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Yiddish G6104y

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Notes on the Semitic Component Vocalic Diaphonemes of
Modern Yiddish Dialects Relative to the Proposed
Proto System

1. Internal reconstruction can establish that a Semitic Component (SC) form has been processed by Closed Syllable Shortening (CSS) only where the dialects of the modern language exhibit open vs. closed syllabic allomorphs. Cf. e.g. Dutch Yiddish (DY) mey\$sem 'corpses' vs. sg. mes, knō\$sem '(monetary) fines' vs. sg. knās, šou\$zet 'ritual slaughterer' vs. pl. šox\$tem || Central Yiddish (CY) mey\$sem vs. mes, knū\$sem vs. knās, šoy\$zet vs. šox\$tem || Northeastern Yiddish (NEY) mey\$sim vs. mes, knō\$sim vs. knas, šey\$zet vs. šox\$tim.¹

2. Long vowel reflexes in nonalternating forms derive unambiguously from long protovowels.² It is, however, impossible to determine by means of internal reconstruction whether nonalternating short vowel reflexes in the SC (a) derive from short protovowels, or (b) derive from long protovowels processed by CSS. DY, CY, NEY efšer

'maybe', tɛl 'shambles, ruin' may derive from Proto Yiddish (PY) *ɛ or PY *ē processed by CSS; DY, CY dǎfke 'necessarily', yǎm 'sea' || NEY dafke, yam may derive from PY *a or PY *ā processed by CSS; DY, CY, NEY xɔxme 'wisdom', xɔk 'law' may derive from PY *ɔ or PY *ō processed by CSS. In as much as these forms do not alternate with open syllabic allomorphs (as do the forms cited in §1), the closed syllable SC neutralizations of the oppositions of the reflexes of PY *ē vs. *ɛ, *ā vs. *a, *ō vs. *ɔ (in favor of the shorter, lower and more open vowel in each pair) have rendered vowels processed by CSS indistinguishable from originally short vowels.³

3. The history of nonalternating short vowel reflexes can be determined through comparison with Tiberian cognates. Tiberian short vowels (a cover term including the ḥatef or "ultrashort" vowels as well as the normal grade vowels) give unitary reflexes in modern Yiddish dialects regardless of syllable type (with the exception of Tiberian segol [ɛ] which was lengthened-raised in stressed open syllables in all Yiddish dialects except NEY). Cf. below Table I,

nos. 6-10. Tiberian long vowels, however, each give two distinct Yiddish reflexes. In open syllables, Yiddish reflexes of Tiberian long vowels are long or diphthongized vowels whereas in closed syllables they are processed by CSS resulting (a) in neutralization of the $*\bar{e}—*\underline{e}$, $*\bar{a}—*\underline{a}$, and $*\bar{o}—*\underline{o}$ oppositions and (b) merger of original $*\underline{e}$, $*\underline{a}$ and $*\underline{o}$ with $*\underline{e} < *\bar{e}$, $*\underline{a} < *\bar{a}$ and $*\underline{o} < *\bar{o}$. Cf. below Table I, nos. 1-5.

Wherever DY, CY, NEY \underline{e} is cognate to Tiberian \underline{e} or \check{e} , it derives from PY $*\underline{e}$; where DY, CY, NEY \underline{e} is cognate to Tiberian \bar{e} , it derives from PY $*\bar{e}$ processed by CSS. Wherever DY, CY \check{a} || NEY \underline{a} is cognate to Tiberian \underline{a} or \check{a} , it derives from PY $*\underline{a}$; where DY, CY \check{a} || NEY \underline{a} is cognate to Tiberian \bar{a} , it derives from PY $*\bar{a}$ processed by CSS. Analogously, wherever DY, CY, NEY \underline{o} is cognate to Tiberian \underline{o} , it derives from PY $*\underline{o}$; where DY, CY, NEY \underline{o} is cognate to Tiberian \bar{o} , it derives from PY $*\bar{o}$ processed by CSS.⁴

