

American Contributions to the
Fourth International Congress
of Slavists Moscow Sept. 1958

Mouton & Co 1958

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YIDDISH AND COLONIAL GERMAN IN EASTERN EUROPE:
THE DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF SLAVIC

by

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1. INTRODUCTION

In discontinuous currents lasting a thousand years or more, two major groups of settlers moved into Eastern Europe from the lands west of the Elbe: Germans and Ashkenazic Jews. The chronology and the social character of their migration were not the same, but in one way or another both groups came into close contact, culturally and linguistically, with their new, predominantly Slavic, environment. Their reactions differed profoundly. The Germans either were Slavized completely and lost their identity, or preserved a culture and language in which the Slavic factor was marginal. The Jews, on the other hand, have generally maintained their distinctness, but have undergone a Slavic cultural and linguistic influence so deep and enriching as to place them in a relation of affinity with the Slavs. The purpose of this paper is to survey this differential effect of Slavic contact on Jews and Germans in the East European diaspora. The main emphasis will be linguistic, but certain parallel folkloristic and ethnographic developments will be cited as supporting evidence.

The Slavic influences discussed here are, of course, representative of an even wider network of intergroup contacts: the effects of Rumanian, Hungarian, and the Baltic languages and cultures on the Jews and Germans have in principle been of the same type as the Slavic, and the study of these influences, taken together, becomes an important chapter in the cultural history of Eastern Europe. But the present paper is intended also as a contribution to the theory of language contact (cf. U. Weinreich

1953a)¹ and to the problem of "bilingual dialectology" (U. Weinreich 1952:360-362). The possibility of comparing the differential reaction to the relatively uniform Slavic stimulus of two languages that were, to begin with, highly similar in structure and vocabulary - Yiddish and German - is particularly attractive because it guarantees that differences in the degree of influence will not gratuitously be attributed to a different "permeability" of the structures influenced (U. Weinreich 1953a:113f.). In the only previous work where Yiddish and German in a Slavic country were discussed together (Ułaszyn 1915), the comparative problem was unfortunately not even raised. Shtif (1932:58, 62) referred briefly to diaspora German in a study of Yiddish, but he was interested in the existence of the Slavic impact rather than in the differences of its nature in Yiddish and German.

We have restricted ourselves to the dialects of the German diaspora, spoken in the so-called "language islands" (*Sprachinseln*), and to Yiddish as used to the east of German territory. In order to limit the scope of the discussion, we have excluded from this paper Slavic influences on the Yiddish of Germany and on Standard German; we have also left out of consideration the German dialects spoken within solid German language territory, even in previously Slavic (Polabian, Pomeranian, Sorbian, Czech) areas, or along the present language borders, where Hugo Schuchardt collected most of the material for his *Slavo-German masterpiece* (1884). The reverse influences of Yiddish and German upon the Slavs, while also potent, are not discussed here, either. The period dealt with necessarily ends in 1939: the resettlement of ethnic Germans in the Reich, the slaughter of European Jewry by Germany and its accomplices, the dislocation and emigration of many of its survivors, the suppression of Yiddish cultural life, and the liquidation of German population exclaves has brought an era of East European history to a cataclysmic end. The use of the present tense in geographic references in this paper is thus largely an "ethnographic" device.

The physical destruction or dislocation of the societies under discussion rules out the possibility of fresh field work and forces the student to rely to a considerable degree on materials published before the second World War. For the problem at hand this turns out to be a major handicap, for the ideological framework of research on colonial German and on Yiddish has been different. Germanistic research even at its best has been preoccupied with the origins and chronology of German

¹ All references, by author and year, are to the bibliography at the end of the paper. Figures following the colon after the date indicate pages.

eastward migration and with the patterns of dialect mixture and leveling (Žirmunskij 1929:181, 1956:99),² and it has therefore sought out the archaic, the Germanic elements of language and culture, while new acquisitions, seemingly irrelevant to migration history, were deemphasized or overlooked.³ Moreover, German research has been marred by a conservative concentration on pre-phonemic historical phonology and morphology to the detriment of syntax and lexicology; completely oblivious of the great Schuchardt, it kept problems of language interaction well in the background. Yiddish scholarship has been more realistic and less one-sided. Because of its interest in the distinctness of Jewish culture, modern Yiddish linguistics and folkloristics have been favorably predisposed to the discovery of Slavic influences as a prominent factor in the progressive separation of Yiddish from German. Especially after Yiddish studies were shifted from their primitive beginnings at German universities to Eastern Europe, the Slavic component of Yiddish was discovered in earnest: by Alfred Landau (1850-1935) of Brody, who was working in Vienna from the 1880's; by Lazare Sainéan (1859-1934) in Bucharest (cf. Gininger 1938, 1954); and by numerous scholars at the new institutions for Yiddish research in Vilna, Minsk, Kiev, Moscow, and New York.⁴ Nevertheless, one may hope that despite the limitations of the existing literature it is possible to reach an unprejudiced view of the differential Slavic impact on the two languages and cultures.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. VOCALISM

The lack of front rounded vowels (*ö, ü*) and diphthongs in Yiddish and in some branches of diaspora German looks offhand like a Slavic phenomenon. But the presence or absence of such vowels in a German colonial dialect seems to depend entirely on the status of delabialization in its home area in Germany (cf. footnote 16 below); the only exception is

² At its worst, in the hands of German Nazis (e.g. Schier 1938), the study of the eastern diaspora was a platform for the proclamation of alleged German superiority or a tool for activating language exclaves as outposts in the imminent onslaught on the East. The student in search of facts has the distasteful job of wading through a vast morass of pseudo-scholarship by Hitler's professors and the "ex"-Nazis of today who sanguinely anticipated the planned massacre of Jews and other victims, or who shrug it off in retrospect as an accident of war.

³ As a typical example, we may cite the major synthesizing and programmatic study by Aubin (1937). The author bewails the "kleindeutsche Blickverengung" (p. 310) common in German research and calls for the broadest perspective; yet even he does not as much as mention the problem of Slavic influence.

⁴ For a survey of research problems and a bibliography, see M. Weinreich (1956).

Latvia (*Hwb.* 2.202), where no better explanation for German unrounding is available than local Baltic influence. In Yiddish the main wave of unrounding, which yielded such forms as *bixer*⁵ 'books', *kep* 'heads' (cf. German *Bücher, Köpfe*), is probably also related to the unrounding process on German territory; on the other hand, the ancestor dialect of present-day Ctl and SE Yiddish⁶ had developed a new front rounded vowel (e.g. **büx* 'book') which was in turn unrounded (*bīx*) – a development that was completed on Slavic (Polish and Ukrainian, but not Slovak) territory (Birnbäum 1934:60),⁷ and which may conceivably have been caused by the Slavic surroundings (Shulman 1938:132).

As for the distinction between long and short vowels, it seems to have been preserved intact in colonial German (e.g. Žirmunskij 1931a:258 on the Ukraine). In Yiddish, on the other hand, the length feature has been eliminated in large portions of the NE and SE dialects (U. Weinreich 1958). This major structural change cannot be charged to Slavic with complete certainty, since quantity has been eliminated in NE Yiddish not only on the territory of Belorussian, which indeed lacks the feature, but also on the territory of Lithuanian, which has it; moreover, Ctl Yiddish has retained vowel quantity even though it is absent in coterritorial Polish. But if this is an internal Yiddish development, it has probably received regional encouragement from contact with East Slavic (Sapir 1915:236); in particular, the presence of a "sixth vowel" (*y* opposed to *i*) in SE Yiddish is hard to dissociate from the Ukrainian-Balkan affinities of that Yiddish dialect (Jakobson 1953:77f.).⁸

In the Yiddish of Belorussia, a shift of pretonal *o* to *a* (*akanje*) has been attributed to the coterritorial Slavic language (Shtif 1929:9), e.g. *akóršt* < *okóršt* emphatic particle after imperatives, *xalile* < *xolile* 'Heaven forbid'.⁹ The appearance of *akan'e* in colonial German has never been observed.

⁵ Yiddish forms are cited in a transcription in which *x, j* have their I.P.A. values; palatality is indicated by ' ; stress is marked by an accent if other than penultimate.

⁶ The following abbreviations are used: Ctl Yiddish–Central Yiddish, spoken in central Poland, eastern Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia; NE Yiddish–Northeastern Yiddish, the dialect of Lithuania and Belorussia; SE Yiddish–Southeastern Yiddish, the dialect of the Ukraine, Rumania, etc.; Std. Yiddish–Standard Yiddish. On the classification of Yiddish dialects, see M. Weinreich (1939); cf. also Fig. 1.

⁷ The occurrence of *ü* in the Yiddish of Brańsk (near Bielsk Podlaski; Kats 1924) is most exceptional and must be explained as a contamination of *u* and *i* on the dialect boundary.

⁸ It is unnecessary to seek the origins of SE Yiddish *y* in Ukrainian loanwords, as Jakobson does (1953:77); the transformation of the older Yiddish opposition *i* : *i* into *i* : *y* could have developed from direct system-to-system contact.

⁹ Shulman's suggestions (1938:152ff.) about the correspondence of the *a/o* and *o/u*

The non-phonemic details of vowel quality seem to have been subject to sporadic local influences in both languages. For example, in westernmost Kočevje (Gottschée) in N. Yugoslavia, German *ai, au* are said to have assumed Slovenian quality: *ei, ou* (*Hwb.* 3.75); in Poland, German vowels, it is hinted, acquired nasalization from Polish (Doubek 1931/32:81). In Yiddish, the "Ukrainian" quality of short *i* in the SE dialect has already been mentioned (cf. also Shulman 1938:144f.); the similarity of NE Yid. [yj] = *ej* to Belorussian *yj* (Shtif 1929:21) also belongs in this class of phenomena.

2.2. CONSONANTISM

Perhaps the most important phonemic novelty encountered by Yiddish and German in their Slavic surroundings was the existence of palatal consonants. The German colonial dialects reacted by an extensive palatalization of dentals and velars before front vowels, not only in Poland (Doubek 1933:169), but also in Spiš (Zips), Slovakia, where they came under the sway of trans-Carpathian Polish dialects (hence *tšim* 'caraway seed', cf. *Kümmel*; *džān* 'to give', cf. *geben*; *rēdžn* 'rain', cf. *Regen*). We also find German near Danzig sharing a local palatalization with Kashubian (Mitzka 1928:9, 23f.): *k* > *k'ç, tç* before *i, e*; hence *tçēitç* 'kitchen' (< *kēik*), etc. But the conditional nature of this palatalization makes one suspect that it is subphonemic. In Latvia, where German is said to have adopted the Lettish palatal phonemes *l', ņ, k'* (Mitzka 1921:146; Kiparsky 1936:211), we do find *l'urbā*, a contemptuous designation for a half-educated Latvian, contrasting with *lubā* 'shingle' (Kiparsky 1936:96). Yet in the adoption of Russian loanwords, depalatalization is common (*nānā* 'governess' < *nańa*), and even Lettish *kaļļa* '(kind of) pole', *ķidiņi* 'fowl's innards' yield German *kalā, kidiņ* without palatals (*ibid.*: 211; 88, 91). The effect of Slavic palatality on colonial German may thus be described as marginal.

In Yiddish, too, sub-phonemic palatalization of dentals and velars before front vowels is common in the NE and SE dialects (U. Weinreich 1953b:124; Veynger 1929:91f.), but much more radical effects have also

isoglosses between SE and NE Yiddish with Ukrainian-Belorussian isoglosses is farfetched. In Yiddish these distinctions are central while in the coterritorial Slavic languages they affect only peripheral phenomena.

¹⁰ Žirmunskij (1931a:262) cites forms like *g'ŋ'epf* 'buttons' (cf. *Knöpfe*), but does not attribute the palatalization of the consonants to Slavic contact. In discussing the palatalization of the dental clusters (e.g. *ēnde* < *ende* 'end') in Slovakian and Silesian German, Schwarz (1934) explicitly denies Slavic influence and sees *ēnde* as an intermediate stage between *ende* and the *eje* common in SW German dialects.

been noted. In NE Yiddish a process of *cekan'e-dzekan'e* analogous to Belorussian has, in its extremes, produced a merger of *t*, *d* with *c*, *dz* or even with *č*, *dž* before front vowels; and *s*, *z* have quite commonly merged with *š*, *ž* before *i* even where there is no "Sábédiker losn" (Shtif 1929:7-9, 12f.). Above all, every Yiddish dialect in Eastern Europe has developed new palatal phonemes: *ń*, *l'*, and dialectally also *t'*, *d'*, and *š*.¹¹ These palatals occur not only in words of ultimately Slavic origin (*šmeńe* 'handful', *peń* 'stump', *mol'* 'moth', *l'ul'ke* 'tobacco pipe', *t'oxken* 'to throb') and in suffixes of Slavic derivation (*-ńu*, *-ńik*, *-ńak*, *-arńe*), but also in various personal names of non-Slavic origin which undergo productive Slavic-modeled endearing transformations (*dod'e* from *dovid*, *pińe* from *pinxes*, *gneńe* from *gnendl*, etc.). Most remarkably, the palatal phonemes in Yiddish also occur in "phonological pseudo-Slavicisms," in which they have been introduced in place of the corresponding dentals (or dentals plus *j*) to add pejorative or endearing connotations (U. Weinreich 1955:606): *ńome*, endearing form of *binjomin* 'Benjamin'; *kńaker* 'big shot (more conceited than *knaker*)', *l'axen* 'to guffaw (more crudely than *laxn*)'. Dial. *nedńe* 'dowry' (< Aramaic *ndunjo*) also seems to have a pejorative flavor lacking in the more usual *nodn* (Std. Yid. *nadn*), which has no palatal.¹²

Another process which is sporadic in diaspora German but general in Yiddish (Jakobson 1953:80) is the transformation of the consonantal tense/lax opposition into a voiceless/voiced one. It has been pointed out (Schwarz 1934:389) that German exclave dialects which have distinctive voice need not have developed this feature on Czech or Slovak territory, since they may have imported it from Silesia; and it is possible that Yiddish, too, developed distinctive voice while still west of the Oder. But even there the use of voice may have been induced, in both languages, by contact with Slavic. In Yiddish, the Slavic environment has had a still further impact: it was probably western Ukrainian (Zilyns'kyj 1928:303f.) and southern Belorussian (Šerech 1953:15) that served as a model for the distinguishing of voice even at the end of words, a position in

¹¹ Cf. U. Weinreich (1953b:124). Jakobson (1953:79) is probably incorrect in speaking of a feature of softening among non-palatals; all his examples of alleged /p', b', m'/ must be analyzed as /pj, bj, mj/; whereas the true palatals /ɲ, ʎ (c, ʃ, š)/ are actually opposed to dentals + *j*: *mańe* woman's name: *manje* 'mania'; *kańe* 'spoiled, out of order': *italje* 'Italy'; *god'e* man's name: *melodje* 'melody'; *peńe* woman's name: *posesje* 'estate'.

¹² The manner in which "borrowed" phonemes are utilized by a language in non-borrowed vocabulary is an aspect of language contact that has not been well studied to date; the Yiddish example of direct semantization of a recently acquired distinctive feature should stimulate parallel research in other languages.

which German tenseness (and Polish voice) are neutralized. The hypothesis that the word-final voice distinction is a Yiddish innovation which followed an earlier stage of general automatic word-final voicelessness is supported by the etymologically arbitrary distribution of voiced and voiceless consonants.¹³ On the other hand, final distinctive voice in Yiddish is found further north and east than in the coterritorial Slavic and Baltic languages, and the interaction of internal Yiddish structural causes with Slavic influences must be considered. The adoption, in NE Yiddish, of the East Slavic and East Polish system of sandhi, by which final consonants are voiced or unvoiced according to the (phonemic) voicing of the initial consonant of the following word (Gutmans 1927) should also be brought into the investigation, for it contrasts with the retention of a German-type sandhi system in Ctl Yiddish. With additional materials on Slavic that have become available since Gutmans' discovery, a more precise formulation of the problem is possible, and a search for corresponding phenomena in colonial German could be instituted.

