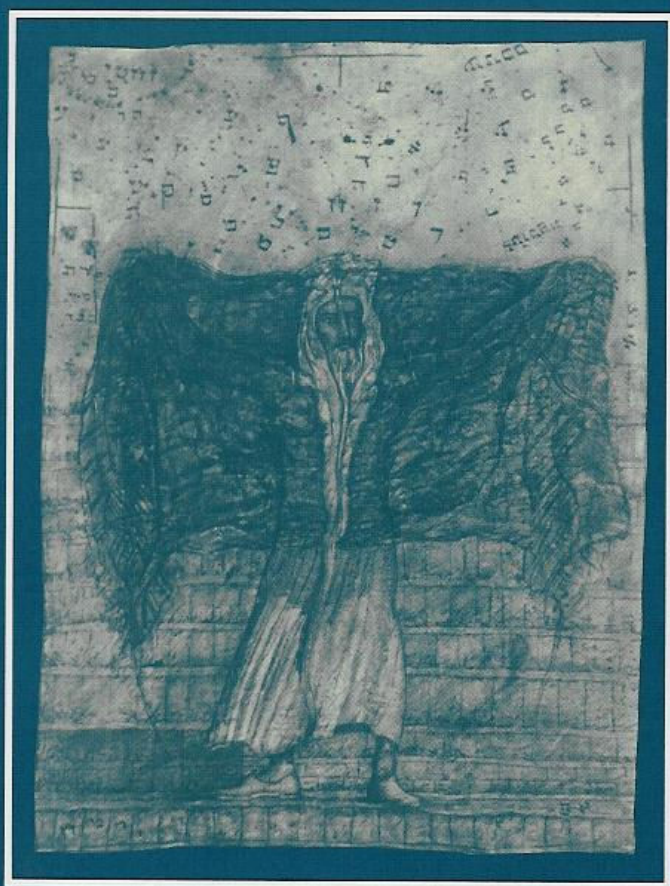


# HEBREW IN ASHKENAZ

*A Language in Exile*



*Edited by*

LEWIS GLINERT

# Hebrew in Ashkenaz

A LANGUAGE IN EXILE

EDITED BY

Lewis Glinert

School of Oriental & African Studies  
London University

New York Oxford  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1993



# Contents

1. Hebrew in Ashkenaz: Setting an Agenda 3  
LEWIS GLINERT
2. The Ashkenazi Hasidic Concept of Language 11  
JOSEPH DAN
3. The Grammatical Literature of Medieval Ashkenazi Jewry 26  
ILAN ELGAR
4. The Phonology of Ashkenazic 46  
DOVID KATZ
5. Confronting the Hebrew of Responsa: Intensifiers in the Syntax of  
Rabbi Me'ir of Rothenburg 88  
MENAHEM ZEVI KADDARI
6. On the Role of *Melitzah* in the Literature of Hebrew Enlightenment 99  
MOSHE PELLI
7. A Duty Too Heavy to Bear: Hebrew in the Berlin Haskalah, 1783–1819:  
Between Classic, Modern, and Romantic 111  
YAACOV SHAVIT
8. What Did “Knowing Hebrew” Mean in Eastern Europe? 129  
SHAUL STAMPFER
9. From Traditional Bilingualism to National Monolingualism 141  
ISRAEL BARTAL
10. Cartoons about Language: Hebrew, Yiddish, and the Visual  
Representation of Sociolinguistic Attitudes 151  
JOSHUA A. FISHMAN
11. Hebrew and the Habad Communication Ethos 167  
NAFTALI LOEWENTHAL
12. Why Did Ben-Yehuda Suggest the Revival of Spoken Hebrew? 193  
GEORGE MANDEL

13. The Emergence of Modern Hebrew: Some Sociolinguistic Perspectives 208  
SHELOMO MORAG
14. Hebrew as a Holy Tongue: Franz Rosenzweig and the Renewal of Hebrew 222  
PAUL MENDES-FLOHR
15. The Status of Hebrew in Soviet Russia from the Revolution to the Gorbachev Thaw 242  
AVRAHAM GREENBAUM
16. Language as Quasilect: Hebrew in Contemporary Anglo-Jewry 249  
LEWIS GLINERT

# 4

## The Phonology of Ashkenazic

DOVID KATZ

I rejoice and thank God with all my heart that He made me an Ashkenazic Jew  
in my pronunciation.

