fiisl*, דער הויף *der hoif* 'the house' – דאס הויז *dus houz* 'the house' – דאס הויזל *dus haazl*: Where appropriate, mutation accompanies the suffix.

(b) דאָס טעכטערל *di toxter* 'the daughter' - דאָס *dux téxterl* טעכטערל - דאָס *dux puunym* 'the face' פנים - דאָס *dux péinyml* פנימל - דער גארטן *der guertn* 'the garden' - דאָס גערטל *dux géiertl* or דאָס גערטנדל *dux géiertndl*: There are disyllabic words, where the suffix is accompanied by mutation, but this is rare.

66 די מיל *di miil* 'the mill' - דאָס מיל(ע)כל *dux mülexl* - דאָס קול *dux kol* 'the voice' - דאָס קל(ע)כל/קולכל *dux kélexl*: When the final consonant of the noun is unsyllabic *l*, the suffix -(ע)כ-(e)x - is inserted between it and the syllabic *l* suffix, thus separating the two *l*'s.

דאָס מילעכן *dux mülexn* דאָס קלעכן *dux kélexn*: The suffix (ע)כן -*exn* instead of (ע)כל -*exl* is rare.

67 די פען *di pén* 'the pen' - דאָס פענדל *dux péndl*, דער וואלקן *der volkn* 'the cloud' - דאָס וואלקנדל *dux volkndl*, דער ניטן *der nign* 'the tune' - דאָס ניטנדל *dux nigndl*: When the final consonant of the noun is an /n/ (unsyllabic or syllabic), a /d/ develops before the /l/.

68 דער שטעקן *der stékn* 'the stick' - דאָס שטעקל *dux stékl*: Often, however, the *n* is dropped and the word treated as a monosyllable.

Plural

69 (a) דאָס וינטל *dux vintl* 'breeze' - די וינטלעך *di vintlex*, דאָס מיל(ע)כל *dux mülexl* 'little mill' - מיל(ע)כלעך/מילכלעך *mülexlex*: The plural suffix of the diminutive is לעך -*lex*.

(b) דאָס מילעך *dux mülex* 'little mill' - די מילעכער *di mülexer*: The diminutive (ע)כן -*exn* has the plural עכער -*exer*.

70 דער ניטן *der nign* 'the tune' - דאָס ניטנדל *dux nigndl*, די ניגנים *di nigjnym* 'the tunes' - די ניגנימלעך *di nigjnymlex*: Yiddish words of Semitic origin do not form the plural of the diminutive from its singular but from the plural form of the noun. דאָס קינד *dux kind* 'the child' - די קינדער *di kinder* 'the children' - די קינדערלעך *di kinderlex*: By analogy, a few non-Semitic nouns also have this plural formation.

71 די קי *di kjj* 'the cow,' דער שניי *der snai* 'the snow': When a word ends in a vowel (or diphthong), no diminutive can be formed because a vowel (or diphthong) cannot be followed by a syllabic consonant. The word קינד *kind* 'child' has no diminutive.

MINUTIVE

72 The minutive denotes an increased or intensified degree of diminutiveness. In certain cases (see below), however, it functions simply as a diminutive.

(a)

בריוו *der briiv* 'the letter' - בריוועלע, *der briivoaly, briively* 'the little letter,' זאמד *der zamd* 'the sand' - זעמדעלע, *der zamdaly, zemdely* 'the tiny grain of sand.' דער שטעקן *der stékn* 'the stick' - שטעקעלע, *der stékaly, stékely* 'the little stick': The minutive is formed by the suffix עלע, אלע, -*aly, -ely*; the phonological details are, when applicable, the same as for the diminutive.

(b)

נאָראָלע, נאָרעלע, *nyrmaly, nyrmely!* 'darling!' (lit.: 'little soul'), נדרעלע, *ndrely!, ndraly!* 'my dear little chump!': The suffix עלע, אלע, *aly, ely* expresses various shades of endearment.

(c)

דאָס הויז *dux hous* 'the house' - דאָס הייזל *dux haazl* 'the little house' - דאָס הייזעלע, *dux haazaly, haazely* 'very little house': The suffix indicates a higher degree of diminution than the diminutive suffix.

(d)

דאָס קני *dux knii* 'the knee' - קניעלע, *dux kniialy, kniely* 'the little knee,' דער שני *der snai* 'the snow' - שניעלע, *dux snaiely, snaiely* 'the snow-flake' - די קאַטקע *di kacky* 'the duck' - קאַטקעלע, *dux kackaly, kackely* 'the little duck,' דער פויגל *der foigl* 'the bird' - פויגעלע, *dux faigaly, faigaly* 'the birdie': The minutive suffix is used instead of the diminutive suffix when the latter would be phonologically impossible. A vowel, diphthong or syllabic *l* cannot be followed by syllabic *l*, the sign of the diminutive, **knii-l*, **snai-l*, **kacky-l*, **faig-l* are not possible, and the non-syllabic *l* of **knii-l*, **snai-l*, **kacky-l* would not convey a diminutive sense. Hence the diminutive suffix is replaced by the minutive suffix, i.e., the minutive form is made to function in a diminutive sense. Thus, when a word ends in syllabic *l*, it is treated as if it were a diminutive.

די מיל *di miil* 'the mill' - מילכעלע, *dux miilxaly, miilxely* 'the little mill': The glide in the diminutive between *l* and *x* disappears in the minutive.

77 When a word has more than one syllable and ends in a consonant, no minutive can be formed.

Plural

די זינטעלעך, *dux vintaly, vintely* 'the gentle breeze' - זינטעלעך *vintalex, di vintalex*: The final vowel of the singular suffix is merged with the vowel of the plural suffix. This is not visible in the spelling but the difference is clear phonetically: */ly - /lex/*.

241 Morphology

Adjective

INFLECTION

There are two declensions.

First declension

79 גט *gjt* 'good':

Singular

		<i>Neuter</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
		<i>with definite article</i>	<i>with indefinite article</i>	<i>with either article</i>		
		גטע	גט	גטע	גוטער	Nom.
		גטע	גט	גטע	גטן	Acc.
		גטן	גט	גטער	גטן	Dat.
		גטן	גט	גטער	גטן	Poss.
		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>		
		<i>with either article</i>		<i>with indefinite article</i>	<i>with definite article</i>	
Nom.	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	
Acc.	<i>gjn</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	
Dat.	<i>gjn</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjn</i>	
Poss.	<i>gjn</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjt</i>	<i>gjn</i>	

From this paradigm it will be seen that there are four markers to indicate sixteen grammatical relationships: the endings *er*, *n*, *y*, and zero ending.

Plural

80 גטע *gjt*: The plural marker is *ע- y* for all forms, whether the word is preceded by the definite article or by none at all.

Second or substantival declension

81

	<i>Neuter</i> <i>with</i> <i>definite</i> <i>article</i>	<i>with</i> <i>indefinite</i> <i>article</i>	<i>Feminine</i> <i>with either article</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
	נטס	נטס	נטע	נטער	Nom.
	נטס	נטס	נטע	נטן	Acc.
	נטן	נטן	נטער	נטן	Dat.
	נטנס	נטנס	נטערס	נטנס	Poss.

	<i>Masculine</i> <i>with either article</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i> <i>with</i> <i>indefinite</i> <i>article</i>		<i>with</i> <i>definite</i> <i>article</i>
Nom.	<i>gjer</i>	<i>gjty</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjts</i>
Acc.	<i>gjtn</i>	<i>gjty</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjts</i>
Dat.	<i>gjtn</i>	<i>gjter</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjtn</i>	<i>gjtn</i>
Poss.	<i>gjtns</i>	<i>gjters</i>	<i>gjts</i>	<i>gjtns</i>	<i>gjtns</i>

There are six markers for indicating sixteen grammatical relationships: *-er*, *-n*, *-ns*, *-y*, *-ers*, *-s*.

The plural marker is */-y/* for all forms.

82 שײַן *sain* 'beautiful' – שײַנים/שײַנעם *sainym* < **sainym*: When a word ends in */n/*, the case ending */n/* becomes */ym/*. נײַ *naa(i)* 'new' – נײַעם *naa(i)ym*: The same applies to the word נײַ.

83 וואָלד *volvl* 'cheap' – וואָלדע *volvoly*: Syllabic */l/* becomes */yl/* when the word is inflected.

84 מיטן טאַרנער תּוּרנ *mitn Tuurner toisly* 'with the resident of Tuurne = Polish Tarnów (western Galicia)': Geographical adjectives ending in *-ער* *-er* are not inflected.

85 מיטן האַרבאַטע מײַדל *mitn horbaty maidl* 'with the hunchback girl': Certain adjectives are not inflected. Most of these are used only predicatively: אױז קאַריב *iz mexjy* 'is obliged.'

COMPARISON

86 (a) ברייט *brai't* 'broad' – ברייטער *brai'ter* 'broader' – ברייטסט *brai'tst* 'broadest': The comparative ends in ער *-er*, the superlative in סט *-st*.

(b) זיס *ziis* 'sweet' – זיסער *ziiser* – זיסט *ziist*: When a word ends in /s/, the /s/ of the superlative is fused with it.

87 (a) אלט *alt* 'old' – עלטער *élt'er* – עלטסט *éltst*: Some adjectives, besides having the suffix (/er, st/), undergo mutation of their stem vowel.

(b) גרויס <i>grois</i> 'big'	גרעסער <i>gréser</i>	גרעסט <i>grést</i>
הויך <i>hoi(e)x</i> 'high'	העכער <i>héxer</i>	העכסט <i>héxst</i>
שיין <i>sain</i> 'beautiful'	שענער <i>séner</i>	שענצט/שענסט <i>sénc't</i>
קליין <i>klain</i> 'little'	קלענער <i>kléner</i>	קלענצט/קלענסט <i>klénc't</i> :

In some of them the mutation is irregular (based on an earlier stage of the language).

(c) נאנט, נאנט	נענטער	נענטסט
<i>nuunt, nuunt</i> 'near'	<i>néinter</i>	<i>néinst</i>
	נאנטער, נאנטער	נאנטסט, נאנטסט
	<i>nuunter, nuunter</i>	<i>nuuntst, nuuntst</i>
חשוב	חשובער, חשובער	חשובסט, חשובסט
<i>xuusy</i> 'important'	<i>xéisyver, xuusyver</i>	<i>xéisyvst, xuusyvst</i>

In some cases both the mutated and unmutated forms occur.

88 גוט *gt* 'good' – בעסער *béser* 'better' – בעסט *bést* 'best';
 ארגער, ארגער *érger, arger* 'worse,' ארגסט, ארגסט *érgst, argst* 'worst';
 מינסט, מינסט *minct* 'least';
 בילעכער/בילכער *bilexer* 'more entitled to':

In a few cases one or two of the degrees are missing or formed from different words.

Inflection

89 שלאף *slaf* 'ill, sick':

Neuter		Feminine	Masculine	
with definite article	with indefinite article	with either article		
שלאפערע	שלאפער	שלאפערע	שלאפערער	Nom.
שלאפערע	שלאפער	שלאפערע	שלאפערן	Acc.
שלאפערן	שלאפער	שלאפערער	שלאפערן	Dat.
שלאפערן	שלאפער	שלאפערער	שלאפערן	Poss.

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
	<i>with either article</i>		<i>with indefinite article</i>	<i>with definite article</i>
Nom.	<i>šlaferer</i>	<i>šlafery</i>	<i>šlafer</i>	<i>šlafery</i>
Acc.	<i>šlafern</i>	<i>šlafery</i>	<i>šlafer</i>	<i>šlafery</i>
Dat.	<i>šlafern</i>	<i>šlaferer</i>	<i>šlafer</i>	<i>šlafern</i>
Poss.	<i>šlafern</i>	<i>šlaferer</i>	<i>šlafer</i>	<i>šlafern</i>

There are four markers for indicating sixteen grammatical relations: *-er*, *-n*, *-y* and *zero* ending.

דער זויערער *der épl*, *vus iz zouerer* 'the more sour apple': When an adjective ends in *-ער* *-er*, the comparative is not used attributively, in order to avoid the inflection (*der *zouererer épl*). Such an adjective is only used predicatively. That difficulty does not arise, of course, in the superlative: דער זויערסטער *der zouerster épl* 'the sourest apple.'

FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

A True adjectives

90 לייכט *laaxt* 'light; easy,' פשוט *puúsyt* 'simple, plain,' פראסט *prost* 'ordinary': Basic adjectives – i.e., not derived from other adjectives or other word classes – are nearly always mono- or disyllabic.

B Compounds

91 טונקל-גראַ *tjnkł-gruu* 'dark-grey': Composition of two true adjectives is very rare.

92 קליין-שטעטלדיק *klain-štéitldik* 'small town ...,' 'provincial,' אַלט-פֿרענקיש *alt-frenkisch* 'old-fashioned, old time ...': Here we do not have a compound of two adjectives – ברייט *brait* + ברייט *bainerdik* – but a compound consisting of an attributive adjective plus its noun, the unit taking the adjectival suffix *-דיק* *-dik*.

C Participles

93 באַגלייבט *baglaibt* 'trustworthy': Many participles can function as adjectives, attributively and/or predicatively.

גזליכנט/געליכנט *gygléxnt* 'being like, resembling': Participles sometimes become independent of their source – the participle of the verb גלייך *glaax* 'compare' is גזלייכט/געזלייכט *gyglaaxt*. Both words are used only predicatively.

D Affixes

Prefixes

94

- (1) גומ- *gm-*: אומגליקלעך *gmglíklech* 'unhappy,' אומגעגעסן *gmgegesn* 'not having eaten': This prefix is used with adjectives and participles, it has a privative meaning. It takes the stress.
- (2) בא- *ba-*: בארעדדיק/בארעדענדיק *barédydik* 'talkative': This prefix is not productive and conveys no special meaning.
- (3) גי- *gi-*: גיטראו *gytraa(i)* 'faithful,' גישמאק/געשמאק *gysmak* 'tasty': This prefix is not productive and conveys no meaning. Sometimes its vowel has disappeared and the *g* is not recognized as the former prefix: גרייט *'easy.'*

Suffixes

95

- (1) אטע *-at*: הארבאטע *horbaty* 'hunchbacked': The suffix takes the word stress. It designates a physical, mental or spiritual characteristic.
- (2) אנאל *-onal*: נאציאנאל *nacional* 'concerning an ethnic group' (not country or state): The suffix derives adjectives from nouns ending in יע *-iy*.
- (3) דיק *-dik*: מערבדיק *maarydik* 'western,' פֿייערדיק *faa(i)erdik* 'fiery,' פֿולצערדיק *léxerdik* 'full of holes,' קיילעכדיק *kaalexdik* 'round,' פֿלוצעמדיק *pljcyndik* 'sudden': The suffix is used mainly with nouns but also with adverbs. It signifies having a certain quality or affinity with something, or resemblance to it. It is very productive.
 האכדיק/האכעדיק *voxydik* 'work-a-day': After monosyllables the form is ידיק/עדיק *-ydik*.
 טראגדיק/טראגעדיק *trugydik* 'pregnant': The same form is used with the base of a verb, when it describes a state or condition.
- (4) יבאטע *-yvaty*: פֿאמיליע *tamyvaty* 'simple' (of persons), גימיוואטע *byhaimyvaty* 'stupid' (lit.: 'cattlelike'), אנטווארטע *fonfyvaty* 'speaking nasally': The suffix receives the stress. It is used with a noun or the base form of a verb, and describes a state or condition.
- (5) ינדיק/ינדדיק *stimydydik* 'bashful, shy,' יודדיק/עודדיק *-ydydik*: יודדיק/עודדיק *xainydydik* 'charming, lovely': It is used with the base form of a

- verb, occasionally with a noun, and means 'having the quality indicated by the verb (or noun).'
- (6) *-i/k-* *-יטשק-* *ijngi/k-* 'young': The suffix is used with adjectives and conveys a shade of endearment.
- (7) *-ink-* *-ינק-* *tao(i)erink-* 'dear, darling': The suffix is used with adjectives and expresses endearment.
- (8) *-ik-* *-יק-* *iberik* 'superfluous,' *néxtik* 'yesterday's,' *mil(é)kik* 'milky ..., dairy ...': The suffix is used with nouns and adverbs. It conveys no special shade of meaning.
- (9) *-istis-* *-יסטיש-* *nacionalistis* 'nationalistic' (in the ethnic sense, not with reference to a country or state): The suffix takes the word stress on its first syllable. It is used with adjectives ending in *-anal*, and thus means 'concerning a certain opinion/idea/ideology/philosophy, or a group/movement/political party, or representing, advocating these things.'
- (10) *-is-* *-יש-* *braaberis* 'characteristic of authors,' *lamduunis* 'learned,' *xsiidis* 'Chassidic,' *Katoilis* 'Catholic,' *Iieris* 'Irish' (language), *Iirléndis* 'Irish' (country), *airopéiis* 'European,' *far-caatis* 'of/from olden times,' *gramatis* 'grammatical,' *cyjiakis* 'hypocritical': The suffix is used with nouns and denotes 'belonging to a group or category - occupation, class, religion, language, country, region, period in time' etc.
- (11) *-lex* (a) *-לעך-* *gliklex* 'happy': The suffix is used with abstract nouns. (b) *kaltlex* 'coldish, cool': It is also used with adjectives, giving them a diminished degree of intensity. (c) *Idislex* 'specifically/characteristically Jewish': When the suffix is used with adjectives ending in *-is*, a shade of meaning is added which denotes 'specifically so, characteristically so.'
- (12) *-n-* *-נ-* *bléxn* 'made of tin sheet': The suffix is used with nouns designating a material.
- (13) *-il-* *-על-* *kúltúrtíl* 'cultural': The suffix takes the stress. It is appended to internationally used abstract nouns.
- (14) *-er-* *-ער-* *Krukyver* 'Cracovian,' *Svaicer* 'Swiss,' *Londoner* 'Londoner,' *Amérikaner* 'American': The suffix is used with place names.
- (15) *-ern-* *-ערן-* *hilcern* 'wooden': The suffix is used with nouns denoting a material.
- (16) *-f-* *-ש-* *vaabers* 'women's, female,' *rébys* 'pertaining to a Chassidic rebbe': After *r* or *y* of an unstressed final syllable, the */i/* of *-is* (No. 10) is dropped.

247 Morphology

Pronoun

(A) PERSONAL PRONOUN

<i>Third Person</i>			<i>Second Person</i>	<i>First Person</i>	
<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>			<i>Singular</i>
סעס/עס עס 'it'	זי (1) זי (2) 'she'	ער/ר- (1) ער (2) 'he'	דו (1) דו (2) 'you (thou)'	איך/כ- (1) איך (2) 'I'	Nom.
עס 'it'	זי (1) זי 'her'	אין/אין (1) אין/אין (2) 'him'	דיך (1) דיך (2) 'you (thee)'	מיך (1) מיך (2) 'me'	Acc.
אין/אין 'it'	איר (1) איר (2) 'her'	אין/אין (1) אין/אין (2) 'him'	דיך (1) דיך (2) 'you (thee)'	מיך (1) מיך (2) 'me'	Dat.
זינס זינער זינס 'of its'	אירנס אירנער אירנס 'of hers'	זינס זינער זינס 'of his'	דינס דינער דינס 'of yours'	מינס (a) מינער (b) מינס (c) 'of mine'	Poss.
	זיי 'they'		איר/עך (1) איר/עך (2) 'you'	מיך/אונד (1) מיך... מיך (2) 'we'	Plural Nom.
	זיי 'them'		איר/עך 'you'	אונד 'us'	Acc.
	זיי 'them'		איר/עך 'you'	אונד 'us'	Dat.

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		<i>Third Person</i>		<i>Second Person</i>	<i>First Person</i>	
<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Singular</i>		
	זייערס			אייערס/ ענקערס	אונדזערס	Poss.
	זייערט			אייערט/ ענקערט	אונדזערט	
	זייערער			אייערער/ ענקערער	אונדזערער	
	'of theirs'			'of yours'	'of ours'	

		<i>First Person</i>	<i>Second Person</i>	<i>Third Person</i>		
<i>Singular</i>			<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
Nom.	(1) ex/x- (2) iix/iax/ éix 'I'	(1) dj (2) djj 'you (thou)'	(1) er/r- (2) éier 'he'	(1) zi/z- (2) zii 'she'	sy/s-/ys 'it'	
Acc.	(1) mex (2) miix/ mex/méix 'me'	(1) dex (2) diix/déx 'you (thee)'	(1) ym/-n (2) éim/ iim 'him'	(1) zi (2) zii 'her'	ys 'it'	
Dat.	(1) mir (2) miier 'me'	(1) dir (2) diier 'you (thee)'	(1) ym/-n (2) éim/ iim 'him'	(1) ir (2) iier 'her'	(1) ym/-n (2) éim/ iim 'to it'	
Poss.	(a) maanc (b) maant (c) maaner 'of mine'	daanc daant daaner 'of yours'	zaanc/ éims/iims zaant zaaner 'of his'	iiers iiert ii(e)rer 'of hers'	zaanc/ éims/iims zaant zaaner 'of its'	

	<i>First Person</i>	<i>Second Person</i>	<i>Third Person</i>		
<i>Singular</i>			<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Plural					
Nom.	(1) mir/jndz . . . mir	(1) ir		zai	
	(2) miier/jndz . . . mir	(2) iier			
	'we'	'you (ye)'		'they'	
Acc.	jndz 'us'	aax/énk 'you'		zai 'them'	
Dat.	jndz 'to us'	aax/énk 'to you'		zai 'to them'	
Poss.	(a) jndzers	aa(i)ers		zaiers	
	(b) jndzert	aa(i)ert enkerer		zaiert	
	(c) jndzerer	aa(i)erer enkert		zaierer	
	'of ours'	'of yours'		'of theirs'	

Those forms that have been placed on lines (2) are used in stressed position.

97 The possessive is expressed by forms of the possessive pronoun. (a) מײַנס אַ ברודער־זון *maanc a brjddern-zjnn* 'a nephew of mine': The possessive receives the ending *s* (the ending of the possessive of the noun?) and is followed by the indefinite article. In the expressions גלייכן מײַנס etc. *maanc glaaxn* etc. 'the likes of me' etc., there is no article.

(b) In און מײַנס וועגן etc. *fjn maant véign* etc. 'for my sake' the /t/ functions as possessive ending (although historically it is not).

(c) מיר קענין/קענען ווידער נישט פֿטור ווערן *mir kényn zaaner níst puuter véiern* 'we cannot get rid of him': The verb פֿטור ווערן *ver puuter* 'to get rid of' is usually constructed with the preposition און *fjn* 'of,' but when it refers to a personal pronoun the forms מײַנער *maaner* etc. can be used instead. If this should be a case of a fossilized genitive, its place would be in the present paragraph.

(d) The same holds true for that form in a construction like ער איז מײַנער

ברודער־זון א *er iz maaner a brjddern-zijn* 'he is a nephew of mine.' However, the speakers would not regard it as a genitive but as a nominative because they see that the pronoun is inflected when its noun is a direct or indirect object: געזען זי האט גיזען/ געזען זי האט עס גיגעבן/ געגעבן מינים/ מינעם א ברודער־זון *zi hot gyzén maanym a brjddern-zijn* 'she saw a nephew of mine' and ברודער־זון א מינים/ מינעם א גיגעבן זי האט *ys ggyéibn maanym a brjddern-zijn* 'she gave it to a nephew of mine.'