4. While the number of phonetic values posited as protovowels remains ten, the protovowel inventory is increased to fifteen as a consequence of the differentiation between originally short vowels on the one hand and originally long vowels processed by CSS on the other. Where modern dialects of Yiddish exhibit vocalic alternations engendered by syllable boundary features open vs. closed, this differentiation

is determined through evidence gleaned from Yiddish (§1) although Tiberian cognates contribute corroborating evidence (§3). In the absence of alternations, no evidence is provided by modern Yiddish dialects (§2) and the differentiation between originally short vowels and originally long vowels processed by CSS must rely on Tiberian cognates (§3). Similarly, reliance on Tiberian cognate forms is paramount in the case of the PY high vowels (*ī, *ī̄, *ū, *ū̄) where alternations that may have been are at times analogically leveled (and totally obscured in NEY where vocalic length is not distinctive). Nevertheless, there are enough vestiges of CSS to establish that they too were processed by CSS — cf. e.g. dīnem 'laws' vs. sg. dīn (in the speech of some speakers of CY) and xūšem 'senses' vs. sg. xūš (in DY).

5. The protovowels of the SC constitute three series: ⁵
- (a) long vowels (marked by subscript 1)
 - (b) short vowels (marked by subscript 2)
 - (c) originally long vowels processed by CSS (marked by subscript 3).

The fifteen protovowels and their expected reflexes in

Dutch Yiddish (DY), Alsatian Yiddish (AY), Swiss
Horsedealer's Yiddish (SHY), Central Yiddish (CY),
Southeastern Yiddish (SEY) and Northeastern Yiddish
(NEY) are provided in Table II.⁶ An illustrative
SC corpus is provided for each protovowel.

NOTES

1. Our transcriptions are based on the following versions of the stressed vowel systems of Dutch Yiddish, Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish:

DY:

ī	ȳ			u
ē			ō	ō
ey	ε		o	ou
		ǎ	ā	

CY:

ī	ȳ		ū	ū
ē				ō
	ε		o	oy
		ǎ	ā	ay

NEY:

i				u
ey				
	ε		o	oy
		a	ay	

2. The reconstructed protosystem of the Semitic Component vocalism yields ten vowel phonemes:

*ī	*ī	*ū	*ū
*ē			*ō
	*ε	*ǔ	*̄
		*a	

3. The effects of these neutralizations in the modern language are manifest in the reduced inventory of SC vowels in closed syllables in all Yiddish dialects. Thus, DY ey, ō, ou, CY ay, ū ~ ǔ, oy, and NEY ey do not occur in closed syllables (except as anomalies). Only one vowel phoneme (ey) is restricted to open syllables in NEY as the mergers of PY (SC) *ō with *ǔ (as unitary ou) and of *ō with *ē (as unitary ey) have obscured two of the three neutralizations. In other dialects, all three neutralizations remain synchronically transparent.

4. Our transcriptions of Tiberian vowels follow the phonetic symbols posited by Schramm (1964: 29) but the phonological system recognized by the classical grammarians (e.g. Qimḥi in Chomsky 1952: 12-13; Gesenius 1910: 40-54).

5. This numbering system methodologically follows M. Weinreich's (1960; 1973: II, 321-382) scheme of vocalism. There are, however, at least three substantive differences between M. Weinreich's system and the proposed one:

(a) The proposed system relates to the Semitic Component only, on the basis of phonological differentiation between components, even where complete phonetic leveling has occurred.

(b) Closed Syllable Shortening (rather than lengthening in unchecked syllables) is posited in the proposed system.

(c) The proposed system is not designed to function as a systematization of synchronic correspondences. Thus, wherever splits can be predicted by phonological environment, both modern vowels are derived from a single protovowel in our protosystem. Thus the lengthening-raising-closing of PY (SC) * ϵ to DY, CY $\bar{\epsilon}$ is completely predictable: in stressed open syllables (in Tiberian). Tiberian ϵ (corresponding to PY (SC) * ϵ) was raised in these dialects; in all other positions, it remained $\underline{\epsilon}$. In M. Weinreich's system, these vowels are differentiated (E_1 vs. E_5) because the split has resulted in two diaphonemes in the modern language.