Jacob Emden 1761:§53

### The Notion "Ashkenazic"

#### *Ashkenazic Hebrew and Ashkenazic Aramaic*

The terms "Ashkenazi(c) Hebrew" and "Ashkenazi(c) pronunciation" are often encountered in reference to the pronunciations of Hebrew deriving from central and eastern Europe. These terms are fine for continued general use but more precision is needed in a study of the subject. For one thing, Ashkenazic Hebrew involves a lot more than pronunciation: it comprises a set of characteristic features in lexicon, semantics, morphology, and syntax (see e.g., Noble 1958). For another, the Ashkenazic sound pattern applies equally to Aramaic. The work at hand calls for a term limited to pronunciation, but encompassing Aramaic as well as Hebrew. I shall use the noun "Ashkenazic" for the phonological system used by traditional Ashkenazim in their pronunciation of Hebrew and Aramaic.

For around a thousand years, Ashkenazic thrived in Ashkenaz, the Jewish culture area that covered much of central and eastern Europe and comprised the geographically and demographically largest speech community in Jewish history. Following the Holocaust, Ashkenazic survives among some of its progeny worldwide, most perfectly so among a number of the more traditional Hasidic and yeshiva-centered communities. In other communities, both in Israel and around the world, its use has diminished sharply, or disappeared, in response to a conscious campaign of discreditation and denigration, the roots of which can be traced, ultimately, to the "Berlin Enlightenment" of the late eighteenth century. Reference to "Ashkenaz," "Ashkenazim," and "Ashkenazic" in this study involves the linguistic state of affairs in pre-war central and eastern Europe, and in traditional communities today around the world.

*Internal Jewish Trilingualism in Ashkenaz*

In order to fathom the place of Ashkenazic in linguistic and cultural history, we must bear in mind its multilingual environment. In addition to varying degrees of mastery of local non-Jewish languages, Ashkenazim have three distinct Jewish languages, Yiddish, Hebrew, and Aramaic, which participate in a unique trilingualism (see Katz 1985: 98). Yiddish (itself containing a Hebrew and Aramaic component) is the only vernacular in traditional Ashkenazic culture. Hebrew and Aramaic, although nonvernacular, are, in Ashkenaz, very much alive, used in reading, study, prayer, declaiming, singing, and in quoting from classical texts. They are "uttered" in the course of these activities, thus meeting the proposed definition of Ashkenazic as a phonological system. Moreover, Hebrew and Aramaic thrive as literary languages, and the degree to which writers and readers "mentally utter" the phonological representations of these texts is an issue open to study.

In writing, the three Jewish languages of Ashkenaz complemented each other in part. Yiddish dominated popular literature and intimate personal written communication. Hebrew occupied in social terms the broad educated middle ground of communal, rabbinic, and more formal written communication, Bible and Mishnah commentaries, and works on customs and ethics. Aramaic was the principal language of much talmudic and kabbalistic literature. None of the three languages of Ashkenaz was "low-prestige" or "stigmatized" in any modern sense of these terms. Such notions arose later as a consequence of the Enlightenment and its various offshoots. All three had their accepted and unquestioned place in the eyes of the society in question, and those are the eyes that count. An absence of "low prestige" does not imply an absence of "high prestige." Sociological "highness" was clearly linked with knowledge, learning, and creativity and can be charted on an upward curve from the universally known Yiddish to the more select and learned Hebrew through to the most select and learned Aramaic language of the two most profound and esoteric branches of the culture: the jurisprudence of the Talmud and the mysticism of the Kabbalah. Moreover, those parts of the liturgy that are in Aramaic, although a minority, have the greatest psychological sanctity, including the kaddish prayer for the dead, and the *Kol Nidrey* on the Day of Atonement. The often-encountered notion that Hebrew and Aramaic had somehow blended in Ashkenaz into a hodge-podge, sometimes called "Hebrew-Aramaic" ("Hebrew-hyphen-Aramaic"), is mistaken. To be sure, Hebrew has its Aramaic component, and (Jewish) Aramaic its Hebrew component, but never did the twain merge in lexicon, morphology, or grammatical machinery (see Katz 1985: 98), and a monograph would prove this. They did merge phonologically, however, hence the term and the concept "Ashkenazic."