Apart from minor modifications, such as the redundant voicing of lenis *z* and *ž* under East European (Slavic, Hungarian) influence (Moser 1937:102; intervocalic - Krämer 1934/35:327) or the deaspiration of *kh* in the Bukovina (*Hwb.* 1.629) and in the insulated western margins of the Kočevje exclave (Tschinkel 1908), the contact with the Slavic voice feature has - outside of Silesia - had no effect on German. In fact, so stable has the imported tenseness feature been that at least in one Hessian group of colonies in the Ukraine, voiced consonants in a recent stratum of Ukrainian loanwords, instead of being identified with the existing lax-voiceless series,¹⁴ gave rise to a new voiced series, distinct both from voiceless-lenis and from voiceless-aspirates: there is an opposition of the initial sounds in *dńa* 'melon' (Ukr. *dynja*), *tńk* 'thick', and *thāp* 'deaf' (Sokolskaja and Sinder 1930:351).¹⁵ This German solution might be described as a mechanical addition of series, in contrast to the trans-

¹³ Thus, **brief* > **briF* > *briv* 'letter' but **tief* > **tiF* > *tif* 'deep'; **gelt* > **geIt* > *gelt* 'money' but **gevalt* > **gvalT* > *gvald* 'violence'; **hund* > **hunT* > *humt* 'dog' but **band* > **banT* > *band* 'ribbon'. The existence of word-final voice in NE Yid. was apparently first noted by Sapir (1915:236 f.).

¹⁴ This has been the rule in most diaspora dialects; cf. Krämer (1934/35:326) on Palatine German in E. Galicia.

¹⁵ It is significant that to their cautious statement of this fact, its discoverers appended an explanation of the phoneme concept itself. Theirs was the first and last study of diaspora German to be based on phonemics. It is possible that phonemically sensitive research could show up other Slavic influences which have not otherwise been noticed; as it is, even Anton Pfalz, almost a solitary structuralist among German dialectologists, in writing on vowel patterns of diaspora dialects (1937) does not generalize sufficiently to make comparisons with Slavic possible.

formed Yiddish pattern: German /th d/ + Ukr. /t d/ → /th d d/; but "pre-migration" Yiddish */th d/ × Slav. /t d/ → /t d/.

The Yiddish loss of distinctive *h* in some areas has been connected with the Slavic-induced elimination of aspiration in the voiceless consonants (Jakobson 1953:79f.) and, although the geographic extent of the Yiddish phenomenon is still unclear, this hypothesis is plausible. But here the Yiddish dialects and subdialects manifest an unpredictably differential reaction to the Slavic stimulus. In the Western Ukraine, for example, Yiddish – modeling itself on the *h*-less Ukrainian system – eliminated its phonemic *h* (U. Weinreich 1953b:125), whereas in the Eastern Ukraine it adopted, from the same Ukrainian model, the voiced /h/ as a replacement for *h*, without modifying its phoneme inventory. In still a third variety (Shulman 1938:159), Yiddish took from Ukrainian a new phoneme /h/ which it opposes to existing /h/: *fiornitse* 'parlor' (Ukr. *hornytsa*), but *hober* 'oats' (cf. German *Hafer*). In Ukrainian German we read of a new phoneme /ɣ/, which occurs in Ukrainian loanwords (Sokolskaja and Sinder 1930:352; but is it opposed to *h*?) or as the normal realization of intervocalic /h/ (*ibid.*: 339f.; Žirmunskij 1931a:256).

The darkening of *l* to [ɫ] in German and in Yiddish is a process which, like the evolution of voice, may have started under Slavic influence as far west as Silesia. On the other hand, it was in Eastern Europe that the labialization of dark [ɫ] to [w] took place, almost certainly on Slavic models. This occurred in Kočevje German under Slovenian influence and in the lowland parts of Upper Spiš under Polish influence (Schwarz 1934:387).¹⁶ In Yiddish too this feature is reminiscent of Slavic in its phonetic nature, but it is rather un-Slavic in distribution: the Yiddish *w* < *l* area in Belorussia (Veynger 1929:133; Shtif 1929:21) is much smaller than the Belorussian one (Buzuk 1928:map 9), while in Poland there are numerous localities (Prilutski 1917:44–76, *passim*) where Polish made the *l* > *w* shift systematically whereas Yiddish has it only in final position (*špīgu* 'mirror' < *špigl*). We are reminded of the dialectal merger of hissing and hushing consonants in NE Yiddish ("Sábesdiker losn"), which is also in all likelihood of Slavic origin but whose structural and particularly geographic details are quite un-Slavic (Weinreich 1952; see also § 7 below).

¹⁶ In Slovakian exclaves where German *l* was not so dark to begin with, labialization did not take place. In the same article (1934), Schwarz refutes the hypotheses of Slavic causation of the *v* > *f* shift in Slovenian German, the unrounding of *ü* and *ö* in Wilamowice, and certain other changes.

The general reaction of Yiddish and colonial German to Slavic hushing consonants has not been uniform. Doubek mentions (1931/32:81) a "differentiation of sibilants" in Poland German, but without documentation. It appears that neither language adopted the full stock of hushing (š...) and palatalized hissing (ś...) consonants characteristic of Polish dialects which are free of *mazurzenie*: in fact, in Galicia German the number of orders was even reduced when imported *ç* was merged with *š* under local Slavic influence and the *ś* of loanwords was likewise treated like *š* (Krämer 1934/35:327). But near Danzig (Mitzka 1923:23) German was enriched by *ž* sounds derived, in a shift it shared with Kashubian, from *j* in certain positions (e.g. *hež* 'hay' < *hej*). In Yiddish, the phonemes *ž* and *č* cannot be said to be due to Slavic, since both occur in words of pre-Slavic origin. But it is undeniable that their distribution has been extended, and their frequency increased immensely, as the result of the absorption of Slavic loanwords containing *ž*, *č* and, merged with these, Polish *ź*, *ć* (U. Weinreich 1952:368, footnote 40; Jakobson 1953:80). An accumulation of *ž* and *č* sounds noticeably above their normal frequency has even been utilized in Yiddish as a poetic device to suggest "Slavicness," and hence village earthiness.¹⁷

In general the distributional structure of Yiddish has been influenced by Slavic to a greater extent than that of colonial German. Through the adaptation of Slavic lexical items (*dl-* as in *dlot* 'chisel', *xr-* as in *xropen* 'to snore', etc.), the possibilities of initial consonantal clustering have been greatly extended even in non-Slavic vocabulary. As a result, pronunciations of Hebrew-origin words probably became more current in which no anaptyctic vowel (corresponding to *shwa* or *hataf patah*) separates an initial cluster: *dlile* instead of *dəlile* 'Delilah', *xrifēs* instead of *xərifēs* 'mental acuity', *pgam* instead of *pəgám* 'defect', etc. But here there are considerable regional differences in Yiddish which still have to be studied.

2.3. PROSODY

An important Slavic effect on Yiddish prosodic structure has been detected in the elimination of certain non-phonemic secondary stresses in Yiddish (Hrushovski 1954:241). In the domain of intonation, it is now apparent that the most noticeable and famous of all Yiddish

¹⁷ E.g. Moyshe Kulbak, "Raysn" (1920?): "Nastaše hot ščavje geklibn bam zajft fun di stežkes, / a moltsajt tsu maxn Antošén... " (N. picked sorrel at the sides of the paths / to make a meal for A.). Yankev Glatshsteyn, "Undzer tsikhtik lošhn" (1943): "Undzere zejdes... [hobn] arájngevebt in im / gutmut fun pójeršn l'axiš un žvavišn slaviš" (Our forefathers weaved into it [the Yiddish language] / the cheerfulness of Lechitic [Polish peasant speech] / and of lively [an improvised extension of *žvave* by *-iš*] Slavic).

contours – the “rise-fall” – is not of Slavic origin (U. Weinreich 1956: 640f.), but other intonation influences are not thereby ruled out (M. Weinreich 1956: 629). In German, strong Lettish and Estonian influences have been alleged in the Baltic countries (*Hwb.* 2.202). Unfortunately the rudimentary state of description of Slavic, Yiddish, and colonial German intonation makes generalizations premature.

3. GRAMMAR

3.1. ADOPTION OF AFFIXES

The adoption of derivational affixes from Slavic sources is extremely rare in colonial German¹⁸ but common in Yiddish. Only a single prefix (*bez-* ‘-less’) seems to have become even incipiently productive,¹⁹ but the number of Yiddish suffixes adapted from Slavic languages is impressive. Some have a rather limited distribution in the vocabulary: the feminizer *-še*, the endearing *-čik*, the pejorative *-ák*, *-áč*, *-éts*, *-l’ák*, *-ńák*, are all restricted to a relatively small number of words each. But other suffixes are highly productive: *-ke* feminizer (cf. *lérer-ke* ‘woman teacher’; in some dialects slightly pejorative), *-ke-* verbalizer of interjections (cf. *bom-ke-n* ‘to say *bom*’ [to chime in]), *-(e)ńu* and *-inke* endearing vocative suffixes (cf. *kínd-eńu* ‘dear child’, *múm-inke* ‘dear aunt’), *-ske* usually pejorative adjectivizer (cf. *oriman-ske* ‘fit for a pauper’), *-(ev)ate* usually a mildly pejorative adjectivizer (cf. *tam-evate* ‘dull’ < *tam* ‘dullard’), *-ixe* feminizer of animal and (dial.) some personal names (cf. *léjb-ixe* ‘lioness; Leyb’s wife’), *-arńe* mildly contemptuous nomen loci (cf. *xasid-arńe* ‘gathering place of khasidim’), *-ńik* personalizing or agentive suffix (cf. *jišuv-ńik* ‘village Jew’),²⁰ *-ńitse* feminizer of the preceding (cf. *ejšes-iš-ńitse* ‘adulteress’ < *ejšes-iš-ńik* ‘adulterer’ < *ejšes-iš* ‘married woman’), *-úk* pejorative suffix, esp. for names of occupations (cf. *šuster-úk* ‘contemptible cobbler’); and many others. Even Polish *-usiu*, which has

¹⁸ Kleczkowski (1931) lists various “Polish suffixes” in Prussian German, but it turns out that this is merely a classification of complex Polish loanwords by suffixes which are synchronically irrelevant from the German point of view. On the theory of bound-morpheme borrowing, see Weinreich (1953a: 31).

¹⁹ Even so, *bez-* seems to be limited to constructions with *-ńik* in pejorative vocabulary: *bez-buš-ńik* ‘shameless person’ (cf. *buše* ‘shame’). There are, of course, numerous Slavic loanwords with prefixes, e.g. dial. *pri-paren* ‘to scald’ beside *paren* ‘to steam’, dial. *za-čepen* ‘to provoke’ beside *čepen* ‘to touch’; but they have not yielded productive prefixes **pri-*, **za-*.

²⁰ Kleczkowski (1931) reports the productivization of *-ńik* in East Prussian German as a designation of inhabitants of the place named by the base, but his example, *Wolittńik* ‘one who dwells on the Wolitte river’, is suspect: the atlases actually list a town called *Wolittnick*.

yielded an apparently productive *-ušu* in various German exclaves in Poland,²¹ seems in that language to be restricted to vocatives (*kind-ušu* ‘dear child’, *kac-ušu* ‘kitten’), whereas in Ctl Yiddish the cognate *-eši* does not necessarily place a syntactic limitation on the noun: *di mámeši* ‘Mom’, etc. In Yiddish even place-name suffixes have been partly productivized: *-sk*, *-ev*, *-evke* have been utilized in certain toponymics – themselves of Slavic origin – to give them a more “canonic” form, i.e. to make them sound even more like typical place names: cf. *žarkev* (Pol. *Żarki*), *mžiglev* (Pol. *Mrzyglód*), *brisk* (Pol. *Brześć*, Ukr. *Brest*, *Berestja*; Beranek 1951: 95) – not to speak of fictional towns in Yiddish literature like *kasril-evke* (Sholom Aleichem), *glup-sk* (Mendele Moykher-Sforim), etc. Nothing similar has been noted in colonial German.

Particularly interesting is the utilization of non-final, “infix-like” suffixes of ultimately Slavic origin which have a diminutive function when used with adjectives. In German they have been registered in Wilamowice only (Mojmir 1930: x), but there they are apparently unable to close a construction and the word to which they are added must be “readjectivized” by the native German suffix *-ig*: *klin-učć-ik* ‘small’, *rut-ušš-ik* ‘red’, etc.; furthermore, it is not clear that these adjectives can be used attributively as well as in the predicate. In Yiddish, analogous endearing adjective suffixes are common to all dialects; they do not disqualify the adjective for attributive use; and they permit inflectional endings to follow directly: *der ált-ičk-er man* ‘the old (endearing) man’, *dos rójt-ink-e kíšele* ‘the little red (endearing) pillow’. These suffixes in Yiddish are also used with verbs, some adverbs, and at least one interjection: *šlóf-ink-en* ‘to sleep (nursery-talk)’, *pamél-ink-es* ‘slowly (endearing)’, *gváld-ink-es* ‘Heavens!’. A further set of non-final suffixes occurs in Yiddish (at least colloquially) in adjectives and verbs; etymologically, they are either of Slavic origin or blends of Germanic and Slavic stock; semantically, they fluctuate between indifference and pejorative or augmentative function: in adjectives *-en-*, reminiscent of Belorussian and Ukrainian devices (*gántś-en-e teg* ‘days on end’, more emphatic than *gants-e teg*; cf. Belorus. *bahats-en-nyj*; Joffe 1928: 309); in verbs, *-eve-* (dial. *hěřš-eve-n* ‘to rule high-handedly’ vs. *herš-n* ‘to rule’; dial. *pák-eve-n* ‘to pack sloppily’ vs. *pak-n* ‘to pack’).²² According to

²¹ Förstemann 1852: 426 (Danzig); Mojmir 1930: x (Wilamowice); Kage 1935/36: 200 (Sompolno).

²² In some verb doublets the extended form with *-ev-* even seems to connote repetitiveness, as in Slavic: cf. *marúd(ev)en* ‘to dally’. The fact that in some of these verb pairs, one member is of direct Germanic descent while the other is a doublet that has entered

NB

one possible analysis (Joffe 1928:310), the infinitives and present-tense plurals like *xröp-en-en* 'to snore', which for some speakers may be more expressive than the shorter *xrope-n*, involve an extension of the verbal base by *-en-* partly on the analogy of Slavic devices (*xvat-an-ut'*, etc.).²³

3.2. REPRODUCTION OF DERIVATIONAL PARADIGMS

Most Yiddish nouns have two degrees of diminutive, e.g. *grub* 'pit, hole' – *grib-l* 'little pit' – *grib-ele* 'little pit (endearing)', *žuk* – *žuk-l* – *žúk-ele* 'bug', *hun-hin-dl-hin-dele* 'hen', etc.²⁴ The formant morphemes are of Germanic origin, but the pattern of two degrees of diminutive is hardly attested in German;²⁵ it is, on the contrary, clearly reminiscent of Slavic: cf. Polish *jama-jamka-jameczka*, etc. The NE Yiddish dialect, in which the neuter gender has disappeared (in a development which is, as Sapir and Jakobson have observed, itself probably related to the coteritoriality of that dialect with neuterless Belorussian and Lithuanian), has also adopted the un-Germanic but Slavic rule that diminutives have the same gender as the base form (Zaretski 1929:96).