6. Sources for DY forms are Beem (1970; 1975) and a number of personal communications from Beem for which we are most thankful; Alsatian Yiddish vocalism after Zivy (1966) and (mostly) Zuckerman (1969); Swiss Horsedealer's Yiddish after Guggenheim-Grünberg (1954). Notwithstanding the small corpus, Guggenheim-Grünberg's SHY transcriptions are priceless for the historical phonology of the SC — the SC in SHY exhibits reflexes of PY vowels (which are paradigmatic relative to the established dialect areas), not "Hebrew words" incorporated for purposes of trade-jargon.

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[3]

Closed Stressed
 Syllable
 Cf. 9b below

'hard'

*a

DY 4
 CY 5
 NY 6

[7]

Open Syllable

'choats'

*s

DY 6
 CY 7
 NY 8

[8]

Closed Syllable

'ruin'

*r

DY 7
 CY 8
 NY 9

[1]

Open Syllable

'ruiners'

*l

DY 8
 CY 9
 NY 10

[1]

Closed Syllable













'lav'





*v




DY 9
 CY 10
 NY 11

TABLE I

SIMPLIFIED SUMMARY OF THE PARADIGMATIC CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN (a) TIBERIAN, (b) PROTO YIDDISH AND (c) MODERN YIDDISH VOCALISM:







Tiberian Long Vowels	Environment	Examples	PY	Modern Yiddish
1a)  [ɔ̄]	Open Syllable	לשון  'language'	*ɔ̄	DY ȏ CY u NEY ɔ
1b)  [ɔ̄]	Closed Stressed Syllable Cf. 9b below	חַד  'hand'	*a	DY ǎ CY ǎ NEY a
2a)  [ē]	Open Syllable	שׂוֹטִים  'ghosts'	*ē	DY εy CY ay NEY ey
2b)  [ē]	Closed Syllable	תֵּל  'mound' 'ruin'	*ε	DY ε CY ε NEY ε
3a)  [ī]	Open Syllable	נְוִיִּם  'princes' 'rulers'	*ī	DY ī CY ī NEY i
3b)  [ī]	Closed Syllable	דִּין  'law'	*ī	DY ȳ CY ȳ NEY i

<u>Tiberian Long Vowels</u>	<u>Environment</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>PY</u>	<u>Modern Yiddish</u>
4a)  ~ ° [ō]	Open Syllable	ḥālō\$ṁōθ 'dreams'	*ō	DY ou CY oy NEY ey
4b)  ~ ° [ō]	Closed Syllable	sōf 'end'	*ō	DY o CY o NEY o
5a)  ~ ° [ū]	Open Syllable	mālū\$xō 'kingdom'	*ū	DY u CY ī NEY u
5b)  ~ ° [ū]	Closed Syllable	šūm 'any'	*ū	DY ō CY ŷ NEY u

<u>Tiberian Short Vowels</u>	<u>Environment</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>PY</u>	<u>Modern Yiddish</u>
6a)   [a],[ă]	Open Syllable	nā\$ḥaθ 'joy' ḥă\$zīr 'pig'	*a	DY ă CY ă NEY a
6b)  [a]	Closed Syllable	sām 'poison'	*a	DY ă CY ă NEY a

* Does not occur in Tiberian.

** Virtually unattested in Yiddish.

<u>Tiberian Short Vowels</u>	<u>Environment</u>	<u>Examples</u>	<u>PY</u>	<u>Modern Yiddish</u>
7a)  [ε], [ɛ̃]	Open Syllable	rɛ\$mez 'hint' ɛ̃\$mɛθ 'truth'	*ε	DY ē, ε CY ē, ε NEY ε
7b)  [ε]	Closed Syllable	ɛf\$šōr 'possible' 'maybe'	*ε	DY ε CY ε NEY ε
<hr/>				
8a) [i]	Open Syllable	----- *		
8b)  [i]	Closed Syllable	mið\$bōr 'wilderness' kiš\$šūr 'magic'	*i	DY ĭ CY ĭ NEY i
<hr/>				
9a)  [ɔ̃]	Open Unstressed Syllable	----- **		
9b)  [ɔ]	Closed Unstressed Syllable (etc.) (= "qōmaš qōṭōn") Cf. 1b above	ḥōx\$mō 'wisdom'	*ɔ	DY ɔ CY ɔ NEY ɔ
<hr/>				
10a) [u]	Open Syllable	----- *		
10b)  [ū]	Closed Syllable	pēluy\$tō 'controversy' ḥup\$pō 'canopy'	*ū	DY ō CY ĭ NEY u

* Does not occur in Tiberian.