איר וועט זיך דארטן? *Ir vót zaan dortn?* 'Will you be there?': When speaking to a grown-up individual, one uses, as the polite form of address, the second person plural: איר *ir*, איך *aax*, אייער *aa(i)er*.

Some of the forms given here, while being frequent or usual in the spoken language, are not often met with in print.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

98

Singular	1st person	מיך - זיך	<i>mex - zex</i>	'myself'
	2nd person	דיך - זיך	<i>dex - zex</i>	'yourself'
	3rd person	זיך	<i>zex</i>	'himself' 'herself' 'itself'
Plural	1st person	זיך	<i>zex</i>	'ourselves'
	2nd person	איך - זיך	<i>aax - zex</i>	'yourselves'
	3rd person	זיך	<i>zex</i>	'themselves'

In the 1st and 2nd person most speakers do not use the real reflexive pronoun (זיך *zex*) but the personal pronoun (מיך *mex*, דיך *dex*, איך *aax*).

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

99

Singular of person

	Third person		Second Person	First person	
	Neuter	Feminine			
	זיין	איר	זיין	זיין	Singular of governing noun
	'its'	'her'	'his' 'your (thy)'	'my'	

	<i>Third person</i>		<i>Second Person</i>	<i>First Person</i>		
	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>				<i>Masculine</i>
	זײַנע	אײַרע	זײַנע	דײַנע	מײַנע	Plural of governing noun
	'its'	'her'	'his'	'your (thy)'	'my'	
<i>Plural of person</i>						
		זײַער		אײַער	אנדזער	Singular of governing noun
		'their'		'your'	'our'	
		זײַערע		אײַערע	אנדזערע	Plural of governing noun
		'their'		'your'	'our'	
<i>Singular of person</i>						
	<i>First person</i>	<i>Second person</i>	<i>Third person</i>			
			<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
Singular of governing noun	<i>maan</i> 'my'	<i>daan</i> 'your (thy)'	<i>zaan</i> 'his'	<i>ir, iier</i> 'her'	<i>zaan</i> 'its'	
Plural of governing noun	<i>maany</i> 'my'	<i>daany</i> 'your (thy)'	<i>zaany</i> 'his'	<i>iiery</i> 'her'	<i>zaany</i> 'its'	
<i>Plural of person</i>						
Singular of governing noun	<i>jndzer</i> 'our'	<i>aa(i)er</i> 'your'		<i>zaier</i> 'their'		
Plural of governing noun	<i>jndzery</i> 'our'	<i>aa(i)ery</i> 'your'		<i>zaieri</i> 'their'		

The possessive pronoun is generally placed straight before its noun and is then not inflected. In other positions, it is.

First declension

100 'my, of mine'

<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>			
	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
מינע	מינס	מינע	מינער	Nom.
מינע	מינס	מינע	מינים/מינעם	Acc.
מינע	מינים/מינעם	מינער	מינים/מינעם	Dat.
מינע	מינים/מינעם	מינער	מינים/מינעם	Poss.

'my, of mine'

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
Nom.	<i>maaner</i>	<i>maany</i>	<i>maanc</i>	<i>maany</i>
Acc.	<i>maanym</i>	<i>maany</i>	<i>maanc</i>	<i>maany</i>
Dat.	<i>maanym</i>	<i>maaner</i>	<i>maanym</i>	<i>maany</i>
Poss.	<i>maanym</i>	<i>maaner</i>	<i>maanym</i>	<i>maany</i>

דיין *daan* 'your, of yours,' זיין *zaan* 'his, of his' are inflected in the same way; 'her, of hers'

<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>			
	<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
אירע	אירס	אירע	אירער	Nom.
אירע	אירס	אירע	אירן	Acc.
אירע	אירן	אירער	אירן	Dat.
אירע	אירן	אירער	אירן	Poss.

אונזער *jndzer* 'our,' אירער *aa(i)er* 'your,' and זייער *zaier* 'their' are inflected in the same way.

'her, of hers'

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
Nom.	<i>ii(e)rer</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>	<i>ii(e)rs</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>
Acc.	<i>ii(e)rn</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>	<i>ii(e)rs</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>
Dat.	<i>ii(e)rn</i>	<i>ii(e)rer</i>	<i>ii(e)rn</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>
Poss.	<i>ii(e)rn</i>	<i>ii(e)rer</i>	<i>ii(e)rn</i>	<i>ii(e)ry</i>

This declension is used when the pronoun is separated from the noun by the indefinite article.

Second declension

The second declension is identical with the first, except for the possessive: masc. זייערנס *zaierns*, fem. זייערערס *zaiersers*, neut. זייערנס *zaierns*.

This declension is used when the pronoun follows the noun.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

101 *Déier* 'this':

	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>			
		<i>Neuter</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Masculine</i>	
	דִּי	דאָס	דִּי	דער	Nom.
	דִּי	דאָס	דִּי	דעם	Acc.
	דִּי	דעם	דער	דעם	Dat.
	דִּי	דעם	דער	דעם	Poss.

	<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>	
Nom.	<i>déier</i>	<i>dii</i>	<i>duus</i>	<i>dii düy</i>
Acc.	<i>déim</i>	<i>dii</i>	<i>duus</i>	<i>dii düy</i>
Acc.	<i>déim</i>	<i>déier</i>	<i>déim</i>	<i>dii düy</i>
Poss.	<i>déim</i>	<i>déier</i>	<i>déim</i>	<i>dii düy</i>

This is the adjectival, attributive declension. The substantival declension differs only in the possessive: Masc. דעמס *déims*, fem. דערס *déiers*, neut. דעמס *déims* plur. דיעס *diiys* is rare.

דער *ot déier* 'this,' אט א דער *ot o déier* 'this': These two follow the above pattern.

דער דאזיקער *der doziker* 'this,' יענער *iéner* 'that,' יעניקער *der iéniker* 'that,' דער זעלבער *der zélber* 'the same,' דער זעלביקער *der zélbiker* 'the same,' דער איינזער/איינזער *der aigynen* 'the same': These demonstratives are inflected as adjectives and as nouns.

אזוינער *azoiner* 'such a,' אזעל(ע)כער *azélexer* 'such a': אזא *azá* (stress on the final syllable), אזאן *azán* (before a word beginning with a vowel) 'such a,' א מיין *a miin* 'such a,' Plural: מיני *miiny*: These two demonstratives are not inflected.

ARTICLE

102 The definite article is the main sign indicating the gender of the noun. It is inflected in the singular. There are only four different markers to serve twelve cases. One of them (די *di*) also serves for all the cases and genders of the plural.

אוינים/אינים *inym* 'in the,' פֿונעם/פֿונעם *fjnym* 'from/of the': When the dative of the definite article follows a preposition ending in *n*, the article mostly undergoes a varying degree of reduction. The *d* is dropped, as in the above examples. ביים *baam* 'at the,' צום *cjm* 'to the': After a vowel or diphthong only the final *m* of the article remains: אפֿן *ofn* [*ofm*] - אפֿן *afn* [*afm*] - אויפֿן 'on the,' ביזן *bizn* 'till the,' מיטן *mitn* 'with the,' מיצדן *micádn* 'on the part of,' נאָכן *nuuxn* 'after the,' פֿארן *farn* 'before the': After consonants, other than *n*, the *dy* of the article is dropped, and the final *m* is replaced by syllabic *n*.

103 The indefinite article is א *a* which is uninflected. Before a vowel it becomes אַן *an*. It has no plural form - the absence of a definite article before a plural noun implies that an indefinite article is to be understood here.

א לאמפּ - נישט קיין לאמפּ *a lomf - nist kain lomf* 'a lamp - no lamp': The negation of the indefinite article is קיין נישט *kain nist*.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

104 ווערן *véier* 'who?,' וואָס? *vuus, vus?* 'what?'

Nom.	ווערן	<i>véier?</i>	'who?'
Acc.	וועמין/וועמען?	<i>véimyn?</i>	'whom?'
Dat.	וועמין/וועמען?	<i>véimyn?</i>	'to whom?'
Poss.	וועמינס/וועמענס?	<i>véimyns?</i>	'whose?'
	וועמיס/וועמעס?	<i>véimys?</i>	

וואָס פֿאַר אַ? *vos far a?* – וואָסער אַ? *vuser a?* – סאַראַ? *sara?* ‘what kind of?’: All three forms are used with singular or plural nouns.

וואָס פֿאַר? *vos far?* – וואָסער? *vuser* ‘what kind of?’: Both forms are used with the plural of the noun.

וועל(ע)כער? *velexer?* ‘which?’: It is inflected like the possessive pronoun.

RELATIVE PRONOUN

105 וואָס *vuus* functions also as the relative marker וואָס *vos*. It is not inflected. דער בעקער וואָס ער שטייט דארטן *der béker, vos er stait dortn* ‘the baker who is standing there,’ דער בעקער וואָס איך זעט אים דארטן *der béker, vos ir zéit ym dortn* ‘the baker whom you see there,’ וואָס דו דאַרפֿסט אים צאָלן *der béker vos dj darfst ym cuuhn* ‘the baker whom you must pay,’ וואָס זײַן זון איז אין אַמעריקע *der béker, vos zaan zjijn iz in Ameriky* ‘the baker, whose son is in America’: Where necessary or desirable the syntactical relation is indicated by a personal pronoun.¹

INDEFINITE PRONOUN

106 יעדער *ieider* (masc.), יעדע *ieidy* (fem.), אַ יעדער *a ieider* (masc.), אַ יעדע *a ieidy* (fem.), יעדוידער *ievider* (masc.), יעדוידע *ievidy* (fem.): These three pronouns – meaning ‘each, every’ – are used with nouns in the singular and are inflected as the possessive pronoun in both declensions. אַנדער *ander* ‘other’ is inflected in the same way but used with singular and plural. איטלעכער *itlexer* (masc.), איטלעכע *itlexy* (fem.), איטלעכס *itlexs* (neut.) ‘each, every,’ וועל(ע)כער *s-ai* וועל(ע)כע *s-iz* וועל(ע)כער *s-ai* וועל(ע)כע *s-iz* (fem.), וועל(ע)כס *ys iz* וועל(ע)כס *ys iz* (neut.) ‘whoever’: These two are used with the singular and are inflected like the possessive pronouns. So too is איינער *ainer* ‘somebody’ but it has a plural in the opposition אַנדערע – איינע *ainy – andery* and די איינע – די אַנדערע *di ainy – di andery* ‘some – others.’ יעדער איינער *ieider ainer* ‘each one, every one’ is used as a more intense form instead of יעדער *ieider*, but then only as a noun. יעדערער *ieiderer* ‘each one, every one’: This and the preceding pronoun seem to occur only as masculines. עמיצער/עמעצער – עמיץ/אימעץ *emyc – imyc* – עמיצער/אימעצער *emycer – imycer* ‘somebody’ is used as a noun and follows the second possessive declension, but without indication of gender.

ווער *abii véier* ‘whoever, anybody’: The pronominal part is inflected like the interrogative ווער *véier*; אַבִּי וואָס *abii vuus* ‘whatever, anything’; אַבִּי וואָס אַ *abii vos far a*, אַבִּי וואָסער אַ *abii vuser a* ‘whatever kind of.’

עפֿיס/עפעס *épyz* ‘something.’ A special idiomatic usage: עפֿיס/עפעס

1 The use of וועלכער *velxer* as a relative pronoun is a Germanism.

ער זיך נישט גוט *Épys fiilt er zex nist gut* 'He is not feeling well, somehow.' This is a quasi-subject, a vague syntactical device for anticipating the real subject of the sentence which follows.

נאָר-נישט/נאָרנישט *gnar-nist* 'nothing.'

מע *my* (before the verb), מיין/מען *myn* (after the verb) 'one = you = they = I.' טייל *tail* 'some people' - מער *méier* 'more'; מייך *main* 'more.' The preceding six pronouns are uninflected.

אַל *al* 'all, everything': When used substantively the pronoun has the following forms:

	<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
Nom.	אַלץ	<i>alc</i>	אַלע	<i>aly</i>
Acc.	אַלץ	<i>alc</i>	אַלע אַלימין/אַלעמען	<i>aly</i> <i>alymyn</i>
Dat.	אַליים/אַלעם	<i>alym</i>	אַלע אַלימין/אַלעמען	<i>aly</i> <i>alymyn</i>
Poss.	—	—	אַלימינס/אַלעמענס	<i>alymyns</i>

אַלימין/אַלעמען *alymyn* and אַלימינס/אַלעמענס *alymyns* are used for human beings only. אַלדינג *alding* - אַלדינגס *aldings* - אַלדיע *aldie* 'all, everything' are very often used instead of אַלץ *alc*. The plural, אַלע *aly*, functions adjectivally and substantivally. אַלדיס/אַלדעס *aldys* - אַלדאָס *aldus* 'all the'; plural אַלדי *aldy* 'all the': The uninflected form - אַל *al* - is used when the pronoun is followed by the definite article; the two are joined together, which results in a weakened vowel of the article.

Numerals

CARDINAL

107

1	אַין	<i>ain</i>
	אַינס ¹	<i>ainc</i>
2	צוויי	<i>cvai</i>
3	דריי	<i>draa(i)</i>
4	פֿיר	<i>fier</i>
5	פֿינף/פֿינף	<i>finyf</i>

¹ In counting.

257 Morphology

6	זעקס	zéks
7	זיבן	zibn
8	אכט	axt
9	ניין	naan
10	צען	cén, céén, céin
11	עליף/עלף	élyf
12	צוועליף/צוועלף	cvélyf
13	דראַצן	draacn
14	פֿערצן	fércn
15	פֿינצן	fjfcn
16	זעכצן	zéxcn
17	זיביצן/זיבעצן	zibycn
18	אכצן	axcn
19	נאַנצן	naancn
20	צוואַנציק/צוואַנציק, צוואַנציק	cvoncik – cvancik
26	זעקס-און-צוואַנציק/צוואַנציק, צוואַנציק	zéks-jn-cvoncik
30	דראַסיק	draasik
40	פֿערציק	fércik
50	פֿינציק	fjfcik
60	זעכציק	zéxcik
70	זיביציק/זיבעציק	zibycik
80	אכציק	axcik
90	נאַנציק	naancik
100	הונדערט	hjdert
200	צוויי הונדערט	cvai hjdert
1,000	טויזנט	touznt
2,000	צוויי טויזנט	cvai touznt
10,000	צען טויזנט	cén touznt
20,000	צוואַנציק טויזנט	cvoncik touznt
100,000	הונדערט טויזנט	hjdert touznt
1,000,000	מיליאָן	miliuun
104	הונדערט-אַן-פֿיר	hjdert-(jn-)fier
638	זעקס-הונדערט-אַכט-און-דראַסיק	zéks-hjdert-axt-jn-draasik
1852	אַכצן-הונדערט-צוויי-און-פֿינציק	axcn-hjdert-cvai-jn-fjfcik
		or
	אַינ-טויזנט-אַכט-הונדערט-צוויי-און-פֿינציק	(ain-)touznt-axt-hjdert-cvai-jn-fjfcik
2986	צוויי-טויזנט-ניין-הונדערט-זעקס-און-אכציק	cvai-touznt-naan-hjdert-zéks-jn-axcik

miliasn (plural) indicates a vast indefinite number.

Composite numbers from thirteen onwards are constructed by addition, the higher preceding the lower, except that the digits precede the tens.

108 (a) ער זעט איין לייב זעט זיך *Ain laib zéit zex* 'One lion is visible'; ער זעט איין ציג *Er zéit ain coug* 'He sees one bitch'; ער גיט איין סטוקל צוקער *Er git ain féierd a stikl cjker* 'He gives one horse a piece of sugar': איין *ain*, when functioning adjectivally, is not inflected according to gender and case.

(b) פון דער איינער גייטארן/גייטארין *fjn der ainer naituurn* 'of the only seamstress': But when איין *ain* has the definite article, acquiring the meaning 'the only,' it is inflected.

(c) אין איינע צרות *in ainu cuurys* 'in great trouble': In this idiom איין has a plural form.

(d) איין *ain*, functioning as a noun, is inflected according to the second adjectival declension. The neuter, איינס *ainc*, is used in counting.

(e) אין איינים/איינעם *in ainym* 'together': The dat. masc./neut. is employed in this expression.

(f) זעקסן זעקסן *zéksh* 'six o'clock': The dat. masc./neut. appears with cardinals when telling the hour of the day.

(g) אן איינער *an ainer* 'a digit, digits,' צענער-צענער *a céner - cééner - céiner* 'a ten, tens,' הונדערטער *a hjnderter* 'a hundred, hundreds,' א טויזנטער *a touznter* 'a thousand, thousands.'

ORDINAL

109

1st		ערשט	<i>éierst</i>
2nd		צווייט	<i>cvait</i>
		אנדער	<i>ander</i>
3rd		דריט	<i>drit</i>
4th		פערט - פערד	<i>férd - fért</i>
5th		פֿיפט	<i>fift</i>
6th		זעקסט	<i>zékst</i>
7th		זיבט/זיבעט	<i>zibyt</i>
8th		אכט	<i>axt</i>
9th		נײַנט	<i>naant</i>
10th			<i>cént - céént - céint</i>
11th	וס		<i>élyft - elft</i>
12th	צוועלפט -		<i>cvélyft - cvélfst</i>
13th	דרייצנט/דרייצעט - דרייצנט		<i>draacyt - draacnt</i>
14th	פערצינט/פערצעט - פערצינט		<i>fercyt - fercnt</i>

15th	אינציפט/אינצעט - אינצנט	<i>fifcyt - fifcnt</i>
16th	זעכציט/זעכצעט - זעכצנט	<i>zēxcyt - zēxcnt</i>
17th	זיבציט/זיבעצעט - זיבעצנט	<i>zibycyt - zibycnt</i>
18th	אכציט/אכצעט - אכצנט	<i>axcyt - axcnt</i>
19th	נינציט/נינצעט - נינצנט	<i>naancyt - naancnt</i>
20th	צוואנציקסט/צוואנציקסט, צוואנציקסט	<i>cvoncikst - cvancikst</i>
30th	דרייסיקסט	<i>draasikst</i>
32nd	צוויי-אין-דרייסיקסט	<i>cvai-jn-draasikst</i>
100th	הונדערטסט	<i>hjdertst</i>
109th	הונדערט-ניינט	<i>hjdert-naant</i>
250th	צוויי-הונדערט-פֿופציקסט	<i>cvai-hjdert-fjfcikst</i>
1,000th	טויזנטסט	<i>touzntst</i>
100,000th	הונדערט-טויזנטסט	<i>hjdert-touzntst</i>
1,000,000th	מיליאָנסט	<i>miliuunct</i>

The ordinals are adjectives and inflected accordingly.

FRACTIONS

110 (a) האַלב *halb*: It is inflected adjectivally - אַ האַלבער בוך *a halber bij(e)x*, אַ העלפֿט בוך *a hēlft bijex* 'half of the book': The adjective האַלב *halb* can be replaced by the noun אַ העלפֿט *a hēlft*. אַ דריטל *a dritl* 'a third,' איין דריטל *ain dritl* 'one third,' צוויי דריטל *cvai dritl* 'two thirds': The numerator is a cardinal, the denominator an ordinal plus טל *tl*¹ - the final dental of the ordinal being merged.

(b) דריטלעך *dritlex*, פֿערטלעך *fērtlex*: When a denominator is used by itself, it has a plural formed by -עך *-ex*.² אַ דריט-הילק/חלק *a drit-xailyk* 'a third': The word חילק/חלק *xailyk* 'part' may be used instead of טל *tl*. The plural then is דריט-חלקים *drit-xalukym*.

(c) אַנדערט-האַלב *andert-halb(n)* i.e. 'second = twice minus a half'; דריט-האַלבן *drit-halbn* (i.e., the third minus a half); etc.: Mixed numbers consisting of a digit and a half are usually constructed by subtraction, though addition is also employed; with higher figures this is the rule: 23½ דריי-אין-פֿערציג-אין-אַ-אַ *draa(i)-jn-fēncik-jn-a-halb*. No subtraction forms exist for mixed numbers with other fractions than ½.

(d) צו זיבן *cv zibn* 'in sevens': Distributive numbers are expressed by צו *cv* with a cardinal.

¹ Originally the word טייל *teil* 'part.'

² As if the /l/ were the diminutive ending (*drit* + *l*).

(e) זאלבע-דרייטן/זאלבע-טאגער, זאלבע-טאגער זאלבע-טאגער *zalby-nand* 'two (persons) together,' זאלבע-דרייטן זאלבע-דרייטן *zalby-drit* 'three (persons) together,' etc.: זאלבע *zalby* (originally a pronoun) followed by the stem of an ordinal, denotes a group of persons of that number.

(f) נאנן מאל *naan muul* 'nine times': Multiplication is expressed by מאל *muul*. טאפל *topf* 'double' is an adjectival multiplicative.

(g) אין צוויי *in cvaiyn* 'twofold,' etc.: An adverbial multiplicative is formed by אין *in* 'in' plus inflected cardinal.

(h) צווייערליי *cvaiertlai* 'two kinds of,' etc.: The suffix -ערליי *-erlai*, attached to a cardinal, denotes 'so and so many kinds of.' There is also אלערליי *alerlai* and קלערליי *kolerlai*, both meaning 'all sorts of.'

(i) ערשטנס *eristsns* or ראשית/ראשית *raisis* 'firstly,' צווייטנס *cvaitns* or שנית/שנית *sainis*, דריטנס *dristsns* or שלישי *shlisis* 'thirdly,' etc.: Ordinal adverbs are formed from the ordinal stem plus the termination -נס *-ns*, or they are expressed by the corresponding word of the Hebrew element.

Verb

111 The verbal system consists of the following categories: tense, mood, aspect, voice and the verb infinite, represented by the infinitive and two verbal adjectives, the contemporal and the participle.

TYPES OF VERBS

112 There are two types of verbs: (a) simple verbs, including prefixed ones: ליגן *laig* 'lay,' פֿיסל/פֿיסל *kaißl* 'double,' דערמאָן *derman* 'remind' (first and second conjugation); (b) periphrastic verbs: combinations of auxiliaries with certain uninflected elements: מוחל בין מוחל *bin moixl* 'forgive,' מערלבל *veier myvjbl* 'get confused' (third and fourth conjugations).

INFLECTION

113

	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Person</i>
	מיר היילן	איך הייל	1st
	איר - עץ היילט	זו היילט	2nd
	זיי היילן	ער - זי - סע היילט	3rd

<i>Person</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
1st	<i>ex hail</i>	<i>mir hailn</i>
2nd	<i>dj hailct</i>	<i>ir - éc hailt</i>
3rd	<i>er - zi - sy hailt</i>	<i>zai hailn</i>

'I heal - I am healing'

Where there is inversion, the /d/ of the pronoun, 2nd pers., is fused with the /t/ of the verb ending: (*h*)*ost dj* > (*h*)*ostj* 'have you' and the spelling corresponds to that: דהאסטו.