Colonial German has not shown the same susceptibility to the "inner form" of Slavic diminutives. In Volga German, for example, we find historically complex forms such as *lošad-kə-l-jə* 'little horse', where *-kə* is the Russian suffix, *-l* a dialectal German suffix originally attached in the southern Volga region, while *-jə* is the productive German suffix finally added by speakers of another dialect (Šiller 1928:81). Yet this multiplication seems to have no synchronic value; in other words, we have no evidence that *lošadkəljə* represents a higher degree of diminution than **lošadkəl*, or that either of these is more diminutive than **lošadkə* or **lošad'*. We find a similar example in E. Galician *jašəkəlçə* 'head pillow' < Pol. *jasiek* (Krämer 1934/35:343).

A major Slavic influence on Yiddish verbs has been the establishment

Yiddish through Slavic (e.g. *pakn-pákeven*) is synchronically irrelevant, even though it is characteristic of the fusion nature of Yiddish (Shulman 1939:74).

²³ According to an alternate analysis, such verbs are merely unstable in their selection of the *-n* or *-nen* allomorph of the "*-en*" morpheme, and no Slavic-type augmentation is involved.

²⁴ Such restrictions as do exist depend largely on the phonemic shape of the word (Zaretski 1929:61ff.).

²⁵ In Berne, a "second diminutive" is formed only when the first has lost its diminutive force (*Hüslí-Hüseli*; Henzen 1947:147). In Southern Germany there are only traces of a second diminutive. (Wrede 1908:79: "... die Bewahrung des sog. Zwischenvokals in den süddeutschen Mundarten [ist] zumeist von dem Grade kosender Zärtlichkeit abhängig (*bifflé-bissele*), aber auch dieser Unterschied kann nur hie und da berücksichtigt werden.")

of semantic equivalences between certain Yiddish prefixes or "complements" and Slavic verbal prefixes, e.g. *za-* and *far-*, *do-* and *der-*, etc. (Tavyov 1914; Landau 1928; Shtif 1932:52f.; Shklyar 1933:68-73). These "equivalent" prefixes occur (a) in "loanblends", i.e. verbs whose base is of ultimately Slavic origin: *far-čepen* 'to provoke', modeled on *za-čepen*, *far-(h)iken zix* 'to stammer', modeled on *za-(h)iken zix*, *der-kučén* 'to annoy' modeled on *do-kučén*, etc.;²⁶ (b) in "loan translations", i.e. verbs in which both stem and prefix of a Slavic verb are reproduced by non-Slavic morphemes, e.g. *óp-brengen* 'to bring back', modeled on *od-niešć*, dial. *ójs-špiln* 'to win', modeled on *wy-grac*, etc.;²⁷ (c) in verbs where the Yiddish prefix is applied productively without reference to a Slavic model, e.g. dial. *far-zejgn* 'to pacify (a child) by nursing': this is analogous to *far-špiln* 'to divert by play' (cf. Polish *za-bawić*), but is not itself modeled on a specific Slavic prefixed verb (Pol. *za-ssać*, Ukr. *za-ssaty* have different meanings). The prefixes generally also add a perfective aspectual meaning to the verb: *ven er hot gelejent dos bux* 'when he was reading the book', but ... *iber-gelejent* ... 'had read' (cf. Pol. *czytał-prze-czytał*).

This Yiddish development stands in clear contrast to the situation in diaspora German. In the dictionary of the Wilamowice dialect, the only one for which we have extensive material, we find (Mojmir 1930:s.v.) that prefixed verbs correspond in structure to their Standard German, not their Polish translations: cf. *fyr-blutta* = *ver-bluten* 'to bleed to death', but Pol. *umrzeć z uplywu krwi* (whereas Yiddish *far-blütikn* is a precise replica of Pol. *za-krwawić* 'to soil with blood'); *fyr-braxja* = *ver-brechen* 'to commit (a crime)' has no structural similarity to Pol. *wy-kroczyć* (whereas Yid. *far-brexn* is a precise replica of Pol. *za-lamać* 'to wring (one's hands)'). We do find scattered references to German verb calques, e.g. *ver-bitten* 'to beg pardon' in Volhynia (Lück 1933:13) modeled on Pol. *prze-praszać*, *an-značern* 'to appoint' modeled on *na-znaczyć* (Lück 1929:21), etc., but on the whole it appears that colonial German has not duplicated the profound enrichment of the verbal system

²⁶ But not every verb is subject to "loan blending": even though *na-* has been identified with *on-*, there is, for example, no **ón-značén* for dial. *naznačén* 'to appoint'.

²⁷ Polish forms are cited here as a matter of convenience; frequently it is impossible to determine which Slavic language has served as the model in a specific case. – The new, Slavic-modeled functions of prefixes have not of course displaced the older ones; for example, Yiddish has both *der-trinken* 'to drown' (cf. German *er-tränken*) and *der-trinken* 'to drink (up to a point)' (cf. Pol. *do-pić*). – Transitivity may also be modeled on Slavic. For instance *ón-šrajen* 'to scold', which was transitive in older Yiddish (cf. German *jemanden an-schreien*), has become intransitive probably on the model of such verbs as Pol. *na-krzyczeć na* ...

that Yiddish has experienced under Slavic influence; in the only three complemented Slavic loan verbs which Krämer found in his E. Galician dialect (1934/35:331), the complements followed German, not Slavic usage, as in *sich apmutšətə*, cf. *sich abquälen*.

Another instance of Slavic-derived enrichment is the increased use of the reflexive (Shtif 1932:53f.). It appears in East European Yiddish (a) with verbs possessing certain (Slavic-modeled) prefixes, e.g. *tse- . . . zix* (cf. *roz- . . . się*), *on- . . . zix* (cf. *na- . . . się*), and the like: *tse-vejnen zix* 'to break into tears' (cf. *roz-plakać się*), *on-trinken zix* 'to drink one's fill' (cf. *na-pić się*), etc.; (b) arbitrarily with certain verbs which are semantically not reflexive, e.g. *špiln zix* 'to play' (Pol. *bawić się*, but German *spielen*), *éndkin zix* 'to end (v.i.)' (Pol. *skończyć się*, but German *enden*, *endigen*), and many others;²⁸ (c) to form a "casual voice" of any verb, which signifies that the actor is not so fully engrossed in the action as when the verb appears in the normal active voice (without *zix*): *er zingt zix* 'he sings casually', *mir esn zix věčere* 'we are casually eating our supper' (cf. Pol. *śpiewa sobie*, *jemy sobie kolację*).²⁹ In colonial German this phenomenon seems to be sporadic, and is only poorly described: we read, for example, of "the frequent use of *sich*" in the Bukovina (*Hwb.* 1.629), of *er lernt sich gut* 'he is a good student' in Sompolno (Kage 1939:168), etc.; but these may be local Yiddishisms.

3.3. WORD ORDER

In Yiddish adjectives may be placed after the noun they determine, usually with an affective connotation: *dos land dos farbótene* 'the forbidden country', more solemn than *dos farbótene land*; *di toxtor majne* 'my daughter', with a touch of disparagement absent in *majn toxtor*. This degree of freedom in word order is lacking in German and may in Yiddish be due to contact with Slavic (Shtif 1932:57f.); where it occurs in colonial German (*die Nachbarn unsre*, in Volhynia; Lück 1929:21), it may be a Yiddishism.

²⁸ In this category the reflexive pattern becomes productive in Yiddish and is applied to particular verbs which have no specific reflexive Slavic models: cf. *óp-ruen zix* 'to rest', a blend of older *ójs-ruen zix* and the prefix *op-* modeled on non-reflexive Slavic verbs with *od-* (Pol. *od-pocznąć*, Russ. *ot-doxnut'*); in fact, here the colloquial NE Yiddish non-reflexive *óp-ruen* is the Slavic calque.

²⁹ The first two types were already noticed by Sainéan (1889); cf. Gininger (1954:175); the third was observed by Shtif (1932:36). - In some Yiddish dialects the "casual voice" requires a dative pronoun: "casual" *ix vaš mir* is opposed to reflexive *ix vaš mix* (cf. Pol. *myję sobie* vs. *myję się*). But in those dialects which use *zix* as the universal reflexive for all persons and both oblique cases (a phenomenon attributed by Sainéan and Sapir to Slavic influence), there is a unique Yiddish syncretism: *ix vaš zix* 'I am casually washing' = 'I am washing myself'.

The fact that in Yiddish subordinate clauses the place of the verb is the same as in main clauses is reminiscent of the state of things in Slavic. In Volhynia German (Lück 1929:21) this may again be an innovation due to Yiddish rather than a direct Slavic influence.³⁰

The position of the reflexive pronoun in Yiddish is after the infinitive verb when the latter is the subject of a sentence: *kamen zix*, cf. Pol. *czesać się* but German *sich kämnen*. In some varieties of NE Yiddish, the negative, *nit*, precedes the imperative: *nit freg* 'don't ask', cf. Belor, *nie pytaj* but German *frage nicht*. In both cases Slavic influence is possible.

3.4. OTHER SYNTACTIC FEATURES

In Spiš the use of inflected adjectives in the predicate in German has been attributed, whether justly or not, to Slovak influence (Gréb 1921:75). But in Yiddish, when adjectives appear inflected in the predicate, they do so not sporadically or indifferently as in Middle High German or in Spiš colonial German, but with a specific semantic value: *ix bin krank* 'I am sick (now)', but *ix bin a kranker* 'I am sick (i.e. a sick man)'. This is suggestively reminiscent of the differentiation of "long" and "short" forms of the adjective in East Slavic: cf. Russian *ja bolen* and *ja boľnoj*.

The non-contradictory use of repeated negative words has been noted in both Yiddish and colonial German. The double negative is common in older and modern non-standard German, but the multiplication of negatives in excess of two may be a feature of Slavic origin: cf. Yid. *kejner hot zix gornit nit getráxt*, colonial German (Volhynia: Lück 1929:21, Sompolno: Kage 1935/36:200) *es hat sich keiner nichts nicht gedacht*, with Pol. *nikt sobie nic nie myślił*. (The possibility of a Yiddish-Slavic connection was apparently first advanced by Sapir 1915:234.)

The use of "negative purpose clauses" after verbs of fearing is well established in Yiddish, e.g. *ix hob mojre er zol nit kumen* (cf. Pol. *boję się żeby nie przyszedł*). In Volhynia German (Lück 1929:21) the corresponding pattern, *ich fürchte mich [!] dass er nicht kommt* (Std. German . . . *dass er kommt*) may be a local Yiddishism; the same may be true of several other isolated features of Volhynian German which are the rule in Yiddish, e.g. the use of *vi* with adverbs in the superlative (Yid. *vi tsum gixstn*, colonial German *wie am schnellsten*, cf. Pol. *jak najprędzej* but Std. German *möglichst schnell* 'as fast as possible'), the use of *fun*

³⁰ The shift of the past participle to a position immediately after the inflected verb (*ich bin gegangen in die Stadt*) in Bukovina German is inexplicably listed among Slavic-Rumanian influences (*Hwb.* 1.629). It is much more probably a German provincialism or a Yiddishism.

after the comparative of adjectives, e.g. Yid. *greser fun mir* 'bigger than I', cf. Pol. *większy ode mnie* but Std. German *größer als ich* (noted by Sainéan, cf. Gininger 1954:175; Shtif 1932:36); a number of further examples are cited by Shtif (1932:55-60). In the colonial German dialect of Wilamowice, where the lexical impact of Slavic was strong, the syntactic influence of Polish was nevertheless nil, on the word of so qualified an observer as Kleczkowski (1921:5).

4. VOCABULARY

4.1. INVENTORY OF LOANWORDS; MECHANISMS OF INTERFERENCE

Loanwords are difficult to count. Apart from the elusiveness of loan-blends and loan translations, even directly transferred forms do not lend themselves to easy listing, since the criteria for the incorporation of a foreign word into the receiving language are, among bilingual populations, indeterminate in principle, and ephemeral loans are hard to distinguish from better integrated material. It is therefore only with great caution that one may juxtapose the "over 150 loanwords" of Slavic origin counted in Galician German (*Hwb.* 3.34) or the 800 Russian loanwords found, in addition to the many ephemeral ones, in Volga German (Dinges 1917; cited by Šiller 1928:69) to the 1,948 items in the Yiddish list by Shulman (1939:80) or the "thousands upon thousands" to which Joffe alludes (1928:241). However, samplings of vocabulary within any semantic field do confirm the impression that in Yiddish, words of Slavic origin are considerably more numerous than in German; and it is instructive that normativists in warning German colonists to resist lexical Slavization repeatedly held up Yiddish as a terrifying example.³¹

In both languages, the lexical influence of Slavic consists not only of outright importation, but also of more subtle interference mechanisms (U. Weinreich 1953a:47ff.). One of them is semantic matching. For example, in Kočevje German the local form of *zufrieden* 'pleased' is also used for 'always' on the model of Slovenian *zmirom*, which has both meanings (Tschinkel 1908:2). In the Bukovina (*Hwb.* 1.629) *allein* 'alone' has merged semantically with *selbst* 'oneself', probably on the model of the unified Yiddish *aléjn* (cf. Pol. *sam*; Shtif 1932:36). In Volhynia German (Lück 1929:21) we read of *schon nicht* 'no more' used for *nicht mehr* (cf. Pol. *już nie*), *oder . . . oder* for *entweder . . . oder* (cf. Pol. *albo . . . albo*), etc.; the latter form is also cited for Sompolno

³¹ "If you colonists don't want in future to speak a mixed language similar to the Jewish jargon, watch your German right now!" (Lück 1933:13).

(Kage 1935/36:200). But all these may also be Yiddishisms in German. For Yiddish, on the other hand, we have large sets of parallel vocabulary, both in folk speech and as an explicit principle of terminological innovation (e.g. Shtif 1932:42-5; Shklyar 1933, 1934; Spivak 1935). Often the Yiddish calque of a Slavic expression has served as a basis for further imaginative modification within Yiddish, particularly in botanical and zoological terminology. Thus, *mojše-rabejnis kiele* 'ladybug' (lit. 'Moses' little cow') is based on a cow image, like Ukr. *boža korovka* but unlike German *Marien-käfer* (lit. 'Mary's bug'); similarly, *xáneles éjgelex* 'pansies' is based on an eye metaphor like Russian *anjutiny glazki*, but unlike German *Stiefmütterchen* (lit. 'little stepmothers').

In both languages we also find instances of an unusual borrowing mechanism which involves the compounding of a word with its own complete or partial loan translation (U. Weinreich 1953a:52): cf. Yid. dial. *fis-ribe* 'fish', *fis-nohe* 'chilled calves' feet (as food) (Veynger 1929:123); Volga German *šuba-belts* 'particularly heavy fur coat' (< *šuba* + *Pelz*; Šiller 1928:85); Slovakian German *Kalina-beer-baum* 'rowan tree' (< *kalina* 'rowan tree' + 'berry' + 'tree'; Schwarz 1954:19); etc.

