

# International Journal of the Sociology of Language

## Sociology of Yiddish

JOSHUA A. FISHMAN, *Issue Editor*

*Dovid Katz*, The Wavering Yiddish Segolate: A Problem of Sociolinguistic Reconstruction

*David L. Gold*, The Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew Names for Yiddish and the Yiddish Names for Hebrew

*Joshua A. Fishman*, Attracting a Following to High-Culture Functions for a Language of Everyday Life: The Role of the Tshernovits Language Conference in the 'Rise of Yiddish'

*Arieh Leyb Pilowsky*, La Querella Hebreo-Yiddish en Erez Israel, 1907-1921, y sus proyecciones nacionales, políticas y culturales

*Solomon Poll*, The Sacred-Secular Conflict in the Use of Hebrew and Yiddish Among the Ultra-Orthodox Jews of Jerusalem

Books and Journals Received

Mouton

24

# INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF LANGUAGE

24

Sociology of Yiddish

*Edited by* JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

*General Editor* JOSHUA A. FISHMAN

*Ferkauf Graduate School  
Yeshiva University  
55 Fifth Avenue  
New York, New York 10003*

MOUTON PUBLISHERS  
THE HAGUE · PARIS · NEW YORK

## Table of Contents

DOVID KATZ, The Wavering Yiddish Segolate: A Problem of Sociolinguistic Reconstruction . . . . .	5
DAVID L. GOLD, The Spanish, Portuguese and Hebrew Names for Yiddish and the Yiddish Names for Hebrew . . . . .	29
JOSHUA A. FISHMAN, Attracting a Following to High-Culture Functions for a Language of Everyday Life: The Role of the Tshernovits Language Conference in the 'Rise of Yiddish' . . . . .	43
ARIEH LEYB PILOWSKY, La Querella Hebreo-Yiddish en Erez Israel, 1907-1921, y sus proyecciones nacionales, políticas y culturales . . . . .	75
SOLOMON POLL, The Sacred-Secular Conflict in the Use of Hebrew and Yiddish Among the Ultra-Orthodox Jews of Jerusalem . . . . .	109
Books and Journals Received . . . . .	127

DOVID KATZ

## The Wavering Yiddish Segolate: A Problem of Sociolinguistic Reconstruction

### 1. HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION

New theories of language of recent decades cast shadows upon some of the principles of traditional historical linguistics. The challenge scarcely emerges from the generative model. On the contrary, the generative framework adds to its rigorous formulation a highly standardized notation. It is amicably suited to the precise isolation and systematization of language change (e.g. King 1969). The shock to historical linguistics emanates from the rise of studies of language structure in the context of society. By demonstrating the orderly heterogeneity of language, Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1968) discredit the homogeneous image of speech communities implicit in much comparative historical study. The empirical counterpart of the theory of inherent linguistic heterogeneity is provided by the pioneering field studies of ongoing language change in its social context (e.g. Bright and Ramanujan 1964; Labov 1963; 1966).<sup>1</sup>

Labov's (1971:422-423) uniformitarian principle claims that change in progress functions in a way that is similar to change of the past. Studies of ongoing change have invalidated the assumption that language change can be *a priori* projected as a progression in the direction of prestige forms. It is precisely the sociolinguistic school which rebuffs Tarde's Law – 'The notion that all movement of linguistic forms is from the higher prestige group to the lower' is shown to be 'simply a remark' (Labov 1973:216). As Uriel Weinreich (1956:643) puts it, 'innovations in language do not always slide down prestige slopes'.

It is this discovery which ironically reverts a great onus upon the sociologist of language. Deprived of the principle of necessary spread of prestige forms, the historical linguist may find little use for sociology. He may be intent, say, on discovering which of two variant forms is a relative innovation over the other, where the two are

geographically complementary, and the day when both may have been variants of a sociolinguistic variable is long gone. A worker in language history is often separated by centuries or more from the point in time at which the change he is studying was ongoing and observable in its social context. If such empirical luxuries as Martha's Vineyard (Labov 1963) or the Lower East Side of New York City (Labov 1966) are not available for field study, and the prestige principle stands disconfirmed, how can the historical linguist avail himself of sociology? He might pay lip service to 'social factors' arrived at in thought experiments and continue to seek out genetic relations between language states at different points of time and space, unravelling transpired changes by the isolation of the conditioning environments. The comparative method undoubtedly continues to provide the histories of languages with permanent contributions. It is plausibly argued that its asocial application represents a different but equally valid plane of reality. It remains for sociolinguistics to develop methodology capable of meaningfully taking into account social correlates of the linguistic change that has completed its course before being encountered by the investigator. While sociologically conscious use of written monuments may provide evidence regarding the social stratification of the language of bygone times (e.g. Wyld 1936), such documentary clues 'can never replace the present as a laboratory for the linguist' (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968:164). Moreover, there is often no documentary evidence.

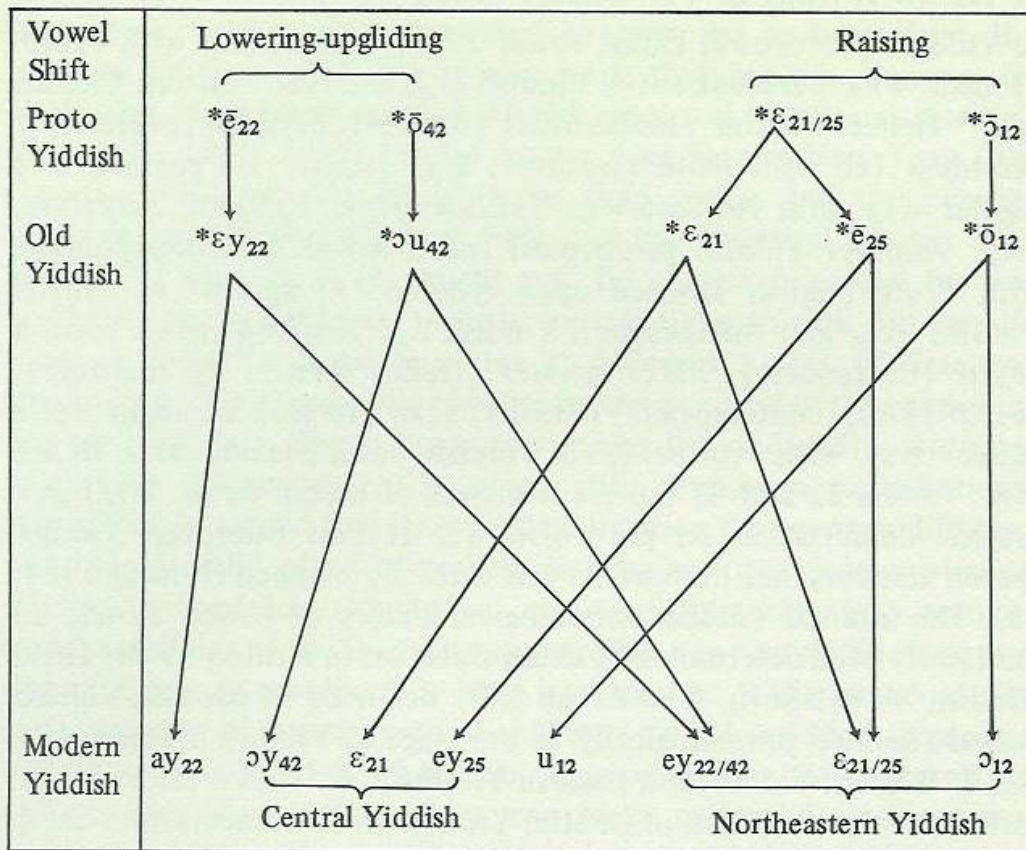
The sociolinguistic framework succeeds in convincingly challenging asocial theories of language change because it makes use of empirical evidence, that is to say, proof using knowledge derived from the language experience of the investigator. Even after a change has been completed, a sociolinguistic trace of that change, and its social correlates, may yet linger on in the modern speech community. The isolation of such a sociolinguistic trace in two or more varieties of the modern language may facilitate reconstruction of the change. In section 2, an anomalous correspondence in Yiddish phonology is presented and its background outlined. In section 3, an attempt is made to reconstruct the change leading to the modern anomaly by comparative study of speakers in two modern varieties of Yiddish. This is followed by documentation in section 4 of sociolinguistic variation in four varieties of Yiddish for a set of items related paradigmatically to the initial anomaly. An attempt is made to reconstruct variation at an earlier more uniform stage of Yiddish. The principles of sociolinguistic reconstruction are briefly sketched in section 5.