The verb is inflected by means of the endings /n/ (syllabic), st, t/ and zero, /n/ and /t/ each serving for two persons. This holds good for the present tense, the imperative and for the auxiliaries (here some irregular forms). The other tenses, moods and aspects are formed by means of auxiliaries.

FIRST CONJUGATION: WEAK VERBS

114 (A) צייל *cail* 'count,' ניי *nai* 'sew,' פליי *flii* 'fly'; (B) פראגוע *pravy* 'carry out, execute,' טענע/טענה *taany* 'argue, claim': There are two classes of weak verbs. The difference lies in the form of the first person singular of the present tense - the base form. In (A) it ends in a consonant or a vowel, except /y/, in (B) it ends in /y/.

Active voice: tense and mood

Present indicative

115 The conjugation is given in 113.

This form relates to the time of speaking. It is, however, also employed without reference to time, for general or timeless statements, as well as for the historic present.

116 (a) שטום *stjm* 'be silent' - שטומן/שטומן *stjmyyn*, לייען *laiyn* 'read' - לייען *laiynyn*, דערלאנג *derlang* 'hand to' - דערלאנגן *derlangyn*, בענק *bénk* 'long for' - בענקן/בענקן *bénkyn*: When the base form ends in /m, n, ng/ or /nk/, the ending /n/ becomes /yn/.

(b) גיזעגן/געזעגן *gyzéign mex* 'take one's leave' - גיזעגן *gy-zéignyn zex*, לייקן *laikn* 'deny' - לייקן *laikynyn*, רעכן *réxn* 'calculate, think' - רעכענען *réxynyn*: When the final *n* phoneme of the base form is

realised as [ŋ] it becomes [n] before the ending *n* and is preceded and followed by /y/.

(c) וויקל *vikl* 'roll up, wind' – וויקלין/וויקלען *viklyn*: When the base form ends in syllabic *l*, this becomes unsyllabic and the ending *n* after it becomes *yn*.

(d) רײ *rjy* 'rest' – רײען *rjyn*, צײ *cii* 'pull' – צײען *ciiyn*, בױ *bou* 'build' – בױען *bouyn*, נײ *nai* 'sew' – נײען *naiyn*, קײ *kaa(i)* 'chew' – קײען *kaa(i)yn*: When the base form ends in a vowel (or diphthong) the syllabic *n* of the ending becomes *yn*.

(e) איך טראַכט *ex traxt* 'I think' – סע טראַכט *er – zi – sy traxt* 'he – she – it thinks' – איר טראַכט *ir traxt* 'you think': When the base form ends in *t*, the termination *t* is fused with it. In the 2nd pers. sing., dissimilation at distance may cause the *t* of the base form to disappear: טראַכטסט *traxtst* > *traxst*.

(f) לאז *loz* 'let' – לאזט/לאזטסט *doz lost*, הױס *hijz* 'cough' – הױסט *doz hijst*, נעץ *néc* 'wet' – נעצט/נעצטסט *doz néct*, קוש *kjś* 'kiss' – קושט *doz kjst*: When the base form ends in /z, s, c, ś/, these consonants are fused with the /s/ of the ending /st/ of the 2nd pers. sing.; however, in the case of /ś/, the unassimilated form may be met with (at least in the spelling): קושסט *doz kjśst*.

(g) קױעלסט *doz kvélst* > *kvélt* 'you are delighted,' מײנסט *doz mainst* > *mainct* 'you think': When the base form ends in non-syllabic /l/ or /n/, a /t/ develops in front of the /s/ in the 2nd pers. sing.

Verb infinite

117 *Infinitive*: היילן *hailn* 'to heal/to be healing': The form of the infinitive is identical with that of the 1st and 3rd pers. plur. of the present tense.

118 *Contemporal*: היילנדיק *hailndik* 'while healing': After the participle and the infinitive this is the third nominal form within the scheme of the verb. It signifies that the subject of the sentence is involved in an action, state or condition which are contemporaneous with the action etc. of the predicate. It consists of the base form of the verb plus the suffix -נדיק *-ndik* (with syllabic *n*) or -ינדיק/ענדיק *-yndik* (see para. 116a-d).¹ It thus has the form of an adjective but can function as a verb by governing an object (or objects): שרייבנדיק זיין ווייב אַ ברייב *sraabndik zaan vaab a briiv* 'while writing a letter to his wife.'^{*}

¹ This form is not a present participle because it cannot be inflected. When the -נדיק *-ndik* form occurs in print or writing as an inflected attribute (e.g., אַ פאַרנדיקער ואַגן *a fuurn-diker vagn* 'a moving carriage') it is simply a Germanism, adopted by writers during the last few decades. A single fossilized relic of a participial construction exists: the -ער *-er* in the living adverbial suffix -ערהייט *-erhait* was originally the genitive ending of a participle that functioned as an attribute to the noun הייט *hait* 'state, condition' (which still exists separately), e.g., זיצנדיקערהייט *zicndikerhait* < *zicndiker hait* 'in the state of sitting.'

119 *Participle*: געהיילט/געהיילט *gyhailt* 'healed': The participle is formed by prefixing *gy* to the base form and suffixing /t/. שאט *fat* 'harm' – געשאט/געשאט *gyfat*: When the stem ends in *t*, the suffix /t/ is fused with it.

The participle is passive in meaning.²

Special cases

120 *Preterite present*:

<i>Present</i>		<i>Participle</i>	
דארף <i>darf</i>	'requires'	גידארפט/געדארפט <i>gydarft</i> ,	
		גידארפן/געדארפן <i>gydorfn</i>	
וילט <i>vil³</i>	'wants to'	גיהאלט/געוואלט <i>gyvult</i>	
זאל <i>zol</i>	'shall, should'	גוזאלט/געזאלט <i>gyzolt</i>	
טאר נישט <i>tuur</i>	'is not allowed'	ניסט <i>nist</i>	
		גיתווערט <i>gytuwert</i>	
טויג <i>toig</i>	'is of use'	גיתויגט <i>gytoigt</i>	
מעג <i>méig</i>	'may, is allowed'	גיתמעגט <i>gyméigt</i>	
מוז <i>mjz</i>	'must'	גיתמוזט <i>gymjzt</i>	

The third person singular of these verbs has no ending.

To this group may be added:

פליצט <i>flitz</i>	'used to' (+ infinitive)	
קער <i>kéier</i>	'belongs; ought to' (+ infinitive)	גיקערט <i>gykéiert</i>

121 *Breng and Vais*:

Present	ברענג <i>bréng</i>	'bring'
Infinitive	ברענגן/ברענגען <i>bréngyn</i>	
Contemporal	ברענגדיק/ברענגנדיק <i>bréngyndik</i>	
Participle	גיתברענגט <i>gybréngt</i>	
	גיתבראכט <i>gybraxt</i>	

² There are exceptions. The participle of עסט *és* 'eat' with the prefix אונט *ju* 'un-' is active: אונגעגעסן *juungegésn* 'not having eaten.'

³ וילט *vil*, however, has the ending *t* in the expression טו וילט זיך *sy vil³ zex* 'one feels like (doing something), one wants to.' The main vowel of the contemporal differs from both that of the present and of the participle: וועלנדיק *vélndik* 'while wanting to' (but וילנדיק *vilndik* 'willy-nilly.')

וויסן	<i>vais</i> 'know'	דערוויס מיך	<i>derois mex</i> 'get to know'
וויסן	<i>visn</i>	דערוויסן זיך	<i>deroisn zex</i>
וויסנדיק	<i>visndik</i>	זערוויסנדיק זיך	<i>deroisndik zex</i>
גיוואוסט/געוויסט	<i>gyvjst</i>	דערוואוסט/דערוויסט זיך	<i>derovjst zex</i>

122 *Prefixed verbs*: אנטוויין *antvain* 'wean,' באשיין *basain* 'lend beauty to,' גינאר/ גינארט *gynár* 'deceive,' דערוזאג *derzug* 'finish saying,' פארטומל *fartjmt* 'bewilder, גינארט/גענארט *gynárt*, דערוזאגט *derzugt*, צוכאפ/צעכאפט *cxjap* 'snatch away' (referring to a number of snatchers): The prefixes אנט *ant*, בא *ba*, גי/גע *gy*, דער *der*, פאר *far*, צו/צ *cx* – which never take the stress – modify the meaning of the verbs to which they are attached. However, no general translations for each prefix can be attempted because their original meanings have branched out so widely and have become very diversified. The dictionary has to be consulted for each word beginning with one of the six prefixes. אנטוויינט *antvaint*, באשיינט *basaint*, גינארט/גענארט *gynárt*, דערוזאגט *derzugt*, פארטומלט *fartjmlt*, צוכאפט/צעכאפט *cxjapt*: The participle of prefixed verbs does not take the normal prefix גי/גע *gy*.

123 באפעל *baféil* 'send word,' פארליר *farliier* 'lose': In certain cases the simplex disappeared from the language long ago – there is no verb פעל *féil* (i.e., of the same etymology as באפעל *baféil*) and no ליר *liier*.

124 *Adverb-linked verbs*: צוגיין/צעגיין *cjgain* 'to dissolve' (intrans.): The syllable צו/צ *cx* is a prefix – it is fixed to the verb and does not take the stress. צוגיין *cj gain* 'to go to, approach': The syllable צו *cj* is an adverb, takes the stress and has no fixed position – in general its place is after the verb: זי גייט צו *zi gait cj* 'she goes to, approaches.' It is therefore illogical to call צו *cj* a 'separable prefix' (two contradictory terms) – it did not grow together with the verb and is not a formative syllable but a normal adverb.¹ A certain number of basic adverbs form, with verbs, specific groups. The discussion of such groups belongs not to grammar – except where it is a case of perfectivisation – but to semantics and lexicography. The adverbs in question are: אדורך *ador(e)x* 'through,' אהיים *ahaim* 'home,' אהין *ahim* 'there, thither,' אהינטער *ahinter* 'backwards,' אוועק *avék* 'away,' אויס *ous* 'out,' אויף/אויף *uf* 'upon,' אום *jm* (rare) 'around,' אונטער *jnter* 'under,' אין *ain* 'in,' און *uun* 'on, at,' אנטקעגן – אנטקייגן *antkaign – antkéign* 'against,' אנידער *anider* 'down,' אפ *ap* 'off,' אפיר *afier* 'forth, out of,' אקייגן – אקייגן *akaign – akéign* 'opposite,' ארויס *arous* 'out of,' ארויף – ארויף *arjif – arof* 'up,' ארום *arjm* 'around,' אריבער *ariber* 'over, across,' אריין *araan* 'into,' ביי *baa, ba* 'at,' דורך

1 The joining of the adverb to the following verb was introduced into their writings by the nineteenth century protagonists of the Enlightenment in imitation of the German spelling.

dor(e) 'through,' מיט *mit* 'with,' נאך *naux* 'after,' פּאַרנאָדער *fjmander* 'asunder, apart,' פּוֹר *fier* 'fore,' צו *cjz* 'to,' צוזאַמען/צוזאַמען *cjzamyn* 'together,' צוזאַם *cjmoif* 'together,' צוריק *cjrik* 'back.' Many of the above translations are only etymological and would rarely be applicable. Here again, the dictionary has to be consulted.

125 *Auxiliary verbs:*

'TO HAVE'

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex (h)ob</i>	<i>mir (h)obn</i> *	מיר האבן	איך האב	1st
2nd	<i>dj (h)ost</i>	<i>ir - éc (h)ot</i>	איר - עץ האט	דו האסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er-xi-s (h)ot</i>	<i>zai (h)obn</i>	זיי האבן	ער, זי, עס, ס' האט	3rd

*Variant: אונז האבן *jndz (h)obmir/(h)omir*. This form is used by a very large part of the speech community, although it does not appear in print: the nominative מיר *mir* 'we' is replaced by the accusative/dative form אונז *jndz* 'us,' while the מיר *mir* is affixed to the end of the verb, assimilating the ending *n* and generally, the *b* as well, to its *m*.

The *b* of the stem disappears in the 2nd pers. and in the singular of the 3rd pers.

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>x-ob</i>	—	—	כ'האב	1st
2nd	<i>d-ost</i>	—	—	ד'האסט	2nd
3rd	<i>r-ot</i>	—	—	ר'האט	3rd
	<i>z-ot</i>	<i>z-obn</i>	ז'האבן	ז'האט	
	<i>s-ot</i>			ס'האט	

In colloquial speech the full forms are very often replaced by the abbreviated ones of the above table. Some of the latter also occur in print, particularly the 1st pers. sing. and the 3rd pers. sing. neut.

Infinitive: האבן *(h)ubn* 'to have'; contemporal: האבנדיק *hubndik* 'while having';

גיהאט/געהאט *gyhat* 'had.' There are two vowels for the non-finite forms and both differ from that of the finite tense.

The tenses, moods and aspects are formed regularly.

This verb is not only an auxiliary, but also a full verb with the original meaning 'to have and hold, possess.'

'TO BE'

126

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex bin</i>	<i>mir zényn*</i>	מיר זענן/זענען*	איך בין	1st
2nd	<i>dj bist</i>	<i>ir – éc zént</i>	איר – עץ זענט	דו ביסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er-zi-s- iz</i>	<i>zai zényn</i>	זיי זענן/זענען	ער – זי – ס, עס איז	3rd

*Variants: 1st plur. (a) מיר זיינן/זיינען *mir zaanyn*, (b) אטרו זעמיר *jndz zémir*. 2nd sing. ביסט *binst*. 2nd plur. זייט *zaat*. 3rd plur. זיינן/זיינען *zaanyn*.

Infinitive: זײַן *zaan* 'to be'; contemporal: זײַענדיק *zaa(i)yndik* 'while being'; participle: גײווען/געווען *gyvéin* (or, disappearing [at least from print]): גײוועזן/געוועזן *gyvéizn* 'been.'

Past: אין גײווען/געווען *ex bin gyvéin*. The inflection is regular, with *bin* and *gyvéin*.

'WILL, SHALL'

127

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex vél</i>	<i>mir véln*</i>	מיר וועלן*	איך וועל	1st
2nd	<i>dj vést</i>	<i>ir – éc vét</i>	איר – עץ וועט	דו וועסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er-zi-, sy, s-, -ys vét</i>	<i>zai véln</i>	זיי וועלן	ער-זי-סע, ס, עס וועט	3rd

*Variant: אטרו וועלמיר *jndzvélmir*.

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>x-el, x-l, ex-l</i>	<i>mii(e)r-n</i>	מיר-ן	כ-על, כ-ל, איכ-ל	1st
2nd	<i>dj-st</i>	<i>ii(e)r-t</i>	איר-ט	דז-סט	2nd
3rd	<i>er-t, zii-t, s-ét</i>	<i>zai-ln</i>	זיי-לן	ער-ט, זי-ט, ס-עט	3rd

These contracted forms are frequent in the colloquial but rare in print.

This auxiliary¹ verb is irregular and defective: there are no other forms.

'WOULD'

128

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex volt</i>	<i>mir voltm*</i>	מיר וואלטן*	איך וואלט	1st
2nd	<i>dj voltst</i>	<i>ir-ec volt</i>	איר - עץ וואלט	דו וואלטסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er - zi - sy, s, ys volt</i>	<i>zai voltm</i>	זיי וואלטן	ער - זי - סע, ס-י, עס וואלט	3rd

*Variant: אונדז וואלטמיר *jndz voltmír*.

Regionally, the *l* disappears in all forms.

This auxiliary is defective; there are no other forms.

¹ It is not to be confused with the full verb וויל *wil* 'to want to, to be willing,' with which it shares the form ווילט *wilt*.

'SHOULD, SHALL'

129

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex zol</i>	<i>mir zohn*</i>	מיד זאלן*	איך זאל	1st
2nd	<i>dj zolst</i>	<i>ir - �c zolt</i>	איר - עץ זאלט	דו זאלסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er - zi - sy, s-, ys zol</i>	<i>zai zohn</i>	זיי זאלן	ער - זי - סע, ס - עס זאל	3rd

*Variant: אונז זאלמיר *judz zolmir*.This auxiliary has one other form, the past: איך האב גזאלט *ex (h)ob gyzolt*.

'TO BECOME'

130

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex v�ier</i>	<i>mir v�iern*</i>	מיד ווערן*	איך ווער	1st
2nd	<i>dj v�ierst</i>	<i>ir - ec v�iert</i>	איר - עץ ווערט	דו ווערסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er - zi - sy, s, ys</i>	<i>zai v�iert v�iern</i>	זיי ווערן	ער - זי - סע, ס - עס ווערט	3rd

*Variant: אונז ווערמיר *judz v iermir*.Infinitive: ווערן *v iern*; contemporal: ווערנדיק *v ierndik*; participle: געווארן/ געווארן *gyvoorn*; past: איך בין געווארן/ געווארן *ex bing gyvoorn* (second conjugation).

'USED TO' (+ Infinitive)

131

Person	Singular	Plural	Plural	Singular	Person
1st	<i>ex fléig</i>	<i>mir fléign*</i>	מיר פֿלעגן*	איך פֿלעג	1st
2nd	<i>dj fléigst</i>	<i>ir - ec fléigt</i>	איר - עץ פֿלעגט	דו פֿלעגסט	2nd
3rd	<i>er - zi - sy,</i> <i>s-, ys fléig</i>	<i>zai fléign</i>	זיי פֿלעגן	ער - זי - סע, ס, עס פֿלעג	3rd

*Variant: אונז פֿלעגן *jude fléigmir*.

This auxiliary is defective; there are no other forms.

Other tenses

132 *The Past tense:* געהיילט/געהיילט געהיילט *ex (h)ob gyhailt* 'I healed/I have healed/I was healing/I have been healing': The past tense is formed by means of the auxiliary האב *(h)ob* and the participle of the verb in question.

133 *The pluperfect tense:* געהיילט/געהיילט געהיילט *ex (h)ob gyhat gyhailt* 'I had healed/been healing': The pluperfect is formed by means of the auxiliary האב *(h)ob* plus the participles of the auxiliary and of the verb in question. This tense is not much used.

134 *The future tense:* וועל היילן *ex vel hailn* 'I shall heal/be healing': The future tense is formed by means of the auxiliary וועל *vel* plus the infinitive of the verb in question.

135 *The future past tense:* וועל היילן געהיילט *ex vel hubn gyhailt* 'I shall have healed/been healing': The future past tense is formed by means of the future tense of the auxiliary *(h)ob* plus the participle of the verb in question. This tense is little used.

Other moods

136 *The imperative mood:* Second person. Singular: הייל *hail* 'heal,' identical with the base form. Plural: היילט *hails* 'heal,' which is identical with the form of the

2nd pers. plur. of the present tense. A very widespread form is **היילסט hailst**, which has, however, been neglected in print.

Third person. Singular: **זאל היילן זי - ער - זי - סע זאל היילן** *er - xi - sy zol hailn* 'he, she it should heal, let him - her - it heal.' Plural: **זאלן היילן זיי** *zai zoln hailn* 'they should heal, let them heal': The 3rd pers. is formed by means of the auxiliary **זאל zol**. In addition, the optative can be used for the 3rd pers.

137 *The optative mood*: There are two forms.

(a) 1st pers. sing. **לאמיר היילן** *lomir hailn* 'let me heal'

3rd pers. sing. **לאז ער היילן** *loz er hailn* 'let him heal'

1st pers. plur. **לאמיר היילן** *lomir hailn* 'let us heal'

3rd pers. plur. **לאזן זיי היילן** *lozn zai hailn* 'let them heal'

The optative is formed with the auxiliary **לאז loz** plus a personal pronoun and the infinitive of the verb. In the 1st pers., the auxiliary and the pronoun are always contracted; in the singular the accusative of the pronoun is used, in the plural the nominative.

(b) **זאל איך היילן זאל** *zol ex hailn* 'let me heal,' **זאלסטו היילן זאל** *zolstj hailn* 'may you heal' etc.: The auxiliary verb **זאל zol** precedes the pronoun, which is followed by the infinitive of the verb in question.

138 *The permissive mood*: **איך מעג היילן** *ex méig hailn* 'I am allowed to heal': The permissive is formed by means of the auxiliary **מעג méig** plus the infinitive of the verb.

139 *The prohibitive mood*: **איך טאר נישט היילן** *ex tuur nist hailn* 'I must not heal.' The prohibitive consists of the auxiliary **טאר tuur** 'must' plus the negation plus the infinitive of the verb.

140 *The obligative mood*: The obligative is formed by means of the auxiliary **מוז mujz** 'must' plus the infinitive of the verb. **איך מוז היילן** *ex mujz hailn* 'I must heal.'

141 *The necessitative mood*: **איך דארף היילן** *ex darf hailn* or **איך קער היילן** *ex kéier hailn* 'I ought to heal.' The necessitative consists of the auxiliary **דארף darf** or **קער kéier** plus the infinitive of the verb.

142 *The conditional mood*: There are two forms.

(a) **איך וואלט געהיילט** *ex volt gyhailt* 'I would heal': The present conditional is formed with the auxiliary **וואלט volt** plus the participle of the verb.

(b) **איך וואל היילן** *ex zol hailn* '(if) I were to heal/were I to heal': This type of

the present conditional is formed with the auxiliary זאל plus the infinitive of the verb.

143 *The past conditional mood*: There are two forms:

(a) זאלט גיזען געהיילט/געזען געהיילט *ex volt gyvéin gyhailt* 'I would have healed': The past conditional may be formed by the use of the auxiliary זאלט *volt* plus the participle of the auxiliary זיין *zaan* and that of the verb in question.

(b) זאלט גיזען געהיילט/געזען געהיילט *ex zol gyvéin hailn* '(if) I had healed, (if) I would have healed': The past conditional is formed by the use of the auxiliary זאל *zol* plus the participle of the auxiliary זיין *zaan* and the infinitive of the verb in question.

Aspects

144 The category of aspect serves to convey, beyond the basic meaning of the verb, the specific way in which an action/process etc. takes place. (Although there are in Yiddish no morphological characteristics constituting this category, there seems to be a tendency to aspectual thinking, resulting in the following groups.)

The perfective aspect

145

דרימל <i>driml</i> 'doze'	אַנטדרימלט <i>antdrimlt véiern</i> 'doze off'
פאל <i>fal</i> 'fall'	באַפאל <i>basal</i> 'attack'
הער <i>héier</i> 'hear'	דערהער <i>derhéier</i> 'perceive, become aware' (by hearing)
ביט <i>baat</i> 'change' (trans.)	פאַרבייט <i>farbaat</i> 'exchange'
רייס <i>raas</i> 'tear'	צורייס/צעררייס <i>cjraas</i> 'tear up'
פיר <i>fier</i> 'lead'	פיר אויס <i>fier ous</i> 'have one's way'
מיש <i>mis</i> 'mix'	מיש אף - אוף - אויף <i>mis of</i> 'open a book' (at a certain place)
שפאר <i>spár</i> 'press'	שפאר אנטער <i>spár jnter</i> 'prop up'
קער <i>kéier</i> 'turn'	קער איבער <i>kéier iber</i> 'overturn'
טאפ <i>tap</i> 'grope'	טאפ אן <i>tap uun</i> 'touch'
ליג <i>laig</i> 'lay'	ליג אָפּ <i>laig up</i> 'delay'
כאַפּ <i>xap</i> 'grab, seize'	כאַפּ צו <i>xap cjj</i> 'snatch away'

The perfective denotes that the action of the verb is completed. This aspect is formed by linking the verb - which normally denotes a non-completed action - with an adverb, or by prefixing it.