**The Work at Hand**

I shall propose principles and methodology concerning the structure, origin, and history of Ashkenazic and its relation to both the antecedent Hebrew and Aramaic and to contemporary Yiddish. The ideas offered differ sharply from the views that

collectively constitute "standard theory" on the subject (see e.g., Lebensohn 1874: 19–25; Tshemerinski 1913: 61–63; Veynger 1913: 79–81; Yalon 1937–38: 63, 1942: 27; Birnbaum 1934: 28–29; Klar 1951; M. Weinreich 1954: 89–99; 1963–1964; 1973: 2: 20–21, 124, 334, 352–54; Morag 1971; Eldar 1978). Arguments on contentious issues have been put forward elsewhere, and will not be repeated (see Katz 1977; 1979; 1980; 1982; 1983a; 1985; 1986; 1987a; 1991; 1992). For previous treatments of Ashkenazic, see Schreiner 1886; Ember 1903; Idelsohn 1913: 531–32, 697–99; Bauer and Leander 1922: 170–71; Cohen 1923: 56–64; Segal 1928a: 18–19, 29, 50, 75, 90, 137; 1928b; Gumpertz 1953; Assaf 1954: 1: 234; Chomsky 1957: 112–16; Zimmels 1958: 82–90, 308–14; U. Weinreich 1959–1961; Leibel 1965; Altbauer 1977.

## Dialectological Framework

### *Classification of Yiddish Dialects*

Nearly all late twentieth-century forms of both Yiddish and Ashkenazic derive from the territory of "Eastern Yiddish," in the Slavonic and Baltic lands. Eastern Yiddish comprises three major dialect areas: (1) Northeastern Yiddish (popularly "Lithuanian") on the territory of ethnographic Lithuania, Latvia, White Russia; (2) Mideastern Yiddish (popularly "Polish") on the territory of ethnographic Poland and parts of Hungary and Czechoslovakia; and (3) Southeastern Yiddish (popularly "Ukrainian") on the territory of ethnographic Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Romania.

The no-longer spoken varieties of "Western Yiddish" may also be subdivided into three major dialect areas: (1) Northwestern Yiddish (Netherlands, northern Germany); (2) Midwestern Yiddish (central Germany); and (3) Southwestern Yiddish (Alsace, Switzerland, southern Germany). There are two major intermediate areas: (1) Northern Transitional Yiddish (East Prussia; see Katz 1988a: 43–53) and Southern Transitional Yiddish (parts of Czechoslovakia and Hungary), also known, after U. Weinreich (1964), as Transcarpathian Yiddish. These classifications follow Katz (1983b).

### *Coterminous Dialect Areas*

The dialect areas of Yiddish and Ashkenazic are coterminous. Thus, Northeastern Yiddish is coterritorial with Northeastern Ashkenazic, Southwestern Yiddish with Southwestern Ashkenazic, and so forth. The identity of the geolinguistic patterning is determined by the identity of the speakers: a Northeastern Yiddish speaker in traditional Ashkenaz is by definition a user of Northeastern Ashkenazic.

## The Vowel Systems of Yiddish Dialects

### *Primacy of Vernacular Phonology*

Neither Hebrew nor Aramaic was anybody's native language in Ashkenaz. An abstraction of the phonology of these sacred languages without reference to their

users' native language would be folly, firstly because it is spoken language that divulges the true phonology of a speaker, and secondly because, in the society in question, the links between the vernacular and the two sacred languages were profound for virtually the entire population (cf. M. Weinreich 1973: 1:251–320; 3:253–331). The most profound linguistic link is the cooccurrence, in different phonological guise, of thousands of items from the sacred languages in the vernacular.

As a point of departure, therefore, Ashkenazic is best conceived from the perspective of the coterritorial Yiddish dialect, and, especially, the dialect's "Semitic component." The Semitic component in Yiddish, comprising the parts of the language deriving from Hebrew or Aramaic, is synchronically fused with the quantitatively much larger Germanic component. These two Pan-Yiddish components (Eastern Yiddish has, in addition, a prominent Slavonic component) share some phonological features, but each nonetheless maintains a distinct phonological and morphological identity.