## 2. AN ANOMALOUS CORRESPONDENCE

A Yiddish protovowel called *vowel 22* (corresponding with Proto-Yiddish \* $\bar{e}$ ) appears as Central Yiddish  $ay_{22}$  and Northeastern Yiddish  $ey_{22}$ .<sup>2</sup> Hence, Central Yiddish *áybik* [forever], *báfáyraš* [explicitly], *maxtáysə* [all right, with pleasure], *šnay* [snow] are cognate in a regular way with Northeastern Yiddish *éybik*, *báféyraš*, *maxtéysə*, *šney*. Another Yiddish protovowel called *vowel 25* (corresponding with Proto-Yiddish stressed open syllabic \* $\epsilon$ ) appears as Central Yiddish  $ey_{25}$  and Northeastern Yiddish  $\epsilon_{25}$ . Hence, Central Yiddish *béytn* [to request], *maxatéynəstə* [(fem.) relative by marriage], *néyfəš* [soul; (contemptible) person], *zeyn* [to see] are cognate in a regular way with Northeastern Yiddish *béttn*, *maxaténnəstə*, *néfəš*, *zen*. Vowels 22 and 25 represent masses of lexical items. Their geographic delimitation on pre-World War II East European Yiddish speech territory has moreover been carefully mapped (Herzog 1964: 95). The internal Yiddish phonological history of vowels 22 and 25 has largely been determined by chain shifts set in motion by the Great Yiddish Vowel Shift. The Great Shift occurred in the Old Yiddish period (defined phonologically as the stage of Yiddish preceding the rise of Western Yiddish and Eastern Yiddish). A detailed phonological history of the evolution of Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish is not within the scope of the present inquiry.<sup>3</sup> The salient effects of the Great Vowel Shift, resulting in the vocalism of Old Yiddish, as well as modern reflexes in Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish are schematically illustrated in Table 1. The mid back protovowels, 42 (corresponding with Proto-Yiddish \* $\bar{o}$ ) and 12 (corresponding with Proto-Yiddish \* $\bar{o}$ ) were analogously processed by the Great Vowel Shift and are therefore included in Table 1.

Our problem is this. Central Yiddish *ráyvəx* [profit] (for some speakers also 'use, advantage, benefit') is intriguingly cognate with Northeastern Yiddish *révəx*. In terms of the protosystem, Central Yiddish  $ay_{22}$  (normally corresponding with Northeastern Yiddish  $ey_{22}$ ) appears in a lexical item displaying Northeastern Yiddish  $\epsilon_{25}$  (itself normally corresponding with Central Yiddish  $ey_{25}$ ). In the third major dialect of modern spoken Yiddish, Southeastern Yiddish, vowels 22 and 25 are merged as unitary  $ey_{22/25}$ , hence Southeastern Yiddish *réyvəx*.<sup>4</sup> The merger precludes the productive inclusion of Southeastern Yiddish evidence in the work at hand.<sup>5</sup>

In the Germanic Component of Yiddish (constituting Yiddish forms descended etymologically from Germanic etymons), vowel 22 is most often cognate with standard Middle High German  $\bar{e}$  (*cf.* *êwic*,

Table 1. *The Great Yiddish Vowel Shift and modern Yiddish reflexes*

*snê*), and vowel 25 with standard Middle High German *ë* (cf. *bëten*, *sëhen*). While standard Middle High German forms may often be cited as a convenient frame of reference, it must be stressed that such comparison violates historical reality. M. Weinreich's (1940: 106; 1954:73-79; 1967) studies of the diverse dialectal origins of the Germanic Component in Yiddish are in effect the sociological correlate of Prilutski's (1917:289-290) linguistic proof that the key features of the Germanic Component in Yiddish (or any Yiddish dialect) are not congruent with any German dialect.

In the Semitic Component of Yiddish (constituting Yiddish forms descended etymologically from Northwest Semitic etymons), vowel 22 is most often cognate with standard Tiberian *ē*, marked by the Tiberian vowel grapheme *šere* (cf. *bāšērūš*, *mēhēxō tēθē*), and vowel 25 with standard Tiberian stressed open syllabic *ε*, marked by the Tiberian vowel grapheme *segol* (cf. *māhuttēnεθ*, *nēfεš*).<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, historical social realism has yet to be applied to the history of the Semitic Component in Yiddish. Having swallowed lock, stock and barrel the hackneyed comparisons with Latin borrowings into European languages, standard theory (the *text theory*) maintains that

Yiddish acquired the Semitic Component from sacred Hebrew and Aramaic texts (*cf.* M. Weinreich 1973:I, 222-230; IV, 232-234). We contend that sociohistorical realism compels the realization that a group with the degree of social identity and cultural autonomy exhibited by the millennium old society of Ashkenazic Jewry *maintained* its linguistically inherited Semitic Component, which was transmitted in the usual fashion of generation to generation language transmission (*continuous transmission theory*). One phonological correlate of this claim is the nonconformity, in a regular and systematic way, of the Semitic Component of each Yiddish dialect with the same speakers' pronunciation of sacred Hebrew and Aramaic. In point of phonology (but not by any means lexicon or grammar), the traditional pronunciation of Biblical, rabbinic and liturgical Hebrew and Aramaic on the historical speech territory of Yiddish may be collectively called *Ashkenazic*. One such systematic disparity is evident in the highly pervasive rule of Closed Syllable Shortening in the Semitic Component of each Yiddish dialect, contrasting sharply with the absence of the rule in the Ashkenazic of the same speakers.<sup>7</sup> Another is the segolate nonconformity, and it is here that the difficulty raised in the present inquiry, Central Yiddish *ráyvax* vs. Northeastern Yiddish *révax*, fits in.

There is a set of Proto-Semitic stems which were processed by Segolation in Northwest Semitic.<sup>8</sup> Part of this extensive and multifarious process, named after the frequently epenthesized vowel segol, resulted in the Tiberian nominal shape  $C\acute{e}CVC < \text{Proto Semitic } *CiCC-$ , and Tiberian  $C\acute{e}CVC < \text{Proto Semitic } *CaCC-$ . Like many sound shifts formulated in neogrammarian style, these, too, account for many cases but not all cases. An initial modification introduced to accommodate the attested forms notes that while  $\bar{e} < *i$ ,  $\epsilon < \text{either } *a \text{ or } *i$ . The standard Tiberian Bible exhibits considerable  $C\acute{e}CVC \sim C\acute{e}CVC$  vacillation (*cf.* Kimchi 1545:52b). The classical masoretic work ascribed to the Tiberian master Aaron Ben-Asher points to cases where the  $C\acute{e}CVC \sim C\acute{e}CVC$  alternation may reflect a synchronic syntactic functional distinction, the  $\bar{e}$  forms denoting the construct and the  $\epsilon$  forms the absolute state of the noun (§36 in Baer and Strack 1879). Yet many exceptions remain. Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley (1910:§93k) posit coexisting  $*i$  and  $*a$  stem proto-forms to account for resulting  $\bar{e} \sim \epsilon$ . Bauer and Leander (1922:§72y) take note of the parallel variation in stem vowels not processed by Segolation which survive in certain suffixed forms and conclude that the vacillation indicates a partial merger of the two series. Compounding the linguistic indeterminacies of Tiberian segolates are the



manifold discrepancies between manuscripts (*cf.* Sperber 1966:446-449).<sup>9</sup> It is obvious that simplistic comparisons of Yiddish forms with standard stock language cognates, while often valuable for the sake of convenience, are linguistically fallacious.