Among the telling results of Slavic lexical influence is the formation of "blends," i.e. of forms which are synchronically single morphemes, but whose parts have their origins in different languages. In the Bohemian border dialects of German one finds *pamelich*, a blend of *pomalu* and *allmählich* (U. Weinreich 1955:605, footnote 12) side by side with the unblended *bumälä*, and occasional folk etymologies like *Schnittei* 'breakfast', lit. 'cut egg, sandwich egg' < *snidaně* (Schwarz 1932/33:223). In Sompolno, Poland, the self-contradictory pun *Muskel-arbeit* 'mental work' (cf. Pol. *mózg* 'brains') has been recorded (Kage 1935/36:201). In Yiddish such blends are much more numerous; in addition to those cited in a previous paper on this subject (U. Weinreich 1955), the following may be mentioned: *benók* 'son (contempt.)' (*ben* × *synók*); *oremetá* 'the poor' (*orem* × *bednotá*; Zaretski 1931:73); *fartáxleven* 'to waste' (*taxles* 'worthwhile purpose' × Pol. *tachlować*; Joffe 1928:306); *žumen* 'to buzz' (cf. German *summen*, Pol. *szumić*, *žužnić*); *smokčén* 'to suck' (cf. Middle High German *smakezen*, Ukr. *smoktaty*); (*arójs*)*starčén* 'to protrude' (cf. German *starzen*, Pol. *sterczyć*); dial. *d'egexts* 'tar' (cf. Pol. *dziegieć* and *-exts* as in *šmir-exts* 'grease'); dial. *abile* 'as long as' (< *byle?* Tavyov 1914:353; < *afile* 'even' × *aby* 'as long as'? Kalmanovitsh 1926:161). Instances of "subtractive blending" in Yiddish as the result of met-analysis of Slavic roots are *strígeven* 'to baste (in sewing)' < *fa(r)-strígeven*, cf. Pol. *fastrygować*; and *žaver* 'rust' < *žávern* 'to rust' < *far-*

žávern < *far-ržávern*, cf. Ukr. *ržavjity*. We may classify as "formally unmarked blends" those cases of homonymy in which a pair of identically sounding words, one of Slavic origin and the other not, pass into a relation of polysemy. No German examples have been recorded, but Yiddish has *pen* 'quill; stump of a feather' (the latter meaning from Slavic, cf. Pol. *pieniek*), *maxn* (*mit . . .*) 'to make; to wave' (cf. Pol. *machać*; Joffe 1928:241, U. Weinreich 1955:608f.); *krie* 'tearing (of clothes in mourning); floe (of ice breaking up)' (cf. Ukr. *kryha*). The reclassification of nouns by gender according to the model of Slavic gender may also be listed here. A clearcut Yiddish instance is the word for 'beard', which has nothing feminine about it either in form, meaning, symbolism, or etymology, but which occurs as a feminine – *bord* or *burd* – in all dialects; cf. Pol. *broda* fem. In many cases the transfer of old masculines to the feminine gender in NE Yiddish also accords with coterritorial Slavic: *di kop* (cf. Belor. *halava*), *di fus* (cf. *naha*), *di fejgl* (cf. *ptuška*).

4.2. TOPICAL DOMAINS; SEMANTIC INTEGRATION

The topical domains in which Slavic has exerted its lexical influence are roughly the same for Yiddish and German. Joffe's representative Yiddish list (1928:241f.) takes in "clothing, food, plants and animals, house and household, parts of the body, family and home, street and market place, religious life, customs and festivities, workaday life." None of these categories is excluded from the much more sketchy German lists; it is particularly interesting to observe that modern technical terminology among German peasants in the diaspora was also developed by independent innovation or by borrowing from Slavic, and only rarely by reference to the standard language of Germany: cf. Volga German *Ofen* 'railroad engine', lit. 'oven'; *braxód* 'steamship' < *paraxód* (Šiller 1928:74); etc.

But while the topical domains of Slavic lexical impact are similar in the two languages, one finds numerous discrepancies within each domain: Slavic forms which were adopted in the one language but not in the other. For example, in Jamburg (N. Ukraine) the German colonists borrowed *buháj* 'bull', *komár* 'mosquito', *patalók* 'ceiling', *arbúz* 'watermelon' – words which are also known in Yiddish; but they retained Germanic words for 'mare, filly, duck, ant, pin, potato, grandfather, grandmother, shepherd' (Žirmunskij 1931a:passim) – concepts which in Yiddish are represented by words of Slavic etymology. In the more extensive Volga German lists (Šiller 1928) one finds loanwords which are familiar in

standard or substandard Yiddish too (*pasyłka* 'parcel', *lopatka* 'shovel'), but also many that are unknown in Yiddish (*kušat* 'to eat', *krast* 'to steal', *streljat* 'to shoot', *barot'sa* 'to fight'), In Sompolno, Germans used *proste* 'plain' (Pol. *prosto*, Yid. *prost*), *Sapalken* 'matches' (Pol. *zapalki*, dial. Yid. *zápalkes*); but their use of *Wuja* 'uncle', *przekornich* 'conceited', *przyleglic* 'adjacent', *lakumpilnich* 'gluttonous' seems to be unparalleled in Yiddish. In Czechoslovakian German (Schwarz 1932/33) the student of Yiddish recognizes such Slavicisms as *patə* 'heel' (Yid. *pjate*), *lūža* 'puddle' (Yid. *luže*), *žabə* 'toad' (Yid. *žabe*), *malina* 'raspberry' (Yid. *má-line*), *krečəm* 'inn' (Yid. *krečme*, dial. (NE) *krečəm*), *šmetən* 'cream' (Yid. *smétene*), *třoryx* 'pot cheese' (Yid. *tvorex*, dial. *tsvorax*, *tsvoraxts*), but there are numerous other which show no such correspondence. A comparative vocabulary of Yiddish and German words of Slavic origin would be worth compiling; but it is already apparent that adoption or exclusion of Slavic vocables did not follow any consistent principles, and there is no more reason to look for Yiddish-German uniformity than for agreement between, let us say, two separate colonial German dialects.

Two topical domains of Slavic lexical influence in Yiddish deserve special comment. It was the impression of Sainéan (Gininger 1954:177) that among the Slavic designations for character traits adopted in Yiddish, it is mostly bad qualities that are represented. Borokhov, too (1913:10), thought that vocabulary of Slavic origin was used for "the forms and feelings of workaday life in a narrow family circle, or for crude, negative qualities." Such generalizations must be treated with the utmost reserve. For one thing, a much fuller examination of Slavic "loan vocabulary" than these early scholars had carried out must be awaited. Moreover, considering that it is often the pejorative domains of vocabulary that show the most rapid automatic turnover, and that borrowing is but a natural source of lexical renovation for these domains (U. Weinreich 1953a:58), the existence of Slavic-origin terms of opprobrium in Yiddish is not necessarily a symptom of a negative evaluation of Slavic culture. On the contrary, the occurrence of Slavicisms with Jewish ritual connotations (e.g. *tréjbern* 'to remove the veins of', *kojlen* 'to slaughter', *praven* 'to celebrate (e.g. a circumcision)', *skarbove* 'traditional (of certain cantorial melodies)', etc.) shows that the Slavic origin of words – recognizable to many bilingual Jews – did not disqualify them from application even to sacred subjects.

Many Slavic loanwords have undergone semantic change in the process of adaptation. In Volga German, we find such narrowings of meaning

as *rešenje* 'punishment' (< 'decision'), *malitvə* 'Greek Orthodox field service' (< 'prayer'; Šiller 1928:84); in E. Galicia, the only case seems to be *puškaça* 'little jug' < 'little box' (Krämer 1934/35:337). In Yiddish, *naród* is listed by Sainéan (Gininger 1954:177) as 'large crowd', not as 'people'; *mezinik* as 'youngest son', but not as 'little finger'; *horb* as 'hump', but not as 'hillock'. It would be instructive to correlate a generalized statement of Yiddish and German semantic adaptation with the difference in the receiving cultures and in the social conditions of contact. German and Yiddish reborrowings from Slavic might be especially symptomatic as results of double filtering through a repeated loan process. Thus *malina*, a Slavic thieves' term for 'hiding place', originally from Jewish cant, has been reborrowed in Yiddish to designate hiding places used during German raids within the Jewish ghettos of 1941-44; the ironical *faneberje* 'aristocrat' is a reborrowing of the dial. Polish or Ukrainian word, originally from Yiddish (< *fajne berje* 'skillful, efficient person'; Shulman 1939:77). In Volga German, *jevrēdr* 'corporal' represents a reborrowing of Russian *jefrejtor* < German *Gefreiter* (Šiller 1928:73); in Wilamowice, German has *baserunkja* 'blows' < Pol. *baserunek* < German *Besserung* 'improvement' (Mojmir 1930: s.v.).

Are there specific patterns for the integration of the Slavic-origin words in the synonymic resources of the receiving language? That Borokhov's attempt to delineate such patterns for Yiddish was based on flimsy evidence is clear (cf. Shulman 1939:89f.). There may be a consistent ironic connotation in recent adjectives in *-ne* adopted by Yiddish from Slavic (e.g. *glavne* 'principal' etc.; U. Weinreich 1953a:56), but such a rule is quite restricted. Few speakers of Yiddish would agree that *xmare* (cf. Ukr. *xmara*) represents, let us say, a more threatening cloud than *volkn*, that *horb* (Ukr. *horb*) is a more grievous hump than *hojker*; such further pairs as *plejtse* (Pol. *plecy*) and *rukn* 'back', *kačen* (Ukr. *kačaty*) and *válgern* or *vélgern* 'to roll' are probably geographically, but not semantically specialized. In E. Galician German, on the other hand, a pattern of pejorative loanword synonymy seems to be systematic:³² *kapelux* 'shabby hat', *šepka* 'shabby cap', *fajka* 'old, worn-out pipe', *pastux* 'unreliable shepherd', etc. (Krämer 1934/35:338f.).

4.3. PHONOLOGICAL INTEGRATION OF SLAVIC-ORIGIN WORDS

Both languages contain Slavic-origin words of sufficient age to have

³² A similar phenomenon is ascribed to Sudeten German, where *Messer* 'knife' is opposed to *nus* 'bad knife' < Czech *nůž* (Stegmann 1938; U. Weinreich 1953a:56).

been completely integrated with the receiving phonological systems. In Volga German we find *š*, *ž*, *šž* all merging into *š*; occasional initial *č* > *š* (*šajnik* 'teapot' < *čajnik*), *x*- > *k*- (*kalát* 'robe' < *xalat*; Šiller 1928:81, 74). Similarly, in an E. Galician Palatine exclave, we find *kalipčen* 'little hut' < *chalupa*, *koič* 'at least' < *choć*, etc. (Krämer 1934/35:327, 331). The conversion of final *-a* to the more familiar *-ə* is universal. In Yiddish, *hr-* has been simplified to *r-* (dial. *rečke* < *hrečka* 'buckwheat', *ribe* < *hruba* 'stove'); and so on. Final *-a* has so generally been replaced by *-e* that among Yiddish-speaking girls in Vilna in the 1930s it was possible to use extra-systemic *-a* for the affective vocative of girls' names: *mira* for *mire*, *sorka* for *sorke*. On the whole, phonological developments in Yiddish which took place before the contact with Slavic and were due to the Hebrew-Aramaic component of the language seem to have made the Yiddish system more similar to the Slavic to begin with, e.g. with respect to the initial *z/s* distinction, the possibility of initial *x-*, and so on. These features were then reinforced by the Slavic component. In the oldest Slavic loanwords, the Slavic palatals were apparently replaced by dentals (cf. *kěšene* 'pocket' with Pol. *kieszęń*, Ukr. *kišenja*), but ever since the palatal point of articulation established itself firmly in Yiddish, the language has been able to distinguish *polke* 'drumstick (chicken leg)' from *pol'ke* 'Polish woman; (dial.) earring', or *vilne* 'Vilna' from dial. *vil'ne* 'loose (of dough)', whereas in Volga and E. Galician German, for example, *l* and *l'* in Ukrainian and Russian loanwords have been merged, and the *n/n'* distinction is only incipient (Šiller 1928:81; Krämer 1934/35:328).

In Yiddish many Slavic loanwords have had their stresses shifted to the first syllable: *máline* 'raspberry', *lópete* 'shovel', *téletse* 'heifer' (Jakobson 1953:74). No such prosodic integration of loanwords in German has been reported.

In both languages Slavicisms have participated in regular sound changes. Thus Slavic (Polish) *komin* 'chimney' appears as *kejmen* in NE Yiddish and as *kojmen* in the other dialects; we find *plajce* 'back' (Pol. *plecy*) in Ctl Yiddish and *plejce* in the others; *kruke* 'Cracow' (Pol. *Kraków*) in Ctl and SE and *kroke* in NE Yiddish; *dexen* 'to breathe', *séxerl* 'biscuit', (Ukr. *dyxaty*, *suxar*) in SE Yiddish; *pouzen* 'to crawl' (Belor. *pouzac'*) in some parts of NE Yiddish and *pojzen* in others. All the alternations exemplified by the preceding words - *ej/oj*, *aj/ej*, *u/o*, *ex* < *ix* < *ux*, *ou/oj* - are entirely "lautgesetzlich" in Yiddish. In Volga German we likewise have shifts: e.g. *-b-* > *-v-* (*savake* 'dog (curseword)'; Šiller 1928:81). In Slovenia, the oldest loanwords participated in the

German *a* > *uə* shift: *druəzn* 'to tease' < Sloven. *drāžiti*, *pəguənə* 'rat' < *podgana*, etc. (Schwarz 1934:345).

4.4. GRAMMATICAL INTEGRATION OF SLAVIC-ORIGIN WORDS

In both Yiddish and German, the noun, the adjective, the adverb, the verb, and the interjection have been the classes most open to Slavic influence; the sources give examples in ample numbers. The pronoun and the numeral classes, and of course the article, have been closed to loanwords.³³ On the other hand, with regard to prepositions and conjunctions the two languages have reacted differently. Yiddish has the conjunction-preposition *vedlik* 'according to' (Pol. *według*), the (dial.) preposition *paze* 'along' (of obscure etymology), and the conjunctions *to* 'in that case', *tsi* 'whether' (Belor., dial. Pol. *cy*), (*ni*)*xaj* 'let . . .', *xoč* 'although', (*a*)*xibe* 'unless', *i . . . i* 'both . . . and' (dial. even *i* 'and', in enumerations), (*bodaj* . . .) *abí* - '(let . . .) so long as -', . . . *jak . . . abí* - 'be . . . as it may, but -', dial. *pokevanen* 'until' (Joffe 1928:242; *póki* × *bizkl-vanen*). A number of adverbs of characteristically modal function should also be noted separately, e.g. *až* to emphasize great quantity, *het* to emphasize distance, *na* to accompany giving, *ot* to accompany pointing, *take* 'indeed', *xoč*(*be*) 'at least' (cf. Pol. *choćby*), *jakoš* 'somehow'; *jakbe* 'as if' (cf. *jakby*). Note also the peculiar adverbs *male* (+ interrogative) 'no matter (what, who, etc.)' and *same* (+ superlative) 'very' (e.g. *der same grester* 'the very biggest') and the enclitic *-že* 'then', used when the consecutive word order is impossible (e.g. *vos-že iz es?* 'what is it then?'). In diaspora German only sporadic instances of such influence are reported: *-žə* with imperatives in Wilamowice (Mojmir 1930:x), *choč* 'at least', *čut* 'nearly', *jakoš* 'somehow' in Volhynia (Kuhn 1926:539; Lück 1929:23), *chociek* and *byle-wo*, *byle-wie* (i.e. *irgendwo* × *byle jak*) in Sompolno (Kage 1935/36:201).