** Virtually unattested in Yiddish.

TABLE II

THE PROTO VOWELS OF THE SEMITIC COMPONENT
IN TERMS OF THEIR MODERN YIDDISH REFLEXES

1. Long vowels:

*ō₁ *ē₁ *ī₁ *ō₁ *ū₁

2. Short vowels:

*a₂ *ε₂ *ı̄₂ *ǔ₂ *ǔ̄₂

3. Originally long vowels processed by Closed Syllable Shortening:

*a₃ (<*ō₁) *ε₃ (<*ē₁) *ı̄₃ (<*ī₁) *ǔ₃ (<*ō₁) *ǔ̄₃ (<*ū₁)

1) *ō₁ > DY ō || AY ō || SHY ō || CY ū~ǔ || SEY u || NEY ɔ

Reflexes of *ō₁ occur paradigmatically in open syllables only.

Examples:

אלסנה, בחור, ברכה, גאון, גלות, הלואה, השפעה,
זכרון, חרטה, יללה, כבוד, כלבים, כחבים, לבנה,
לשון, סחשבה, סלאכה, ספלה, משל, משפחה, סחנה,
נביא, נחמה, נקמה, נשמה, סברא, סכנה, ספק,
עלול, פגמים, פסור, פנים, פרנסה, פשוט, צוואה,
צרה, קללה, שבחים, שלום, שררה, וכו'.

Eastern Yiddish Anomalies: אב (חודש), כף (אוח), רב.

Pan Yiddish Anomalies: וואָן, חוּן.

2) *ē₁ > DY εy || AY εy || SHY εy || CY ay || SEY ey || NEY ey

Reflexes of *ē₁ occur paradigmatically in open syllables only.

Examples:

בהמה, ברירה, גזילה, גירוש, גניבה, גרים, דעה, הא,
הפקרות, זכר, זקנה, חלק, חרם, חשק, לצים, סבין,
סגפה, סילא, סכשפה, סצבה, סחים, נבילה, נרות,
ספקות, ספר, (ב) סתר, עדות, (גן) עדן, עצה, (ב) פירוש
פליטה, צלם, קדישה, שדים, שמות, שכל, שלמות, שרפה,
תיקון, (סהיכא) תיתי, וכו'.

Pan Yiddish Anomalies: בית (אות), חן, ריש.

3) $*\bar{i}_1 > \text{DY } \bar{i} \parallel \text{AY } \bar{i} \parallel \text{SHY } \bar{i} \parallel \text{CY } \bar{i} \parallel \text{SEY } \bar{i} \parallel \text{NEY } i$

Reflexes of $*\bar{i}_1$ occur paradigmatically in open syllables only.

Examples:

אושפיוזין, אכילה, בדיקה, בקיאות, הליכה, חליצה,
חמיטה, חסידים, חריפות, חשיבות, חתימה, טבילה,
(בת) יחידה, ישיבה, כתיבה, סבינות, מדינה,
מחילה, סיחה, משחיתים, נביאים, נגידים, נגינה,
ספירה, עשירות, פגימה, פגירה, צדיקים, (חברה)
קדישא, קצינים, קרירה, רגילות, שחיטה, שירה,
שמירה, שתיקה, תכריכים, תפיסה, תקיפות, וכו'.

4) $*\bar{o}_1 > \text{DY } \bar{o} \parallel \text{AY } \bar{o} \parallel \text{SHY } \bar{o} \parallel \text{CY } \bar{o} \parallel \text{SEY } \bar{o} \parallel \text{NEY } \bar{o}$

Reflexes of $*\bar{o}_1$ occur paradigmatically in open syllables only.