The line must be carefully drawn between investigation into the prehistory of the Semitic Component in Northwest Semitic on the one hand and comparisons of Semitic Component forms with cognate forms in the Ashkenazic of each dialectal region (and in vocalized Tiberian texts current among Ashkenazim) on the other. This latter comparison concerns us here. In the entirety of its millennial history, spoken Yiddish coexisted with nonspoken Ashkenazic, which was in extensive use for written communication and prayer. Linguistically, the Semitic Component in Yiddish relates to Ashkenazic not as a daughter to a parent language, but the two are cognate structures. The social setting of the Yiddish-Ashkenazic coexistence is characterized by Fishman (1967:31) as entailing both bilingualism and diglossia (*cf.* also Fishman 1965:1-6; M. Weinreich 1973:I, 251-320; III, 253-331).

Yiddish forms cognate with standard Tiberian *CéCVC* segolate shapes may appear with a unitary vowel 25 realization (CY *ey* || NEY *ε*) in both the Semitic Component of Yiddish and the homodialectal Ashkenazic. In as much as the stressed vowel of such forms conforms with the Ashkenazic realizations of the same speakers, these may be regarded as the *vowel 25 conformist Yiddish segolates* (see Table 2). Analogously, Yiddish forms cognate with standard Tiberian *CéCVC* segolate shapes may appear with a unitary vowel 22 realization (CY *ay* || NEY *ey*) in the Semitic Component as well as in Ashkenazic. These are the *vowel 22 conformist Yiddish segolates* (see Table 3). A third group, cognate with Tiberian *CéCVC* shapes, appears defiantly with vowel 22 in all Yiddish dialects, while the corresponding Ashkenazic forms are in concord with standard Tiberian. These vowel 22 Yiddish forms digress, then, from the vowel 25 Ashkenazic forms used by the same speakers.<sup>10</sup> They are the *vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolates* (see Table 4).<sup>11</sup> The troublesome anomalous Central Yiddish *ráyvax* || Northeastern Yiddish *révax* correspondence is a *wavering Yiddish segolate*. The standard Tiberian form is *réwah* and Ashkenazic has vowel 25. Central Yiddish *ráyvax* is therefore a vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolate (*cf.* Central Ashkenazic *réyvax*), while Northeastern Yiddish *révax* is a vowel 25 conformist Yiddish segolate (*cf.* Northeastern Ashkenazic *révax*).<sup>12</sup>

Table 2. *The vowel 25 conformist Yiddish segolate (illustrative corpus)*

Standard Tiberian	Central Yiddish	Central Ashkenazic	Northeastern Yiddish	Northeastern Ashkenazic	Gloss in Yiddish
ε	<i>ey</i> <sub>25</sub>	<i>ey</i> <sub>25</sub>	<i>ε</i> <sub>25</sub>	<i>ε</i> <sub>25</sub>	
1. βέγεδ	béygəd	béygəd	bégəd	bégəd	garment
2. ήέσεδ	xéysəd	xéysəd	xésəd	xésəd	kindness, mercy
3. πέλε	péylə	péylə	pélə	péle	wondrous event
4. κέρην	kéryṛ	kéryṛ	kérṛ	kéren	(monetary) principal
5. réγαϞ	réygə	réyga	régə	réga	moment
6. τέναϞ	téyvə	téyva	tévə	téva	habit
7. ζέμερ	zéymər	zéymer	zémər	zémər	nature melody, song

Table 3. *The vowel 22 conformist Yiddish segolate (illustrative corpus)*

Standard Tiberian	Central Yiddish	Central Ashkenazic	Northeastern Yiddish	Northeastern Ashkenazic	Gloss in Yiddish
<i>e</i>	<i>ay</i> <sub>22</sub>	<i>ay</i> <sub>22</sub>	<i>ey</i> <sub>22</sub>	<i>ey</i> <sub>22</sub>	
1. γαν-έδεν	g(a)náydn̩	gan-áyden	g(a)néydn̩	gan-éyden	Garden of Eden, Paradise
2. ήέλεק	xáyłək	xáyłək	xéylək	xéylek	part
3. ήέρəm	xáyṛəm	xáyṛəm	xéyṛəm	xéyreṛm	(traditional) excommunication
4. ήέσεק	xáyšək	xáyšək	xéyšək	xéyšek	eagerness
5. šéveṭ	šáyvət	šáyvət	šéyvət	šéyvət	tribe
6. séfər	sáyfər	sáyfər	séyfər	séyfer	(traditional) book
7. séxəl (~šéxəl)	sáyx̩l̩	sáyxəl	séyx̩l̩	séyxəl	sense, intelligence

### 3. SOCIOLINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION

The prospect of constructing a thought experiment is tempting. The pronunciation of Ashkenazic in prayer has been largely limited to males. Its active use in written communication has been limited to males educated in traditional Hebrew and Aramaic sacred works (Bible, Talmud, Commentaries). Now in Ashkenazic society, the class of Talmudic scholars (*lamdónim*, *lérner*, *talmídev-khakhómim*) has

Table 4. *The vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolate (illustrative corpus)*

Standard Tiberian	Central Yiddish	Central Ashkenazic	Northeastern Yiddish	Northeastern Ashkenazic	Gloss in Yiddish
ε	<i>ay</i> <sub>22</sub>	<i>ey</i> <sub>25</sub>	<i>ey</i> <sub>22</sub>	ε <sub>25</sub>	
1. הָעֵדֶר	xáyðer	xéyðer	xéyðer	xédér	(traditional primary school
2. קֵפֶל	káyfl	kéyfel	kéyfl	kéfel	double; multiplication
3. פֵּיגַער	páygər	péyger	péyger	péger	carcass
4. פֵּסַח	páysəx	péysax	péysəx	pésax	Passover
5. קֵבֶר	káyvər	kéyvər	kéyvər	kéver	grave
6. שְׂעִיט	šáygəc	šéykec	šéygəc	šékec	youthful gentile
7. שְׂעֵלֶם	cáyləm	céyləm	céyləm	célem	cross

constituted a social elite (*cf.* Mark 1941; M. Weinreich 1973:I, 219-222; III, 230). Given, firstly that nonconformist Yiddish segolates violate Ashkenazic and, secondly, that Ashkenazic is the province of a prestigious social group, it follows then, firstly, that a nonconformist Yiddish segolate might be subject to ridicule as indicative of ignorance in traditional Hebrew and Aramaic and, secondly, that such forms might be subject to socially motivated replacement by conformist forms.<sup>13</sup> We might surmise that older Northeastern Yiddish \**réyvəx* (with Northeastern Yiddish *ey*<sub>22</sub>) underwent replacement by the socially prestigious conformist *révəx* (with Northeastern Yiddish ε<sub>25</sub>), while Central Yiddish *ráyvəx* (with Central Yiddish *ay*<sub>22</sub>) preserves an older nonconformist form in the language.

Not only does this thought experiment base itself upon the invalidated principle of necessary spread of prestige forms, it is, moreover, capable neither of demonstration nor disconfirmation as long as no empirical evidence is gleaned from the modern language. Native speakers who have grown up in traditional Ashkenazic society have no sociolinguistic variation. Thirty-six informants were interviewed, eighteen of whom are Central Yiddish speakers and eighteen of whom are Northeastern Yiddish speakers.<sup>14</sup> All Central Yiddish speakers who have the word have *ráyvəx*, while all Northeastern Yiddish speakers who have the word have *révəx* (see Table 5). It would appear that the social history of our problem lies buried with bygone generations. *Réyvəx*, which would reflect Central Yiddish *ey*<sub>25</sub> and Northeastern Yiddish *ey*<sub>22</sub> occurs in neither dialect. Central Yiddish speakers confronted with *réyvəx* consider it the 'Lithuanian'

(Northeastern Yiddish) form while Northeasterners consider it the 'Polish' (Central Yiddish) form. These judgments are objectively incorrect because of the anomaly of the *ráyvax* || *révax* correspondence and speakers of both dialects are making use of their knowledge of the usual correspondences. Central Yiddish speakers considering *réyvax* 'Lithuanian' are making use of their (objectively correct) knowledge of vowel 22 – Central Yiddish *ay* || Northeastern Yiddish *ey*. Northeasterners considering *réyvax* 'Polish' are analogously making use of their (objectively correct) knowledge of vowel 25 – Northeastern Yiddish *ε* || Central Yiddish *ey*. In other words the shift that resulted in the *ráyvax* || *révax* anomalous correspondence, whether  $25 > 22$  in Central Yiddish or  $22 > 25$  in Northeastern Yiddish is no longer in progress and is therefore no longer observable. Any erstwhile variation for one and the same speaker or between speakers of one dialect has vanished. It is characteristic that 'the shift of the variable to the status of a constant is accompanied by the loss of whatever social significance the feature possessed' (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1968:187). Can a sociolinguistic variable that is no more be recovered?