In the early stages of integration, Slavic loanwords did not easily submit to the inflectional requirements of the borrowing languages; but eventually this disability of the new component was overcome. This is most easily documented in the case of the adjective. We may assume that Slavic adjectives were first adopted in Yiddish and German in the predicate, uninflected: Yid. *er iz proste* 'he is coarse' (< *prostó*), *dos iz modne* 'this is peculiar' (< *modny* 'fashionable'), Sompolno German *das Kind ist malucich* 'the child is tiny' (< *malutki?*), *der Tag ist smutnich*

³³ Except, as Shulman already noted (1939:108, footnote), for *tištse* '1000' in the humorous, hyperbolic phrase (*ix darf es*) *af tištse najtsik kapores* 'I (have) no use (for it) whatsoever', lit. 'I need it) for 1,090 sacrificial ceremonies'. (The phrase also appears in other variants.)

'the day is dreary' (< *smutny*; Kage 1935/36:201). Only in the next stage did the adjectives come to be used attributively: *a proste menč* 'a coarse man', *mit a modne šmejxl* 'with a strange smile'. In Yiddish a further development took place during the 18th and 19th centuries, and is reflected in the literature, to a third stage in which the attributive adjectives were subjected to regular inflection: *prost-er*, *modne-m*, etc., as the case may be. To judge from the available evidence, most colonial German dialects did not reach the third stage of integration even where the second was reached; Volga German, for example, prefers the predicative *di suxarə varə garoš* 'the biscuits were good' to the attributive *das varə garošə suxarə* 'those were good biscuits', and the attributive construction retains, if used at all, an affective flavor (Šiller 1928:83).³⁴

Nouns of Slavic origin have in both languages been accorded the normal productive plural endings: in Yiddish, *-n* for most consonant stems and *-s* for *r* or vowel stems (*plix-n* 'bald spots'; *mul'er-s* 'masons', *kl'ačə-s* 'mares'); in German (e.g. in the Volga or E. Galician dialects), *-ə* for consonant stems and *-r* for vowel stems (*sajus-ə* 'unions'; *basilgə-r* 'packages'). Some Slavicisms in Yiddish also entered more archaic paradigms, e.g. *sod* : *sed-er* 'orchards', *pastex* : *pástex-er* 'shepherds', *kundes* : *kundejs-im* 'urchins' (cf. Pol. *kundys*). In addition, each language appears to maintain a separate inflection, itself of non-Slavic origin, which is reserved almost entirely for Slavic-origin nouns. In Ukrainian German (an Upper Hessian dialect) this consists of the suffix *-s* added to vowel stems: *kalužə-s* 'puddles', *γrušə-s* 'pears' (Sokolskaja and Sinder 1930:344).³⁵ In Yiddish the special inflection consists of *-es* (etymologically probably from Hebrew-Aramaic plurals) added to consonant stems (*bik-es* 'bulls', *pisk-es* 'grimaces'), sometimes with a stress shift in the stem acquired from Polish (*stol'er* : *stol'ár-es* 'carpenters'; cf. E. Galician German *patjar* : *patjárə* 'thieves', Krämer 1934/35:330), dialectally even with suffixal stress modeled on Russian (Poltava Yid. *jamščik* : *jamščik-és* 'drayman', cf. Russ. *jamščiki*), and with unique stem-vowel mutation in *čvok* : *čvek-es* 'nails'. The special plural is far more developed in Yiddish; the Slavic word for 'taxes', in colonial German *podatken*, appears in Yiddish, if used at all, exclusively as *podatkes*. In both languages some nouns of Slavic origin vacillate between the regular and "reserved" inflection, as in Ukraine German *kalužə-n* or *kalužə-s*, but in Yiddish at

³⁴ Slavic adjectives in *-yj* which appear in Volga German with the suffix replaced by *-er* (*rotner* 'platoon leader'; Šiller 1928) seem to have become nouns in the recipient language.

³⁵ The origin of this *-s* in vowel stems is puzzling. Could it be a Yiddishism itself?

least the choice may not be semantically neutral: the "reserved" inflection in some words tends to the pejorative (*stol'ár-es* as against *stol'er-s*).

The inflectional form of the Slavic noun which served as the starting point for its adaptation in the two languages deserves a special study. In Yiddish it appears that the Slavic plural was often adopted first: cf. *demb* 'oak' (probably from *demb-es* < Pol. *dęb-y*; Pol. sg. *dąb*); *blintse* (fem.) 'type of cheese dish' (probably < *blintse-s* < Ukr. *blync-i*; sg. *blyncé*); also *lapt'e* 'bast shoe' (. . . < *lapot'*), *penke* 'feather stump' (. . . < *penjók*), etc. (U. Weinreich 1955:608f.). On the other hand, some Slavic plurals were integrated into the receiving languages directly as singulars: cf. Yid. *póvidle* 'jam' (Pol. *powidla* pl.), *vidle* 'pitchfork' (Pol. *widla* pl.); E. Galician German *pirogi* 'cheese pastry' (Pol. *pirogi* pl.; Krämer 1934/35:331).

In gender, Slavic neuters are almost invariably reclassified, the German and Yiddish neuter being practically impermeable to loanwords. Note the Volga German feminines in *-anje*, *-enje* (*die sobranje* 'assembly') or the Yiddish feminines *vapne* 'lime' (Pol. *wapno*), dial. *pidle* (or *pidl* masc.) 'box, case' (Pol. *pułto*), *joder* 'kernel' (Pol. *jadro*), *ózere* 'lake' (Ukr. *ozero*), etc. (Shulman 1938:135).

In the class of verbs, German and Yiddish have also shown some differences in their reaction to the Slavic element. German dialects often took in Slavic verbs along with their infinitive endings and even their reflexive pronouns: cf. E. Galician *farkaličəta* 'to injure' (< Ukr. *kaličyty*), *sápatə* 'to pant' (< *sapaty*); Volga German *gušatsə* 'to eat' (< Russ. *kušat'*), *staradsə* 'to try hard' (> *starat'sa*), *barotsə* 'to fight' (< *barot'sa*), etc.; Volhynia German *zawiadomičen* 'to notify' (< Pol. *zawiadomić*), *sich opiekowačen* 'to take care' (< *opiekować*), etc. (Krämer 1934/35:330; Šiller 1928:84; Lück 1929:23). To be sure, Volga German also has some loan verbs based on the Russian present tense (*vojujə* 'to wage war', *streljajə* 'to shoot') and on the past (*kralle* 'to steal' < *kral*); in Volhynia we also find *prinimajen* 'to receive', *powtarajen* 'to repeat', and the like. But in Yiddish it is certain – even if some details remain to be clarified – that verbs of Slavic origin are always based on the present or infinitive Slavic form without the suffix: *kal'eče-n*, *sope-n*, *stare-n zix*, *bore-n zix*. This probably reflects a subtler analysis of the source language on the part of Yiddish speakers than that made by German colonists.

From the synchronic point of view, stems of some Yiddish verbs have the peculiarity of ending in a "thematic" *e*, and nearly all verbs of Slavic origin belong to this category: compare *meke-t* 'baas (as a goat)', of

Slavic origin, with *mek-t* 'erases', of non-Slavic descent; *vejke-t* 'says vej' with *vejke-t* 'soaks'; *pore-t zix* 'putters' with *por-t zix* 'mates'; *špil'e-t* 'pins' with *špil-t* 'plays'; etc.³⁶ Because of the large number of such stems, a definite association between "Slavicness" and stem form in *e* is established; and when verbs are deformed into "pseudo-Slavicisms" for affective purposes, a gratuitous *e* may be added to the stem: *l'axe-n* 'to guffaw crudely', a deformed version of *lax-n* 'to laugh', was already mentioned under the heading of palatalization (§ 2.2). On the other hand, a number of verbs have been "de-Slavicized" in theme, either by dropping the *e* (*xap-n* 'to catch'), by changing *e* to *er* (**far-ržave-n* 'to rust' > *faržáver-n*, **trejbe-n* 'to reomve the veins of (a ritually slaughtered animal)' > *tréjber-n*), or by changing *-eve-* to *-ir-* (**brúkeve-n* 'to pave' > *brukir-n*). Several Yiddish verbs of Slavic derivation appear in pairs, one already "de-Slavicized": *plonte-n* and *plónter-n* 'to tangle', *farkače-n* and *farká(t)-šer-n* 'to roll up (sleeves)', *tsekošme-n* and *tsekóšmer-n* 'to dishevel', *tsviče-n* and *tsvičér-n* 'to chirp', *ráteve-n* and *ratir-n* 'to rescue', *rábeve-n* and *rabir-n* 'to rob', and the unique pair *trese-n* and *trejsl-en* 'to shake'. In German, a special "thematic" base (*-ā-*) for Slavic loan verbs is recorded only in Wilamowice (e.g. *hapān* 'to catch' < *chapać*; *bawjān* 'to amuse' < *bawić*; Mojmir 1930:s.v.).³⁷ Generally, either the bare stem or an extension in *er* is used: Volhynia German *sich suder-n* 'to litigate' (vs. dial. Yid. *sud'e-n*); *anznačer-n* 'to appoint'; etc. Significantly, in borrowing Yiddish *farblondže-n* 'to lose one's way' and dial. *miče-n zix* 'to torment oneself', German annulled the special "Slavic" form which these bases have in Yiddish by changing them to *verblondscher-n*, *mietscher-n*.

5. FOLKLORISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC PARALLELS

5.1. SONG, MUSIC, AND DANCE

Those students of colonial German folk song who do not find Slavic influence inconceivable a priori all agree that the songs of the settlers were affected by the surrounding culture: in East Silesia (Karasek-Langer 1932:166), in central Poland (Karasek-Langer 1936/37:212), in E. Galicia (Lanz 1930:12), in Slovakia (Jungbauer 1930:251), and in Russia (Schünemann 1923), where a crossing of the German *Schnaderhüpfel*

³⁶ A few verbs of non-Slavic origin also occur in this class (e.g. *paske-n* 'to rule, decide'), but their number in the modern language, especially in the literarily influential dialects, is quite small.

³⁷ Thematic stems in *a* and *i* were also formed in loan verbs from Rumanian in Transylvanian German (Grigorovitz 1901:174).

with the Russian *častuška* was even productive of a new syncretic genre (Žirmunskij 1928:110). But even at its strongest, this Slavic influence on German folk song seems shallow in comparison with the impact on Jewish music. Schünemann, who discovered the Russification of German folk singing in terms of the soft onset of the voice, tone color, and other performance features, and who found that certain German melodies have been subjected to ornamentation and variation in Russian fashion, nevertheless reports the adaptation of an old German text to a Russian melody with some astonishment (p. 26); and the use of minor melodies is called rare (p. 25). In Jewish folk music, on the contrary, the adaptation of original Yiddish texts to Slavic-type melodies is entirely common (Beregovski 1935), while the predominance of minor over major and modal melodies, because of the oriental component in the musical tradition, is even stronger than in Slavic song itself (Idelsohn 1932:xvii). Large portions of Slavic "musical grammar" have been made productive in Jewish folk song, but a detailed comparison of Jewish and German musical acculturation has not yet been made. It may be noted that while in the German case, Slavic influences have been almost entirely musical, in Yiddish song textual influences have also been detected. Not only have Slavic texts been translated or recreated, but even old texts brought by the Jews from Germany have been "Slavicized" in rhythm by the crowding of additional unstressed syllables into the measures (Hrushovski 1954:241, footnote 68).

The intimate daily contact between the Jews and the German settlers, on the one hand, and the Slavs on the other, would have been a sufficient gateway for mutual musical influences, but in the Jewish case there was an added channel – the professional Jewish musician – and an added motivation: khasidic attitudes toward the gentile peasant. Khasidism was a revolutionary religious movement which spread from the western Ukraine starting with the late 18th century. According to its doctrine, moral goodness is a matter of pious intent rather than Talmudic erudition, and its founders implied that not only the scholar, but even the uneducated Jew – nay, even the illiterate gentile peasant – could worship God in his own way. The early khasidic masters found piety in peasant song, devotion in the shepherd's whistle; and they absorbed large masses of Ukrainian folk music in particular, reinterpreting it as religious lyricism even where it had different, profane functions in the source culture. Apart from the adaptation of pure music – the *nign* without words became a khasidic form of devotion – there also developed a widespread pattern of allegorical interpretation of song texts: the Ukrainian-based song of the

shepherd looking for his lost sheep was taken to represent a loving God seeking His children; the Cossack drowning in the river was a symbol of man sinking in an ocean of sorrow. In the case of khasidic song, then, we have a clearcut instance not only of Slavic influence upon the religious stratum of the culture, but also of a favorable evaluation of Slavic borrowed material by virtue of its being Slavic (= peasant) in origin. Nothing comparable is reported from the German domain.

The same contrast may be illustrated still more specifically through an analysis of macaronic folk songs. Song texts mixed in language are a favorite genre in both cultures discussed here. But in German they seem to be restricted to humorous purposes; some favorite items are "Ein jeder Mann der braucht ein Weib / Dass er sich die Zeit vertreibt. / Ax gde-že, gde-že / a gde-že moja krasnaja devica?" (Russia; Žirmunskij 1931b:47); "Mädchen, willst du mit mir gehn / meine Wirtschaft zu besehen? / A kudy, a kudy, a de ty byl [?] / moja krasnaja djewica?" (Volhynia; Lück 1929:24); "Die wunderschöne Winterzeit ist očen' xorošo" (Žirmunskij 1928:111, Šiller 1928:85) and the Volga German parody on it, "Die angenehme Sommerzeit ist selten hier teplo" (Erbes and Sinner 1914:225); "Du hast ein kleiner Sohn, / er spielt die Geige schon, / er hat die Welt probiert, / ein Mädchen angeschmiert. / I ona sama / da mezna mama / ruzice brala koko na dan" (Central Bacska; Schliebe 1937:187); other examples are cited by Redlich (1937) and Gauss (1944). This genre is also well known in Yiddish, especially in lighter khasidic song (e.g. "Negl-vaser umyvaju / Tales-tfiln nakladaju"; U. Weinreich 1950). Some of the songs in both languages are "naturalistic" renderings of conversations in which the Polish or Ukrainian peasant speaks his language, while the Jew or German speaks his. But it is only the Jews who have songs in which Slavic fragments are subjected to allegorical etymologization and other mystical interpretations, such as the following: "Katarina, moloditsa / Pojdi sjuda. / *Kat* is [in Hebrew] a [khasidic] sect. / *Rino* is song. / *Mole* is full. / *Ditso* is glee. / *Podiso šadaj* is 'Thou hast redeemed us, Lord'. / Together it means: / A sect [rejoicing] in song / full of glee [= the Khasidim] – / Lord, Thou hast redeemed us" (U. Weinreich 1950). So firmly founded is this pattern in Jewish song tradition that it is hardly possible to ascertain whether this item is not, as has been alleged, really a parody directed *against* the Khasidim.