Examples:

אורח, אפיקורס, בכורה, גולם, גורל, דורות, חובות,
חודש, חולה, חושך, חלומות, חשבונות, טובה, יורד,
יורש, יסודות, כוסות, כלומר, לשונות, סופת, סורא,
סנורה, מקומות, סודות, סוחר, סופר, עונש, עושר,
קודם, (לשון) קודש, קולות, קונה, (ב)רוגז, רופא,
שומה, שופט, שורש, שלושים, שונא, תורה, וכו'.

Eastern Yiddish Anomaly: חוב.

5) $*\bar{u}_1 > \text{DY } \bar{u} \parallel \text{AY } \bar{u} \parallel \text{SHY } \bar{u} \parallel \text{CY } \bar{u} \parallel \text{SEY } \bar{u} \parallel \text{NEY } u$

Reflexes of $*\bar{u}_1$ occur paradigmatically in open syllables only.

Examples:

אסותא, בושה, בחולה, גבורה, חברותא, חידושים,
חזשים, חלוקה, חשובים, ישובים, יסורים, ישועה,
כיבודים, כתובים, סלבושים, סלוכה, נבואה,
ניגונים, סעודה, עגונה, פורים, פירושים, פסוקים,
פרוסה, פקודה, קבורה, רבוחא, רפואה, רצועות,

שבועה, שורה, שידוכים, שמועה, תבואה, תיקונים,
תפוצה, תקופה, תרופה, תרוצים, תשובה, וכו'.

- 6) $*a_2 > DY \check{a} \parallel AY \check{a} \parallel SHY \check{a} \parallel CY \check{a} \parallel SEY \check{a} \sim a \mid a \parallel NEY a$
 Reflexes of $*a_2$ occur in any syllable.

Examples:

אגב, אוודאי, אכלן, אכסניא, בדחן, בטלן, בר סמכא,
 בת מלכה, גלח, גנב, דחקא, דחקות, דלפון, דף,
 דעת, דרשן, הצטרכות, חזיר, חיה, חלה, יקרן, כת,
 לחש, סזל, סלאך, סלבוש, סלסד, סמס, סתסיד, נחת,
 נפקא, סס, עזות, עולה, פחד, פרצוף, צד, קצב,
 קשיא, תכלית, וכו'.

- 7) $*\epsilon_2 >$

(α) $DY \epsilon \parallel AY \epsilon \parallel SHY \epsilon \parallel CY \epsilon \parallel SEY \epsilon \parallel NEY \epsilon$

(a) in closed syllables. Examples:

אביון, אסתר, אפשר, אחרוג, הכשר, המשך, הסכס,
 הספר, הפקר, הקדש, חברה, חדוה, חשבון, חשוון,
 עזרת (נשים), שדרה, וכו'.

(b) originally unstressed open syllables to which
 stress has shifted. Examples:

אדום, אלול, אסור, אסת.

(c) originally unstressed closed syllables to which
 stress has shifted, and which have become open
 due to degemination. Examples:

היזק, היחר.

(β) $DY \bar{\epsilon} \parallel AY \epsilon y \parallel SHY \bar{\epsilon} \parallel CY \bar{\epsilon} \parallel SEY \check{y} \mid ey \parallel NEY \epsilon$

(d) in stressed open syllables. Examples:

בגד, גדר, דרך, הבל (הבלים), זמר, חנק, חסד, טבע,
 (ביח (ה) כנסת, כלב, כנגד, לחם, נגע, נפש, קרן,
 רגל, רגע, רווח, רסז, שטח, שקר, וכו'.

8) * \check{y}_2 > DY \check{y} | ϵ || AY \check{y} || SHY \check{y} || CY \check{y} || SEY \check{y} || NEY i

Reflexes of * \check{y}_2 occur

(a) in closed syllables. Examples:

בלבול, במקום, ברכת (כהנים), דקדוק, יזכור, כסלו,
 סדבר, סזרח, מנהג, מנחה, מצווה, מקווה, משנה, משפט,
 נדחה, נמצא, נפטר, פלפול, פנחס, פנקס, קצבה,
 שמשון, שפחה, שפלות, שמחה, וכו'.