Table 5. Results of 36 interviews with Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish speakers

'profit'	Central Yiddish speakers		Northeastern Yiddish speakers	
	No.	%18	No.	%18
1. <i>ráyvax</i>	18	100	0	0
2. <i>réyvax</i>	0	0	0	0
3. <i>révax</i>	0	0	13	72
4. Unknown (alternate item used)	0	0	5	28

The clue is provided by the qualification 'speakers who have the word'. While all eighteen Central Yiddish speakers have *ráyvax*, only thirteen of the eighteen Northeastern Yiddish speakers interviewed have *révax*. A number of social parameters including age group, the informant's characterization of his or her family's economic status in the village or city of origin and the involvement of an immediate family member in the merchant trades (potentially relating to 'profit' as a trade word) were unsuccessfully paired with responses. Factors which do show a high degree of correlation with Northeastern Yiddish

speakers' responses are sex and whether or not the speaker attended *kheyder* (traditional Jewish primary school). Of the five Northeasterners who do not have *révax*, four are women and none attended *kheyder*. Of the thirteen who do have *révax*, eleven are men and ten attended *kheyder*. The three speakers (two women and one man) who did not attend *kheyder* were taught to read traditional Hebrew and Aramaic by learned parents or private teachers, and this brings us to the parameter which shows a perfect correlation with each Northeastern Yiddish response group (within our corpus of interviews) – *Ashkenazic reading proficiency* (see Table 6). The thirteen Northeasterners who have *révax* are Ashkenazic readers while the five who do not are non-Ashkenazic readers. Although the majority (eleven) of the Central Yiddish speakers interviewed do not read Ashkenazic, all none the less have *ráyvax* because *ráyvax* is unambiguously a Yiddish word in Central Yiddish. In Northeastern Yiddish on the other hand, *révax* lies on the hazy border of learned Yiddish and Ashkenazic.<sup>15</sup> While the target item was elicited initially without prompting during the interviews, informants were subsequently asked their feelings on the word.<sup>16</sup> Central Yiddish speakers invariably consider *ráyvax* a 'plain Yiddish word'. Of the thirteen Northeasterners who do have *révax*, nine consider the word to be 'Hebrew' and report that it was not used in the everyday speech of their native village or city.<sup>17</sup> Northeasterners have Germanic Component *fardínt* for both 'earnings' and 'profit'. Central Yiddish speakers who have *fardínt* have a semantic differentiation between *fardínt* [earnings, wages] vs. *ráyvax* [profit]. Still, most Central Yiddish speakers consider *fardínt* a fancy-shmancy Germanism, while in the Northeast, it is the Germanic stem that is a 'plain Yiddish word'.<sup>18</sup> In unprompted elicitation, Northeasterners prefer a verb construction with *fardínən* [to earn; to make a profit], e.g. *er hot fardínt derbáy* [He made a profit (on it)]. There is a marked disparity in the modern language between the socially undifferentiated knowledge and usage of non-conformist *ráyvax* in Central Yiddish and the differentiated knowledge and usage of conformist *révax* in Northeastern Yiddish. This is an empirical trace of erstwhile variation and subsequent completed shift in Northeastern Yiddish. In Northeastern Yiddish, *\*réyvax*, with nonconformist *ey*<sub>22</sub> passed socially from Yiddish generally to learned Yiddish and Ashkenazic.<sup>19</sup> The phonological correlate of the social shift is the conformization to vowel 25.

If our conclusion is viable, the historical implication is that at an earlier stage in the history of Yiddish, the cognate of standard Tiberian *réwah* in Yiddish had a vowel 22 realization and belonged

Table 6. *Social correlates of informant responses*

	Central Yiddish <i>ráyvax</i>		Northeastern Yiddish <i>révax</i>		Northeastern Yiddish Unknown	
	No.	%18	No.	%13	No.	%5
1. Sex						
women	8	44	2	15	4	80
men	10	56	11	85	1	20
2. Kheyder education by sex						
women/yes	1	6	0	0	0	0
women/no	7	39	2	15	4	80
men/yes	7	39	10	77	0	0
men/no	3	17	1	8	1	20
3. Overall Kheyder education						
yes	8	44	10	77	0	0
no	10	56	3	23	5	100
4. Ashkenazic reading proficiency by sex						
women/yes	0	0	2	15	0	0
women/no	8	44	0	0	4	80
men/yes	7	39	11	85	0	0
men/no	3	17	0	0	1	20
5. Overall Ashkenazic reading proficiency						
yes	7	39	12	100	0	0
no	11	61	0	0	5	100

to the class of vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolates (*cf.* Table 4). Older Yiddish documents usually divulge nothing of the phonology of the Semitic Component due to the historical orthography used for Semitic Component forms in the Jewish alphabet. We are fortunate to be able to turn to Latin letter transcriptions of Christian scholars. While non-Jewish letter transcriptions are exceedingly rare for older periods of Eastern Yiddish (*cf.* Joffe 1954:120-121), such transcriptions are abundant for pre-twentieth century varieties of Western Yiddish. The Christian descriptions of Yiddish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have made permanent contributions to Yiddish historical linguistics. It was not until the eighteenth century, however, that the school of *compilers* flourished. The eighteenth century com-

plers published large-scale dictionaries, often for missionary training, mercantile relations and 'code busting' of the language of the Jews (*cf.* Borokhov 1913:8-13). Many of the compilers of these works were far from proficient in Hebrew and Aramaic, and their transcriptions are based, luckily for us, on the spoken language known to them. These compilations provide the richest and most linguistically reliable corpus for modern research purposes. Phonemic structures hidden by the historical Semitic orthography are uncloaked by the Christian transcriptions in the Latin alphabet.

Many of the Christian compilers use transcriptions reflecting Western Yiddish dialectal areas where vowels 22 and 25 were merged, usually using unitary <e> (rarely <ee>) to transcribe both. Like modern Southeastern Yiddish, such varieties tell us nothing of the status of our target lexical item because the merger precludes the establishment of either conformity or nonconformity. The neutralization of the vowel 22 – vowel 25 opposition (whatever its exact phonetic status) is reflected in the transcriptions of (among others) Wagenseil (1699),<sup>20</sup> Christian (1735), Bibliophilus (1742), Selig (1767), Reizenstein (1764) and Tendlau (1860). The lack of contrast between the two vowels is moreover explicitly commented upon by Chrysander (1750a:4; 1750b:24) and Selig (1792:20).<sup>21</sup> There are, however, two compilers known to us whose transcriptions reflect varieties of eighteenth-century Western Yiddish where the realizations of historical vowels 22 and 25 (whatever their exact phonetic status) were indeed oppositional. They are Philoglottus (1733) and Friedrich (1784) who transcribe <ei> for vowel 22 and <e> for vowel 25.<sup>22</sup> Surely enough, Philoglottus (1733:28, 41) has <Reivech> and <Reivach>. Friedrich (1784:239) has <Reiwech>.