Folk dance has not been sufficiently studied to permit the drawing of detailed parallels. In the German case, some scholars have found no evidence of East European local influence (e.g. Horak 1938), but this may be connected with the general decline of the German dance in the

regions under study. In areas where the tradition was better preserved, such as eastern Silesia (Karasek-Langer 1932:173), Galicia (Lanz 1930), and Czechoslovakia (Jungbauer 1930:251), up to 40 percent of the dance music was Slavic, even if dance figures and types were not easily adopted (cf. also Müller-Blattau 1934).³⁸ On the other hand, the Jews have preserved no well-defined tradition of pre-East European times, and the Slavic or Rumanian names of such modern Jewish folk dances as *kazatske*, *vólexl*, *karahód*, probably represent types which are East European in derivation; what such names of non-Slavic origin as *brójgez-tants*, *kóšer-tants*, or *kol-haneórim-tants* cover, remains to be investigated comparatively. In the khasidic movement, some of the Slavic-origin dances even attained religious functions. (By a similar refunctionalization, the Rumanian-origin *hora* became the national dance of Israel.)

5.2. FOLK TALES

Colonial German folk narrative appears to have been susceptible to some Slavic influence in the domain of legend (*Sage*). Specific Slavic beliefs have only very rarely been adopted, but in Slovakia and in central and SW Poland (Karasek-Langer 1930:59, 1932:168-70, 1936/37:221; not so in E. Galicia - Schmid 1931:131), legendary figures unknown to the Slavs have largely been eliminated, while those common to Slavs and Germans (e.g. the Waterman) have been accorded new prominence.

The German assimilation of a fairy-tale (i.e. a *Märchen* rather than a *Sage*) in Żabnica is reported as something noteworthy (Karasek-Langer 1932:170). In the Yiddish fairytale, on the other hand, a Slavic component is clearly in evidence. The Jews, of course, have been active international tale carriers since antiquity, but in their own modern stock of tales a good portion of the "international" material in turn must have come in by the Slavic route. No more dramatic example is possible than that of "The Emperor and the Abbot" (Aarne-Thompson Type 922), which, though ultimately of Jewish origin (Alexandria, 7th century or earlier), was current among Belorussian Jews in the 20th century in a Slavic redaction, just as in the *Mayse-bukh* (1602) it is found in a West European version (Anderson 1923:341). In the inevitable blending of tales, we find traditional Jewish types interspersed with Slavic-origin episodes, and vice versa; thus, in a modern version of Type 301, "The Three Stolen Princesses," recorded in Białystok, the dragon is *ášmedaj*

³⁸ Musical influences of the environment are also characteristic of the German folk drama of Czechoslovakia (Jungbauer 1938).

- a figure from traditional Jewish demonology - while one of the heroes is an East European blacksmith identified as Anton Kručak (*Yiddisher folklor* 1955:26ff.). The syncretism is even more subtle in the well developed hospitality-tale cycle, in which the similarity of the Prophet Elijah's functions to those of St. Peter in East Slavic folk tales is plausibly accounted for as the result of mutual influence (B. Weinreich 1957:222-227). Slavictype formulaic tale endings are also common in Yiddish. As in the linguistic domain of grammar, we thus have borrowings both in the "outer" and "inner" forms of folklore.

5.3. PROVERBS AND SAYINGS

No Slavic influences on colonial German proverbs have been observed even by so open-minded an investigator as Karasek-Langer. The Yiddish case is entirely different. First, Slavic (Ukrainian, Polish, Belorussian) sayings are frequently cited verbatim in Yiddish speech, often introduced by the phrase, *a goj zogt a vertl* '(as) the peasant says'. Some Yiddish speakers know ten Ukrainian or Belorussian proverbs to every Yiddish one, and there is reason to believe that some of these are original Jewish creations, i.e. that the Jews have coined and used proverbs in a tongue which was not their vernacular, but a special, ad-hoc "paremiological medium" (Litvin 1912:123). There is a khasidic dictum: *a gojiš vertl iz lehavdl a tojre*, which, roughly rendered, means: "There is profound morality concealed in peasant proverbs." This reflects the mystical curiosity about the peasant which was mentioned in connection with music (§ 5.1), and which is conducive to an allegorical interpretation of his culture. The Yiddish speaker seems to derive special relish from the matching of Biblical or Talmudic sayings and Slavic proverbs, e.g. *loj miduvšeix, loj mejuktseix - nie daj, nie taj* (Bernstein 1908:no. 986), in which the first phrase, 'Neither of your honey nor of your sting', is derived from the Midrash (Bamidbar Rabbah 20:9), while the second part, 'Don't give and don't curse', is a Polish saying. Sometimes the Slavic component is humorously presented as if it were a commentary by RaSHI on a sacred text, e.g. (Bernstein 1908:no. 1184) *vajovoi homon - maxt raše: čort jevó prinjós*, literally 'And Haman came [Esther 6:6], on which RaSHI comments: The devil brought him'. The humorous effect is increased further when a Slavic proverb offered as an "equivalent" is ostensibly inexact, as in *al tivtxu bindivim - ne spustysja, Hrytcju, na durnycju* 'Don't trust in princes [Psalms 146:3] - Hrytsja, don't rely on a fool' (Bernstein 1908:no. 172).³⁹ Still more symptomatic of the

³⁹ The device of the inexact matching of Hebrew-Aramaic with Yiddish and Slavic

prestige of Slavic sayings among the Jews is the construction of "pseudo-Slavic" proverbs or parodies of proverbs, such as the following: *švat nie brat* '(the month of) Shevat is no brother' (i.e. it is cruelly cold; Bernstein 1908: no. 3587; cf. Rus. *svat ne brat*); *jak jejtser-hore napadnie to i tkias-káf nie pomože* 'When one is seized by passion, a [previous] agreement is useless' (Bernstein 1908: no. 1873); *nie ganwaj i nie fastaj* 'Don't steal [ganve] and don't fast [fast]', i.e. if you won't sin, you won't need to do penance (Bernstein 1908: no. 844; Litvin 1912:122); *prišól terax na derax* 'the fool has understood at last', lit. 'Terah has found the way' (Bernstein 1908: no. 3989); *mazl gadaj* '(good) fortune tells', a jocular misreading of *mazl gdi* 'the zodiacal sign [= *mazl*] Capricorn' (E. Galicia; reported by my colleague, Chaim Gininger).

In proverbs of the *nutrikun* pattern a word is interpreted as consisting of the initials of several words in a phrase. A macaronic instance is "*paxed*" *maxt* "*polna xata đurni*," i.e. *paxed* 'fear' (spelled *pxd*) represents the (Belorussian) sentence, 'the house is full of fools'.⁴⁰ In addition to these processes, there has probably been a good deal of translation or recreation of specific Slavic proverbs in Yiddish; cf. *der bojx hot nit kejn šojbn - me ken in im arájnlejgn vos men vil* 'the stomach has no windows - anything can be put into it' with Pol. *brzuch nie zwierciadło - nikt nie pozna co się jadło* (Landau 1923: 337; on parallelisms in riddles, cf. Landau 1908); but the common features of the European proverb stock are so numerous that hypotheses of Slavic origin of a given Yiddish proverb must be viewed with the greatest caution. Close investigation will probably also reveal Slavic influences on the syntax and rhythmic structure of Yiddish proverbs whose content has nothing particularly Slavic about them.

5.4. CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS; FOLK MEDICINE

The field of custom may well be the one area in which the Jews displayed a conscious aloofness toward Slavic influence. Traditional Jewish life in Eastern Europe was based on a pattern of conduct in which every last detail was prescribed to mark the Jew as apart from the gentile, and Christian associations and symbolism had to be avoided at all cost.

On the other hand, there remained large areas marginal to religion in

proverbs has been made famous by Sholom Aleichem, especially in his classic *Tevye der milkhiker* (Shulman 1939: 89; Loytsker 1939: 58f.).

⁴⁰ As Litvin explains it (1912:122), this alludes to such collocations as *dorn iz a paxed* 'it is fear[fully dirty] there'. Rather different patterns of interlingual proverb blending have been observed in the Turko-Bulgarian field (Mladenov 1939).

which Slavic influence could make itself felt, and did - not only in house building and other sections of material culture (on German colonists, cf. Jungbauer 1930, Mackensen 1937) - but also in beliefs and medicine. Jewish folk medicine in particular, despite its strongly archaic tenor, shows significant Slavic parallelisms (M. Weinreich 1924; Tavyov 1914: 361 on exorcisms for toothaches), although the direction of borrowing in this case may be particularly hard to ascertain. Considering the importance of non-Jewish domestic help in Jewish households, it is not surprising that patterns of infant care, including swaddling, should have penetrated the Jewish family.

5.5. COOKERY

Material on German settlers' cuisine is scarce (cf. e.g. Schmid 1931:98f.), but it may be significant that a few words like *holubcy*, *kolač* (> *Kläutsch*, etc.) appear on most lists of Slavic loanwords in diaspora German. In the case of the Jews there is evidence of a major Slavic component in cookery, which managed to accommodate itself to the strict Jewish dietary laws. Many of the most beloved forms in this highly developed Jewish folk art bear names of Slavic origin: *kojleč* 'white bread', *kvášene* = *fisnohe* = *pitsá* 'chilled calves' feet', *knišes*, *pámpeškes*, *varénikes*, *várniškes* (various dough forms), *rosl* 'stew', etc.; and through Jewish emigrant mediation, such dishes as *blintses* (cf. Ukr. *blynci*) are today an American favorite. (To what extent the names of Slavic origin correspond to Slavic things is an unsolved, but soluble, comparative problem.) Since many Jewish dishes are associated with particular holidays, we again find, in the field of cuisine as we did in music, items which were profane in the Slavic source culture acquiring a festive function in the receiving culture: *latkes* 'pancakes' for Hanukkah, *borštš* for the second night of Passover, *blintses* for Shavuoth, etc.

5.6. DRESS

The costumes of German colonists, just as those of the Jews, were subject to strong East European influences. For example, German folk dress in eastern Silesia (Karasek-Langer 1932:191), Slovakia (Gréb 1932:290), and elsewhere embodied petrified 18th and mid-19th century military or civilian fashions combined with more traditional sartorial motifs. The Jews at first went even farther in adopting local East European garments. In fact, it is sometimes said that what was in recent times known as the typical Jewish *kaftn* was originally the attire of Polish squires (Grunwald 1941:378). But whereas German dress distinctness was a token merely of

ethnic separateness, the Jewish costume was raised to the level of a religious symbol, and throughout the 19th century observant Jews repeatedly showed themselves prepared to make heavy sacrifices for the right to retain this expression of apartness. In general, not only Yiddish dress vocabulary, but actual forms of Jewish outer clothes, undergarments, and headgear (Munits 1937) seem to owe much to the coterritorial Slavic cultures.

5.7. RELIGIOUS ARCHITECTURE

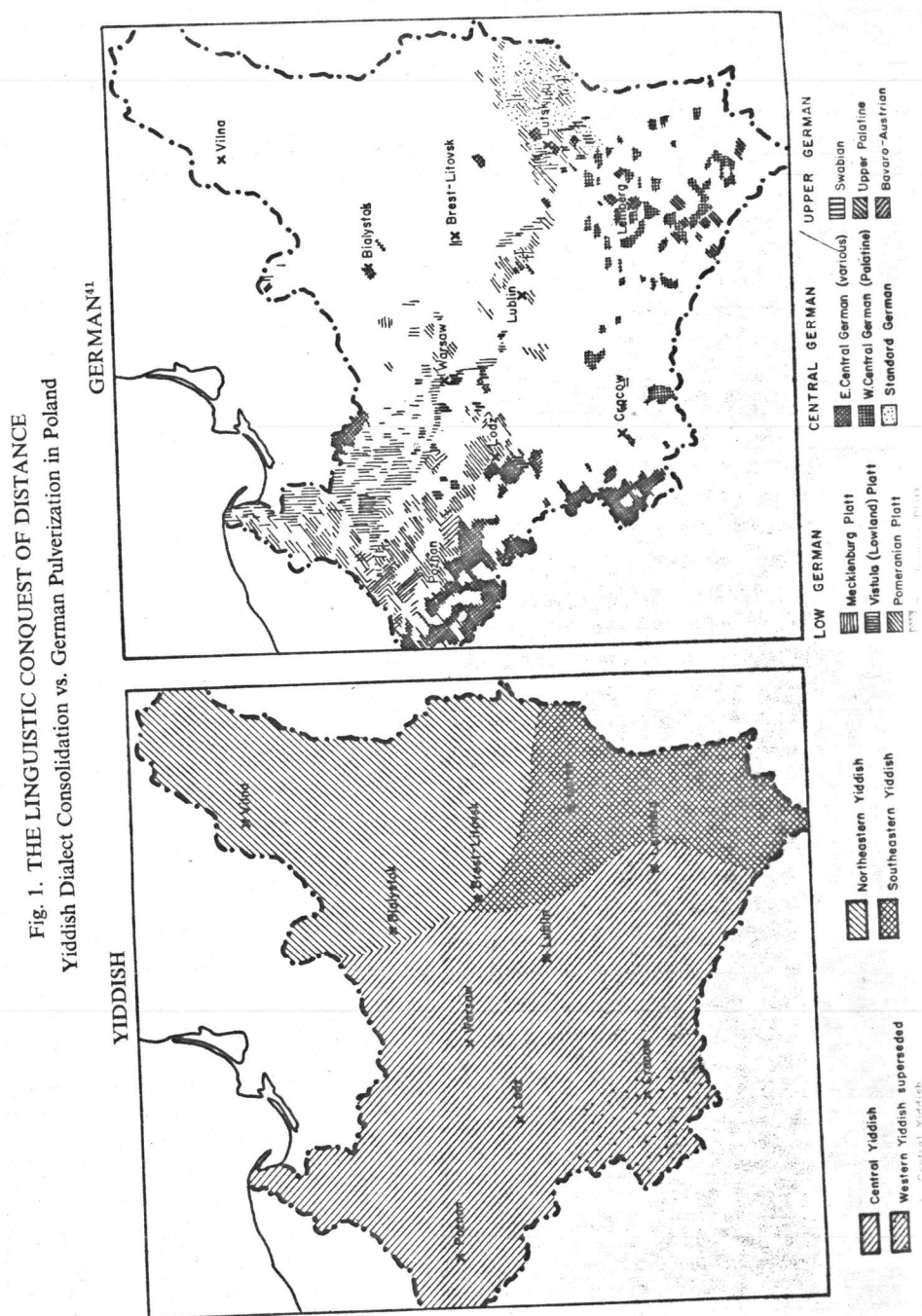
Jewish synagogue architecture in Europe, it is now known, has been exposed to subtle Byzantine-Slavic influences (cf. Piechotkowie 1957). Beginning with the 16th century, "the cubical barrel-vaulted synagogue with its central canopy came into existence as a reduced, simplified, and somewhat modified version of the Greek orthodox Novgorod church type of Byzantine provenance" (Wischnitzer 1947:36). But in the Novgorod square church, the arches joining the piers to the walls gave the ceiling the shape of a cross. This architectural theme had to be avoided, and we find various ingenious modifications, e.g. in the MaHaRSHaL synagogue in Lublin (*ibid.*: 26f.).

Nothing of the kind has so far been reported for German colonial church architecture.

6. REGIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF YIDDISH AND GERMAN

The several varieties of Yiddish brought by settlers from the west were consolidated in Eastern Europe into definite dialect areas (Žirmunskij 1940:140). German speech exclaves experienced some leveling on a local scale, but in comparison with Yiddish, they remained a mosaic of islands determined by the origin of the settlers. This difference in consolidation, exemplified by Poland, is illustrated in Fig. 1. It demonstrates the far more thorough linguistic conquest of East European distance by Jews than by Germans.