The singulative aspect

146 *איך טו אַ לאַך ex tjj a lax* 'I give a laugh': The singulative describes a single momentary action. This aspect is formed by means of an invariable element and a verb functioning as an auxiliary verb. The invariable is the base form of the verb in question, turned into a noun by the indefinite article; the auxiliary is the verb *טו tjj* 'do' or *גיב gib* 'give,' occasionally *כאַפּ xap* 'seize.' In the case of some strong verbs it is not the base form that is used but the stem of the participle. *טו Tjj* and *גיב gib* are not always interchangeable.

וויך אַ שטעל ביים אויזן ex tjj mex zex a stél baam oiron 'I place myself at the stove,' *איך טו עס אַ שטעל אַנידער ex tjj ys a stél anider* 'I put it down,' *איך טו מיך - וויך אַ לייג אַראַן אין בעט ex tjj mex a laig araan in bét* 'I lie down on the bed': The verb may be reflexive or adverb-linked, or a combination of both.

This construction appears in all tenses and moods, and also combines with the past habitual and causative aspects; it has the forms of the verb infinite, too.

The inchoative aspect

147 *זיי נעמן/נעמען זיך לויפן zai némyñ zex loifn* 'They start running.' The inchoative expresses the beginning of an action/activity/event. It is formed by means of the verb *נעמן/נעמען זיך - וויך נעמן zex lit.* 'to take oneself' – used as an auxiliary verb – plus the infinitive of the verb in question.

The iterative aspect

148 *זיי האַלטן אין איין שרייבן zai haltn in ain sraabn* 'They keep writing': The iterative describes repetition or non-interruption of the verbal action. This aspect is formed by the verb *האַלט halt* plus *אין איין in ain*, followed by the infinitive of the verb in question.

The habitual aspect

149 *איך טו שרייבן ex tjj sraabn* 'I write': The habitual denotes habit, natural activity, occupation etc. more emphatically than the simple verb. This aspect is formed by the verb *טו tjj* 'do' – employed here as an auxiliary verb – plus the infinitive of the verb in question.¹

¹ This construction obviously does not correspond to the English one with *do*.

The past habitual aspect

150 **פֿלעגן שרײַבן אײך** *ex fléig sraabn* 'I used to write – be writing': The past habitual describes the action as recurring in the past. This aspect is formed by the auxiliary verb **פֿלעגן** *fléig* 'used to' plus the infinitive of the verb in question.

The causative aspect

151 **ער וועט דײך מאַכן זאָגן אַ לײנט** *er wét dex maxn zugn a lînt* 'He will make you tell a lie': The subject of the sentence causes somebody or something to perform an action. The causative consists of the verb **מאַך** *max* 'make' – plus the infinitive of the verb in question. See final remark above in para. 146.

152 Reflexive verbs

Present

1st pers. sg.	אײך לײגן מיך – זײך	<i>ex laig mex – zex</i>
2nd pers. sg.	דו לײגסט דײך – זײך	<i>dj laigst dex – zex</i>
3rd pers. sg.	ער – זי – סע לײגט זײך	<i>er – zi – sy laigt zex</i>
1st pers. pl.	מיר לײגן זײך	<i>mir laign zex</i>
2nd pers. pl.	איר – עץ לײגט אײך – זײך	<i>ir – éc laigt aax – zex</i>
3rd pers. pl.	זײ לײגן זײך	<i>zai laign zex</i>
Infinitive	זײך לײגן ¹	<i>zex laign¹</i>
Contemporal	לײגנדיק זײך	<i>laigndik zex</i>
Participle	זײך גילײגט – געלײגט ¹	<i>zex gylaigt¹</i>
Past	אײך האב מיך – זײך גילײגט/געלײגט	<i>ex (h)ob mex – zex gylaigt</i>
Future	אײך וועל מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>ex vel mex – zex laign</i>
Future Past	אײך וועל מיך – זײך האָבן גילײגט/געלײגט	<i>ex vel mex – zex (h)ubn gylaigt</i>
Imperative	לײגן דײך – זײך	<i>laig dex – zex</i>
Optative (a)	לאמיר זײך לײגן	<i>lomex zex laign</i>
Optative (b)	זאל אײך מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>zol ex mex – zex laign</i>
Permissive	אײך מעג מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>ex méig mex – zex laign</i>
Prohibitive	אײך טאָך מיך – זײך נישט לײגן	<i>ex tuur mex – zex ništ laign</i>
Obligative	אײך מוז מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>ex mjz mex – zex laign</i>
Necessitative (a)	אײך דאַרף מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>ex darf mex – zex laign</i>
Necessitative (b)	אײך קען מיך – זײך לײגן	<i>ex kéier mex – zex laign</i>
Conditional	אײך וואלט מיך – זײך גילײגט/געלײגט	<i>ex volt mex – zex gylaigt</i>

1 When this form constitutes an elliptical sentence – where there is no finite verb – the word order is, as a rule, reversed.

Past conditional	איך וואלט מיך - זיך גיזען גיליינט/געזען געליינט	<i>ex volt mex - zex gyvén gylaigt</i>
Perfective	איך לייג מיך - זיך אַנידער	<i>ex laig mex - zex anider</i>
Singulative	איך טו מיך - זיך אַ לייג	<i>ex tjj mex - zex a laig</i>
Inchoative	איך נעם מיך - זיך לייק זיך	<i>ex ném mex - zex laign zex</i>
Iterative	איך האַלט אַן איין לייק זיך	<i>ex halt in ain laign zex</i>
Habitual	איך טו מיך - זיך לייק	<i>ex tjj mex - zex laign</i>
Past Habitual	איך פֿלעג מיך - זיך לייק	<i>ex fléig mex - zex laign</i>
Causative	איך מאַך אים לייק זיך	<i>ex max ym laign zex</i>

153 The reflexive construction occurs in three semantic categories, and is used in all tenses, moods and aspects. It has no passive.

The real reflexive verb

154 איך בוק מיך - זיך *ex laig mex - zex* 'I lie down' ('I lay myself'), איך בוק מיך - זיך *ex bjk mex - zex* 'I bow' ('I bow myself'): The pronoun refers to the agent as being the direct object of the action denoted by the verb.

The psychological reflexive verb

155 איך פֿרײ מיך - זיך *ex frai mex - zex* 'I am glad': Here too, the pronoun is in the accusative but this does not represent any action by the agent on himself.

The ethic reflexive verb

156 איך טראַכט מיר *ex traxt mir* 'I think' ('to myself'), איך לאַך מיר *ex lax mir* 'I laugh' ('to myself'): The pronoun is in the ethic dative.

157 The passive voice

Present	איך ווער געהיילט/געהיילט	<i>ex véier gyhailt</i>
Infinitive	געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>gyhailt véiern</i>
Contemporal	געהיילט/געהיילט ווערנדיק	<i>gyhailt véierndik</i>
Participle	געהיילט גיזאָרן/געהיילט געזאָרן	<i>gyhailt gyvoorn</i>
Past	איך בין געהיילט גיזאָרן/געהיילט געזאָרן	<i>ex bin gyhails gyvoorn</i>
Pluperfect	איך בין געהאַט/געהאַט - גיזען/ געזען געהיילט גיזאָרן/געהיילט געזאָרן	<i>ex bin gyhas - gyvén gyhailt gyvoorn</i>
Future	איך וועל געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>ex vél gyhails véiern</i>
Future past	איך וועל זיין געהיילט גיזאָרן/געהיילט געזאָרן	<i>ex vél zaan gyhails gyvoorn</i>

Imperative	ווער געהיילט/געהיילט	<i>véier gyhailt</i>
Optative (a)	לאמיר געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>lomex gyhailt véiern</i>
Optative (b)	זאל איך געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>zol ex gyhailt véiern</i>
Permissive	איך מעג געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>ex méig gyhailt véiern</i>
Prohibitive	איך טאר נישט געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>ex tuur ništ gyhailt véiern</i>
Obligative	איך מוז געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>ex mjz gyhailt véiern</i>
Necessitative (a)	איך דארף געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	<i>ex darf gyhailt véiern</i>
Necessitative (b)	איך קער געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	
Conditional	איך וואלט געהיילט/געהיילט געוואָרן	
Past conditional	איך וואלט גיזען געהיילט גיזארן/געווען געהיילט געוואָרן	
Perfective	איך ווער אירס געהיילט/אירסגעהיילט	
Iterative	איך האָלט אין איר געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	
Past Habitual	איך פֿלעג געהיילט/געהיילט ווערן	

There is no singulative, inchoative, habitual, causative and reflexive in the passive voice. It is often avoided in favour of an active construction.

THE SECOND CONJUGATION: STRONG VERBS

158 The strong verbs differ from the weak in three respects: (a) The ending of the participle is *n*, not *t*; (b) the stem vowel has gradation; (c) in a number of strong verbs the auxiliary for the past is not האָב (*hob*) 'have' but the substantive verb, בִּין *bin* 'to be.'

There are ten classes of strong verbs. Some of those in Classes III, VI and VII undergo, in addition, changes in the consonants: /d > t/, zero > /g, n, ng/. The verbs in Class X are exceptional in that they have no gradation.

Note. Verbs which occur only with a prefix or in combination with an adverb, are listed alphabetically according to the original simplex (which has disappeared from the language), e.g., פֿאַרדרייַסן under 7. Certain verbs are listed in more than one class, in accordance with regional variations. In the same way some strong verbs are used weak regionally and this fact is then mentioned in the list. Verbs which form the past with 'be' are indicated by the word בִּין *bin* (where necessary: איר *iz*) in brackets.

However, in the pluperfect either auxiliary is in use, e.g., גיזען - געהאַט - גיזען
איר בִּין געהאַט - גיזען *ex bin gyhat - gyvén gyšlufn* 'I had slept, I had been asleep.'

First class: Gradation |ə| - |o|

159

באַרשט	<i>barsht</i> 'brush'	גיבארשטן/געבארשטן	<i>gyborishtn</i> ¹
פאַרדאַרב	<i>fardarb</i> 'corrupt'	פאַרדארבן	<i>fardorbfn</i>
דאַרף	<i>darf</i> 'require'	גידארפן/געדאַרפן	<i>gydorfn</i>
וואַקס	<i>vaks</i> 'grow'	גוואַקסן/געוואַקסן (בין)	<i>gyvoksn (bin)</i> ²
וואַרג	<i>varg</i> 'choke' (trans.)	גוואַרן/געוואַרן	<i>gyvorgfn</i>
וואַרף	<i>varf</i> 'throw'	גוואַרפן/געוואַרפן	<i>gyvorfn</i>
פאַרב	<i>farb</i> 'colour'	גיאַרבן/געפאַרבן	<i>gyforbn</i> ¹
שטאַרב	<i>starb</i> 'die'	גישטאַרבן/געשטאַרבן (בין)	<i>gystorbn (bin)</i>
שפּאַלט	<i>spalt</i> 'split'	גישפּאַלטן/געשפּאַלטן	<i>gyšpoltfn</i> ²

Second class: Gradation |é| - |o(o, uu)|

160

—	—	גיבאַרן/געבאַרן (בין)	<i>gybuarn</i> ² (<i>bin</i>) 'born'
בערשט	<i>bérsht</i> 'brush'	גיבארשטן/געבאַרשטן	<i>gyborishtn</i> ¹
ברעך	<i>bréx</i> 'break'	גיבראַכן/געבראַכן	<i>gybroxfn</i>
דרעש	<i>drésh</i> 'thresh'	גידראשן/געדרעשן	<i>gydroshfn</i>
העלף	<i>hélf</i> 'help'	גיהאלפן/געהאלפן	<i>gyholfn</i>
הענג	<i>héng</i> 'hang'	גיהאַנגן/געהאַנגען	<i>gyhongyn</i>
העפּט	<i>héft ous</i> 'embroider'	גיהאַפּטן/געהאַפּטן, אַרײַט	<i>gyhofitn, ous</i>
אַרײַט			
וועל	<i>vél</i> 'boil' (milk)	גוואַלן/געוואַלן	<i>gyvoln</i>
ווער אָן	<i>véier</i> 'become'	גוואַרן/געוואַרן (בין)	<i>gyvoorn (bin)</i>
ווער אָן	<i>véier uun</i> 'lose'	אָן גוואַרן/אָנגעוואַרן	<i>uun gyvuurn</i> ²
ווערג	<i>vérg</i> 'choke' (trans.)	גוואַרן/געוואַרן	<i>gyvorgfn</i>
טרעט	<i>tréit</i> 'tread'	גיסטראטן/געטרעטן (בין, האב)	<i>gytroitfn</i> ² (<i>bin, [h]ob</i>)
טרענק	<i>trénk</i> (reflex.) 'drown' (intrans.)	גיסראַנקן/געטראַנקען	<i>gytronkyn</i>
טרעף	<i>tréf</i> 'meet; guess'	גיסראפן/געטראפן	<i>gytrofn</i>
יערס	<i>iéiert</i> 'ferments'	גייאַרן/גייאַרן	<i>gyiuuern</i> ²
לעש	<i>lés</i> 'extinguish'	גילאַשן/געלאַשן	<i>gyloshfn</i>
מעלד	<i>méld</i> 'report'	גיםאַלדן/געמאַלדן	<i>gymoln</i>

1 Mostly weak.

2 Regional.

מעלק	<i>mélk</i> 'milk'	גימאלקן/געמאלקן	<i>gymolkn</i>
מעסט	<i>mést</i> 'measure'	גימאסטן/געמאסטן	<i>gymostn</i>
פלעכט	<i>fléxt</i> 'plait'	גילאכטן/געפלאכטן	<i>gyfloxtn</i>
קוועל	<i>kvél</i> 'feel great joy'	גיקוואלן/געקוואלן	<i>gykvoln</i>
קנעט	<i>knéit</i> 'knead'	גיקנאטן/געקנאטן	<i>gyknotn</i> ²
פאַרריכט	<i>farréxt</i> 'put right, mend'	פאַרראכטן	<i>farroxtn</i> ³
—	—	גישוואלן/געשוואלן (בין)	<i>gyšvoln (bin)</i> 'swollen'
שווער	<i>švéier</i> 'swear' (oath)	גישווארן/געשווארן	<i>gyšvuuern</i> ²
שחט	<i>šéxt</i> 'slaughter'	גיִשחטן – געשאכטן/געשאַכטן	<i>gyšoxtn</i>
שעכט			
שטעך	<i>štéx</i> 'prick'	גישטאכן/געשטאַכן	<i>gyštöxn</i>
שמעלץ	<i>šmélc</i> 'melt' 'smelt'	גישמאלצן/געשמאַלצן	<i>gyšmolcn (iz)</i> ([h]ot)
שעלט	<i>šélt</i> 'curse'	גישאלטן/געשאַלטן	<i>gyšöltn</i>
שער	<i>šéier</i> 'cut (by scissors), shear'	גישאַרן/געשאַרן	<i>gyšüuern</i> ²
שפרעך	<i>špréx up</i> 'exorcise'	אַפּ גישפראכן/אַפּגעשפראַכן	<i>up gyšproxn</i>
אַפּ			
שרעק	<i>šrék</i> 'frighten'	גישראקן/געשאַקן	<i>gyšrókn</i>

Third class: Gradation *i, ii – o (uu)*

161

גיס	<i>giis</i> 'pour' (liquid)	גינאסן/גענאַסן	<i>gygosn</i>
גילט	<i>gilt</i> 'is valid'	גינאלטן/גענאַלטן	<i>gygoltn</i>
פאַרדריסט	<i>fardriist</i> 'is vexed, annoyed'	פאַרדראסן	<i>fardrosn</i>
גיס	<i>niis</i> 'sneeze'	גינאסן/גענאַסן	<i>gynosn</i>
גיניס/געניס	<i>gyniis</i> 'is of use'	גינאסן/גענאַסן	<i>gynosn</i>
פּריר	<i>friier</i> 'freeze'	גיפּראַרן/געפּראַרן	<i>gyfriuern</i> ²
קריג	<i>krig</i> 'get'	גיקראַגן/געקראַגן	<i>gykrogn</i> ²
קריך	<i>kriiex</i> 'crawl'	גיקראַכן/געקראַכן (בין)	<i>gykroxn (bin)</i>
שיט	<i>šit</i> 'pour' (dry things)	גישאטן/געשאַטן	<i>gyšotn</i> ²
שילט	<i>šilt</i> 'curse'	גישאלטן/געשאַלטן	<i>gyšöltn</i>
שיס	<i>šiis</i> 'shoot'	גישאסן/געשאַסן	<i>gyšosn</i>
שליס	<i>šliis</i> 'close'	גישלאסן/געשלאַסן	<i>gyšlosn</i>
זיד	<i>ziid</i> 'boil'	גיזאטן/געזאַטן	<i>gyzotn</i>

3 Also weak.

Fourth class: Gradation *ei - oi*

162	—	גיבור(ע)ן/געבוירן (ווער)	<i>gyboiern (véier)</i> 'born'
	וועג	גיוויגן/געוויגן	<i>gyvoign</i>
	ווער אן	אן גיווי(ע)ן/אָגעוויירן	<i>uun gyvoiern</i>
	יערס	גיווי(ע)ן/געוויירן	<i>gyvoiern</i>
	באפעל	באפּוילן	<i>bafoiln</i>
	שווער	גישוואַר(ע)ן/געשוואירן	<i>gyšvoiern</i>
	שער	גישו(ע)ן/געשוירן	<i>gyšoien</i>
		'shear'	

Fifth class: Gradation *ai - oi*

163	בײַגן	גיוויגן/געבוּיגן	<i>gyboign</i>
	הײבן	גיוויבן/געוויבן	<i>gyhoibn</i>
	זײגן	גיוויגן/געזײגן	<i>gyzoign</i>

Sixth class: Gradation *ii - oi*

164		(a)	
	פאַרליירן	פאַרלו(ע)ן	<i>farloiern</i>
	פרייר	גפּרױ(ע)ן/געפּרױירן	<i>gyfroiern</i>
		(b)	
	פליי	גפּלױגן/געפּלױגן (ביק)	<i>gyfloign (bin)</i>
	צי	גצױגן/געצױגן	<i>gyzoign</i>

Seventh class: Gradation *i - j*

	ביל	גיובילן/געבילן	<i>gybiln¹</i>
	בינדן	גיובנדן/געבנדן	<i>gybjndn</i>
		גיובנין/געבנין	<i>gybjnyn</i>
	פאַרגין	פאַרגנין/פאַרגניען	<i>fargjnyn</i>
	דינג	גיודניגן/געדניגען	<i>gydjngyn</i>
	דרינג	גיודרינגן/געדרינגען	<i>gydrjngyn</i>
	הינק	גיוהינקן/געוהינקען	<i>gyhjnkyn</i>
	גיוויין/געוויין	גיווינין/געוויניען	<i>gyvjnyn</i>
		גיווינישן/געווינישען	<i>gyvjn'cn</i>
	הינק	גיווינקן/געווינקען	<i>gyvjnkyn</i>
	זינג	גיוזינגן/געזינגען	<i>gyzjngyn</i>
	—	אין גיוזינקן/אייגעזינקען (ווער)	<i>aan gyzjnkyn</i> 'sunk'

טרינק	<i>trink</i> 'drink'	גירטקין/געטרנקען	<i>gytrjnkyn</i>
לינק אויס	<i>link ous</i> 'sprain'	אויס גילונקין/אויסגעלותקען	<i>ous gyljnkyn</i>
גראַפֿן געפֿינדן	<i>gyfin</i> 'find'	גילונקין/געפונען	<i>gyljny</i>
צינד אָן	<i>cind uun</i> 'light'	אָן גיצנדן/אָנגעצנדן	<i>uum gycjndn</i>
קלינג	<i>kling</i> 'ring,' 'sound'	אָן גיצנדיק/אָנגעצנדיק	<i>uum gycjny</i>
ריןט	<i>rint</i> 'runs, flows'	גיקלונקין/געקלונגען	<i>gyljny</i>
שוימ	<i>svim</i> 'swim'	גירונקין/גערוניען (אויז)	<i>gyrjny (iz)</i>
—	—	גישוואַמיקן/געשוואַמען (ביז)	<i>gyšujmy (bin)</i>
		פֿאַרשוואַנדן/פֿאַרשוואַנדן (חזק)	<i>fartsvjndn (vlier)</i>
			'disappear'
שטינק	<i>stink</i> 'stink'	גישטונקין/געשטונקען	<i>gyštjnkyn</i>
שינד	<i>šind</i> 'skin'	גישנדן/געשנדן	<i>gyšjndn</i>
שלינג	<i>šling</i> 'swallow'	גישלונקין/געשלתגען	<i>gyšljny</i>
שפּין	<i>špin</i> 'spin'	גישפּנדיקן/געשפּנען	<i>gyšpjny⁴</i>
שפּרינג	<i>špring</i> 'spring'	גישפּרינגיקן/געשפּרינגען (ביז)	<i>gyšprjny (bin)</i>

Eighth class: Gradation aa - i

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באַיט	<i>baat</i> 'change'	גיביטן/געביטן	<i>gybitn</i>
באַיס	<i>baas</i> 'bite'	גיביסן/געביסן	<i>gybisen</i>
גלאַך	<i>glax</i> 'compare'	געלייכן/געלייכן (ביז)	<i>gygléxn (bin)⁵</i>
		געלייכטן/געלייכטן (ביז)	<i>gygléxnt (bin)</i>
וואַז	<i>vaaz</i> 'show'	גיזיין/געזיין	<i>gyvizn</i>
טראַיב	<i>traab</i> 'drive'	גיריבן/געטריבן	<i>gytribn</i>
קלאַפּן	<i>klaab</i> 'gather'	גיקליבן/געקליבן	<i>gyklibn</i>
קנאַפּ	<i>knaap</i> 'pinch'	גיקניפּן/געקניפּן	<i>gykniþn²</i>
ראַיב	<i>raab</i> 'rub'	גיריבן/געריבן	<i>gyribn</i>
ראַיט	<i>raat</i> 'ride on horseback'	גיריטן/געריטן	<i>gyritn</i>
ראַיס	<i>raas</i> 'tear'	גיריסן/געריסן	<i>gyrisn</i>
שוואַג	<i>švaag</i> 'be silent'	גישוויגן/געשוויגן	<i>gyšvign</i>
שמיטן	<i>šmaas</i> 'smite, thrash'	גישמיסן/געשמיסן	<i>gyšmisen</i>
טראַיב	<i>traab</i> 'write'	גיריבן/געריבן	<i>gyšribn</i>
		(b)	
זאַי	<i>zaa(i)</i> 'strain, sift'	גייזן/געזיין	<i>gyzign</i>
לאַי	<i>laa(i)</i> 'lend, borrow'	גילייכן/געלייכן	<i>gylign</i>
שפּיי	<i>špa(i)</i> 'spit'	גישפּיגן/געשפּיגן	<i>gyšpign</i>
שריי	<i>šraa(i)</i> 'shout'	גישרייגן/געשרייגן	<i>gyšrign</i>