Of even greater import, given the primacy of empirical evidence, are the documentations of twentieth-century remnants of spoken Western Yiddish by modern linguistic scholars. In many parts of modern Western Yiddish, as indeed in much of eighteenth-century transcriptional Western Yiddish, vowels 22 and 25 are merged.<sup>23</sup> We turn to empirical studies of modern remnants of Western Yiddish which maintain oppositional reflexes of the two vowels. In Netherlandic Yiddish, vowel 22 is realized as  $\varepsilon y$  and vowel 25 as  $\bar{e}$ . Indeed, it is  $\acute{r}\acute{e}y\acute{v}\acute{\alpha}x$  in Netherlandic Yiddish, contrasting with Netherlandic Ashkenazic  $\acute{r}\acute{e}v\acute{\alpha}x$  (Voorzanger and Polak 1915:262, 263;<sup>24</sup> Beem 1970: nos. 315, 596, 861, 862; 1975:12, 40, 101; 1979). The same opposition ( $\varepsilon y_{22}$  vs.  $\bar{e}_{25}$ ) occurs in the Yiddish of the Surb River Valley in Switzerland. There it is  $\acute{r}\acute{e}y\acute{f}\acute{\alpha}x$ , again with unambiguous  $\varepsilon y_{22}$  (Guggenheim-Grünberg 1954:62; 1958:96, 102).

## 4. SEGOLATE CONFORMIZATION IN YIDDISH

The conformization to modern Northeastern Yiddish *révax* is but a vestige of a wider process of segolate conformization in historical Yiddish sociophonology. Like the forms cited in Table 4, Tiberian *mélax* [king] is known to have a nonconformist vowel 22 realization in Yiddish. Our Northeastern Yiddish informant from Riga (born 1903) uses *méylax* (with nonconformist Northeastern Yiddish  $ey_{22}$ ) three times in conversation. When his attention is subsequently drawn to pronunciation of the word, he hastily corrects to *mélax* (with conformist Northeastern Yiddish  $\varepsilon_{25}$ ). A number of other Northeasterners, while showing no variation themselves during our interviews, none the less recall variation in their place of origin. Invariably they tell of lesser educated people having *méylax*. Some Northeasterners do not have the word on its own (using Germanic Component *kéynig* only). Unlike *révax* the word always appears in a number of popular compounds, such as *dòvidaméylax* ~ *dòvidamélax* [King David] and *šleyamaméylax* ~ *šleyamamélax* [King Solomon]. While all our Central Yiddish informants have *máylax* (with nonconformist Central Yiddish  $ay_{22}$ ), a number recall hearing *méylax* (with conformist Central Yiddish  $ey_{25}$ ) and regarding it as an elitist, Hebraicizing pronunciation. Unlike Central Yiddish *ráyvax* which is a nonconformist constant and Northeastern Yiddish *révax* which is a conformist constant, Central Yiddish *máylax* ~ *méylax* and Northeastern Yiddish *méylax* ~ *mélax* remain in sociolinguistic variation for some speakers of the modern language.

There is evidence of analogous variation and of ongoing segolate conformization in modern remnants of spoken Western Yiddish. Guggenheim-Grünberg's (1961:26-28) recording of the Yiddish of Gailingen, a village on the Swiss-German border, includes this recollection of the informant (born 1896): 'A *máylax* [with nonconformist Gailingen Yiddish  $\text{æ}y_{22}$ ] is a king. We said *mélax* [with conformist Gailingen Yiddish  $\bar{e}_{25}$ ]', Our informant from Den Bosch, in the southern Netherlands (born 1905) tells us 'with us it ["Passover", cf. Table 4.4] was pronounced *pésax* [with conformist Netherlandic Yiddish  $\bar{e}_{25}$ ]. In Amsterdam the proletarians called it *péysax* [with nonconformist Netherlandic Yiddish  $ey_{22}$ ]. We said *mélax* but the common people said *méylax*'. The usual Netherlandic Yiddish forms are of course *péysax* and *méylax*. Hartog Beem, the master of Netherlandic Yiddish remarks that while the cognates of Tiberian *kélev* and *šéqer* are nonconformist *kéylav* [dog; vicious fellow] and *šéqer* [lie, falsehood], one could also hear conformizing *kélav* and



*šékər* under the 'impact of the official Ashkenazic synagogue pronunciation' and the norms of the Netherlandic *kheyder*. Beem's judgment on *kéləv* and *šékər*: decidedly '*nicht Volkssprache*' (Beem 1977; 1979). The Latin letter transcriptions of Philoglottus (1733:22, 23, 31, 35, 61) – <Keilef> and <Scheik'r>, like those of Friedrich (1784:44, 184, 211) – <Keilew> and <Scheiker>, have unambiguous nonconformist Transcriptional Western Yiddish <ei><sub>22</sub>. There can be little doubt that both words are historically nonconformist in Yiddish. The usual realizations in present-day spoken Eastern Yiddish Central Yiddish *kéyləv*, *šéykər* || Northeastern Yiddish *kéləv*, *šékər* are conformizations, probably not unassociated with the competition from Germanic Component alternants resulting in more socially restricted usage.<sup>25</sup> Yet Birnbaum (1918:136; 1932:32) documents Central Yiddish *káyləv*. Mieses (1924:24) and Bin-Nun (1973:273; 1979) document Central Yiddish *šáykər*.<sup>26</sup> There is a marked similarity in the modern language between ongoing conformization in Netherlandic Yiddish, Gailingen Yiddish, Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish. In the four varieties, there is vowel 22 ~ vowel 25 sociolinguistic variation, where 22 is indigenous and 25 is a consciously innovating prestige form.<sup>27</sup> The variation and the direction of change associated with it can be seen to have existed in earlier Yiddish.

##### 5. THE NATURE OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC RECONSTRUCTION

Let us imagine, for the sake of exposition, that part of a hypothetical dialect area with the phonemic system of Northeastern Yiddish has *révəx*, in conformity with the prestigious Ashkenazic pronunciation of the same speakers. Another part of the area has nonconformist *réyvəx*. Let us suppose, moreover, that we find that speakers of the *réyvəx* area all have the word. Only speakers proficient in Ashkenazic have the word in the *révəx* area.

Now let us imagine that all of Yiddish realized historical vowel 22 as *æy* and vowel 25 as *ē* (as in real life the Yiddish of Gailingen does). Let us suppose, moreover, that we find that speakers in such distant corners of the speech territory of Yiddish as the Netherlands, Gailingen, Poland and Lithuania all show *máyləx* ~ *méləx* variation. In each of the areas, *méləx* is the more frequent Yiddish realization while *méləx* is a prestigious conformizing form.

Each of these imaginary experiments bears a superficial resemblance to the methods described above in sections 3 and 4. Yet the difference is vital. Both these imaginary experiments are statements of syn-

chronic phonological and social dialectology. Extrapolations regarding the history of the variants remain speculations.

Genuine sociolinguistic reconstruction begins with the isolation of two or more genetically cognate entities. It proceeds to discover the social correlates of the cognate entities in two or more language varieties available for empirical study. Recovery of erstwhile sociolinguistic variation, whether leading to shift (as in Northeastern Yiddish *révax*) or to no shift (as in Central Yiddish *ráyvax*) or to continuous variation (as in Netherlandic Yiddish *méylax* ~ *melax*) can be achieved if and only if the genetically cognate entities appear as divergent concrete entities in the several varieties. The divergence of concrete realization on the level of the oppositional phoneme is the historical proof of descent from an earlier stage of the language rather than horizontal diffusion through space. The reliability of sociolinguistic reconstruction, as of any other, depends upon the strength of the evidence. Reliability is proportionate with the number and noncontiguous geographic spread of the several varieties, the extent of the empirical evidence from the modern language and the degree of disparity between the concrete realizations in each variety.

In the first actual experiment, 3 above, we find a *complementary correlation* between two varieties of Yiddish. Central Yiddish *ráyvax* is nonconformist *vis-à-vis* Central Ashkenazic, and its use is not restricted to Ashkenazic readers. Northeastern Yiddish *révax* is conformist *vis-à-vis* Northeastern Ashkenazic, and its use is indeed restricted to speakers proficient in Ashkenazic. The complementation reflects the native Yiddish status of the defiant form and the innovative character of the conformist form.<sup>28</sup> The reconstruction hinges on the vastly divergent phonemic history of the two dialects (see Table 1). In fact, the two dialects demonstrate a theoretically optimum disparity of concrete realization. Phoneme X is the modern reflex of Proto A in one variety and happens to be the reflex of Proto B in the other, given that A and B are the genetically cognate entities compared. Central Yiddish /ey/ is the realization of historical vowel 25, which is a prestigious conformist vowel in a certain group of items. Northeastern Yiddish /ey/ is the realization of historical vowel 22, which is the nonconformist vowel in the same group of items.