(b) originally closed syllables. Examples:

ביקור (חולים), גיבור, דיבוק, חיבור, חידוש, חילול,
 חילוף, חילוק, חינוך, (ב) חינום, טינוף, כישוף,
 לכתחילה, מגילה, מידה, מיטה, ניגון, נידה, ניצול,
 סיבה, סידור, ציבור, קידוש, קליפה, קנאה, שבעה,
 שידוך, שיטה, שיכור, שנאה, תהילים, תפילה וכו'.

9) * \check{z}_2 > DY \check{z} || AY \check{z} || SHY \check{z} || CY \check{z} || SEY \check{z} || NEY \check{z}

Reflexes of * \check{z}_2 generally occur in closed syllables.

Examples:

ברכו, חכמה, (ס) כל (שכן), מפרשים, מרדכי, משרתים,
 ערלה, קרבן, וכו'.

Pan Yiddish Anomaly:

חגא.

10) * \check{u}_2 > DY \check{u} || AY u || SHY \check{u} || CY \check{y} || SEY \check{y} || NEY u

Reflexes of * u_2 occur

(a) in closed syllables. Examples:

אונקלוס, גוזמא, דוגמא, חולשא, חוסרא, חוצפה,
 סומטום, מבולבל, סוסחה, סוסכס, סופלג, סוצלת,
 סוקצה, סטושטש, סוגיא, עובדא, פלוגחא, קונטרס,
 רוגזא, שולחן (ערוך), שותפות, וכו'.

(b) originally closed syllables. Examples:

גאולה, גדולה, חולין, חומש, חופה, טומאה, ירושה,
 כהונה, כתובה, סבוזה, סותר, סזוסן, סחולק, סחותן,
 מטופל, סכולה, סלומד, סמונה, סנוול, ססופק, ספונק,
 מקובל, סרובע, סשוגע, סשומד, סשונה, סשועבד, סוכה,
 קדושה, קולא, שותף, וכו'.

11) $*a_3 (< *a_1 >)$ reflexes of $*a_2$ (= No 6 above)

Reflexes of $*a_3$ occur in closed (or formerly closed) syllables only. Examples:

(כיבוד) אב, אחריזת, (בעלי) בחים, גזר, (שעת ה)
 דחק, (בדיל ה) דל, דם, דן (לכף זכות), דרש,
 (כדין וכ) דת, העוויות, חם, חס (זין), חשד,
 יד (אחת), ים, כלל, כפר, כתב, לויה, (רחמנא)
 לצלן, סחק, סן, (על) סנה, משניות, נע ונד,
 סכך, סחם, (רבונוד) עלמא, (ביה) עלמין, פגם,
 פחה, פסק, פרט, פשט, קנס, (פגע) רע, שאר
 (ירקות), שבח, שבט, שווא (ושקר), שטר, שמד,
 הם, וכו'.

12) $*\varepsilon_3 (< *e_1 >)$ reflexes of $*\varepsilon_2$ (/1,2,3 = No 7a above)

Reflexes of $*\varepsilon_3$ occur in closed (or formerly closed) syllables only. Examples:

(כיבוד אב ו) אם, ביה (דין), (פדיון ה) בן, גט,
 גר, גרשון, הן, חטא, חיה, טיה, יש, לב (טוב),
 ליה (ברירה), לץ, סיטרא, סלעיל, סם, סח, נם,
 ספק (ספקא), (ם) עת לעת, קץ, שד, שם, חל, וכו'.

13) * \check{y}_3 (< * \bar{y}_1) > reflexes of * \check{y}_2 (= No 8 above)

Reflexes of * \check{y}_3 occur in closed syllables only.

Examples:

בריה, גיד (הנשה), (ב)דיל (הדל), דין, (ב)זיל (הזול),
ידיד, יריד, כתיב, סין, וכו'.