### *Coexisting Phonologies within Yiddish*

Documented forms of Ashkenazic cannot, as a rule, have sounds not generally present in the coterritorial Yiddish (one possible exception being the  $\eta$  reflex of historical  $\text{ʃ}$  in Netherlandic Ashkenazic, which may be a borrowing from local Sephardic usage; see Hirschel 1940: 455). In fact, the vowel inventory of each variety of Ashkenazic constitutes a subset (generally a large-subset) of the inventory of the Semitic component of the local dialect of Yiddish. While Ashkenazic has not preserved ancient Semitic sounds, it has preserved phonological patterning that underwent change in Yiddish. Even in Yiddish, change never came close to levelling the phonologies of the two components of the language: they coexist and interact as sub-phonologies of the supersystem "Phonology of Yiddish."

To cite one pervasive contrast, the Germanic component has root-bound stress and, consequently, fixed full and reduced vowels, e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *leb* "(I) live," *lébn* "life," *lébədik* "lively," *lébədikə* "(pl.) lively," *lèbədikərhéjt* "during his/her lifetime." Even when the stem loses primary stress in deference to a stressed suffix (as in the last cited item), it retains stress and vowel color vis-à-vis the post-tonic vowel which remains both stressless and shewa-like in quality. Semitic component items, by contrast, exhibit penultimate stress. Suffixation results in shift of stress to the newly penultimate syllable and in the transformation of shewa to a full vowel, e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *málbəš* "garment," pl. *malbúšim*. In other words, the synchronic underlying form of [málbəš] is in fact |malbuš|. Stress is boundary linked, as in classical Hebrew, although penultimate rather than ultimate (cf. Hebrew מְלִבְּוֹשׁ *malbūš*, מְלִבְּוֹשִׁים *malbūšim*).

### *Pan-Yiddish Vocalism*

The system of Pan-Yiddish vocalism that follows is based on M. Weinreich's (1960) but reduces his twenty correspondences to the sixteen that can be reconstructed from Yiddish per se, i.e., without reference to the stock languages (see Katz 1983b: 1021–24). Each correspondence represents a diaphoneme. The diaphoneme may



users' native language would be folly, firstly because it is spoken language that divulges the true phonology of a speaker, and secondly because, in the society in question, the links between the vernacular and the two sacred languages were profound for virtually the entire population (cf. M. Weinreich 1973: 1:251–320; 3:253–331). The most profound linguistic link is the cooccurrence, in different phonological guise, of thousands of items from the sacred languages in the vernacular.

As a point of departure, therefore, Ashkenazic is best conceived from the perspective of the coterritorial Yiddish dialect, and, especially, the dialect's "Semitic component." The Semitic component in Yiddish, comprising the parts of the language deriving from Hebrew or Aramaic, is synchronically fused with the quantitatively much larger Germanic component. These two Pan-Yiddish components (Eastern Yiddish has, in addition, a prominent Slavonic component) share some phonological features, but each nonetheless maintains a distinct phonological and morphological identity.

### *Coexisting Phonologies within Yiddish*

Documented forms of Ashkenazic cannot, as a rule, have sounds not generally present in the coterritorial Yiddish (one possible exception being the  $\eta$  reflex of historical  $\text{ʃ}$  in Netherlandic Ashkenazic, which may be a borrowing from local Sephardic usage; see Hirschel 1940: 455). In fact, the vowel inventory of each variety of Ashkenazic constitutes a subset (generally a large subset) of the inventory of the Semitic component of the local dialect of Yiddish. While Ashkenazic has not preserved ancient Semitic sounds, it has preserved phonological patterning that underwent change in Yiddish. Even in Yiddish, change never came close to levelling the phonologies of the two components of the language: they coexist and interact as sub-phonologies of the supersystem "Phonology of Yiddish."

To cite one pervasive contrast, the Germanic component has root-bound stress and, consequently, fixed full and reduced vowels, e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *leb* "(I) live," *lébn* "life," *lébədik* "lively," *lébədikə* "(pl.) lively," *lébədikərhéjt* "during his/her lifetime." Even when the stem loses primary stress in deference to a stressed suffix (as in the last cited item), it retains stress and vowel color vis-à-vis the post-tonic vowel which remains both stressless and shewa-like in quality. Semitic component items, by contrast, exhibit penultimate stress. Suffixation results in shift of stress to the newly penultimate syllable and in the transformation of shewa to a full vowel, e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *málbəš* "garment," pl. *malbúšim*. In other words, the synchronic underlying form of [málbəš] is in fact |malbuš|. Stress is boundary linked, as in classical Hebrew, although penultimate rather than ultimate (cf. Hebrew מְלִבוּשׁ *malbūš*, מְלִבוּשִׁים *malbūším*).