So uniform are the vast Yiddish dialect areas that the most painstaking search is needed to uncover the feeble traces of earlier diversity. Such traces are found in scattered words whose phonology disagrees with the general dialect rule (e.g. *atsind* 'now', *umzist* 'gratis', and similar words with *i* in the general *u* area of NE Yiddish), or in unexpected integrations of place names (e.g. Yid. *minkāč* < *Munkács*, settled in the 18th century after *u* had already changed to *i*; explicable as a "cross-dialect borrowing" [U. Weinreich 1953a:28] through a stratum of *u*



speakers in the *i* dialect area). Well-formed isoglosses running consistently for hundreds of kilometers shape the Yiddish territory into a mildly graduated area (*Staffellandschaft*). Above this substructure of regional dialects, a uniform literary Yiddish language developed, independent of German,⁴² without the support of a state apparatus, a universal school system using Yiddish, or a Yiddish-speaking aristocracy, but through the sheer centripetal momentum of Jewish society.

In German, on the contrary, the formation of isoglosses independent of settler origin, while not entirely unknown,⁴³ has been feeble. In the small Moravian exclave of Kravařsko (Schönhengst) alone, the word for 'dead' appears as *dūt, dūt, deit, doit, daut, dat, dabt, and diuat* (Schwarz 1934:436f.), and the example is not extreme. Approximations of regional koinés emerged in parts of Spiš, in the Sudeten and their adjoining exclaves, in Transylvania, Sathmar, Bessarabia (Eckert 1941), along the Neva, etc., but no all-diaspora German koiné developed. For the Germans, communication distance, rurality and general cultural backwardness were too great to permit marriage and trade relations to exert a more thorough leveling effect (Schwarz 1934:331).

One factor that weighed against consolidation in the German case was denominational separatism. Protestants and Catholics often set store by the accidental differences of their dialects as marks of their separateness in religion (cf. Žirmunskij 1929:209 on Russia; Weidlein 1952 on Yugoslavia). The phenomenon is not completely unknown among the Jews: in Sanok (E. Galicia), for example, the khasidim loyal to the rabbi of Nowy Sącz (Yid. Sandz) were made fun of in the synagogue of the Sadagura (Yid. Sadigere) khasidim for their pronunciation of certain Hebrew *shewa's* as [aj] (e.g. *lajdojr < lejdojr < ladójr* 'to a generation').⁴⁴ But noticeable as such discrepancies in "liturgical dialect" were, they do not seem to have played an important separatistic role outside the synagogue.

In folklore the regional consolidation of the settlers was probably more advanced than in matters of dialect in both communities. In Hungary, for example, German songs and dances were diffused uniformly

⁴² In the formation of standard Yiddish, it has been suggested, the more archaic, i.e. more German-like, phonology of NE Yiddish did give it an advantage over other dialects (Birnbaum 1954). But be that as it may, the German model played no role in intra-dialect leveling.

⁴³ Near Pokrovsk on the Volga, for example (Dinges 1924:18), the North favored *ursch* to the South's *ruschig* 'Russian'.

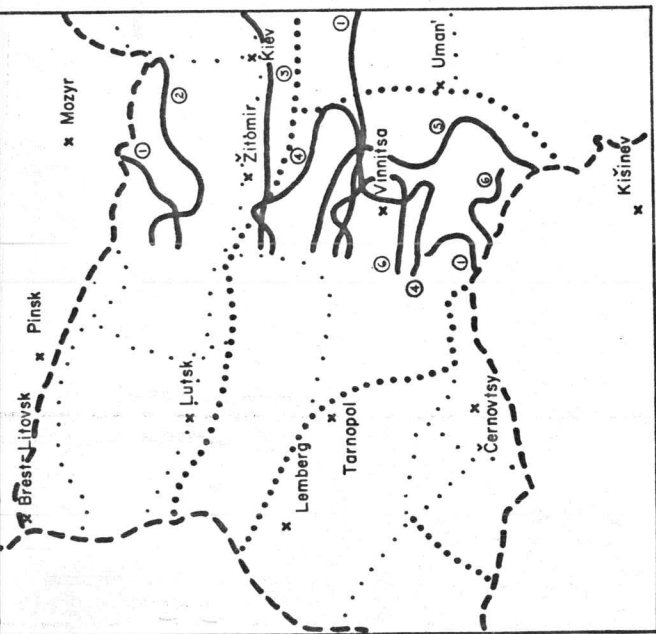
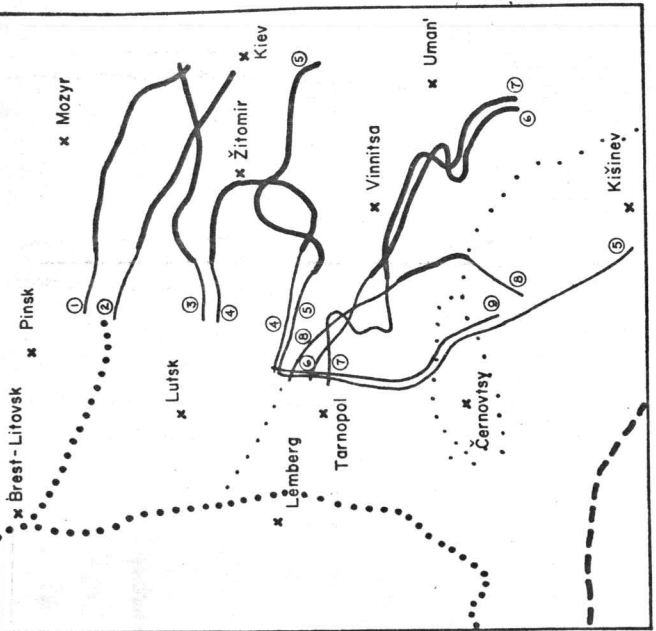
⁴⁴ According to a personal communication from Dr. Shlomo Noble of the Yivo Institute for Jewish Research in New York.

in areas that were linguistically atomized (Karasek-Langer 1937a:975). Correspondingly, the Jewish folkloristic and ethnographic unity is again still more striking. An illustration of the efficiency of folk transmission channels is a lullaby which was published by Sholom Aleichem in Odessa in 1892; six years later, in response to an inquiry from St. Petersburg, five thoroughly varied versions were sent in by collectors from places as far away as Kovno, Vitebsk, and Poltava (Mlotek 1954, with map). Schünemann (1923) was struck by the fact that a song was known to German colonists both on the Volga and in the Ukraine, and explained this by the contact of Germans in Russian military service. But for the Yiddish lullaby, no such special explanation is necessary or possible; its diffusion took place *in situ* through East European Jewish society, which was as tightly knit as it was widely scattered.

Regional at-homeness is further reflected in local legends concerning ancient wells, dangerous cliffs, haunted castles, and the like, which add a dimension of cultural depth to what are otherwise mere places. The volume of this type of lore seems again to be much greater among the Jews than the Germans. A special, related symptom of regional consolidation is the areal diffusion of locally marked lore – not only legends, but also nicknames of places and their inhabitants. By analyzing the range, reciprocity, and continuity of reputations of towns, a measure is obtained of the relative integration of the area in the culture and a specific cultural "folk geodesy" of the region emerges. A preliminary check of German and Yiddish materials for Poland (Schmid 1931; Lück 1933; *Yidisher folklor* 1954:18f., with maps) suggests that the reputations of towns among the Jews reach further and are more continuous than among Germans. The city of Chełm seems to have achieved far greater abderitic notoriety in Jewish folklore than did, say, Wilamowice in German lore (Karasek-Langer 1932:171) even before literary channels became available for the diffusion of stereotypes.

In the Jewish organization of the East European cultural space, Jewish society could not escape the effect of natural and political geography to the same extent as the atomized German settlements. The avenues of communication and the barriers were, after all, largely the same for Jews and Slavs in the same territory, and it is to be expected that on the whole Yiddish should display the same "surface" as the local Slavic dialect. The geographic shape of Yiddish in the Ukraine, shown in Fig. 2, indeed agrees with "the lay of the land." Yiddish isoglosses, which theoretically could have been arranged in a hundred different ways, turn out to run generally parallel to Ukrainian ones. This is not the result

NB



--- Approximate boundary of language territory

..... Generalized dialect boundaries

— Specific isoglosses

Yiddish Isoglosses: 1 - N limit of *kirts* vs. *kurts*; 2 - N limit of *štat* vs. *štot*; 3 - N limit of *zover* vs. *zaver*; 4 - W limit of *gruyn* vs. *grojpn*; 5 - N and W limit of *gos* vs. *gas*; 6 - SW limit of *hern*, *hira* vs. *hejrn*; 7 - SW limit of *dank* vs. *donk*; 8 - W limit of *kl, g/* vs. *kl, gi*; 9 - W limit of *gruyn* vs. *grojpn*. (Source: Vilenkin 1931; Weinreich 1958)

Ukrainian Isoglosses: 1 - NW and SW limit of *xodžit* vs. *xodžit*; 2 - N limit of *letyř* vs. *letyř*; 3 - N limit of *noby* vs. *noby*; 4 - E limit of *h*-prothesis; 5 - W limit of *letyř* vs. *letyř*; 6 - E and S limit of *xode* vs. *xodyř*. (Source: Žilko 1955).

of local Slavic influence, for the substance of the isoglosses is not the same; as a matter of fact, the major diphthong/monophthong distinctions, which are in Yiddish correlated with a north/south difference, have the reverse distribution in Ukrainian (U. Weinreich 1958). The similarity is rather on a higher, more abstract plane: the course of isoglosses is perpendicular to a Moscow-Kiev-Kishinev axis in both languages, and this must have common causes in cultural history which Ukrainian and Jewish historians will have to elucidate. On the other hand, it should not be assumed that the cultural "surfaces" of Yiddish and coterritorial Slavic were always identical; to a considerable extent, the Jews organized the East European space independently of Slavic geographic factors. After all, Góra Kalwarska to the Poles, like Voložin to the Belorussians, may be insignificant provincial market spots incapable of influencing the farther countryside, while in Jewish society, the same places are towering cultural landmarks - the former (Ger) a splendid khasidic court, the latter a magnificent center of Talmudic and Muser scholarship - and innovations tinged with their prestige could among the Jews spread far and fast. It would be interesting to know whether original geographic configurations of cultural influence took shape among East European Germans on a comparable scale.

yes!

7. GEOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF SLAVIC INFLUENCE

Counts of Slavic loanwords are too unreliable to permit firm conclusions about a geographic differential in the impact of the surrounding culture. Schwarz has repeatedly pointed out (1932/33:340; 1939:16) that in the more remote and isolated exclaves the number of Slavicisms in the German dialects was larger than in more solidly German areas. The Jews, too, have a cultural stereotype of the villager whose Yiddish is deeply Slavicized, and a rural-urban differential may probably be assumed for all regions. (See also § 8.2.). To compare regions with each other is more difficult. Can the 800 Volga German Slavicisms (Dinges 1917) be contrasted with the 150 of Galician German (Krämer 1934/35)? Is it safe, for Yiddish, to juxtapose the relatively few recorded elements of Lithuanian (Mark 1951:465-470) or Lettish origin (M. Weinreich 1923: 208-240, *passim*; Kalmanovitch 1926) in the two Baltic countries with the Slavic impact on the language?

On the other hand, the degree of geographic diffusion of Slavic material within Yiddish and within German does lend itself to comparison. To be sure, Yiddish and German everywhere have Slavic elements of purely

local origin, e.g. SE Yid. *rizen* 'to gnaw' < Ukr. *hryzty* but Ctl and NE Yid. *grīžen* < Pol. *gryźć*; SE Yid. *dólite* 'chisel', *pidkove* 'horseshoe', *mjate* 'mint' (Ukr. *doloto*, *pidkova*, *mjata*), but NE Yid. *dlot*, *pódkeve*, *mjente* (cf. Pol. *dlóto*, *podkowa*, *mięta*). Such words as Western Yid. *dóčkenen* 'to await' (Czech *dočkatí*), *boxte* 'kind of pastry' (Czech, Slovak *buchta*), etc. (Beranek 1949:44) are unknown outside of Czechoslovakia. Similarly, Czechoslovakian German has (*t*)*šiške* 'pine cone' in Czech areas (< *šiška*) and *tšuške* in some Slovak surroundings (< *šuška*; Schwarz 1954:12). But Yiddish in all regions also has a mass of Slavisms of non-local origin which German seems unable to match; according to Shulman (1939:82), about one-tenth of the Slavic-origin vocabulary in the recent Yiddish of Russia is of Polish origin, and over half of Slavic-origin vocabulary in Poland Yiddish is of Ukrainian, Belorussian, or Russian derivation. Yiddish has *pjate* 'heel', *mučen* (or > *mičen*) 'to torment', *pi(š)čevke* 'trifle' (< *pidšyvka* 'lining?'), *xval'e* 'wave', and similar forms where the surrounding Polish language has *pięta*, *męczyć*, *podszewka*, *fala*; similarly (cf. Shtif 1932:38f., footnote 26) Yiddish uses *penten* 'to fetter', *blondžen* 'to have lost one's way', (dial.) *končen* 'to finish' where the surrounding East Slavic languages have forms like *putaty*, *bludyty*, *kinčaty*. The semasiological isoglosses are just as independent of the Slavic source as the phonological ones: for example, *kormen* 'to feed' has in SE Yiddish a specialized meaning, 'to feed (animals)', which seems to be a Yiddish regional development without a Ukrainian-Belorussian difference to serve as a model.⁴⁵ When Yiddish speakers from Podolia assert that *prač* 'washing beetle' is Ukrainian, but *prańik* is Yiddish, we see an example of diffusion of an originally Slavic form (*prańik*) through Jewish channels to an area where it is opposed – as Yiddish – to a *different* form in the *local* Slavic speech. The piling up in Yiddish of doublets of Slavic origin derived from different regions (e.g. SE Yid. *pipik* < *pupik* 'navel' vs. *pempik* < *pępek* 'short, fat fellow'; *pliten* < *pluten* 'to be extravagant, unreliable' vs. *plonten* 'to tangle') illuminates the way in which Slavic material has been patterned in Yiddish in independence of the Slavic model.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Similarly, the isoglosses of Hebrew-Aramaic material integrated in Yiddish are completely sui generis: Courland *paxed hobn* vs. general NE Yiddish *mojre hobn* 'to be afraid', NE Yid *poter vern fun* vs. SE Yid *pátern* (or *pótern*) 'to get rid of', etc., without a Hebrew model for the onomasiological discrepancy between dialects.

⁴⁶ Other doublets among Yiddish Slavisms seem due rather to a chronological than to a geographical interval, e.g. *hojle* 'bare' vs. *gole* 'pure, nothing but' (Shulman 1939:74, 158), *hobe* (Ctl Yid *bube*) 'grandmother; midwife' vs. *babe* 'hag'. These chronological doublets testify to a cumulative continuity of Slavic influence in Yiddish which seems to have no equivalent in German.

Lexically, then, the geographic congruence between the Slavic languages and their offshoots in Yiddish is very incomplete. The isoglosses probably correspond more fully in the case of phonological features which Yiddish (or German) shares with Slavic (cf. § 2); but even here we find instances of tantalizing non-congruence, such as the confusion of hissing and hushing consonants, which in Yiddish is concentrated not within, but between two areas of similar Polish and Belorussian confusion (U. Weinreich 1952). In principle it is hardly surprising that a feature shared locally by Yiddish and a Slavic language should spread in different directions and ranges in the two languages, in correspondence with the differences in the "cultural surface" of the two societies. German diaspora society having no cultural surface of its own, or almost none, the Slavic component of its language shows little original diffusion.