14) * \check{y}_3 (< * \bar{o}_1) > reflexes of * \check{y}_2 (= No 9 above)

Reflexes of * \check{y}_3 occur in closed (or formerly closed)

syllables only. Examples:

(יש) אומרים, אורחים, אות, אפיקורסות, בכור(תא)
בוררות, גוג וסגוג, דור, (כל) הון (דעלמא),
(ב)זול, זכור (בריה), חוב (wy), (דברי) חול,
חוק (ולא יעבור), (שבת) חזון, חצות, (אבן) טוב,
יום (טוב), יוצרות, יורדים, יורשים, יסוד,
(בר) כוכבא, כוס, כופרים, לוט, לומדות, סוסרים,
סורדים, סושלים, סופחים, (אחרי) כות, סדום,
סוד, סוחרים, סוף, סופרים, עול, עוף, פוסקים,
קול, ראש, רוב, רוצחים, שוחטים, שומרים, שופטים,
שונאים, (שין) שמאל, תהום, תוך, וכו'.

15) * \check{y}_3 (< * \bar{u}_1) > reflexes of * \check{y}_2 (= No 10 above)

Reflexes of * \check{y}_3 occur in closed syllables only.

Examples:

גבול, גוף, דפוס, דרוש, זוג, זכות, זנות,
חוט (השערה / השדרה), (א)חוז, חוש, כרוז,
לבוש, סום, סוג, סוס, פסול, רשות, שום,
שוק, שטות, תחום, וכו'.

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HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE
PROTO YIDDISH HIGH VOWELS
IN THE SEMITIC COMPONENT

Modern Yiddish reflexes of Proto Yiddish *ī, *ȳ, *ū and *ǔ are generally predictable on the basis of cognate Tiberian forms. Examples illustrate instances of the high vowels preceding begedkefet plosives and spirants.

(a) Tiberian i and u are always short in closed unstressed syllables. A geminate consonant closes the preceding syllable. Begedkefet plosives (b, g, d, k, p, t) are geminate in intervocalic position.

(b) Tiberian i and u are always long in open unstressed syllables. A nongeminate consonant in intervocalic position initiates the following syllable, leaving the preceding syllable open. Begedkefet spirants (v, γ, ð, x, f, θ) are nongeminate in intervocalic position.

(c) Polysyllabic Tiberian forms stressed ultimately are processed by stress shift to penultimate position in Yiddish and by Borokhov's Law (reduction of posttonic vowel to a, and pretonic vowels to a; however, pretonic a is not generally reduced). Gemination is lost.

(d) Basis for comparison exists where unstressed Tiberian ī, ȳ, ū and ǔ are cognate with stressed Modern Yiddish reflexes of Proto Yiddish *ī, *ȳ, *ū and *ǔ, respectively.

(e) No basis for comparison exists where a Tiberian syllable is closed by a consonant preceding a word boundary or preceding another consonant, in which case any long vowel is processed in Yiddish by Closed Syllable Shortening (Proto Yiddish *ī → *a; *ē → *e; *ī → *ȳ; *ō → ʔ; *ū → *ǔ).

ILLUSTRATIVE CORPUS:

(All Tiberian forms cited are stressed ultimately; Yiddish cognates are stressed penultimately. See (c) above.)

Proto Yiddish (Semitic Component) *Ī

<u>Tiberian</u>	<u>Dutch Y¹</u>	<u>Central Y</u>	<u>Northeastern Y</u>
hālī\$xō	halī\$xə	halī\$xə	hali\$xə
ḥārī\$fūə	xarī\$fəs	xarī\$fəs	xari\$fəs
ḥāsī\$ṽūə	xəšī\$ṽes	xšī\$ṽes	xši\$ṽes
ḥāsī\$ōuə	xəsī\$dəs	xsī\$dəs	xsi\$dəs
kəθī\$ṽō	kəsī\$ṽə	ksi\$ṽə	ksi\$ṽə
mašḥī\$ōīm	mašxi\$səm	mašxi\$səm	mašxi\$səm
nəyi\$ōīm	nəgi\$dəm	nəgi\$dəm	nəgi\$dəm
mī\$ō	mī\$sə	mī\$sə	mi\$sə
taxrī\$xīm	taxrī\$xəm	taxrī\$xəm	taxri\$xəm
taqqī\$fūə	təkī\$fəs	tkī\$fəs	tki\$fəs
yəḥī\$ōīm	yəxi\$dəm	yəxi\$dəm	yəxi\$dəm
yəšī\$ṽō	yəšī\$ṽə	yəšī\$ṽə	yəši\$ṽə