### *Pan-Yiddish Vocalism*

The system of Pan-Yiddish vocalism that follows is based on M. Weinreich's (1960) but reduces his twenty correspondences to the sixteen that can be reconstructed from Yiddish per se, i.e., without reference to the stock languages (see Katz 1983b: 1021–24). Each correspondence represents a diaphoneme. The diaphoneme may

Table 4.1. Diaphonemic Systematization of Pan-Yiddish Vocalism

GC = Germanic Component; SC = Semitic Component

**Series 1 (originally short):**

Vowel 11:

Pan-Yiddish *a* (but SEY *ɔ* ~ *a*)

GC: *gas* "street," *hant* "hand," *vant* "wall"

SC: *avádə* "certainly," *dáfkə* "as a matter of fact," *prat* "detail"

Vowel 21:

Pan-Yiddish *ε*

GC: *bésər* "better," *hélfn̩* "help," *ven* "when"

SC: *éfsər* "maybe," *éməs* "true," *šed* "ghost"

Vowel 31:

Pan-Yiddish *i* (but *ε* in some NWY)

GC: *fiš* "fish," *nídərík* "low," *zílber* "silver"

SC: *bris* "circumcision," *ínjən* "matter," *šíkər* "drunk"

Vowel 41:

Pan-Yiddish *ɔ*

GC: *gət* "God," *lɔx* "hole," *vɔx* "week"

SC: *kəl* "voice," *kórbn̩* "sacrifice," *xóxmə* "wisdom"

Vowel 51:

NWY *ɔ* || MWY, SWY, NEY, StY *u* || MEY, SEY *i*

GC: *frum* "religious" [Jewish], *hunt* "dog," *kúmən* "come"

SC: *gúzmə* "exaggeration," *štus* "nonsense," *xúpə* "wedding canopy"

**Series 2 (originally long):**

Vowel 12:

NWY *ɔ* || MWY *ɔ* / *ū* || SWY *ɔ* / *ɔu* || NEY, StY *ɔ* || MEY, SEY *ū* ~ *u*

GC: *blózn̩* "blow," *nódł* "needle," *šlɔfn̩* "sleep"

SC: *lənónə* "moon," *míšpóxə* "family," *xóləm* "dream"

Vowel 22:

NWY *ej* || MWY *ē* || SWY *ej* || NEY, StY *ej* || MEY *aj* || SEY *ej*

GC: *bejz* "angry," *lejb* "lion," *šejn* "beautiful"

SC: *bréjɾə* "choice," *maxašéjfa* "witch," *séjxl̩* "common sense"

Vowel 32:

Pan-Yiddish *ī* (but isochronic NEY, StY *i*)

GC: *briv* "letter," *grin* "green," *štivl̩* "boots"

SC: *mevínəs* "expertise," *nəvīim* "prophets," *tfisə* "jail"

Vowel 42:

NWY *ɔu* || MWY *ɔ* || SWY *ɔu* || NEY *ej* || MEY, SEY, StY *ɔj*

GC: *brɔjt* "bread," *grɔjs* "large," *vɔjnən* "live [= "dwell"]"

SC: *gójləm* "golem," *šɔjtə* "fool," *xɔjdəš* "month"

Vowel 52:

NWY, MWY, SWY *ū* || NEY, StY *u* || MEY, SEY *ī*

GC: *bux* "book," *fus* "foot," *šul* "synagogue"

SC: *bsúlə* "virgin," *malbúšim* "clothing," *rəfíuə* "remedy"

## Series 3 (series 1 vowels subject to early lengthening):

Vowel 13:

NWY  $\bar{o}$  || MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY  $\bar{o}$  || MEY, SEY  $\bar{u} \sim u$ GC: *grɔz* "grass," *nómən* "name," *tɔg* "day"

Vowel 25:

NWY  $\bar{e}$  || MWY  $\bar{i}$  || SWY  $\bar{e}$  || NEY, StY  $\bar{e}$  || MEY *ej* || SEY *ej* (older *i/i*)GC: *bétn* "request," *lébədik* "lively," *štétl* "village"SC: *régə* "minute," *tévə* "habit," *xésəd* "act of kindness"

## Series 4 (original diphthong):

Vowel 24:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY *ej* || MEY *aj* || SEY *ej*GC: *gléjb* "(I) believe," *klejd* "dress," *zégər* "clock"