8. CONCLUSIONS; CHRONOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL FACTORS

8.1. DIFFERENTIAL SLAVIC IMPACT ON YIDDISH AND GERMAN

The impact of Slavic on the many varieties of diaspora German is too uneven for neat generalizations, but the contrast with its effects on Yiddish, domain by domain, is clear enough. In German, the Slavic elements formed a lexical veneer, whereas in Yiddish they became a "constructive force" (Shtif 1932:38, 60, 63) that transformed the language and gave it a "new quality." In phonology, the Slavic influences were more numerous in Yiddish; moreover, whereas in German they were generally of a minor, subphonemic nature, Yiddish developed a new distinctive point of articulation (with incipient semantic value) and acquired distinctive voicing in its consonants; some of its dialects also restructured the vocalic system. In the adoption of Slavic suffixes, Yiddish went further than even the most heavily influenced forms of German, and these suffixes were more systematically exploited and more closely integrated with the inflection. Derivational paradigms were in Yiddish reproduced both in nouns and verbs to enrich the stock of grammatical categories available in the language. In word order and certain other syntactic relations, too, some of the Slavic-modeled patterns were utilized in Yiddish not as mere replacements of old ones, but with new, specialized values. In the domain of vocabulary – which both languages absorbed in large numbers – Yiddish permitted loan translation and blending to play a prominent role beside outright adoption of lexical elements. Slavic-origin vocables were in Yiddish admitted into the "intimate" parts of speech more freely than in colonist German. In

both languages special inflection classes, created out of non-Slavic formant material, were reserved mostly for nouns and verbs of Slavic origin, but this etymological specialization – sporadic in German and common in Yiddish – gradually yielded, in the latter language, to a new, synchronic and purely semantic distinction. The adoption of Slavic verbs in their stem form has been noted as symptomatic of a finer grammatical analysis of the source by Yiddish speakers than that made by German speakers, who took in verbs along with their Slavic infinitive suffixes. On the whole, Slavic vocabulary was integrated in Yiddish without a semantic stigma, whereas in various German exclaves pejorative connotations remained attached to its origin. In folklore, custom, and material culture, the Jews' observation of the Slavs was more accurate and sympathetic than the Germans'; and the Slavic impact in terms both of *Wörter* and of *Sachen* was likewise generally stronger, the blending more subtle, and the effect more enriching in Jewish than in diaspora German culture. Within its Slavic surroundings Yiddish, unlike German, experienced an effective regional consolidation, and the geographic diffusion and historical accumulation of elements of Slavic origin was generally greater in Yiddish than in German.

How are we to account for this contrastive reception of the innovations offered by Slavic – obtuse and reluctant among the Germans,⁴⁷ but sensitive and creative among the Jews?

8.2. PERIODS AND CHANNELS OF INFLUENCE

The separate chronologies of migration alone will not explain the difference. The movement of Ashkenazic Jews into the Slavic environment, after a slow preliminary trickle, achieved momentum in the 14th and 15th centuries, slowing down again in the 16th. It is thus older than the wave of German migration into central Poland, the Ukraine, and Russia in the late 18th century and the first half of the 19th, but more recent than the first phase of the *Ostbewegung*, in the 13th and 14th centuries, when the settlements in western and southern Poland, the Baltic countries, and southeastern Europe were established (Thierfelder 1956). If chronology were decisive, Yiddish should have displayed a degree of Slavic influence intermediate between that of old and recent

⁴⁷ On German aloofness to Slavic culture, see Lanz (1930), Lehmann (1938) and Karasek-Langer (1937b) – the last paper by an open-minded scholar, but all from a hardly open-minded period. – Mackensen (1937) attempted to set up a scale of factors which determine the differential susceptibility of German colonists to environmental influence. His schema, however, which is tainted with racism, was not intended even by him to fit the parallel Jewish problem.

German exclaves, but this is not the case. That the intensity of Slavic influence is not directly proportional to the antiquity of settlement is clear within the German diaspora itself: Wilamowice, an "old" exclave, displays a much heavier Slavic impact than Kravařsko (Schönhengst), of approximately the same age; whereas Dornfeld in eastern Galicia, Sompolno in northeastern Poland, or the Volga colonies – all "new" exclaves – seem to be more Slavicized than old exclaves like Spiš.

Differences in density of settlement were perhaps of greater weight, for it is easy to see why a very small community should be particularly liable to linguistic influence by its environment. Within the German diaspora, differences in the physical accessibility and in the closeness of neighborly relations have been significant: Kremnitz in Slovakia is an example of strong isolation (Kuhn 1933), and in Spiš, the lowland has been more strongly influenced than the highland (Gréb 1932); in the flat parts of Kujawy the Polish influence upon German folklore has been greater than in the hilly country (Karasek-Langer 1936/37: 212). But while the German diaspora was not lacking in small communities of a handful of families, the extreme isolation of the innkeeper, the wandering peddler or tailor, the solitary farmer was probably more characteristic of the fringes of Jewish than of German society in Eastern Europe.⁴⁸

What of socio-economic differences? Certainly not all occupational groups had the same relations with the Slavic environment. Among the Germans as well as among the Jews, there were some who were in particularly close contact with coterritorial Slavic society, while others were quite remote from it. Consequently the Slavic elements entered the two languages and cultures through specific social channels. The farmer in an all-German village was surely less exposed to Slavic influence than the burgher merchant, the artisan, or the small industrial entrepreneur; and the Jewish townsman was less exposed than the wandering craftsman, the withdrawn scholar less than the woman active in the marketplace. In fact, with Slavic contacts on different levels, the societies may have experienced influences that were socially stratified: in Volga German colonies, the richer peasants of the larger, more differentiated villages are said to have had more Russian elements in their speech than the poor peasantry (Šiller 1928: 85); in East Galicia, the Polish loanwords in German reflected the relations with Lemberg and its higher urban culture while the Ukrainian loanwords came from the neighboring peasants

⁴⁸ Gitlits (1935), who found a marked acceleration of Yiddish lexical borrowing from Slavic in the first half of the 17th century, associates this with the ruralization of Jewish society at that time.

(Krämer 1935/36). In Yiddish, the artisans and small merchants in contact with Ukrainian or Belorussian villagers probably also contributed a different sort of Slavic material than the upper strata of the community that were in touch with Polish-language nobility or Russian-language officialdom (Shulman 1939:89f.; Gitlits 1935:85f.; Volobrinski 1934:108ff.). On the whole, its occupational structure was probably an important factor in the greater exposure of Jewish than of German colonist society to Slavic influence.

In the case of the Jews the mediation of pre-Ashkenazic Jewry was probably also a facilitating circumstance. Some writers have gone so far as to regard the Slavicisms in Yiddish not as additions to an older base, but on the contrary as survivals of the Knaanic ("Judeo-Slavic") languages which were later displaced by Yiddish (Joffe 1928:238) just as the mass of Czech loanwords in the dialects of the Bohemian Forest is explained as a survival from the Czech language which was there overrun by German (Schwarz 1955/56:279); the predominance of Slavic-origin vocabulary particularly among Yiddish terms of material culture and emotional expression has also been ascribed to the Knaanic heritage (Shulman 1939:109). The role of Slavic-speaking Jews may not be demonstrable (Shtif 1932:39), for historical, linguistic and ethnographic facts about "Knaanic" Jewry are frustratingly few (cf. M. Weinreich 1956). But it stands to reason that where Yiddish-speaking Jews found settled fellow Jews speaking Slavic languages, as they did in Bohemia and in Russia, they experienced a smoother contact with Slavic than was ever possible across the Jewish-Christian religious barrier. (The problem invites comparison with the question of whether Catholic Germans among Catholics were more subject to Slavic influences than settlers who were Lutherans or who came to dwell in Greek Christian surroundings; cf. Mackensen 1937:37f.).

Finally, in comparing the social conditions of contact with the Slavs, it is important to consider the mutual relations of Jews and Germans on the East European scene, since the two communities may have served each other as occasional channels of Slavic influence. The earliest Slavicisms in both languages – those of the *Kretscham-krečme*, *Grenze-grenets* stratum (Mojmir 1930:x, Schwarz 1944) – may perhaps be viewed as the joint heritage of a hypothetical pre-15th century period of strong Jewish-German linguistic community that has been suggested with reference to East Central Germany, Czechoslovakia, and the cities of southern Poland (e.g. Beranek 1956:243). Even if it should be proved that this alleged early community was significant, the two languages in

the sequel developed in relative aloofness to each other; but this in turn does not rule out partial local contacts. For example, if Slovakian Yiddish was influenced by Spiš German (Beranek 1949:34f.), some local Slovakisms may also have entered it by this route. More typically, the Jews as the group that was more receptive to Slavic influence may have transmitted Slavicisms to the Germans. The immediate Yiddish origin of a German Slavicism is not always ascertainable, but the presence of definitely Yiddish words in diaspora German from Kočevje (*pejgern* 'to die'; Schröer 1857:244) to the Baltic (*balbós* 'householder', *xale* 'white bread', etc.; Kiparsky 1936:197f.) establishes the prima facie possibility of Jewish mediation in Slavo-German linguistic contact.⁴⁹ Specifically, Baltic German *sich verblondsen* 'to lose one's way', *kitke* 'white loaf', *karben* 'ruble' are attributed to Yiddish (Anderson 1938; Kiparsky 1936:198); in Dornfeld, E. Galicia, the German colonist expressions *sklad* 'storehouse' and *wiatr* 'exaggerations' (lit. 'wind'), despite their Polish etymologies, are traced to Yiddish (Krämer 1934/35:337). Many of the elements of ultimately Slavic origin in the German of Volhynia, Polesie (Lück 1929:22), the Bukovina, and elsewhere appear to be derived more immediately from Yiddish; Lück characteristically speaks of "das polnische *jakoś to będzie*, das jüdische [!] *zaraz*" (1933:13). This is hardly surprising when one considers that the intelligentsia of the German colonists generally grew up in towns and cities with large Jewish populations (Kuhn 1934/35:13), and that many German peasants, at least in southern and southwestern Poland, knew Yiddish well (Kuhn 1930:146; Lück 1929:20, 1933:13).⁵⁰

8.3. SLAVO-GERMAN MARGINALITY AND SLAVO-YIDDISH AFFINITY

The differences in the socio-cultural setting go a long way in explaining the unequal intensity of the Slavic impact on the societies compared. But the most important contrast is in the reception of the potential Slavic influence within the societies, i.e. in explicit attitudes toward things Slavic.

Even before the matter was made politically acute in the 20th century, the diaspora German cultural orientation was westward, to Germany.

⁴⁹ Assertions about the "instinctive rejection" of Jewish influence by German colonists (e.g. Moser 1937:99) run counter to the facts and reveal by their very formulation the irrepressible anti-Semitic prejudices of the writers. – In Bessarabia, the Jews are said to have influenced the Germans in many ways, but not in vocabulary (Eckert 1941:80).

⁵⁰ From a folkloristic point of view, German-Jewish contacts do not seem to have been productive. For example, in SE Poland the German colonists apparently remained completely unaware of the abderitic reputation of Chelm among the Jews (Lück 1933).

The norms in matters of standardized language – except for the episode of specifically Soviet terminology in the Volga autonomous republic – were the all-German norms. Even if the importance of an early East European German chancellery language (Schwarz 1942) and its role in the formation of modern Standard German (Schwarz 1955/56:275) was greater than is generally assumed, the total contribution of the diaspora to German language and culture as a whole was certainly not on a major scale. The Slavic component in the language of the colonists could not, under the burden of all-German norms, rise above the marginal status of local color, and there were always those who saw in it an omen of a catastrophic hybridization that might befall the language should the colonists be left to themselves. Creative writing in the diaspora (Klein 1939; Fittbogen 1937, 1941) had to guard its Germanness jealously if it was not to succumb to the ever-present perils of provincialism. Innovation in the diaspora was negligible (Mackensen 1937:53f.), and the German colonists, clinging to their dependence on the homeland, remained *Auslandsdeutsche* among the Slavs.

The Yiddish case was the opposite. The Jews were no less at home in the Slavic lands than in Germany; Eastern Europe, too, has been part of their “Yidishland.” A new folk-centered standard language was developed mostly in independence of German norms; in the process, a fresh evaluation of the Slavic component in folk speech was formed; and this evaluation turned out to be entirely favorable. In fact, it was so favorable that Yiddish appears in many respects to have joined the East European “convergence group” of languages (*Sprachbund*), in the sense of the concept which Becker so brilliantly developed (1948a, 1948b).⁵¹

The posture of standard Yiddish with respect to the Slavic component of the language did not evolve all at once. In the early 19th century, Mendl Levin Satanover, a writer of the western Ukraine, was led by his exhilaration over the un-German character of folk Yiddish to fill his Bible translations with a quantity of Slavicisms that was not only ludicrous to his contemporary admirers of the German norm, but is strange even to the modern reader (Mark 1956).⁵² The lexicographer Y.-M. Lifshits (Shtif 1928) in his dictionaries seems to have laid down boundaries between genuinely integrated Slavicisms in the folk language

⁵¹ The transition from marginality within one genetic group of languages to creative affinity in another group is, of course, not unique in the Yiddish case. Romansh made a similar step in trading Latin-Italian allegiances for German ones. Other examples could be cited.

⁵² On the other developments in literary Yiddish of the first half of the 19th century, see Shtif (1932), Gitlits (1935) and Spivak (1937).

and recent “educated” Russicisms which were beginning to stream into Yiddish in increasing numbers. Mendele Moykher-Sforim let the pendulum swing back a little further still: in revising his own works he eliminated even fully integrated Slavicisms, such as *rike* ‘rivulet’, along with more doubtful material of the type of *smysl* ‘meaning’, *razgavor* ‘conversation’, etc. (Kvitni 1928; Nusinov 1927/28); he is said to have coined the parodistic formula, *Fonje loj jizoxejr veloj jipokejd* ‘let Fonje [the Slavs, jocularly] not be mentioned or remembered’. In the 20th century, it seems, the situation in Standard Yiddish stabilized on the acceptance of legitimate folk Slavicisms as distinguished from the substandard Russicisms and Polonisms of the newly educated. Only in detail did individual writers and literary centers continue to differ (in Soviet literary practice, for example, the use of modern Russian borrowings [Loytsker 1932] and of loan translation from Russian was permitted much more freely than in other countries). When the main centers of Yiddish culture shifted away from the Slavic orbit after World War II, the tolerance toward Slavicisms increased again: where they no longer constitute a flood danger, they are embraced as a desirable component. It is significant that the post-war Yiddish thesaurus (Stutchkoff 1950:x), which marks many words as substandard, classifies a large number of Slavicisms simply as “not yet standard.” Thus, what has been a mass of mere “loanwords” to colonial German has gradually developed into an integral constituent of the language in Yiddish.

The Jews of the Slavic countries reached a level of self-knowledge and artistic self-representation which the German diaspora was prevented from achieving by its literal orientation upon its homeland. It is doubtful whether Yiddish literature would have transcended the German diaspora type of provincialism and attained its world stature if the Jews of Eastern Europe had not consciously accepted the actuality of their language and their culture – profoundly and enrichingly influenced by the Slavic environment.

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РАЗНОХАРАКТЕРНОСТЬ СЛАВЯНСКОГО ВЛИЯНИЯ
НА ЕВРЕЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК И НЕМЕЦКИЕ ГОВОРЫ
ВОСТОЧНОЙ ЕВРОПЫ

Поселение ашкеназских евреев и немцев в Восточной Европе произошло в различные эпохи и в различных исторических условиях. Тем не менее, возможно и полезно сравнить размер и глубину славянского влияния на языки поселенцев — еврейский