4 Regionally weak.

5 If transitive, weak. *glax ous* 'straighten' is weak.

		(c)	
לייד	<i>laad</i> 'suffer'	גיליטן/געליטן	<i>gylitn</i>
מייד	<i>maad</i> 'avoid'	גימיטן/געמיטן	<i>gymitn</i> ²
שנייד	<i>snaad</i> 'cut'	גישניטן/געשניטן	<i>gysnitn</i>

Ninth class: Miscellaneous gradations

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גי	<i>gai</i> 'walk, go'	גיגאנגיין/געגאנגען (בין)	<i>gygangyn (bin)</i>
		גיגאן/געגאן (בין)	<i>gygan (bin)</i> ²
שטיי	<i>stai</i> 'stand'	גישטאניין/געשטאנען (בין)	<i>gystanyn (bin)</i>
קלויב	<i>kloub</i> 'gather'	גיקליבן/געקליבן	<i>gyklibn</i>
גיב	<i>gib</i> 'give'	גיגעבן/געגעבן	<i>gygeibn</i>
ליג	<i>lig</i> 'lie' (position)	גילעגן/געלעגן (בין)	<i>gyléign (bin)</i>
געב	<i>geb</i> 'give'	גיגעבן/געגעבן	<i>gygeibn</i>
לויף	<i>loif</i> 'run'	גילאפן/געלאפן (בין)	<i>gylofn (bin)</i>
לייכט	<i>laaxt</i> 'shine' (intrans.)	גילאכטן/געלאכטן	<i>gyloxtn</i> ¹
נעם	<i>ném</i> 'take'	גינאמן/גענומען	<i>gynjmyyn</i>
טו	<i>tjj</i> 'do'	גיטאן/געטאן	<i>gytuun</i> ⁶
זיץ	<i>zic</i> 'sit'	גיזעסן/געזעסן (בין)	<i>gyzész (bin)</i>

Tenth class: No gradation

167			
באד	<i>buud</i> (reflex.) 'take a bath'	גיבאדן/געבאדן	<i>gybuudn</i>
בלאז	<i>bluuz</i> 'blow'	גיבלאזן/געבלאזן	<i>gybluuzn</i>
בראט	<i>bruut</i> 'roast'	גיבראטן/געבראטן	<i>gybruutn</i>
לאד	<i>luud</i> 'sue'	גילאדן/געלאדן	<i>gyluudn</i>
מאָל	<i>muul</i> 'grind'	גימאָלן/געמאָלן	<i>gymuuln</i>
מאָל	<i>muul</i> 'paint'	גימאָלן/געמאָלן	<i>gymuuln</i> ³
פֿאַר	<i>fuur</i> 'ride'	גיפֿאַרן/געפֿאַרן (בין)	<i>gyfuurn (bin)</i>
גיראַט/נעראַט	<i>geruut</i> 'succeed'	גיראַטן/נעראַטן (איין)	<i>gyruutn (iz)</i>
		גיראַטן/נעראַטן אין	<i>gyruutn in</i> 'resembling'
גראָב	<i>grub</i> 'dig'	גיראַבן/געגראָבן	<i>gygrubn</i>
עוואַג	<i>coug</i> 'wash' (hair)	גיזוואַגן/געזוואַגן	<i>gyzougyn</i>
שאַב	<i>sub</i> 'scrape'	גישאַבן/געשאַבן	<i>gysubn</i>
שלאַג	<i>slug</i> 'beat, hit'	גישלאַגן/געשלאַגן	<i>gyslugn</i>
שלאַף	<i>sluf</i> 'sleep'	גישלאַפן/געשלאַפן (בין)	<i>gyslufn (bin)</i>

6 Regional. - Infinitive טאן *tuun*.

שטויס	<i>stois</i> 'push'	גישטויסן/געשטויסן	<i>gyštoisn</i>
קלויב	<i>kloub</i> 'gather'	גיכלויבן/געקלויבן	<i>gykloubn</i>
באק	<i>bak</i> 'bake'	גיבאקן/געבאקן	<i>gybakn</i>
האלט	<i>halt</i> 'hold'	גיהאלטן/געהאלטן	<i>gyhaltn</i>
וואקס	<i>vaks</i> 'grow'	גיוואקסן/געוואקסן (בין)	<i>gyvaksn (bin)</i>
וואש	<i>vas</i> 'wash'	גיוואשן/געוואשן	<i>gyvasn</i>
זאלץ	<i>zalc</i> 'salt'	גיוזאלצן/געזאלצן	<i>gyzalcn</i>
פאל	<i>fal</i> 'fall'	גיפאלן/געפאלן (בין)	<i>gyfaln (bin)</i>
שפאלט	<i>špalt</i> 'split'	גישפאלטן/געשפאלטן	<i>gyšpaltn</i>
הייס	<i>hais</i> 'be called; command'	גיהייסן/געהייסן	<i>gyhaisn</i>
טו	<i>tjj</i> 'do'	גיטון/געטון	<i>gytjtn</i>
רוף	<i>rjif</i> 'call'	גערופן/גערופן	<i>gyrjifn</i>
עס	<i>és</i> 'eat'	גיגעסן/געגעסן	<i>gygésn</i>
נעם	<i>ném</i> 'take'	גינעמן/גענעמען	<i>gynémyn²</i>
פֿרעס	<i>frés</i> 'eat' (of animals eating)	גיפֿרעסן/געפֿרעסן	<i>gyfrésn</i>
פֿאַרגעס	<i>fargés</i> 'forget'	גיפֿאַרגעסן	<i>fargésn</i>
גיפֿעל/געפֿעל	<i>gyfél</i> 'please'	גיפֿעלן/געפֿעלן (בין)	<i>gyféltn (bin)</i>
בֿעט	<i>béit</i> 'beg, ask'	גיבֿעטן/געבֿעטן	<i>gybéitn</i>
—	—	גיוועזן/געוועזן (בין)	<i>gyvéizn (bin)</i>
—	—	גיווען/געווען (בין)	<i>gyvéin (bin)</i>
זע	<i>zéi</i> 'see'	גיווען/געווען	<i>gyzéin</i>
טרעט	<i>tréit</i> 'tread'	גיטרעטן/געטרעטן	<i>gytréitn (intrans. bin, trans. (h)ob)</i>
—	—	גינעצן/גענעצן ווערן	<i>gynéizn véiern</i> 'recover' (from illness)
גישעט/געשעט	<i>gyšéit</i> 'happens'	גישען/געשען (איז)	<i>gyšéin (iz)</i>
גיב	<i>gib</i> 'give'	גיגיבן/געגיבן	<i>gygibn²</i>
קריג	<i>krig</i> 'get'	גיקריגן/געקריגן	<i>gykrign</i>
היט	<i>hiit</i> 'guard'	גיהיטן/געהיטן	<i>gyhiitn⁴</i>
טונק	<i>tjnk</i> 'dip'	גיטונקן/געטונקען	<i>gytjnkyn</i>
קום	<i>kjm</i> 'come'	גיקומין/געקומען (בין)	<i>gykjmyn (bin)</i>

Alphabetical list of strong verbs¹

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5 בייג	I פֿאַרשט	IO באָד
8 בייט	גיבוי(ע)רן/געבוירן 4, 2	IO באַק

1 The figures indicate the class. The figures beyond 10 indicate numbered paragraphs in the text.

מאָל (בי) 10	גזוזן/געזוזן 7	בייס 8
מייד 8	חינטש 7	ביל 7
מעלד 2	חינק 7	בין 126
מעלק 2	חזען 4	בינד 7
מעסט 2	גזוזן/געזעזן 126	בלאָז 10
	גזוזן/געזעזן 126	בלייב 8
ניס 3	חזער 2	בעט 10
ניס/געניס 3	חזער אָן 4	בערשט 2
ניצן/געניצן 10		בראָט 10
נעם 9	זאלן 10	ברעך 2
	אין גזוזן/איינגעזוזקען 7	
עס 10	זיד 3	גיב 10, 9
	זיי 8	גיי 9
פאל 10	זיין 5	גילט 3
פאָר 10	זיין 126	פאָרנין 7
פארב 1	זינג 7	גיס 3
פאָר/געפאָרן 7	זיין 10, 9	גלייך 8
פלי 6	זען 10	געב 9
פליעכט 2		פאָרנעס 10
פליעל/געפליעל 10	זו 10	פאָרב 10
פאָפּל 4	זתק 10	
פאָריר 6, 3	טרייב 8	פאָרדארב 1
	טרינק 7	דינג 7
צוזאָג 10	טרעט 10, 2	דרינג 7
ציי 6	טרענק 2	פאָרדריסט 3
צינד אָן 7	טרעף 2	דרעש 2
קועל 2	יָרס 4, 2	
קום 10	לאָד 10	האַלט 10
קלייב 10, 9	לאז 10	היס 10
קלייב 8	לויף 9	הייב 5
קלייב 7	ליג 9	הינק 7
קלייב 8	ליי 8	העלף 2
קעגן 10, 2	לייד 8	הענג 2
קריי 10, 3	לייכט 9	העסט 2
קרייך 3	לינק אויס 7	
	פאָרלייך 6	האַקס 10
גראָט/געראָט 10	לעש 2	האַרג 1
רוף 10		האַרף 1
		האַש 10
		היסו 8
	מאָל (אי) 10	

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שנייד 8
 גישעט/געשעט 10
 שעכט 2
 שעלט 2
 שפּר 4, 2
 שטאלט 10, 1
 שפּיי 8
 שפּין 7
 שפּריע 7
 שטרעך אָס 2
 שרייב 8
 שרייב 8
 שרעק 2

שחט 2
 שטאַרב 1
 שטאַיס 10
 שטיי 9
 שטינק 7
 שטעך 2
 שילט 3
 שיט 3
 שלאַג 10
 שלינג 7
 שליס 3
 שמייס 8
 שמעלץ 2

רייב 8
 רייט 8
 רייס 8
 באַרריכט 2
 רינט 7
 שאַב 10
 באַשאַף 10
 באַרשאַאנדן/באַרשאַאנדן,
 ופּר 7
 שוויג 8
 שוויים 7
 שוּפּר 4, 2

Baas 8
 baat 8
 baig 5
 bak 10
 barit 1
 béit 10
 bérst 2
 bil 7
 bind 7
 blaab 8
 bluuz 10
 gyboiern 4
 brés 2
 bruut 10
 buud 10
 Cii 6
 cind uun 7
 cvug 10
 fardarb 1
 ding 7
 drés 2
 fardriist 3
 dring 7

Éf 10
 Fal 10
 farb 1
 basfil 4
 gyfin 7
 fléxt 2
 flüi 6
 friier 3, 6
 suu(e) 10
 Gai 9
 géb 9
 fargés 10
 gib 9, 10
 gilt 3
 giis 3
 fargin 7
 glaax 8
 grub 10
 Haib 5
 halt 10
 héft ous 2
 hélf 2

héng 2
 hiit 10
 hink 7
 léi(e)yt 2, 4
 Kjm 10
 klaab 8
 kling 7
 kloub 9, 10
 knaap 8
 knéit 2, 10
 krig 3, 10
 kriicx 3
 kvél 2
 Laa(i) 8
 laad 8
 laaxt 9
 léi 2
 lig 9
 farliier 6
 link ous 7
 loif 9
 loz 10
 luud 10

<i>Maad</i> 8	<i>šilt</i> 3	<i>traab</i> 8
<i>méld</i> 2	<i>šliis</i> 3	<i>tréf</i> 2
<i>mélk</i> 2	<i>šling</i> 7	<i>tréit</i> 2, 10
<i>mést</i> 2	<i>šluf</i> 10	<i>trénk</i> 2
<i>muul^a</i> 10	<i>šlug</i> 10	<i>trink</i> 7
<i>muul^b</i> 10	<i>šmaas</i> 8	
	<i>šmélc</i> 2	<i>Vaaz</i> 8
<i>gynéizn (véier)</i> 10	<i>šnaad</i> 8	<i>vaks</i> 10
<i>ném</i> 9, 10	<i>špaa(i)</i> 8	<i>varf</i> 1
<i>niis</i> 3	<i>špin</i> 7	<i>varg</i> 1
<i>gyniis</i> 3	<i>špréx up</i> 2	<i>vas</i> 10
	<i>spring</i> 7	<i>véier</i> 2
<i>Raab</i> 8	<i>šraa(i)</i> 8	<i>véier um</i> 4, 2
<i>raas</i> 8	<i>šraab</i> 8	<i>véig</i> 4
<i>raat</i> 8	<i>šrék</i> 2	<i>vél</i> 2
<i>farréxt</i> 2, 3	<i>štai</i> 9	<i>gvoim</i> 7
<i>rint</i> 7	<i>štarb</i> 1	<i>vimé</i> 7
<i>rjff</i> 10	<i>štéx</i> 2	<i>vink</i> 7
<i>gyruut</i> 10	<i>štink</i> 7	
	<i>štois</i> 10	<i>Zaa(i)</i> 8
<i>Bašaf</i> 10	<i>šub</i> 10	<i>zaig</i> 5
<i>šcier</i> 2, 4	<i>švaag</i> 8	<i>zalc</i> 10
<i>gyséit</i> 10	<i>švélier</i> 2, 4	<i>zéi</i> 10
<i>šélt</i> 2	<i>švoim</i> 7	<i>zic</i> 9, 10
<i>šéxt</i> 2	<i>šaršvymdn (véier)</i> 7	<i>ziid</i> 3
<i>šiiis</i> 3	<i>Tjj</i> 10	<i>zing</i> 7
	<i>tjnk</i> 10	<i>gzyjnkyn, aan</i> 7

Alphabetical list of strong participles

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ביגע	ביגע	ביגע
בראכן 2	בתוך 7	באָרן 10
באלטן 3	בתוך/בתען 7	באָקן 10
באָן 9	ביטן 8	באָרן 2
באַנגן/באַנגען 9	ביסן 8	באַרשטן 2, 1
באָסן 3	בלאָזן 10	בויגן 5
פאַררענן/פאַררענען 7	בעטן 10	בוי(ע)רן 4
ריבן 10	בראָטן 10	בולן 7

ג/גע	ג/גע	ג/גע
מאלדן 2	ווען 126	גליכן 8
מאלן(א) 10	ווען 126	גליכנט 8
מאלן(ב) 10		געבן 10, 9, 9
מאלק 2	זאטן 3	געסן 10
מאסטן 2	זאלצן 10	גראָבן 10
מיטן 8	זויגן 5	פֿאַרדארבן 1
	זגען/זגענען 7	דארפֿן 1
נאסן (ניס) 3	זתקען/זתקען, 7	דענען/דענען 7
נאסן (ניס/נעיס) 3	איין/איינ 7	דראשן 2
נמקן/נמען 9	זיגן 8	דרענען/דרענען 7
נעזן, (ווער) 10	זיצן 10	פֿאַרדראסן 3
נעמקן/נעמען 10	זען 10	
	זעסן 9	האַלטן 10
פֿאלן 10		האַלפֿן 2
פֿאַרן 10	טאָן 9	האַנען/האַנען 2
פֿאַרבן 1	טאן 10	האַפֿטן, אַרײַס 2
פֿאַרפֿילן 4	טתקען/טתקען 10	פֿאַרהאַפֿטן, זיך 2
פֿתקן/פֿתען 7	טראסן 2	הויבן 5
פֿלאכטן 2	טראנקען/טראַנקען 2	התקען/התקען 7
פֿלירן 6	טראפֿן 2	הײַסן 10
פֿעלן 10	טרתקען/טרתקען 7	
פֿאַררן 3	טריבן 8	האַוּיגן 4
פֿאַרפֿאַרן 6	טרעסן 10	האַוּי(ע)רן, אָן 4
פֿאַרעסן 10		האַנטשן 7
	יאָרן 2	האַנען/האַנען 7
צוּיגן 6	זי(ע)רן 4	האַתקען/האַתקען 7
צתדן, צתקן/צתען, 7		האַלן 2
אַז/אַז 7	לאָדן 10	האַקסן 10
	לאזן 10	האַקסן 1
קחאלן 2	לאכטן 9	האַרבן 2, 1
קומקן/קומען 10	לאפֿן 9	האַרן 2
קלויבן 10	לאשן 2	האַרן, אָן 2
קלתקען/קלתען 7	פֿאַרלוי(ע)רן 6	האַשן 10
קליבן 9, 8	לתקען/לתקען, 7	הייגן 4
קאטן 2	אַרײַס 7	הירן, אָן 4
קניפֿן 8		התען 7
קראגן 3	ליגן 8	התקען 7
קראכן 3	ליטן 8	הײַזן 8
קריגן 10	ליעגן 9	

	ג'רע	ג'רע	ג'רע
	שלעפן 10	שחאמין 4	רעפן 10
	שלוגן/שלוגען 7	שחאלן 2	עארראכטן 2
	שמייסן 8	שחאוי(ע)רן 4	רתיך/רתיגען 7
	שניסן 8	שחערן 2	רופן 10
	שען/שען 10	שחירן 4	ריבן 8
	שפאלטן 10	שחזמען 7	ריסן 8
	שפאלטן 1	שחיק 8	ריסן 8
	שפתן/שפתען 7	שוי(ע)רן 8	שאבן 10
	שפיגן 8	שחסן 2	שאתן 3
	שפראכן, אפ 2	שטאכן 2	שאכטן 2
	שפרוטיגן/שפרוגען 7	שטענדיג/שטאנען 9	שאלטן 3, 2
	שראקן 2	שטארבן 1	שאסן 3
	שרומפן, איין/איין 10	שטויסן 10	באשאפן 10
	שריבן 8	שטתקיך/שטתקען 7	שארן 2
	שריקן 8	שלאגן 10	
<i>Gybakn</i> 10		<i>djng yn</i> 7	<i>gang yn</i> 9
<i>béitn</i> 10		<i>fardorbn</i> 1	<i>gáibn</i> 9, 9
<i>bisn</i> 8		<i>dorfn</i> 1	<i>fargésn</i> 10
<i>bitn</i> 8		<i>drjng yn</i> 7	<i>gibn</i> 10
<i>bjln</i> 7		<i>fardrobn</i> 3	<i>fargjnyn</i> 7
<i>bjndn</i> 7		<i>drobn</i> 2	<i>gléxn</i> 10
<i>bjm yn</i> 7			<i>gléxnt</i> 10
<i>blibn</i> 8		<i>gésn</i> 10	<i>goln</i> 3
<i>bluuzn</i> 10			<i>gosn</i> 3
<i>boiern</i> 4		<i>faln</i> 10	<i>grubn</i> 10
<i>boign</i> 5		<i>fáln</i> 10	
<i>borstn</i> 1, 2		<i>fjnyn</i> 7	<i>haltn</i> 10
<i>brozn</i> 2		<i>floign</i> 6	<i>hiitn</i> 10
<i>bruutn</i> 10		<i>floxtn</i> 2	<i>hjnkn yn</i> 7
<i>buudn</i> 10		<i>bafoiln</i> 4	<i>hofin, ous</i> 2
<i>buuern</i> 2		<i>forbn</i> 1	<i>bahofin</i> 2
		<i>frésn</i> 10	<i>hoibn</i> 5
<i>cjndn, uun</i> 7		<i>froiern</i> 6	<i>holfn</i> 2
<i>cjm yn, uun</i> 7		<i>fruuern</i> 3	<i>hong yn</i> 2
<i>coign</i> 6		<i>fuuern</i> 10	
<i>cvugn</i> 10		<i>gán</i> 9	<i>ioiern</i> 4
			<i>iuuern</i> 2

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<i>kjmyn</i> 10	<i>ribn</i> 8	<i>farvtjndn, véier</i> 7
<i>klibn</i> 8, 9	<i>risn</i> 8	<i>foiern</i> 4
<i>kljngyn</i> 7	<i>ritn</i> 8	<i>fooln</i> 3
<i>kloubn</i> 10	<i>rjnyn</i> 7	<i>foouern</i> 2
<i>knéitn</i> 10	<i>farroxtn</i> 2	
<i>knipn</i> 8	<i>ruutn</i> 10	
<i>knotn</i> 2		<i>tijn</i> 10
<i>krign</i> 10		<i>tjnknyn</i> 10
<i>krogn</i> 3	<i>bašafn</i> 10	<i>tréitn</i> 10
<i>krozn</i> 3	<i>téin</i> 10	<i>tribn</i> 8
<i>kvoln</i> 2	<i>šljngyn</i> 7	<i>trjnknyn</i> 8
	<i>šlosn</i> 3	<i>trofn</i> 2
	<i>šlufn</i> 10	<i>tronknyn</i> 2
<i>léign</i> 9	<i>šlugn</i> 10	<i>trotn</i> 2
<i>lign</i> 8	<i>šmisn</i> 8	<i>tuun</i> 9
<i>litn</i> 8	<i>šmolcn</i> 2	
<i>ljnkyn, ous</i> 7	<i>šnitn</i> 8	<i>vaksn</i> 10
<i>loxtn</i> 9	<i>šoiern</i> 4	<i>vašn</i> 10
<i>lofn</i> 9	<i>šoltn</i> 2, 3	<i>vizn</i> 8
<i>farloiern</i> 6	<i>šosn</i> 3	<i>vjnknyn</i> 7
<i>lošn</i> 2	<i>šotn</i> 3	<i>vjnyn</i> 7
<i>lozn</i> 10	<i>šoxtn</i> 2	<i>voiern, uun</i> 4
<i>luudn</i> 10	<i>špaltn</i> 10	<i>voign</i> 4
	<i>špign</i> 8	<i>voksn</i> 1
<i>mitn</i> 8	<i>špjnyn</i> 7	<i>voln</i> 2
<i>molcn</i> 2	<i>špoltn</i> 1	<i>voorn</i> 2
<i>molkn</i> 2	<i>šprjngyn</i> 7	<i>vorfn</i> 1
<i>mostn</i> 2	<i>šprozn, up</i> 2	<i>vorgn</i> 1, 2
<i>muuln^(a)</i> 10	<i>šribn</i> 8	<i>vuurn, uun</i> 2
<i>muuln^(b)</i> 10	<i>šrign</i> 8	
	<i>šrokn</i> 2	<i>zalcn</i> 10
<i>néizn, véier</i> 10	<i>štany</i> 9	<i>zéin</i> 10
<i>némyn</i> 10	<i>štjnknyn</i> 7	<i>zéšn</i> 9
<i>njmyn</i> 9	<i>štoisn</i> 10	<i>zicn</i> 10
<i>nosn^(a)</i> 3	<i>štorbn</i> 1	<i>zign</i> 8
<i>nosn^(b)</i> 3	<i>štozn</i> 2	<i>zjngyn</i> 7
	<i>šubn</i> 10	<i>zoign</i> 5
<i>rjjfn</i> 10	<i>šuuern</i> 2	<i>zotn</i> 3
	<i>švign</i> 8	<i>zjnknyn, aan</i> 7
	<i>šujmyn</i> 7	

THE PERIPHRASTIC VERBS: THE THIRD CONJUGATION

אין *bin* + Invariable

170 מוחל אין *ex bin moisl* 'I forgive': This conjugation is formed by the combination of an invariable element and the substantive verb as an auxiliary.