Vowel 34:

NWY *ej* || MWY, SWY *aj* || NEY, StY *aj* || MEY  $\bar{a}$  || SEY *a*GC: *bašájimperlax* "obvious," *lájłax* "sheet," *vajs* "white"

Vowel 44:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY *ej* || MEY, SEY, StY *ɔj*GC: *bɔjm* "tree," *ɔjg* "eye," *tɔjb* "deaf"

Vowel 54:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\bar{ou}$  || NEY, StY *ɔj* || MEY  $\bar{ou}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  || SEY *ou/u*GC: *hɔjz* "house," *mɔjl* "mouth," *tɔjb* "pigeon," "dove"

## Construction of Synchronic Systems

Systematization of these geographically differentiated reflexes of common historic sources allows for the construction of a synchronic system for a given variety. Thus, the system may be used to construct the actual stressed vocalism of Northeastern Yiddish, which is illustrated in Table 4.2, and to compare it with that of Mideastern Yiddish (Table 4.3) or Northwestern Yiddish (Table 4.4), a variety no longer spoken. Where possible, a sample word is provided from the Semitic component. Where the vowel is limited to the Germanic component, the sample is drawn from that component. Glosses are provided at the relevant point in Table 4.1.

Table 4.2. Stressed Vowel System of Northeastern Yiddish

|   |  |
|---|--|
| $i_{31/32}$ ( <i>šikər, tʃisə</i> )                       | $u_{51/52}$ ( <i>gúzmə, bsúlə</i> )                  |
| $e_{j22/24/42/44}$ ( <i>bréjrə, glejb, géjłəm, bejm</i> ) | $\bar{o}_{j54}$ ( <i>hɔjz</i> )                      |
| $e_{21/25}$ ( <i>éʃšər, régə</i> )                        | $\bar{o}_{12/13/41}$ ( <i>ləvónə, nómən, xóxmə</i> ) |
|   | $\bar{a}_{j34}$ ( <i>lájłax</i> )                    |
|   | $\bar{a}_{11}$ ( <i>avádə</i> )                      |

**Series 3 (series 1 vowels subject to early lengthening):**

Vowel 13:

NWY  $\bar{o}$  || MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY  $\text{ɔ}$  || MEY, SEY  $\bar{u} \sim u$ GC: *grɔz* "grass," *nómən* "name," *tɔg* "day"

Vowel 25:

NWY  $\bar{e}$  || MWY  $\bar{i}$  || SWY  $\bar{e}$  || NEY, StY  $\epsilon$  || MEY *ej* || SEY *ej* (older  $\bar{i}/\bar{i}$ )GC: *bétń* "request," *lébədik* "lively," *štétl* "village"SC: *régə* "minute," *tévə* "habit," *xésəd* "act of kindness"**Series 4 (original diphthong):**

Vowel 24:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY *ej* || MEY *aj* || SEY *ej*GC: *gléjb* "(I) believe," *klejd* "dress," *zégər* "clock"

Vowel 34:

NWY *ej* || MWY, SWY *aj* || NEY, StY *aj* || MEY  $\bar{a}$  || SEY *a*GC: *bašájmperlax* "obvious," *lájłax* "sheet," *vajs* "white"

Vowel 44:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\bar{a}$  || NEY, StY *ej* || MEY, SEY, StY *ɔj*GC: *bɔjm* "tree," *ɔjg* "eye," *tɔjb* "deaf"

Vowel 54:

NWY, MWY, SWY  $\text{ɔu}$  || NEY, StY *ɔj* || MEY  $\bar{o}u, \bar{o}$  || SEY *ou/u*GC: *hɔjz* "house," *mɔjl* "mouth," *tɔjb* "pigeon," "dove"*Construction of Synchronic Systems*

Systematization of these geographically differentiated reflexes of common historic sources allows for the construction of a synchronic system for a given variety. Thus, the system may be used to construct the actual stressed vocalism of Northeastern Yiddish, which is illustrated in Table 4.2, and to compare it with that of Mideastern Yiddish (Table 4.3) or Northwestern Yiddish (Table 4.4), a variety no longer spoken. Where possible, a sample word is provided from the Semitic component. Where the vowel is limited to the Germanic component, the sample is drawn from that component. Glosses are provided at the relevant point in Table 4.1.