In the second actual experiment, 4 above, we find a *constant correlation* between four varieties of Yiddish. Variation documented includes Netherlandic Yiddish *méylax* ~ *mélax*, Gailingen Yiddish *máeylax* ~ *mélax*, Central Yiddish *máylax* ~ *méylax*, Northeastern Yiddish *méylax* ~ *mélax*. In each variety, the first cited is the vowel 22 form diverging from the prestigious Ashkenazic norm of that

variety. The second is the vowel 25 form conforming with Ashkenazic. The constancy reflects a state of vowel 22 ~ vowel 25 sociolinguistic variation at an earlier stage of Yiddish predating the rise of the four varieties. Moreover, the direction of shift is determined by conscious adoption of the Ashkenazic norm at this earlier stage of Yiddish. Again, the defiant forms are native Yiddish reflexes while the conformizations are innovative. The reconstruction hinges on the disparity of the concrete realizations in the four varieties (see Table 7).

Table 7. *Phonological correlates of the social shift of nonconformist Yiddish segolates into Ashkenazic*

Variety/Dialect	Vowel 22	Vowel 25
Netherlandic Yiddish	εy	→ ē
Gailingen Yiddish	æy	→ ē
Central Yiddish	ay	→ ey
Northeastern Yiddish	ey	→ ε

To sum up, the Proto-Yiddish cognates of standard Tiberian *kélev*, *mélex*, *réwah* and *šéqer* were vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolates.<sup>29</sup> For centuries they have been in variation with conformizing variants. The variation has followed the phonemic history of each variety of Yiddish where 22 and 25 have not merged. In the modern language, they are the handful of wavering Yiddish segolates, appearing here as vowel 22 survivals, there as vowel 25 innovations.<sup>30</sup>

*University College London and  
Oxford Centre for Postgraduate  
Hebrew Studies*

#### NOTES

1. I have been privileged, while preparing this work, to benefit from the discussion and advice of Raphael Loewe (University College London), Richard A. Hudson (UCL), and Daniel Frank (Harvard University) and from correspondence with Hartog Beem (The Hague) and Jechiel Bin-Nun (Jerusalem). Full responsibility for the proposals herein and for errors of fact or interpretation rests squarely with the author.

2. The double digit designation of Yiddish protovowels represents Herzog's (1965:228, note 1) symbological modification of the (now standard) proto-system of Max Weinreich (1960), revised in M. Weinreich (1973:II, 321-382; IV, 364-384). Note that use of the protosystem does not hinge on acceptance of the phonetic reconstruction posited in Table 1 or any other reconstruction. The numbered vowel represents an empirically real synchronic diaphoneme denoting spatially differentiated realizations of cognate entities. *Vowel 22*, as used herein corresponds to M. Weinreich's E<sub>2</sub> and E<sub>3</sub> (i.e. vowels 22 and 23). Katz (1978:§2.2) argues that the notion of Yiddish vowel 23 is bereft of empirical reality. The dispute does not affect materially any of the issues at hand.
3. The evolution of Central Yiddish and Northeastern Yiddish from Proto Eastern Yiddish is discussed by U. Weinreich (1958:237-249, 252-257), Herzog (1965:159-233, 274-290; 1969) and Katz (1978:§§3.6-3.8).
4. The term *Central Yiddish* is used herein in the stricter sense of the Yiddish of the area roughly congruent with Congress Poland. In the Yiddish of Eastern Galicia, an area delimited geographically in the map appended to Bin-Nun (1973), it is *réyvax*. Bin-Nun (1973:101-102; 1979) aptly characterizes this variety as Transitional Central Yiddish (in his terminology Transitional West Central Yiddish; his East Central Yiddish corresponds with Southeastern Yiddish). In light of the many features which Transitional Central Yiddish shares with Southeastern Yiddish to its immediate east, Bin-Nun (1979) notes that *réyvax* may have entered under Southeastern Yiddish impact. The problem deserves a special study.
5. Historically, part of Southeastern Yiddish distinguishes *ey*<sub>22</sub> from *i*<sub>25</sub> (or *i*<sub>25</sub>), but in modern Southeastern Yiddish the two are generally merged as unitary Southeastern Yiddish *ey*<sub>22/25</sub> (cf. Prilutski 1920:17-28; Veynger 1929:64; U. Weinreich 1958:236-237; Herzog 1965:178, 181; 1969:62-64; M. Weinreich 1973:II, 359-360). There are documentations of unitary *ay*<sub>22/25</sub> for Vishkeve in Poland (Prilutski 1921:272; Herzog 1965:178) and Shafov (Schaffa) in Moravia (Beranek 1936:72).
6. We consider the notion of a fused 'Hebrew-Aramaic' to be linguistically and historically fallacious. The neutral *Semitic Component* is used with the understood limitation that no Semitic other than Hebrew or Aramaic may be involved. *Tiberian* denotes the classical phonological system of Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic codified in the late first millennium A.D. As a phonological system, its application is not restricted necessarily to forms attested in the Old Testament.
7. Closed Syllable Shortening results in automatic alternation (in the sense of Jakobson) in the Semitic Component of every Yiddish dialect where morphological paradigms give open vs. closed syllabic allomorphs. The patterning contrasts sharply with the lack of alternation (rarely, different alternation) in Ashkenazic. Cf., e.g. Central Yiddish *kóylas* [screams] vs. *kól* [voice], *prútam* [details] vs. sg. *prat*, *máysam* [corpses] vs. sg. *mēs* and Central Ashkenazic cognates (where stress is variable) *kəyləys*, *kəl*; *prutim*, *prət*; *maysim*, *mays*. Analogously, Northeastern Yiddish *kéylas*, *kəl*; *prótim*, *prat*; *méysim* *mēs* contrasting with Northeastern Ashkenazic *keyleys*, *keyl*; *prətim*, *prət*; *meysim*, *meys*.
8. The most systematic account of Northwest Semitic Segolation within a modern linguistic framework is provided by Malone (1971). The Pan Yiddish nominal

- shape  $C(\text{ə})C\acute{a}C$  reflects a classical Aramaic segolate, and those at issue in the present paper reflect classical Hebrew segolates. The differentiation between the two 'does not constitute an absolute isogloss' (Malone 1971:44) as there are substantial attestations of Hebrew  $CVCVC$  and Aramaic  $C\acute{V}CVC$ .
9. In a well-known instance of textual vacillation, Isokhor Ber (1808:9b) reports that Elijah and Vilna (*der vilner góen*) had Tiberian  $z\acute{e}x\acute{e}r$  [remembrance] in a text while Chaim of Valozhin believed he had seen  $z\acute{e}x\acute{e}r$ .
  10. Diverging Yiddish segolates are listed and discussed by (among others) Lebnzohn (1866:24), Tshemerinski (1913:63-64), Reyzen (1920:81), Birnbaum (1922:27), Mieses (1924:24), Veynger (1929:98), Bin-Nun (1952:156; 1973:273) and M. Weinreich (1973:II, 46-47, 291, 334-335; IV, 14, 65).
  11. Attempts to derive both the vowel 25 conformist Yiddish segolates (*cf.* Table 2) and the vowel 22 nonconformist Yiddish segolates (*cf.* Table 4) from common protoforms are unsuccessful because both occur in the same environment (stressed open syllabic position). M. Weinreich (1960:68) posited lengthening to account for the latter series but saw the error and reverses himself (1973:II, 47, 291-292, 334-335).
  12. In our phonemic transcription, posttonic reduced vowels are unitarily marked by  $\text{ə}$ . Note that in many varieties of Yiddish, posttonic  $\text{ə}$  is realized as [a] preceding /r, x/, hence the frequent realizations Central Yiddish [ráyvax] and Northeastern Yiddish [révax]. The coinciding of the [a] allophone of  $\text{ə}$  with historical  $a$  of Tiberian renders the Yiddish realizations minimally contrastive with Ashkenazic. But note that while the most explicit Ashkenazic style is transcribed in Tables 2 to 4 (i.e. with oppositional posttonic vowels), the pervasive Yiddish rule of posttonic reduction is indeed often applied to Ashkenazic. Conformity and nonconformity are both determined by tonic vowel realization.
  13. Instances of conformization to Ashkenazic in other areas of phonology are documented in our own time. *Cf.*, e.g. R-S (1957).
  14. These interviews were taped in London between November 1978 and April 1979. I am indebted to my friends A. N. Stencl (ed., *Loshn un lebn*) and I. A. Lisky (ed., *Dos vidishe folk*) for their very kind help in the location of informants and arrangement of interviews.
  15. While the Semitic Component is characterized on the whole by a marked degree of Pan-Yiddish uniformity, there are documentations of other items whose everyday usage is geographically differentiated (*cf.* Mark 1941:69).
  16. 'Prompting' is here intended to include both direct prompting ('Do you know what — means?') and indirect prompting ('How do you say — in Yiddish?'). Elicitations were achieved by relating a brief story and asking the informant to comment and predict at various points.
  17. It is probably not a coincidence that the great Yiddish lexicographer, Alexander Harkavy (1898:486), himself a Northeasterner, adds the usage label 'Hebrew' to his entry for *révax*.
  18. Bin-Nun (1979) believes that *fardínst* is a recent borrowing into Yiddish from New High German.
  19. Richard A. Hudson points out arguments in favor of an alternative formulation: Older Northeastern Yiddish nonconformist *réyvax* was replaced by *fardínst/fardínən*. Subsequently, *révax* was to some extent reintroduced from Ashkenazic and from literary Yiddish. Many speakers will have had it