Infinitive	מוחל זײַן	<i>moisl zaan</i>
Contemporal	מוחל ווײַענדיק	<i>moisl zaa(i)yndik</i>
Participle	מוחל גיזען/געזען	<i>moisl gyvén</i>
Past	איך האב מוחל גיזען/געזען	<i>ex (h)ob moisl gyvén</i>
Pluperfect	איך האב געהאט מוחל גיזען/געזען מוחל געזען	<i>ex (h)ob gyhat moisl gyvén</i>
Future	איך וועל מוחל זײַן	<i>ex vel moisl zaan</i>
Future past	איך וועל האָבן מוחל גיזען/געזען	<i>ex vel hubn moisl gyvén</i>
Imperative	ווי מוחל	<i>zaa moisl</i>
Optative (a)	לאמך מוחל זײַן	<i>lomex moisl zaan</i>
Optative (b)	ואל איך מוחל זײַן	<i>zol ex moisl zaan</i>
Permissive	איך מעג מוחל זײַן	<i>ex méig moisl zaan</i>
Prohibitive	איך טאר נישט מוחל זײַן	<i>ex tuur níst moisl zaan</i>
Obligative	איך מוז מוחל זײַן	<i>ex miz moisl zaan</i>
Necessitative	איך דארף מוחל זײַן	<i>ex darf moisl zaan</i>
Conditional	איך וואלט מוחל גיזען/געזען	<i>ex volt moisl gyvén</i>
Past Conditional	איך וואלט גיזען/געזען מוחל געזען	<i>ex volt gyvén moisl gyvén</i>
Past Habitual	ער פלעג מוחל זײַן	<i>ex fléig moisl zaan</i>

Reflexive

Real Reflexive	איך בין מיך - ויך מטרייח	<i>ex bin mex - zex matriiex</i> 'take trouble'
Psychological Reflexive	איך בין מיך - ויך טועה	<i>ex bin mex - zex toiy</i> 'I am making a mistake, I am mistaken'
Infinitive	ויך טועה זײַן	<i>zex toiy zaan</i> or
Contemporal	טועה ווײַענדיק ויך	<i>toiy zaan zex</i>
Participle	ויך טועה ווײַענדיק	<i>toiy zaa(i)yndik</i> or
	ויך טועה גיזען/געזען	<i>zex toiy gyvén</i> or
	טועה גיזען/געזען ויך	<i>toiy gyvén zex</i>

Past	איך האב מיד - זיך טועה גיחזקן/געזעהן	<i>ex (h)ob mex - zex toiy gyvéim</i>
Pluperfect	איך האב מיד - זיך גיהאטן/געהאט טועה גיחזקן/געזעהן	<i>ex (h)ob mex - zex gyhat toiy gyvéim</i>
Future	איך וועל מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>ex vél mex - zex toiy zaan</i>
Future past	איך וועל מיד - זיך האבן טועה גיחזקן/געזעהן	<i>ex vél - zex mex (h)ubn toiy gyvéim</i>
Imperative	זיי דיך - זיך טועה	<i>zaa(i) dex - zex toiy</i>
Optative (a)	לאמיר זיך טועה זיין	<i>lomex zex toiy zaan</i>
Optative (b)	ואל איך מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>zol ex mex - zex toiy zaan</i>
Permissive	איך מעג מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>ex méig mex - zex toiy zaan</i>
Prohibitive	איך טאר מיד - זיך נישט טועה זיין	<i>ex tuur mex - zex níst toiy zaan</i>
Obligative	איך מוז מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>ex miz mex - zex toiy zaan</i>
Necessitative	איך דארף מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>ex darf mex - zex toiy zaan</i>
Conditional	איך וואלט מיד - זיך טועה גיחזקן/געזעהן	<i>ex volt mex - zex toiy gyvéim</i>
Past conditional	איך וואלט מיד - זיך גיחזקן/געזעהן טועה גיחזקן/געזעהן	<i>ex volt mex - zex gyvéim toiy gyvéim</i>
Past habitual	איך פליעג מיד - זיך טועה זיין	<i>ex fléig mex - zex toiy zaan</i>

Note: This conjugation must not be confused with constructions like *איך בין גליקלעך* *ex bin gliklex* 'I am happy,' i.e., substantive verb plus adjective. The invariable element of the third conjugation - historically a Hebrew participle - is not used as an adjective. This is evident in two ways. If it were an adjective, the construction of the past tense would not be, e.g., *ער האט מוחל גיחזקן/געזעהן* *er (h)ot moixl gyvéim* he forgave - has forgiven but *ער איז גיחזקן/געזעהן מוחל* *er iz gyvéim moixl* or *ער איז מוחל גיחזקן/געזעהן* *er iz moixl gyvéim*, on the model of *ער איז גיחזקן/געזעהן גליקלעך* *er iz gyvéim gliklex* or *ער איז גליקלעך גיחזקן/געזעהן* *er iz gliklex gyvéim* 'he was - has been happy': The normal auxiliary 'to have' is employed, on the model of, e.g., *ער האט פארטייטשט* *er (h)ot fartaacít* 'he translated - has translated,' and not the auxiliary 'to be.' Secondly, the non-verbal element cannot be inflected: it would not be possible to say *ער איז א מוחלער* *er iz a moixeler* 'he forgives' (lit. 'is a forgiver') or *ער איז א גליקלעכער* *er iz a gliklexer* 'he is happy,' which is a frequent construction.

THE PERIPHRASTIC VERBS: THE FOURTH CONJUGATION

ווער *Véier* + Invariable

171 *איך ווער נעילם* *ex véier néilym* 'I disappear,' *איך ווער מירבל* *ex véier myrjlbl* 'I become confused': This conjugation is formed by the combination of an uninflected element with the auxiliary *ווער* *véier* 'become.' The verbs of the fourth conjugation are inflected like the passive voice of the simple verb.

This conjugation denotes a change of a state or condition (see the above examples). Hence, some of these verbs function as a passive to a verb of the third conjugation, e.g., *בין מבלבל bin myvalbl* 'confuse.'

These compound verbs must not be confused with constructions formed from an adjective plus the auxiliary *ווער veyer* 'become,' e.g., *ווער גליקלעך veyer gliklex* 'become happy.' For although the uninflected element of the verbs of the fourth conjugation – *נעלם néilym*, *מבולבל myvjlbl* – originates in a Hebrew participle, it cannot function as an adjective: there is no such form as *א נעלמער מענטש a* néilymer ménté* 'a vanished person' nor can such an adjective become a noun – there is no such form as *דער נעלמער der* néilymer* 'the vanished one.'

FORMATION OF VERBS

172 Non-primary verbs are derived from words of other word classes by the following means.

1. From nouns

A. In unchanged form

173 *טאגט tugt* 'becomes day,' *זוולם xuulym* 'to dream,' *לעכער léxer* 'make holes' from *לעכער léxer*, the plural of *לאך lox* 'hole': The noun is taken over unchanged.

B. In changed form

(a) By umlaut

קעפ káp 'behead,' from *קאפ kop* 'head': The noun undergoes umlaut.

(b) By suffix

טעליפאניר/טעליפאניר télyfoniir 'to telephone': The suffix *יר iir* takes the stress. *קאלאניזיר koloniziiir* 'colonize': The final syllable of the double suffix *iziiir* 'ise/ize' takes the stress. *בעל-בתיחזע/בעל-הבתעזע balbatyvy* 'act as the owner' from *בעל-בתיים/בעל-בתיים balbatym*, the plural of *בעל-בית/בעל-הבית balbuus* 'master of the house; owner,' minus the plural ending (representing as it were the stem). The suffix *עזע/עזע vyv* is combined with the unchanged form of the noun. *רייכער raiixer* 'to smoke' from *רויך roi(e)x* 'smoke': Here we have the suffix *ער er* in combination with umlaut.

II. From adjectives

A. In unchanged form

174 *זיך - זיך stark mex - zex* 'control oneself,' *ווארם/ווארם várym* 'to warm': The adjective is used in unchanged form. *ווערן העכער héxer* 'to increase, raise,' *זיך - זיך éltér mex - zex* 'grow old': The comparative form of the adjective is used.

B. In changed form

(a) By Umlaut

וּדְ *grais mex - zex* 'pride oneself' from גְרוֹיִם *grois* 'great,' לִיטער *laater* 'clear up, purify,' from לויטער *louter* 'clear, pure': The adjective undergoes umlaut.

(b) By prefix

סאַרזײס *farziis* 'sweeten,' סאַרביטער *farbiter* 'embitter,' באַשיין *bašain* 'adorn': The adjective is unchanged but a prefix has been added. סאַרגרינגער *fargringer* 'lighten, make easy,' סאַרבאַסער *farbeser* 'improve': The comparative form of the adjective is used.

סאַרקריים *farkrim* 'distort' from קרום *krjm* 'crooked: wrong': The adjective undergoes umlaut.

(c) By suffix

רייניק *rainik* 'to clean, cleanse': The adjective is unchanged but a suffix has been added.

וּדְ *raitl mex - zex* 'blush': The adjective undergoes umlaut and a suffix is added.

III. From roots

טאַנע *xanfy* 'flatter,' טאַנע/טענע *taany* 'argue,' from the Hebrew roots טַנַּן *ṭnp* and טַעַן *ṭn*: These are in Yiddish realised as CaCC functioning as a stem.

IV. Onomatopoeic verbs

האַוקע *havky* 'yelp, yap,' נַקע *njky* 'to say njj' (= 'well?'): The suffix of onomatopoeic verbs is קע *ky*.

IV. From verbs

175 Verbs are derived from other verbs with the aid of prefixes. See Prefixed Verbs (122).

Adverbs

(1)

אַוועק *avék* 'away,' אויס *ous* 'out,' אומיסטן *jmistn* 'on purpose,' אזוי *azoi* 'so,' אָן *un* 'on,' אַנידער *anider* 'down,' אָפּ *up* 'off,' אָפט *oft* 'often,' אַרױם *arjm* 'around,' דאָ *duu* 'here,' דארטן *dortn* 'there,' הײ *hii* 'here (in this town/village)' etc.

(2)

גוט *gjt* 'well,' שיין *šain* 'beautiful,' לאַנג *lang* 'long,' צױלעמט/צעלעמט *cjflamt* 'flaming': Adjectives and participles, in their uninflected form, serve as adverbs.

(3)

180(a) ינגערהייט *ijngerhait* 'being young' ברומזערהייט *broigzyzerhait* 'being angry - cross,' פארטראכטערהייט *fartraxterhait* 'in thought,' שמייטעסנדיקערהייט *smjjsndikerhait* 'while talking': The suffix ערהייט *erhait* forms adverbs from adjectives, participles and contemporals.

(b) מתנתותיין *maxnysvaaz* 'in swarms, in groups,' מידלחייך *maidlvaaz* 'when she was a girl': The suffix *vaaz* forms adverbs from nouns.

(4)

181 ער פארט א גאנצן טאג - א גאנצע וואך - א גאנץ יאר - א היפּשן מהלך *Er fuuert a gancn tug - a gancy vox - a ganc iuuer - a hipsn mehalax* 'He travels a - the whole day - week - year - a considerable distance': The accusative functions as the adverbial case.

Prepositions

182 Simple prepositions: אונטער *jnter* 'under, below, behind'; איבער *iber* 'over, above'; מיט *mit* 'with,' נאך *nuux* 'after'; פאר *far* 'for'; פון *fjn* 'from, of,' צווישן *cuissn - צישן* *cuissn* 'between' etc.

183 Compound prepositions: פון אונטער *fjn jnter* 'from under, below, behind'; מיט יארן צוריק *mit iuuern cjrik* 'years ago.' Compound prepositions are combinations of prepositions with adverbs.

184 דעריבער *deriber* 'therefore,' דערבײַ *derbaa* 'next to,' דערמיט *dermit* 'there-with, with that' דערנאך *dernuux* 'after that,' דערפון *derfjn* 'therefrom': A combination of the prefix דער *der* with a preposition is often used instead of the group preposition + the demonstrative דעם *déim* (dative) 'this' - איבער דעם *iber déim* 'therefore.' Not all prepositions are treated in this way.

Conjunctions

185 Co-ordinating conjunctions: און *fn* 'and,' אויך - אויך *oux - oix* 'also, too,' דערנאך *dernuux* 'after that,' ליסוף *lysof* 'in the end,' ס'דירן *saadn* 'unless,' אי-אי *ii-ii* '... as well,' נאר *nor* 'but,' אבער *ober* 'but,' פון דעסט וועגן *fjn dést véign* 'in spite of it,' וואָרן *vuurn* 'for' (because), דעריבער *deriber* 'therefore,' בֶּקֶן *bexén* 'therefore,' etc.

186 Subordinating conjunctions: אז *az* 'when; that,' אויב *oib* 'if,' זינט *zimt* 'since,' כאטש *xoc* 'although,' קל-זמן *kol-zman* 'as long as,' etc.

Syntax

The Statement Sentence

187(a) די זון שיינט *Di zjn saant* 'The sun is shining': The normal word order is subject – predicate.

THE PREDICATE

(b) די זון האט גשיינט/געשיינט *Di zjn (h)ot gysaant* 'The sun shone – was shining': When the predicate is a verb, the finite follows immediately on the subject.

(c) די שטאָט איז גרויס *Di stuuט iz grois* 'The town is big': When the predicate consists of the substantive verb plus a predicative, and the latter is an adjective, then this remains uninflected.

(d) די שטאָט איז אַ גרויסע *di stuuט iz a groisy* 'The town is big/a big one': But the adjective is inflected if it is preceded by the (indefinite) article. די שטאָט איז די גרעסטע אין גאנצן לאַנד *Di stuuט iz di grésty in gancn land* 'The town is the biggest in the whole country': When the adjective is a superlative the definite article is used.

(e) ער איז עפּיט/עפּעס נישט מיט אַלימין/אַלעמען *Er iz épys nst mit alymym* 'He isn't up to the mark': The words דאָס *dus* 'this, that', עפּיט/עפּעס *épyס* 'something' or עס *es* 'it,' when added to the predicate, qualify it in a vague way.

(f) ער איז גיזארן/געזארן אָן אַפטייקער *Er iz gyvoorn an aptaiker* 'He became a pharmacist': When the verb form is periphrastic, the predicate normally follows it.

(g) זיין אַ בעל-מלאכה *Vést zaan a bal-meluxy* 'You will be an artisan': Occasionally the second person singular of the personal pronoun is omitted.

(h) ס'איז דאָ אזוינע *S iz duu azoimy* 'There are such people': It sometimes happens that the predicate does not agree with the subject, the latter being a plural and the predicate a singular.

(i) זיי פֿרעגן איינער ביים אנדערן *Zai fréign ainer baam andern* 'They ask each other': On the other hand, the constructio ad sensum is not rare – the predicate is in the plural although the subject is in the singular.

(j) זיינעל און זיין שוואַגער דאַרפֿן היינט פֿאַרן *Zaanvel jn zaan svuger darfn haant fuuern* 'Zaanvel and his brother-in-law have to leave today' (by train, car etc.): In a compound sentence with several subjects in the singular, the predicate is in the plural.

(k) דער שוואַגער מיט דער שוויגער דאַרפֿן היינט פֿאַרן *Der svogier mit der sviger darfn haant fuuern* 'The father-in-law and the mother-in-law have to leave today': Here, *jn* is replaced by a preposition (מיט *mit*).

(l) ער איז דארטן גיבליבן/געבליבן און גילאַכט/געלאַכט *Ez iz dortn gyblibn jn gylaxt* 'He remained there and laughed': In a composite sentence, when one of its predicates forms the past with 'have' and the other with 'be', the auxiliary of the second predicate is sometimes omitted, notwithstanding the discrepancy.

THE OBJECT

The direct object

188(a) ער נעמט דאָס בערשטל *Er némt dus berstl* 'He takes the brush': The direct object is placed after the predicate.

(b) זי וועט וואַשן די העמדער *Zi vét vashn di hémdער* 'She will wash the shirts': When the verb form is periphrastic, the object normally follows the last part of the verb.

(c) מענטשן וועלן אים נישט פֿאַרשטיין *Ménshn vél'n ym nisht farstain* 'People will not understand him'; מ'האט זיך גילאַכט/געלאַכט *M ot zex gyfrait* 'The people were glad': But when the object is a pronoun, especially a personal or reflexive one, it follows immediately on the finite part of the verb.

(d) איך הייב אָן צו פֿאַרשטיין *Ex haib uun cj farstain* 'I am beginning to understand': When the object is a verb, the infinitive with *צו cj* 'to' is used.

(e) איך הייב אָן צו פֿאַרשטיין דאָס ציסק/עסק *Ex haib uun cj farstain dus aisyk* 'I am beginning to understand the matter': This infinitive can take an object.

(f) זאל גיין *zol gain* 'should go,' לאָרן/הערן *loz héirn* 'let hear,' מוז *mjz slufn* 'must sleep,' מעג זאָגן *méig zugn* 'may say,' פֿלעג ליגן *fléig laign* 'he used to lay,' קען כאַפֿן *kén xapn* 'can snatch,' גיין שפּאַצירן *gai spaciern* 'go for a walk,' איך הייב אָן שמועסן *haib uun smjjsn* 'begin to talk': However, the *צו cj* is omitted after the modal verbs זאל *zol*, לאָרן *loz*, מוז *mjz*, מעג *méig*, פֿלעג *fléig* and קען *kén*, also after *gai*, occasionally after *haib uun*; דאַרפֿן *darfn* 'must, have to' is construed with or without *צו cj* but the latter is more frequent – דאַרפֿן (צו) וואַרטן *darfn (cj) vartn* 'have to wait.'

(g) מע לערנט מיך דורך-אַרץ *My léernt mex derxéiryk* 'I am being taught manners': A verb may govern two direct objects.

The indirect object

189(a) זי שרייבט דער שוויגער *Zi sraabt der sviger* 'She is writing to her mother-in-law': The indirect object also follows the verb.

(b) זי וועט שרייבן דער שוויגער *Zi vèt sraabn der sviger* 'She will write to her mother-in-law'; זי וועט איר שרייבן *Zi vèt ir sraabn* 'She will write to her': When the verb form is periphrastic, the word order is the same as in the case of the direct object.

(c) איך גי מיר שפאצירן *Ex gai mir špacirn* 'I am taking a walk': The ethic dative is often used.

Direct plus indirect object

190(a) זי גיט דער שניידער דאָס פּאַקעל *Zi git der šnijer dus pékl* 'She gives her daughter-in-law the parcel': When a sentence contains both kinds of object, the indirect one precedes the direct one.

(b) זי דאַרף איר געבן דער שניידער *Zi darf ir géibn der šnijer* 'She has to give it to her daughter-in-law'; זי דאַרף איר געבן דאָס פּאַקעל *Zi darf ir géibn dus pékl* 'She must give her the parcel': When one of the objects is a pronoun it takes precedence, following immediately on the finite part of the verb.

(c) ער דאַרף עס איר געבן *Er darf ys ir géibn* 'He must give it to her': When both objects are pronouns the word order is not fixed but the sequence, accusative-dative, is preferred; both pronouns follow immediately on the finite part of the verb.

(d) ער האלט, אז דאָס שרייבן אַ טוטע מעשה איז נישט קיין קונץ *Er halt, az dus sraabn a gity maasy iz ništ kain kjnc* 'He thinks that to write a good story is no great feat': An object can be governed by a noun, i.e., a substantival infinitive.

The prepositional object

191 מע דאַרף וואַרטן אָן/אויף די פּליי-זאַמער *My darf vartn of di kléxmuuryrn* 'One has to wait for the musicians'; ער שפּעט אַתּים/אַתּעם עולם *Er špét fjnym oilym* 'He mocks the people': The object can also consist of a prepositional phrase. מענדל איז העכער *Méndl iz héxer fjn Moizyn* 'Mendel is taller than Moses': The object of comparison is a similar case. Occasionally, in place of פּון *fjn* 'from' (= 'than'), we come across פּאַר *far* 'for' (= 'than').

THE ATTRIBUTE

192 The attribute can take the form of an adjective, pronoun, numeral, noun, adverb or adverbial phrase. It generally precedes the governing noun but an attributive adverb or an adverbial phrase mostly follow the governing noun.

The adjectival attribute

193(a) ער וויל קויפן אַ גרויסן סאַך מיט אַלטע ביימער *Er vil koifn a groisn suud mit alty baimer* 'He wants to buy a large orchard with old trees': The adjective is inflected on the pattern of Declension I (p. 241): It agrees with its noun in number (גרויסן *groisn*, אַלטע *alty*).

(b) זיין עלטערער זיין עלטערן ברודערס *zaan eltern brjders* 'his elder brother's,' שוועסטערס *zaan elterer svesters* 'his elder sister's,' אַן אַמאָליקע הַבֵּרַטע *an amuuliky xaverty* 'a former (female) friend': It also agrees in case and gender with the few nouns which have case endings and with those nouns whose suffixes indicate male or female. But, apart from that, it is the adjective that shows by its terminations the theoretical case and gender of the noun.

(c) מיט גרויס פֿרייד *mit grois fraid* 'with great joy': When the adjective גרויס *grois* 'great' qualifies an abstract noun not preceded by an article, it stays uninflected.

The pronominal attribute: The possessive pronoun as attribute

(A) Noun unattended by article

194(a) איר טאכטער איז אין דער היים *Ir toxter iz in der haim* 'Her daughter is at home': When the noun is in the singular and has no article, the pronoun is not inflected.

(b) אירע טעכטער זענען/זענען אין דער היים *Iry téxter zényn in der haim* 'Her daughters are at home': When, however, the noun is in the plural, the pronoun is inflected.

(B) Noun with indefinite article

195(a)

Nom.	אירער אַ זון	<i>ii(e)rer z zjfn</i> 'a son of hers'
Acc.	אירן אַ זון	<i>ii(e)rn a zjfn</i>
Dat.	אירן אַ זון	<i>ii(e)rn a zjfn</i>
Poss.	אירן אַ זונס	<i>ii(e)rn a zjfn</i>
Nom.	אירע אַ טאכטער	<i>ii(e)ry a toxter</i> 'a daughter of hers'
Acc.	אירע אַ טאכטער	<i>ii(e)ry a toxter</i>
Dat.	אירער אַ טאכטער	<i>ii(e)rer a toxter</i>
Poss.	אירער אַ טאכטערס	<i>ii(e)rer a toxters</i>
Nom.	אירס אַ קינד	<i>iiers a kind</i> 'a child of hers'
Acc.	אירס אַ קינד	<i>iiers a kind</i>
Dat.	אירן אַ קינד	<i>iiern a kind</i>
Poss.	אירן אַ קינדס	<i>iiern a kinds</i>

When the noun has the indefinite article, the latter is preceded by the pronoun.

(b) און אן אירס *ii(e)rs a zjrn* 'a son of hers,' און אן טאכטער *ii(e)rs a toxter* 'a daughter of hers,' און אן קינד *ii(e)rs a kind* 'a child of hers': All the forms in the preceding table can be replaced by the invariable אירס *ii(e)rs*.