Proto Yiddish (Semitic Component) *Ī

<u>Tiberian</u>	<u>Dutch Y</u>	<u>Central Y</u>	<u>Northeastern Y</u>
dib\$būr	dī\$ber	dī\$ber	di\$ber
gib\$bōr	gī\$ber	gī\$ber	gi\$ber
ḥid\$dūš	xī\$dəš	xī\$dəš	xi\$dəš
ḥip\$ṽūš	ī\$ṽəš	ī\$ṽəš	i\$ṽəš
mid\$dō	mī\$də	mī\$də	mi\$də
nid\$dō	nī\$də	nī\$də	ni\$də
nig\$gūn	nī\$gən	nī\$gn	ni\$gn
qid\$dūš	kī\$dəš	kī\$dəš	ki\$dəš
šid\$dūx	šī\$dəš	šī\$dəx	ši\$dəx
šik\$ḥōr	šī\$ḥər	šī\$ḥər	ši\$ḥər
sib\$bō	sī\$bə	sī\$bə	si\$bə
sid\$dūr	sī\$dər	sī\$dər	si\$dər
šib\$būr	čī\$ber	čī\$ber	ci\$ber
ṭip\$ṽəš	tī\$ṽəš	tī\$ṽəš	ti\$ṽəš

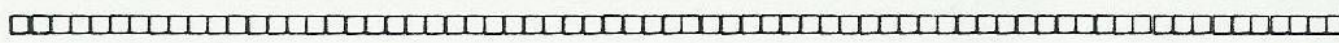
¹after Beem (1959, 1975)

Proto Yiddish (Semitic Component) *ū

<u>Tiberian</u>	<u>Dutch Y</u>	<u>Central Y</u>	<u>Northeastern Y</u>
אָרױף	aru\$fe	ari\$fe	aru\$fe
אָסױס	asu\$sə	asi\$sə	asu\$sə
האַרױס	xavru\$sə	xavri\$sə	xavru\$sə
קאַױפֿן	kəsu\$vēm	ksi\$vēm	ksu\$vēm
קיבױם	kību\$dəm	kəbi\$dəm	kəbu\$dəm
מאַלױך	məlu\$xə	məli\$xə	məlu\$xə
שידױם	šīdu\$xəm	šədi\$xəm	šədu\$xəm
טאַקױף	təku\$fe	tki\$fe	tku\$fe
טאַשױפֿן	šu\$ve	či\$ve	ču\$ve

Proto Yiddish (Semitic Component) *ū

<u>Tiberian</u>	<u>Dutch Y</u>	<u>Central Y</u>	<u>Northeastern Y</u>
הױפֿן	xō\$pe	xī\$pe	xu\$pe
קאַױפֿן	kəō\$bə	ksi\$bə	ksu\$bə
מאַהױט	məxō\$ten	məxi\$tn	məxu\$tn
מאַקױב	məkō\$bəl	məki\$bļ	məku\$bļ
מאַשױג	məšō\$gə (~u)	məši\$gə	məšu\$gə
מױט	mō\$ter	mī\$ter	mu\$ter
סױק	sō\$ke	sī\$ke	su\$ke
סױט	šō\$tef	ši\$tef	šu\$tef



S U M M A R Y :

- Tiberian ī /__\$ || Proto Yiddish *ī > DY ī || CY ī || NEY i
- Tiberian i || Proto Yiddish *ī > DY ĩ || CY ĩ || NEY i
- Tiberian ū /__\$ || Proto Yiddish *ū > DY u || CY ī || NEY u
- Tiberian u || Proto Yiddish *ū > DY ō || CY ĩ || NEY u

C O N C L U S I O N :

The consistency of the correspondences between DY and CY demonstrates that the forms were inherited into Proto Yiddish. They could not have entered the language from texts unless the speakers of both dialects are assumed to have been aware of (a) and (b) above and consciously applied these principles of Tiberian phonology in their Yiddish.