- all along in Ashkenazic (it occurs, e.g. in the frequently recited grace after meals). Its renewed use is socially restricted and phonologically conformist – both symptoms of reintroduction.
20. Historically, Wagenseil is a notable exception within the cited group. His main work was a literary Yiddish chrestomathy (provided with Latin letter transcriptions of entire literary texts), and his motivations were largely founded on intellectual appreciation for Yiddish literature (*cf.* Borokhov 1913: no. 26; M. Weinreich 1928:716-732).
  21. It is likely that the phonetic realization was [ey]<sub>22/25</sub>. Where the syllabic element was [ɛ] or lower in historical vowel 22, merger with [ē]/[ey]<sub>25</sub> generally averted.
  22. The works of Philoglottus (1733) and Friedrich (1784) are deservedly praised by M. Weinreich (1940:103; 1957: note 7). According to Avé-Lallemant (1858-1862:III, 233) Philoglottus is the pseudonym of J. P. Lütke.
  23. The relevant isoglosses and the phonetic status of the merged 22/25 are not yet clear for much of Western Yiddish. On the merger of the two vowels in Western Yiddish, see Beranek (1957:1975; 1961:296-297; 1965:146-149), Hutterer (1965:126-127) and Bin-Nun (1973:201).
  24. In Voorzanger and Polak (1915) nonconformist segolates are cross referenced to corresponding Ashkenazic forms.
  25. Bin-Nun (1979) points out that both these words are more figurative and metaphorical semantic alternants to Central Yiddish *hint* || Northeastern Yiddish *hunt* [dog] and *liḡn* [lie]. Unlike *fardinst* (after Bin-Nun), these Germanic Component items are undoubtedly of old Yiddish stock. A number of semantic and phonetic properties of the forms cited in Table 4 may account for their special tenacity in resisting conformization.
  26. Bin-Nun (1979) believes recalling the older generation in his native Rohatyn (East Galicia) using *šaykər* in the phrase *šáykər-bilbl* [false plot; total lie; blood libel]. He and his generation have *ey*<sub>25</sub>. There are etymological difficulties with the phrase *šávka(r) mit šlimázl* [two inept/helpless people!], popular throughout Central Yiddish.
  27. This jibes with well-known findings that conscious innovation (e.g. borrowing of prestige forms) is often characteristic of prestigious social groups (Bright and Ramanujan 1964:1112; Labov 1973:217).
  28. Conformization in Yiddish apparently followed the standardization of the classical form in Ashkenazic itself. Older Ashkenazic texts often have <réwah> (with šere), e.g. p. 94 of an Ashkenazic prayerbook manuscript (British Library Oriental Add 27,556) dated paleographically by Margoliouth (1905:II, no. 653) as 'thirteenth to fourteenth century'. So also Levita (1541) and later editions including Basel 1557, 1601; Grodno 1805.
  29. Unfortunately, comparative historical treatments tend to treat the conformized Northeastern Yiddish model as a norm for classifying the protovowel in these items. E.g. Zuckerman (1969:49) lists Alsatian Yiddish *kéyləv* under vowel 25; M. Weinreich (1973:II, 361) lists the cognate of Tiberian *šéqer* under vowel 25.
  30. The list of wavering and conformizing Yiddish segolates could be expanded by including items which have fallen out of use in modern Eastern Yiddish. For example, nonconformist <Seiwel> [trash] was in variation with conformizing <Sewel> in the eighteenth-century Yiddish known to Friedrich (1784:37).

## REFERENCES

- Avé-Lallemant, Friedrich Christian Benedict (1858-1862), *Das deutsche Gaunerthum*. Leipzig. F. A. Brockhaus.
- Baer, S., and H. L. Strack (1879), *Die Diquduqe Ha-Teamim des Ahron ben Moscheh ben Ašcher*. Leipzig. L. Fernau.
- Bauer, Hans, and Pontus Leander (1922), *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments*. Halle, Max Niemeyer.
- Beem, Hartog (1970), *Jerösche. Jiddische Spreekwoorden en Zegswijzen*. Assen, Van Gorcum.
- (1975), *Resten van een Taal. Woordenboekje van het Nederlandse Jiddisch*. Assen & Amsterdam, Van Gorcum.
- (1977), Personal communication, Hilversum, 30 December.
- (1979), Personal communication, The Hague, 28 March.
- Beranek, F. (1936), 'Yidish in tshekhoslovakay', *Yivo-bleter* 9:63-75.
- (1957), 'Jiddisch', in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss*, Vol. I, 1955-1998. Berlin, Erich Schmidt.
- (1961), 'Die fränkische Landschaft des Jiddischen', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 21:267-303.
- (1965), *Westjiddischer Sprachatlas*. Marburg, N. G. Elwert.
- Bibliophilus (1742), *Jüdischer Sprach-Meister oder Hebräisch-Teutsches Wörter-Buch*. Frankfurt am Main.
- Bin-Nun, Jechiel (1952), 'Haivrit shebeyidish', in *Hakinus haolami lemadaei hayahadut*, 154-161. Jerusalem, Hebrew University.
- (1973), *Jiddisch und die deutschen Mundarten*. Tübingen, Max Niemeyer.
- (1979), Personal communication, Jerusalem, 12 March.
- Birnbaum, Salomo A. (1918), *Praktische Grammatik der jiddischen Sprache*. Vienna, A. Hartleben.
- (1922), *Das hebräische und aramäische Element in der jiddischen Sprache*. Leipzig, Gustav Engel.
- (1932), *Yidish verterbikhl*. Lodz, Beys Yankev.
- Borokhov, Ber (1913), 'Di biblyotek funem yidishn filolog', in *Der pinkes. Yorbukh far der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur un shprath, far folklor, kritik un biblyografye*, ed. by Sh. Niger, 1-67. Vilna, B. Kletskin. [Separate pagination at end of volume].
- Bright, William and A. K. Ramanujan (1964), 'Sociolinguistic variation and language change', in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Linguists*, ed. by H. G. Lunt, 1107-1113. The Hague, Mouton.
- C[hristian], C[hristoph] G[ustav] (1735), *Jüdischer Dolmetscher oder Hebräisch-und Teutsche Vocabula*. Nürnberg.
- Chrysander, M. Wilhelm Christian Just (1750a), *Jüdisch-Teutsche Grammatick*. Leipzig.
- (1750b), *Unterricht vom Nutzen des Juden-Teutschen*. Wolfenbüttel.
- Fishman, Joshua A. (1965), *Yiddish in America. Socio-linguistic Description and Analysis*. The Hague, Mouton.
- (1967), 'Bilingualism with and without diglossia; diglossia with and without bilingualism', *Journal of Social Issues* 23(2):29-38.
- Friedrich, Carl Wilhelm (1784), *Unterricht in der Judensprache und Schrift*. Prenzlau.

- Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley (1910), *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*, ed. by E. Kautzsch, Oxford, Clarendon.
- Guggenheim-Grünberg, Florence (1954), 'The horse dealers' language of the Swiss Jews in Eendingen and Lengnau' in *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore and Literature*, ed. by U. Weinreich, 48-62. New York, Linguistic Circle of New York.
- (1958), 'Zur Phonologie des Surbtaler Jiddischen', *Phonetica* 2:86-108.
- (1961), *Gailinger Jiddisch*. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [= *Lautbibliothek der deutschen Mundarten, herausgegeben vom Deutschen Spracharchiv*, 22].
- Harkavy, Alexander (1898), *English-Yiddish Dictionary*. New York, Hebrew Publishing Company.
- Herzog, Marvin I. (1964), 'Channels of systematic extinction in Yiddish dialects', in *For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature, and Society*, 93-107. The Hague, Mouton.
- (1965), *The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland: Its Geography and History*. The Hague, Mouton.
- (1969), 'Yiddish in the Ukraine: Isoglosses and historical inferences' in *The Field of Yiddish: Third Collection*, ed. by M. I. Herzog, W. Ravid and U. Weinreich, 58-81. The Hague, Mouton.
- Herzog, M. I., W. Ravid and U. Weinreich, Eds. *The Field of Yiddish. Third Collection*. The Hague, Mouton.
- Hutterer, C. J. (1965), 'The phonology of Budapest Yiddish', in *The Field of Yiddish. Second Collection*, ed. by U. Weinreich, 116-146. The Hague, Mouton.
- Isokhor Ber [ben] Tankhum (1808), *Maase rav*. Zolkiew, Juda Meyerhoffer.
- Joffe, Judah A. (1954), 'Dating the origin of Yiddish dialects', in *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore and Literature*, ed. by U. Weinreich, 102-121. New York, Linguistic Circle of New York.
- Katz, Dovid (1978), 'Genetic Notes on Netherlandic Yiddish Vocalism', Unpublished paper, Dept. of Linguistics, Columbia University.
- Kimchi, David (1545), *Sefer Mikhlol* [with commentary by Elia Levita]. Venice, Daniel Bomberg.
- King, Robert D. (1969), *Historical Linguistics and Generative Grammar*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall.
- Labov, William (1963), 'The social motivation of a sound change', *Word* 19:273-309.
- (1966), *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington, D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics.
- (1971), 'Methodology', in *A Survey of Linguistic Science*, ed. by W. O. Dingwall, 412-491. University of Maryland.
- (1973), 'The social setting of linguistic change', in *Current Trends in Linguistics XI*, ed. by T. A. Sebeok, 195-251. The Hague, Mouton.
- Lebenzohn, Odom hakoyheyn ben Khayim [= Dov Ber Mikhalishker = Adam Hakohen] (1866), [Commentary to] *Seyfer talmud leshoyn ivri*. Vilna, Rom.
- Levita, Elia (1541), *Sefer hatishbi*. Isny.
- Malone, Joseph L. (1971), 'Wave theory, rule ordering, and Hebrew-Aramaic segolation', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91:44-66.
- Margoliouth, G. (1905), *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London, British Museum.



- Mark, Yudel (1941), 'Lomir ufhitn di ashires fun dem talmidkhokhems shprakh!', *Yidishe shprakh*, 1:65-77.
- Mises, Matthias (1924), *Die Jiddische Sprache. Eine historische Grammatik des Idioms der integralen Juden Ost- und Mitteleuropas*. Berlin, Benjamin Harz.
- Niger, Sh., Ed. (1913), *Der pinkes. Yorbukh far der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur un shprakh, far folklor, kritik un biblyografye*. Vilna, B. Kletskin.
- Philoglottus (1733), *Kurtze und gründliche Anweisung zur Teutsch-Jüdischen Sprache*. Freiberg, Christoph Matthäi.
- Prilutski, Noyakh (1917), *Barg aruf*. Warsaw.
- (1920), *Tsum yidishn vokalizm*. Warsaw.
- (1921), *Dialektologische paraleln un bamerkungen*. Warsaw.
- R-S, T. (1957), 'Vegn rikhtikn aroysreyd fun a tsol hebreizmen', *Yidishe shprakh* 17:25-26.
- Reizenstein, Wolf Ehrenfried von (1764), *Der vollkommene Pferde-Kenner*. Uffenheim, Joh. Simon Meyer.
- Reyzen, Zalmen (1920), *Gramatik fun der yidisher shprakh. Ershter teyl*. Vilna, Sh. Shreberk.
- Selig, Gottfried (1767), *Kurze und gründliche Anleitung zu einer leichten Erlernung der jüdischeutschen Sprache*. Leipzig, Christian Friedrich Rumpf.
- (1792), *Lehrbuch zur gründlichen Erlernung der jüdischdeutschen Sprache*. Leipzig.
- Sperber, Alexander (1966), *A Historical Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*. Leiden, Brill.
- Tendlau, Abraham (1860), *Sprichwörter und Redensarten deutsch-jüdischer Vorzeit*. Frankfurt am Main, Heinrich Keller.
- Tshermerinski, Kh. (1913), 'Die yidishe fonetik' in *Der pinkes. Yorbukh far der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur un shprakh, far folklor, kritik un biblyografye*, ed. by Sh. Niger, 47-71. Vilna, B. Kletskin.
- Veynger, M. (1929), *Yidishe dialektologie*. Minsk, Vaysrusisher melukhe-farlag.
- Voorzanger, J. L., and J. E. Polak (1915), *Het Joodsch in Nederland. Aan het Hebreuwsch en andere talen ontleende woorden en zegswijzen*. Amsterdam, H. van Munster.
- Wagenseil, Johann Christof (1699), *Belehrung der Jüdisch-Teutschen Red- und Schreibart*. Königsberg, Paul Friederich Rhode.
- Weinreich, Max (1928), 'Di yidishe shprakhforshung in 17tn yorhundert', *Tsaytshrift* (Minsk) 2-3:689-732.
- (1940), 'Yidishe filologie', in *Algemejne entiklopedye. Yidn beyz*, 101-108. Paris, Dubnov-fond.
- (1954), 'Prehistory and early history of Yiddish: facts and conceptual framework', in *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore and Literature*, ed. by U. Weinreich, 73-101. New York, Linguistic Circle of New York.
- (1957), 'A shprakh-dokument fun arum 1800', *Yidishe shprakh* 17:46-52.
- (1960), 'Di sistem yidishe kadmen-vokaln', *Yidishe shprakh* 20:65-71.
- (1967), 'The reality of jewishness versus the ghetto myth: The sociolinguistic roots of Yiddish', in *To Honor Roman Jakobson: Essays on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, 2199-2211. The Hague, Mouton.
- (1973), *Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh. Bagrifn, faktn, metodn*. New York, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

- Weinreich, Uriel, Ed. (1954), *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore, and Literature*. New York, Linguistic Circle of New York.
- (1956), ‘Notes on the Yiddish rise-fall intonation contour’, in *For Roman Jakobson. Essays on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, 633-643. The Hague, Mouton.
- (1958), ‘A retrograde sound shift in the guise of a survival: an aspect of Yiddish vowel development’, in *Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet. Estructuralismo e historia*, 221-267. Universidad de La Laguna.
- Weinreich, Uriel, William Labov and Marvin I. Herzog (1968), ‘Empirical foundations for a theory of language change’, in *Directions for Historical Linguistics: A Symposium*, ed. by W. P. Jehmann and Yakor Malkiel, 95-195. University of Texas.
- Wyld, Henry Cecil (1936), *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- Zuckerman, Richard (1969), ‘Alsace: An outpost of Western Yiddish’ in *The Field of Yiddish: Third Collection*, ed. by M. I. Herzog, W. Ravid and U. Weinreich, 36-57. The Hague, Mouton.