(c) זי וועט זאגן דער באַבע אירער *Zi vét ys zugn der buby ii(e)rer* 'She will tell it to her grandmother,' און אן זיין מאנער *a zjrn maaner* 'a son of mine,' און אן טאכטער מאנער *a toxter maany* 'a daughter of mine,' און אן קינד מאנס *a kind maans* 'a child of mine,' די טעכטער מיין *di toxter maany* 'my daughter, that daughter of mine,' און אן זיין מאנער *der zjrn maaner* 'my son, that son of mine,' די טעכטער מיין *di toxter maany* 'my daughter, that daughter of mine,' און אן קינד מיין *dus kind maans* 'my child, that child of mine': The possessive pronoun may also be placed after its noun – which may have the indefinite or definite article; it is inflected according to the second declension (see p. 253).

The demonstrative pronoun as attribute

196(a) דער מענטש *déier méné* 'this (male) person,' און דער מענטש *os déier méné* 'this (male) person,' די דאזיקע קהילה *di doziky xérvy* 'this society,' דאס זעלבע שייכות *dus zélby šaa(i)xys* 'the same relationship': The demonstrative pronoun, functioning as an attribute, is nearly always used adjectivally and precedes the noun.

(b) דער *déier* and און דער *os déier* 'this' are inflected according to para. 101, דער דאזיקער *der doziker* 'this,' דער יעניקער *der iéniker* 'that,' דער זעלבער *der zélber* 'the same,' דער איינער/אייגענער *der aigynér* 'the same,' דער זעלביקער *der zelbiker* 'the same' – all these are inflected like the first adjectival declension; יענער *iéner* 'that' is inflected like the first declension of the possessive pronoun; אזוינע *azoinyé* 'such' and אזעל(ע)כע *azell(e)xy* 'such' are plurals (their singulars אזוינער *azoimer* and אזעל(ע)כער *azell(e)xyer* are not used adjectivally and are inflected in accordance with the first declension of the possessive pronoun. אזא *azá* 'such a' and אן אן *a miin* 'a kind of' are indeclinable.

The indefinite pronoun as attribute

197(a) אטלעכער מענטש *itlexer méné* 'everybody': With two exceptions, all indefinite pronouns precede their noun.

(b) אטלעכער *itlexer*, יעדער *íider*, אן יעדער *a iéider* and יעדער *íetvider* (all:) 'every, each' are inflected in accordance with the first declension of the possessive pronoun. עטלעכע *étlexy* 'some, several' and אלע *aly* 'all' have no singular.

(c) די עטלעכע מענטשן *dii étlexy ménén* 'these several people' די אלע שרייבער *dii aly šraaber* 'all these writers': These two pronouns may be preceded by the demonstrative די *dii*.

(d) אלדיס אלדעס *aldys gjts* (singular) 'all the best'; אלדי *aldi* 'all the,' plural: When אל *al* precedes the definitive article it is not inflected and the two are felt to form a single word.

(e) קיין נישט קיין שום *nist kain* 'not a, not any, no ...,' קיין נישט קיין שום *nist kain tjm* or קיין נישט קיין שום *kain tjm nist* 'absolutely not a, not any, no ...,' אביי וואס פאר א *abii vos far a* '(just) any' are indeclinable.

(f) דארטן שטייט איינער א ייד *Dortn stait ainer a iud* 'Over there stands a (Jewish) man': The numeral איין *ain* 'one' serves as an indefinite pronoun (first declension of the possessive pronoun). עפּײַס/עפּעם אַ זעלנער *épyts a zélnér* 'some soldier': When the indefinite article is used with these two pronouns it steps between them and the noun.

(g) גאַזלן איינער! *Gazlyn ainer!* 'You bandit!' In an exclamation of this kind the pronoun follows the noun.

(h) די פּויערען זאגן דאָס *Di pouerym alain zugn dus* 'The peasants themselves say so';

(i) די וועלט געבט איר אַ קלום *Di vélt gjify iz a xuulym* 'The world itself is a dream': The two indefinite pronouns אליין *alain* and געבט *gjify* 'my - your - him - her - itself, our - your - themselves' follow their noun.

(j) די פּויערען וועלן דאָס זאגן אליין *Di pouerym véln dus alain zugn* 'The peasants will say so themselves': When the verb form is periphrastic, אליין *alain* may follow later in the sentence, where it will precede the last part of the verb form.

(k) די פּויערען געבט דאָס זאגן *Di pouerym gjify véln dus zugn* 'The peasants themselves will say so': געבט *gjify*, however, cannot change its position.

The numeral as attribute

198(a) נאַנן גוורנס *naan guwrns* 'nine storeys': The numeral precedes the noun; after a cardinal, the noun is, as a rule, in the plural.

(b) צוויי אַכט מינוט *axt mynjt* 'eight minutes,' זען יאָר *céén ijuer* 'ten years,' צוויי טעג *cvai méls-lés* 'two days' (i.e., 48 hours), פינעף שעה *fjfen suu* 'fifteen hours,' דריי פּונד *draa(i) fjnt* 'three pounds,' זעקס דאלער *zéks tuuler* 'six dollars; 90 or 180 kopeks,' פּענצן גילדער *fjrcn raanis* 'fourteen guilders,' זיבן אַכטל *zibn axtl* 'seven eights': In the preceding nouns - denoting units of time, measurement, money or the denominator of a fraction - the numerals do not govern the plural. Under certain conditions this also applies to טאָג *tug* 'day.'

(c) הונדערט-אַין-הונדערט-אַין-הויז *hjdert-jn-ain houz* or הונדערט-אַין-הונדערט-אַין-הויז *hjdert-jn-ain-haazer* 'hundred and one houses': Hundreds ending in איין *ain* 'one,' may govern either the singular or the plural.

(d) אַ מאַן פּינעף *a man fjfcik* 'about fifty men,' אַ וואַכן פּויער *a voxn fuier* 'about four weeks': When a noun is preceded by אַ *a*, denoting approximation, the cardinal is placed after it. זעקס וועגער *a zaiger zéks* 'six o'clock': This word order is also valid for clock time, side by side with the opposite order: זעקס אַ וועגער *zéks a zaiger*.

(e) אַ טאפּילען / דער פֿערדער/פֿערטער טאָג *der fērder tug* 'the fourth day,' אַ טאפּילען אַ טאפּילען *a topolyly fraid* 'a double joy': Ordinals and the multiplicative *topl* are adjectives.

The noun as attribute

199(a) זײַן שװעסטערס זינדל *zaan svēsters zīndl* 'his sister's little son': When the attribute is a noun preceding its governing noun, the attribute is in the possessive; the governing noun has then no article. This construction is practically always restricted to human beings, although, on occasion, it is used for other living beings, too.

(b) זײַן שװעסטערס אַ זינדל *zaan svēsters a zīndl* 'a little son of his sister' or 'one of the little sons of his sister': The governing noun may have the indefinite article, for the sake of greater accuracy.

(c) אַיטער בריינדלס *Iser Braandls* 'Isser the son' or 'husband of Braandl': In this idiom the normal word order is reversed, the possessive following its governing noun – the first name indicating the son – daughter – husband – wife of the second person named.

(d) דער קלימאט פֿון קאַנאַדע *der klimat fjn Kanady* 'the climate of Canada': When the attribute follows the governing noun it is linked to it by the preposition פֿון *fjn* 'from, of.' ער האַלט, אַז דאָס שרײַבן אַ גוטע מעשה איז נישט קיין קונץ *Er halt, az dus sraabn a gjty maasy iz ništ kain kjnc* 'He thinks that to write a good story is no great feat': When the governing word is an infinitive it is not linked with a possessive but functions as a verb.

The adverb and adverbial phrase as attribute

200 די קינדער דארטן שפּילן זיך *Di kinder dortn spēl'n zex* 'The children [who are] over there are playing,' די קינדער אין גאַרטן שפּילן זיך *Di kinder in guuertn spēl'n zex* 'The children [who are] in the garden are playing': The adverbial attribute – in the form of an adverb or prepositional phrase – follows the governing noun.

Co-ordination of attributes

201 דײַם/דעם אַלטן דײַר הערשמאַנס זון *dym altn dr. Hersmans ziin* 'old Dr. Hersman's sons,' יעדער קוק זײַנער *ieider kjk zaaner* 'every look of his,' אַ ווייט, פֿאַרנעסן ווינקל *a vaat, fargésn vinkl* 'a far-off, forgotten corner.' Nearly all kinds of attributes can be combined in a co-ordinated relationship.

APPPOSITION

202(a) אַ גלעזל טיי *a gléizl tai* 'a glass of tea,' אײַן זײַט פֿנים *ain zaat puunym* 'one side of the face': The syntactic connection between the two nouns is not expressed by a marker.

(b) א טוץ קעסטלעך *a tyc késtlex* 'a dozen boxes', א מאי/מאה מענטשן *a maiy ménén* 'hundred people,' א מינין/מנין רעדימער *a miniyen Réidymer* 'ten (male Jewish) inhabitants (or natives) of Radymno,' אן עידה/עדה יידן *an aidy Ildn* 'a community of Jews,' א פאר דאקטוירים *a puuer doktoiryem* 'several doctors,' - א צענדליג *a céndling* - *céndlik iisuern* 'a decade,' א פאק/שאק אייער *a fok aier* 'five dozen eggs': The appositional partners of these collective nouns in the singular are in the plural.

א שטאט מענטשן *a stuut ménén* 'the people of the town' is formed on the above pattern.

JUXTAPOSITION

די טרעפט אייזיקן א *a lid a lamdn* 'a learned (Jewish) man,' דער סארקלערסן *Zi tréft Aazikn a farkléiertn* 'she met Aazik deep in thought,' דער דאקטער בן־בן *der fíter Biniumyn* 'uncle Benjamin,' דער בעקער פֿייזש *der békér Faaviš* 'Dr. Ettinger,' די שטאט ווין *di stuut Viin* 'the City of (!) Vienna,' דער בעקער פֿייזש *der békér Faaviš*: Here too, the nouns are in juxtaposition without a formal link. However, the syntactical connection is quite different. Where it is a case of apposition it is of possessive/genitival nature, while here the attribution is, as it were, one of identity. The difference is clear when the constructions are replaced by certain - unidiomatic - devices. When it is a case of apposition there would have to be a prepositional phrase: איין זייט פֿונעם פֿנים *ain zaat fnyem puunym* 'one side of the face,' but here we would have to use a relative clause: א ייד, וואָס איז אַ למדן *a lid, vus iz a lamdn* 'a (Jewish) man who is a scholar' (in traditional Jewish literature).

QUALIFIERS OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

דאס איז נישט גוט - גוט/גענוג הייס *Dus iz ništ gynjig - gynjg hais* 'This is not hot enough': A qualifier of an adjective or adverb precedes the governing word.

זייער א הויכער בוימ *guuer a sain bild* 'a most beautiful picture,' זייער א הויכער בוימ *zaiet a hoixer boim* 'a very tall tree': When the governing adjective is the attribute of a noun with the indefinite article, the qualifiers גאר *guu(e)r* 'very, most' and זייער *zaiet* 'very' precede the article.

WORD ORDER

זי שרייבט אַ ברייף *Er sluft soim* 'He is already asleep,' זי שרייבט אַ ברייף *Zi traabt acind a briiv* 'She is now writing a letter,' זי וועט באַלד שלאָפֿן *Zi vét bald sluftn* 'She will soon sleep,' עטל האַט פֿינף פֿאַרמאַכט די טיר *Etl (h)ot taikyf farmaxt*

di tii(e)r 'Ettel immediately shut the door': A simple adverb follows on the verb – the finite part of it when the verb has a periphrastic form – and precedes the object.

(b) *אין וועל אים היינט שרייבן אַ ברייב* *ex vél ym haant sraabn a briiv* 'I shall write him a letter today': When the object is a personal or reflexive pronoun, it precedes the adverb.

(c) *מאָרן דאַרף זי פּאַרן!* *Morgn darf zi fuuern!* 'Tomorrow she must go!' *זי דאַרף פּאַרן מאָרן!* *Zi darf fuuern morgn!* 'She must go tomorrow!': To express emphasis the adverb may, of course, be placed at the beginning or end of the sentence.

(d) *זי איז פאַרבלעבן אין דער היים* *Zi iz farblibn in der haim* 'She stayed at home': When the adverbial phrase is a prepositional one, it generally follows the complete periphrastic form of the predicate.

(e) *זי שיקט – וועט שיקן די קינדער אין גאַרטן אַרײַן* *Zi sikt – vét siken di kinder in guuertn araan* 'She is sending – will send the children into the garden': When there is an object in the sentence it precedes the prepositional phrase.

GOVERNMENT OF PREPOSITIONS

206(a) *אין דער קרעטשמע ים אינעם ים* *in der kretsimy* 'in – into the sea,' *אין דער קרעטשמע ים* *in der kretsimy* 'in – into the inn': Prepositions govern the dative.

(b) *פּון די קינדערס וועגן* *fjn di kinders véign* 'for the sake – on behalf of the children': The pre- and postposition *פּון* ... *וועגן* together govern the possessive – the only exception to the above rule.

(c) *פּון טאָפּ* *fjn top* 'from the pot,' *אין טאָפּ* *in top* 'in – into the pot,' *לעבן טאָפּ* *léibn top* 'next to the pot': The prepositions *אין* 'in,' *פּון* *fjn* 'from,' *לעבן* *léibn* 'next to' can stand for *אינעם/איינעם* *inym* 'in the,' *פּונעם/פּונעם* *fjnym* 'from the' (< *אין דיס/דעם* *in dym*, *פּון דיס/דעם* *fjn dym*), *לעבן דיס/דעם* *léibn dym* 'next to the': The definite masculine/neuter article is very often omitted after the final *n* of these prepositions.

(d) *פּון שטאָט* *fjn stuut* 'from the town,' *אין שטאָט* *in stuut* 'in – into the town,' *לעבן שטאָט* *léibn stuut* 'next to the town,' *אין שול* *in sjjil* 'in – into the synagogue,' *פּון שול* *fjn sjjl* 'from the synagogue,' *לעבן שול* *léibn sjjl* 'next to the synagogue': Here the article is omitted on analogy with the above usage although the nouns are feminine, so that the article would have to be *דער* *der* (*פּון דער שטאָט* *fjn der stuut* etc.) and this could not lead to the assimilation with the /n/ of the preposition.

(e) *פּון הייסן אויוון* *fjn haisn oivn* 'in – into the hot stove,' *אין הייסן אויוון* *in haisn oivn* 'from the hot stove,' *לעבן אַלטן הייזל* *léibn altn haazl* 'next to the little old house': The article may also be omitted when the noun is qualified by an adjective. The feminine article, however, cannot be omitted in such a case: *אין דער אַלטער שול*.

in der alter tshjl 'in - into the old synagogue,' *in der groiser stuut* 'in - into the big town'.

NEGATION

207 *Zi kjmt nist* 'She is not coming,' *Er velt nist redn* 'He will not speak': The negation follows immediately on the finite verb. *Er vil ys nist derzugn* 'He does not want to finish saying it': However, a personal or reflexive pronoun steps between the finite and the negation.

(b) *Er vil guu(e)r-nist visn* 'He does not want to know anything' or 'He does not want to know at all': The negation is generally omitted if the object consists of the word *guu(e)r-nist* 'nothing.' Occasionally, however, the negation is added: *Er vil guuer-nist visn*.

(c) *Kain mené vaist ys nist* 'Nobody knows it,' *Er vaist nist kain zax* 'He does not know anything': In a negative sentence the indefinite article before the subject or object is replaced by the pronoun *kain*. However, the negation may also follow on the object: *Er vaist kain zax nist*.

The Word Order Predicate - Subject

208(a) *In guu(e)rtn iz duu a hipser oilym* 'In the garden there are quite a lot of people': When a sentence starts with an adverb or adverbial phrase, the usual word order is reversed, the subject following the predicate.

(b) The adverb *רק rak* 'only' is an exception: *Rak ir vilt nist* 'You insist on refusing' - in spite of the adverb at the beginning, the sentence has the first word order. The adverb *ממש mamys* 'actually, really' can be used in the same way: *mamys zi zingt* '(She was not speaking), she was singing!' However, it can also be: *Zi zingt mamys*.

(c) *Iber a iuuer vet Béndyt zaan in Kruky* 'In a year's time Bendet will be in Cracow': When the predicate is a periphrastic form, the subject follows on the finite.

(d) *Dortn velt ym Béndyt tréfn* 'There Bendit will meet him' or *Dortn velt Béndyt ym tréfn*: An object that consists of a personal or reflexive pronoun precedes or follows the subject.

(e) *Dortn velt er ym tréfn* 'There he will meet him': But if the subject is also a personal or reflexive pronoun, then the subject comes first.

(f) אַצינד דאַרפן עס די געסט שוין אַהיים פֿאַרן/אַהיימפֿאַרן *Acind darfn ys di gést soim ahaim fuuern* 'Now the guests have to go home': The subject can be anticipated by placing an expletive *ys* 'it' or דאָס *dus* 'that' after the finite.

(g) עס צוגיין/צעגיין זיך די וואלקנס *Ys cjamin zex di volkns* 'The clouds are melting away': Even if the anticipated subject is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the second word order is retained.

(h) עפיס/עפעס קלומט זיך אים אַ שיינע מעשה *Dus/Épys xuulymt zex ym a šainy maasy* 'He (happens to be) dreaming a beautiful story': Instead of עס – סע – *sy – ys*, דאָס *dus* is sometimes employed, also עפיס/עפעס *épy's* 'something' which seems to imply a stronger degree of vagueness.

(i) לייטער איז גיווען/געווען דער הימל *Louter iz gyvén der himl* 'Clear was the sky': The predicate can be stressed by placing the predicative adjective at the head of the sentence.

(j) זאָגן וועט זי איר נישט זאָגן *Zugn vét zi ir ništ zugn* '(As far as telling is concerned) she will not tell her': Strong emphasis is achieved by placing the infinitive of the verb, which follows as predicate, at the head of the sentence.

(k) גאַנצע טייכן וואַסער גיסט דער הימל *Gancy taaxn vaser giist der himl* 'Whole rivers of water were pouring from the sky': The object can be emphasized by placing it at the head of the sentence.

(l) נאָגט ער ! זאָגט ער *Nain! zugt er* 'No! he said': This object at the beginning of a sentence is a piece of direct speech.

Co-ordination of Sentences

209(a) ער וויסט דאָס נישט, נאר ער וויל נישט מודה זיין *Er vaist dus ništ, nor er vil ništ moidy zaan* 'He does not know that but he does not want to admit it': An independent sentence which is joined to another one by means of a co-ordinating conjunction, generally keeps its word order.

(b) ער איז קראַנק; ער קען אייך דעריבער נישט שרייבן *Er iz krank; er kén aax deriber ništ šraabn* 'He is ill, he cannot, therefore, write to you': However, some of the conjunctions must be placed after the verb – i.e., the finite – in order to keep the first word order.

(c) ער איז קראַנק; דעריבער קען ער אייך נישט שרייבן *Er iz krank; deriber kén er aax ništ šraabn*, or ער איז קראַנק; קען ער אייך דעריבער נישט שרייבן *Er iz krank; kén er aax deriber ništ šraabn* 'He is ill; so he cannot write to you': Some conjunctions require the second word order, particularly the conclusive ones, 'therefore, for that reason' – דעריבער *deriber*, דערפֿאַר *derfar*, מַחמת דעם *maxmys déim*.

(d) ער איז קראַנק; קען ער אייך נישט שרייבן *Er iz krank; kén er aax ništ šraabn*: The conjunction may be omitted, but the second word order will still have conclusive force.

(e) פֿאַרשטייט נישט זײַן שווער רי מעשה *Farštait ništ zaan šveier di maasy* 'His father-in-law did not understand the matter': The same construction appears even when there is clearly no causal connection.

(f) איך דאַרף דאָס האָבן; וועט מיך קאסטן אַ פֿופֿציקער *Ex darf dus hubn, vèt mex kostn a fffçiker* 'I must have that, it will cost me fifty': When a sentence follows closely on a preceding one, without being linked by a conjunction, the subject *עס* *sy* - *ys* of the second one is sometimes omitted.

(g) מיר וועלן פֿאַרן קיין וואַרשע און רעדן מיט משהן *Mir vèln fuuern kain Varsý jn rédn mit Moísyn* 'We shall go to Warsaw and speak to Moses': In the second of two sentences which have the same subject, this is usually omitted. When appropriate, the same applies to the predicate.

(h) ער האט גינומיין/גענומען דאָס פֿעסל און אוועק אין שטאָט *Er (h)ot gynjmy n dus fèsl jn avék in štut* 'He took the barrel and went to town': The finite auxiliary of the predicate is sometimes omitted in the second sentence although it would have to differ from that in the first sentence - איז אוועק *iz avek*.

(i) עס ווערט איר ענג אין שטוב און וויל אַרויס *Ys véiert ir éng in štjbb jn vil arous* 'She feels constricted (lit. it becomes tight for her) in the house and wants to get out': When the real but not formal subject of one of two sentences is identical with that of the other, the latter is sometimes omitted.

The Interrogative Sentence

210(a) וועסטו - וועסט זײַן אין שטאָט? *Dj vést zaan in štut?* *Véstj - Vést zaan in štut?* 'Will you be in town?' Either the first or second word order is used together with the interrogative intonation.

(b) וואו/ווי איז ער? *Vjj iz er?* Interrogative sentences which are introduced by an interrogative are built on the second word order.

(c) ווער איז דער מַחבר? *Véier iz der mexaber?* 'Who is the author?' But when the subject of the interrogative sentence is a pronoun, then the first word order is used.

(d) די ווער ביסט? *Djj véier bist?* 'You - who are YOU?': Special emphasis is effected by placing the subject before the interrogative.

(e) צי ווייסט ער דען נישט, וואָס דאָ טוט - טוט זיך? *Ci vaist er dén ništ, vus duu tjjt - tjt zex?* 'Doesn't he know (i.e., surely he knows) what is happening here?': Occasionally a direct interrogative sentence is introduced by the indirect interrogative particle *צי* *cii* (often *צי* *ci*).

Command and Optative Sentences

211(a) אַבְרָהָם זאל מיר שיקן די פען *Avruum zol mir šikn di pén* 'Abraham should send me the pen': In a command referring to a third person, the first word order is generally used.

(b) But the second word order is frequently used too: זאל מיר אַברֿהם שיקן די פען: *Zol mir Avruum sikh di péen.*

(c) לאַמעך אים זען *Lomex ym zéin* 'I want to see him': In an optative sentence the second word order is always followed, as the sentence starts with a verb.

(d) מיר זאל זיך אַר דינע בינדלעך! *Mii(e)r zol zaan far daany bairdlex!* (To a child:.) 'On ME may [evil] be [visited instead of] on you (lit. your little bones)!': When an object or adverbial phrase are to be strongly emphasized, they may precede the predicate.

Subordination of Sentences

CONJUNCTIONAL CLAUSES

צווייטנס שרייב איך דיר אַז בײַ אונדו האט זיך גיטראפן/געטראפן אַן אומגליק 212(a) *Cvaitns braab ex dir, az baa – ban – bar jndz (h)ot zex gytrofn an jmglik mit a glik in ainym* 'Secondly I am writing to tell you that a misfortune and a piece of good luck have come to us at one and the same time'; די מאמע האט איר דערציילט מעשהלעך ביז קריינדל איז אַנטשלאפן גיחאראן/געחארן *Di mamy (h)ot ir dercailt maasalex, biz Kraindl is antslufn gyvoorn* 'The mother told her fairy tales until Kraindl fell asleep.' When the conjunctional clause follows on the principal sentence, then either the first or the second word order is used in both parts.

(b) אויב ער וועט דיר נישט וועלן זאָגן, דאַרפסטו אים נישט אַרעפן קיין סך *Oib er vet dir nist vélh zugn, darfstj ym nist fréign kain sax* 'If he should not want to tell you, you need not ask him many questions': When the conjunctional clause, in the first word order, precedes the principal sentence, the second word order is used in the latter.

(c) אַז איך וואלט אים גיטראפן, וואלט איך עס אים גיזאָגט/געזאָגט *Az ex volt ym gytrofn, volt ex ys ym gyzugt* 'If I were to meet him I would tell it to him'; זאל איך אים גיזאָגן/געזאָגן טרעפן, וואלט איך עס אים גיזאָגן גיזאָגט/געזאָגט *Az ex zol ym gyvéin tréfn, volt ex ys ym gyvéin gyzugt* 'If I had met him, I would have told it to him': In conditional sentences either וואלט *volt* 'would, should' or זאל *zol* 'should' is employed in the protasis, while in the apodosis – where the second word order is used – only וואלט *volt* is employed.

(d) *ex volt ys im gyzugt, oib ex volt ym gytrofn* 'I would tell it to him if I were to meet him': The same holds good when the apodosis – now with the first word order – precedes the protasis.

(e) *Zi zol* וי ואל היסן, האָס עס טוט זיך בײַ איר שוועסטער, וואלט זי זיך דערקויקט *vism, vus ys tijt zex baa ir svéster, volt zi zex dérkvoikt* 'If she knew what is happening at her sister's she would be delighted': When the conditional clause precedes the principal sentence – especially when the auxiliary is ואל *zol* 'should' – the conjunction is often absent.

(f) *Zi (h)os moiry, er zol ništ arup špringyn* 'She is afraid he might jump down': The conjunction is generally omitted in final clauses when the verb of the principal sentence expresses apprehension; the verb has to take the negation. *Zi maint, ex bin myšjgy gyvoorn* 'She thinks I have gone crazy': In other cases, too, the conjunction (here אז *az* 'that') is sometimes omitted.

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE

213(a) *Der lid, vus zict baam tiš, iz maanc a svuger* 'The (Jewish) man who is sitting at the table, is a brother-in-law of mine': A clause – of either the first or second word order – which refers to a noun, is linked to it by the neuter relative pronoun וואָס *vus* 'what' (i.e., 'that'). If the noun is in the nominative there is no need to indicate what case it is in.

(b) *Zi zéit dus pékl, vus er trugt* 'She sees the parcel that he is carrying': The same holds good for the accusative of a neuter noun.

(c) *Der lid, vus er zict baam tiš, iz maanc a svuger*; *Zi zéit dus pékl, vus er trugt ys*: However, a personal pronoun often indicates the case of the construction – whether nominative or accusative.

(d) *Ir man, vus zi šraabt ym haant, iz ict in Lodz* 'Her husband to whom she is writing today is now in Lodz'; *Dus kind, vus zaan mamy vart in der haim, iz naan iuver alt* 'The child whose mother is waiting at home is nine years of age': The dative or possessive are always indicated by a personal or possessive pronoun, respectively.

(e) *der svuger, véimyn ex vél dus šikn* 'the brother-in-law to whom I'll send this'; *di stuu, vj er voimt* 'the town where he lives': Sometimes interrogatives serve as relative pronouns.

INDIRECT INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE

214(a) *Zai fréign ym ci er kén mex* 'They asked him whether he knew me': The direct interrogative sentence introduced by an interro-

ative, has a parallel indirect one; it mostly follows the first word order. ער הייסט *Er vaist nist véimyn zai zjjezn* 'He does not know whom they are looking for': The direct interrogative sentence without an introductory interrogative, has its counterpart in the indirect interrogative clause, but the latter follows the first word order.

(b) ער הייסט נישט, ווער עס וועט בלייבן *Er vaist nist, véier ys vét blaabn* 'He does not know who will stay behind': When the introductory pronoun is in the nominative, the pronoun *ys* is inserted before the predicate.

(c) מיר דארפן וויסן, ווי גרויס עס איז אײער שטאָט *Mir darfn visn, vi grois ys iz aa(i)er stuut* 'We have to know how big your town is': When the predicate contains an adjective, then this precedes the *עס ys*.

(d) ווער עס וועט בלייבן, הייסט ער נישט *Véier ys vét blaabn, vaist er nist* 'He does not know who will be staying behind': The indirect interrogative clause may precede the principal sentence for emphasis.

(e) ווי עס ליכטן די שטערן *Vii ys laaxtn di stéiern!* 'How the stars do shine!': The exclamatory sentence is an indirect interrogative sentence, introduced by ווי *vii* 'how.'

PART FIVE
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PREFATORY NOTE

In each section the entries are arranged in order of publication. All the dates are then combined in Index B. The aim of the chronological arrangement is to provide a bibliographical picture of the way Yiddish studies developed, and thus to facilitate research in their history.

ABBREVIATIONS

An asterisk indicates that the publication is not a periodical.

AAWB	Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Phil. hist. Abhandlungen	AMYL	An Anthology of Modern Yiddish Literature (Ed. J. Leftwich)*
ACCS	American Contributions to the Fourth International Congress of Slavists*	Ant	Anthropos
Ada	Almanach Adam (Bucharest)*	Antph	Anthropophyteia
AE	<i>Algymainy Énciklopédii</i> *	Ar	l'Arche
AfdA	Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum (in ZDA)	AS	American Speech
AIGK	Akten des Internationalen Germanisten-Kongresses	ASNS	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen
AIO	<i>Der Ainhaitlexer Iidiser Ouslaig</i> *	ASPh	Archiv für Slawische Philologie
AJHQ	American Jewish Historical Quarterly	ASW	Die alte Synage zu Worms*
AJP	American Journal of Philology	Auf	Der Aufstieg
AJRI	AJR Information (Association of Jewish Refugees in Great Britain)	AUT	Acta Universitatis Turkuensis
AL	Anthropological Linguistics	AWJD	Allgemeine Wochenzeitung der Juden in Deutschland
ALG	Archiv für Literaturgeschichte	B	Biblica
ALH	Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae	BDL	Blätter für den Deutschlehrer
		BGVJS	Beiträge zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Juden in der Schweiz
		BI	<i>Bais Iaankyv</i>
		BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
		BiV	<i>Di Biixer-vélt</i>

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| BJVK | Bayerisches Jahrbuch für
Volkskunde | EDKK | <i>Ehime Daigaku Kyokyobu kiyo</i>
[Memoirs of the Faculty of
General Education, Ehime
University |
| BM | <i>Beṣ Miqra</i> | EG | Études Germaniques |
| BNC | Bulletin de nos Communeautés | EI | <i>Ha-Enziklopedia ha-Ivrit*</i> |
| BS | Beer Sheva | EJB | Encyclopaedia Judaica
(Berlin)* |
| BSLP | Bulletin de la Société Lingui-
stique de Paris | EJJ | Encyclopaedia Judaica (Jeru-
salem)* |
| BV | <i>Dr. Biirnoims Voxn-blat</i> | EJLT | Essays on Jewish life and
thought ... in honour of Salo
W. Baron* |
| C | <i>Caat-srif</i> | Em | Emuna |
| CAIU | Cahiers de l'Alliance Israélite
Universelle | ENGK | Die Entwicklung neuer germa-
nischer Kultursprachen*
(H. Kloss) |
| CHAL | Cambridge History of Ameri-
can Literature* | EPH | Essays ... Presented to J.H.
Hertz* |
| CMF | Časopis pro Moderni Filologii | Eu | Euphorion |
| Com | Commentary | FÄJ | Fragen des älteren Jiddisch (in
TB) |
| DA | Dissertation Abstracts | FB | Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag
A. Berliners* |
| DAI | Dissertation Abstracts Inter-
national | FF | Forschungen und Fortschritte |
| Daph | Daphnis | FI | Folklore International (<i>Fest-
schrift</i> W.D. Hand)* |
| DDM | Die deutschen Mundarten | Fl | <i>Der Flaker</i> |
| DFU | Deutsche Forschungen in Un-
garn | FLB | Festschrift für Leo Baeck |
| DLMV | Die deutsche Literatur des
Mittelalters-Verfasserlexikon* | FoY | The Field of Yiddish |
| DLSMA | Deutsche Literatur des späte-
ren Mittelalters - Hamburger
Kolloquium* | Fr | Die Freistatt |
| DLZ | Deutsche Literaturzeitung | Fra | <i>Der Fraand</i> (Warsaw) |
| DM | Deutsche Mundarten | FRJ | For Roman Jakobson* |
| DNK | Deutsche Namenkunde
(A. Bach)* | FŠ | <i>Filology Šrifn</i> |
| DPhA | Deutsche Philologie im
Aufriß* | FSB | Festschrift zum 75 jährigen
Bestehen des jüdisch-
theologischen Seminars
Fraenckelscher Stiftung,
Breslau* |
| DuKr | Duitse Kroniek | | |
| DVJLG | Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift
für Literaturwissenschaft und
Geistesgeschichte | | |

313 Abbreviations

G	Germanistik	IBA	<i>Iuur-Bjix fjn Amuptail</i>
GA	<i>In gang fjn arbyt: Iidiš jn mizrex-airopéüsy štúdiys*</i>	IBNB	<i>Iúbiléium-Bjix ... Nuusn Bürn-boim*</i>
GBIF	<i>Géirsn Baders Iidišer folkskalénder</i>	IBS	Intelligenz-Blatt, Beilage zum Serapeum
GBr	Der Grosse Brockhaus*	ID	<i>Iidišy Dialogn*</i>
GDi	Germanische Dialektologie*	IDF	<i>Iidišy Dialéktologišy Foršjngyn; Materialn far a visnšaftlexer gramatik jn far an étimologišn vértter-bjix fjn der Iidišer šprax*</i>
GDL	Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*	IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
Geš	<i>Gešer</i>	IFA	<i>Iidiš Far Aly</i>
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen	IFAISA	Indogermanische Forschungen, Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach und Altertums-kunde
GIF	Giornale Italiano di Filologia	IFB	Israelitisches Familienblatt (Hamburg)
GJ	Germania Judaica	IGe	Indogermanica*
GJE	Germania Judaica (Ed. Elbogen et al.)*	IGFD	<i>In Gang Fjn Doirys; Éséiyn véign Tnax, folklor jn literatúúr, by Iaankyv I. Maitlis [Jacob J. Maitlis/Meitlis]*</i>
GK	<i>Di Goldyny Kait</i>	IGK	Internationaler Germanisten-kongress, Akten
GL	Germanistische Linguistik	IHGL	An Informal History of the German Language, by W.B. Lockwood*
GLL	German Life and Letters	IiF	<i>Iidišy Filologiy</i>
Glo	Globus	IiFr	<i>Iidn in Frankraax*</i>
GQ	German Quarterly	IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics
GRM	Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift	IJB	Indogermanisches Jahrbuch
HB	Hebräische Bibliographie	IL	Der Israelit, Lemberg/Lwów
HBVK	Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde	ILo	<i>Iidiš London</i>
Heb	Hebraica	IM	<i>Iazyk i Myslenie</i>
HRJ	To Honour Roman Jakobson	INSSSR	<i>Iazyki Narodov SSSR*</i>
HS	<i>Historišy Šriftn fjn Iidišn Visnšaftlexn Institut</i>	IŠ	<i>Iidišy Šprax</i>
HWJ	H.A. Wolfson Jubilee Volume*	IV	<i>Di Iidišy Vélét</i>
IA	<i>A Iuur Arbyt in der Aspirantúúr baam Iidišn Visnšaftlexn Institut*</i>		
IAIB	<i>Ijdy A. Iufy-Bjix*</i>		
IB	<i>Ivuu-Bléter</i>		

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|------------|---|------------|--|
| IWS | Israelitisches Wochenblatt für die Schweiz | JR | Jüdische Rundschau |
| <i>Iyś</i> | <i>Iyśjrn</i> | JRM | Jüdische Rundschau Makkabi |
| JAb | Jüdische Abende | JSG | Jubelschrift zum 70. Geburtstag des Prof. Dr. H. Graetz* |
| JABC | Das jüdische ABC* | <i>JT</i> | <i>Jndzer Tug</i> (Vilna) |
| JAF | Journal of American Folklore | JVB | Jüdisches Volksblatt (Brünn/Brno) |
| JAs | Journal Asiatique | JVLF | Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung |
| JBA | Jewish Book Annual | JWB | Jüdisches Wochenblatt (Zurich) |
| JBL | Jewish Bookland | JZ | Jüdische Zeitung (Vienna) |
| <i>JC</i> | <i>Jndzer Caat</i> (Kishinev) | KAY | Kobez al Yad |
| JCB | Jüdisches Centralblatt | KCB | K[artell]-C[onvent]-Blätter |
| JCh | Jewish Chronicle | KLL | Kindlers Literatur-Lexikon* |
| Jd | Der Jude | <i>KS</i> | <i>Kiryat Sefer</i> |
| Jdc | Judaica | KTJ | Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch |
| Jdm | Judaism | <i>L</i> | <i>Lešonenu</i> |
| Je | Jeschurun | LB | Leuvense Bijdragen |
| JEGP | Journal of English and Germanic Philology | LBDM | Lautbibliothek der deutschen Mundarten |
| JEJW | Jahrhundertende-Jahrhundertwende | LBDMs | Lautbibliothek der deutschen Mundarten in der Schweiz |
| JES | Journal of European Studies | LBIYB | Leo Baeck Institute, Year Book |
| JFLF | Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung | LCB | Litterarisches Centralblatt |
| JGIE | Jahrbuch für die Geschichte der Israeliten in Elsass-Lothringen | LGRP | Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie |
| JGSLEL | Jahrbuch für Geschichte, Sprache und Literatur Elsass-Lothringens | Lin | Linguistics |
| JJGL | Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur | Ling | Lingua |
| JJS | Journal of Jewish Studies | <i>Lit</i> | <i>Literatúur</i> (New York) |
| JJSO | Journal of Jewish Sociology | LK | Literatur und Kritik |
| JL | Jüdisches Lexikon* | <i>LM</i> | <i>Literariśy Monatsriftn</i> |
| JLNÖ | Jahrbuch für die Landeskunde von Niederösterreich | LPo | Lingua Posnaniensis |
| JPPP | The Jewish People: Past and Present* | <i>LV</i> | <i>Leibn jn Visnśaft</i> |
| JQR | Jewish Quarterly Review | LW | Die Literaturen der Welt in ihrer mündlichen und schriftlichen Überlieferung (Ed. W. v. Einsiedeln)* |

315 Abbreviations

LWJB	Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch	Mu	Muséon
LZB	Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland	Mus	Museum
MAG	Mitteilungen der anthropolo- gischen Gesellschaft, Vienna	NBAS	Nathan Birnbaum: Ausge- wählte Schriften zur jüdischen Frage*
MAJ	Mitteilungen des Arbeitskrei- ses für Jiddisch	NEMBN	Notices et Extraits des Manu- scrits de la Bibliothèque Na- tionale de Paris
MAL	Modern Austrian Literature	NGHG	Nachrichten der Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft
MAWEPD	Mitteilungen der Akademie zur wissenschaftlichen Erfor- schung und zur Pflege des Deutschtums	NHLW	Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*
MCA	Mélanges offerts à M. Charles Andler*	NJMH	Neue jüdische Monatshefte
MDU	Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht	NL	<i>Dus naay leibn</i>
ME	Die Mundarten im Elsass*	NPh	Neophilologus
MEL	Mein Elsassland*	NPhM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
MFM	Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie Fernand Mosse in memoriam*	NPK	<i>Noix Priluckis Ksuwym</i>
MGJN	Maandblad voor de Geschie- denis der Joden in Nederland	OcOr	Occident and Orient ... Gaster Anniversary Volume*
MGJV	Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde	OK	Ostkunde
MGWJ	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Juden- tums	OL	Ostland
MKJ	Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume*	OLZ	Orientalistische Literaturzei- tung
ML	Moderne Literatur (Vienna)	Ono	Onoma
MLJ	Modern Language Journal	Orb	Orbis
MLR	Modern Language Review	OW	Ost und West
MM	Miscellanea Mediaevalia*	P	<i>Der Pinkys, Iuur-bijx far der gysixty fjn der lidiser literatúúr jn sprax, far folklor, kritik jn bibliografy</i>
Mom	<i>Der Moment</i> (Warsaw)	PAAJR	Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research
Mor	Der Morgen	PAPhS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
MSL	Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris	PBB	Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Litera- tur

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<i>PFIL</i>	<i>Pinkeys far der Foršjng fjn der Iđiđer Literatúúr jn Prěsy</i>	RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*
PFLl	Publications de la Faculté des lettres et sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand	RL RPH RSL	Revue de Linguistique Romance Philology Readings in the Sociology of Language*
Pho	Phonetica	RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
PhSQ	Philologische Studien und Quellen	RTI	<i>Raši – torato ve-išuto</i> (Ed. S. Federbush)*
<i>Pi</i>	<i>Pinkeys, A féril-iuriker žurnal far Iđiđer literatúúr-gyšixty, šprax-foršjng, folklor jn bibliografy</i>	SBBL	Studies in Bibliography and Booklore
PJB	Preussische Jahrbücher	Sca	Scandinavistik
PP	Philologica Pragensia	Sch	Der Schlern
PrC	Problems of Communism	SDLS	Studien zur deutschen Literatur und Sprache des Mittelalters
QEFG	Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen Geschichte, N.F. 18: Raphael Straus, Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Juden in Regensburg 1453-1738*	SDMH SDTTD SEER	Süddeutsche Monatshefte Schweizer Dialekte in Text und Ton ... Deutsche Schweiz* Slavonic and East European Review
		Sel	Selbstwehr
		Sem	Semasia
RBPhH	Revue belge de philosophie et histoire	Ser	Serapeum
		SH	<i>Soviėtiš Haimland</i>
RCHL	Revue critique d'histoire et de littérature	ShQ	Shakespeare Quarterly
		SI	<i>Semitskie Iazyki</i>
RDLG	Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte	Sif	<i>Ha-sifrut</i>
		SJA	Soviet Jewish Affairs
REJ	Revue des Études juives	SJLL	Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature and Society, for Max Weinreich
RENLO	Revue de l'École Nationale des langues orientales		
<i>Reš</i>	<i>Rešumot</i>	SK	Studies in honour of J. Alexander Kerns*
RFF	Festschrift zum 75 jährigen Bestehen der Realschule mit Lyzeum der Israelitischen Religionsgesellschaft (Frankfurt/M)*	SM ŠNB SODV	Studi medievali <i>Šmijl-Niger-Bjix</i> Südostdeutsche Vierteljahrsblätter

317 Abbreviations

SOF	Südostdeutsche Forschungen, Südostforschungen	Wo	Word
SOM	Studia Onomastica Monacenses	WCJS	World Congress of Jewish Studies, Papers
SR	Studia Rosenthaliana	WK	Weltkampf
SS	Semitic Studies in memory of Immanuel Löw*	WPY	Working Papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish Studies
SSS	Sprachspiegel, Schweizer Zeitschrift für die deutsche Muttersprache	WW	Wirkendes Wort
ST	Studi tedeschi	WWT	The Way We Think, A Collection of Essays from the Yiddish (Ed. J. Leftwich)*
StD	Studia Delitzschiana	YAJSS	Yivo Annual of Jewish Social Science
SUL	Storia universale della letteratura*	YBCC	Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis
T	Teuthonista	Yd	Yiddish
TB	Trierer Beiträge	YWMLS	Year's Work for Modern Language Study
TLB	Theologisches Literaturblatt		
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung		
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society	Zap	Zapiski (of the Odessa Institute for Education)
UI	Der ungarische Israelit	ZBIF	Noiex Priluckis Zaml-büxer far Iđiđn folklor, filologiy jn kúltúur-gyđixty
UnI	L'Univers Israélite	ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
UJ	Unijournal, Zeitschrift der Universität Trier	ZDL	Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik
UJE	Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia*	ZDLB	Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik, Beiheft
V	Dus Vort	ZDM	Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten
VID	Verhandlungen des internationalen Dialektologenkongresses	ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
VLU	Vesnik Leningradskavo universiteta	ZDPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
VSRGI	Voprosy sintaksisa romano-germanskix iazykov	ZDS	Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache
VVPK	Veröffentlichungen des Vereins für pfälzische Kirchengeschichte		

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ZDSJ	Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden	ZNFb	Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung, Beiheft
ZDWF	Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung	ZOF	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung
ZGJD	Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland	ZPhAS	Zeitschrift für Phonetik und allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft
ZHB	Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie	ZRGg	Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte
ZHDM	Zeitschrift für hochdeutsche Mundarten	zS	Zeitschrift für Slawistik
ZMF	Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung	ZVK	Zeitschrift für Volkskunde
		zVSf	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung

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¹ See p. 112, footnote. When I read this (in 1930) it escaped me that the words 'our name' seem to imply that *cvai vuvn* is the traditional term. However, there are no traditional names for the digraphs: double *vuv*, *vuv + ijđ*, double *ijđ*, *zaaiyn + šin* and *tes + šin*. I therefore used these designations in my *Grammatik* (1918 [1915]). Max Weinreich either assumed that I knew the traditional name to be *cvai vuvn* or he just adopted my designation.

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2 A very large number of words have clearly not been culled from the written or spoken language but are neologisms, most of them obviously created by the compiler on the basis of the English dictionary.

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11 TEXTS IN TRANSCRIPTION

Texts in a satisfactory transcription are exceedingly rare. In the publications listed in Section A, the transcribers hardly ever understand the difference between rendering an original according to the letters or the phonemes, the difference between transliteration and transcription, or, if they understand it, they are not accurate in their system and mix the two. Some even simply use the normalized spelling of Middle High German. In the publications listed in Section B, good transcriptions are also extremely rare. As a rule they are quite unsystematic, more or less Germanized, or even simply German.

It is a mistake to try and 'make things easier' for the layman or even for the student of German/Germanic philology. To do so only blurs and obscures the facts and problems, or blinds him to their existence.

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1 It is a pity that the author discusses the problem of dating the script of the codex even though Hebrew palaeography does not belong to her field of study. The author of the *Exkurs* in No. 440 dates the script of the codex by comparing it with that of three MSS written in typical Ashkenazic cursive, the choice of which for comparison was based on many years of previous work on hundreds of specimens of the Ashkenazic type and cursive style, from photographs in his palaeographical collection as well as from the study of original MSS. In that author's *The Hebrew Scripts*, Plates Volume (1954-1957), Nos. 350-60, she might have found some additional examples. If she will look up the Text Volume (1971), she can now find in Appendix C *Two Checking Experiments* which may assist her in her judgment.

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Ga	<i>Gal'ed</i>
ILi	Issues in Linguistics*
LS	Language Sciences
OŚ	<i>Ośn Śvll</i>
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