Table 4.2. Stressed Vowel System of Northeastern Yiddish

|  |   |
|--|---|
| $i_{31/32}$ ( <i>šíkər, tʃisə</i> )                      | $u_{51/52}$ ( <i>gúzmə, bsúlə</i> )                   |
| $e_{22/24/42/44}$ ( <i>bréjrə, glejb, géjləm, bejm</i> ) | $\text{ɔ}_{j54}$ ( <i>hɔjz</i> )                      |
| $\epsilon_{21/25}$ ( <i>éʃšər, régə</i> )                | $\text{ɔ}_{12/13/41}$ ( <i>ləvónə, nómən, xóxmə</i> ) |
|  | $aj_{34}$ ( <i>lájłax</i> )                           |
|  | $a_{11}$ ( <i>avádə</i> )                             |

Table 4.3 Stressed Vowel System of Mideastern Yiddish

|   |  |
|---|--|
| $\bar{i}_{32/52}$ ( <i>tfísə, bsílə</i> ) | $u_{12/13}$ ( <i>ləvúnə, númən</i> )     |
| $i_{31/51}$ ( <i>šikər, gízmə</i> )       |  |
| $e_{25}$ ( <i>régə</i> )                  | $\bar{o}_{54}$ ( <i>hōus</i> )           |
|   | $\bar{o}_{42/44}$ ( <i>góləm, bəjm</i> ) |
| $\varepsilon_{21}$ ( <i>éřšər</i> )       | $\bar{o}_{41}$ ( <i>xóxmə</i> )          |
|   | $aj_{22/24}$ ( <i>brājrə, glajp</i> )    |
|   | $\bar{a}_{34}$ ( <i>lā́lax</i> )         |
|   | $a_{11}$ ( <i>avádə</i> )                |

### Origins of the Vowel System of the Semitic Component in Yiddish

#### *Sources of the Semitic Component's Vowel System*

The vowel system of the Semitic component in Yiddish derives directly from a Northwest Semitic vowel system akin to that known as "Tiberian." Tiberian is a highly sophisticated system of diacritic marks (comprising vowel signs and stress marks), codified on the western shores of Lake Tiberias (the Sea of Galilee) in the late first millennium CE. Both the Tiberian system and its specific phonological version of the text of the Hebrew Bible have been standard for many centuries. There are two principal phonological interpretations of the system. One postulates seven vowel qualities (*i, e, ε, a, o, u*). Another, formulated by the Kimchis, a prominent family of philologists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, posits a ten-vowel system comprising five tense vowels distinguished from five lax vowels (see M. Kimchi [1509–1518]: [11]; D. Kimchi 1545: 48). The graphemic system can be constructed to support either, but metrical evidence supports the Kimchis (see Ben-David 1958). The Semitic component in Yiddish unambiguously derives from a Kimchian-like system comprising ten protovowels. Arguments that have been put forward linking Yiddish to another system, the five-vowel Palestinian system, are unsustainable (see Katz 1977; 1979; §§10–14; 1982: §9; 1987a: 50–57).

In Table 4.5, Tiberian graphemes are confronted with their cognates in the Pan-Yiddish system, yielding the following basic correspondences. Yiddish samples are

Table 4.4. Stressed Vowel System of Northwestern Yiddish

|  |  |
|--|--|
| $\bar{i}_{32}$ ( <i>tfísə</i> )        | $\bar{u}_{52}$ ( <i>bəsúlə</i> )           |
| $i_{31}$ ( <i>šikər</i> )              | $\bar{o}_{52}$ ( <i>gózmə</i> )            |
| $\bar{e}_{25}$ ( <i>régə</i> )         | $\bar{o}_{12/13}$ ( <i>ləvónə, nómən</i> ) |
| $e_{j22/34}$ ( <i>bréjrə, léjliř</i> ) | $\bar{o}_{u42/54}$ ( <i>góləm, hōus</i> )  |
| $\varepsilon_{21}$ ( <i>éřšər</i> )    | $\bar{o}_{41}$ ( <i>xóxmə</i> )            |
|  | $\bar{a}_{24/44}$ ( <i>glāp, bām</i> )     |
|  | $a_{11}$ ( <i>avádə</i> )                  |

Table 4.5. Yiddish Cognates of Tiberian Vowels

Series 1:

| Vowel 11   |        |        |                               |               |
|--|--------|--------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| NEY  | MEY    | NWY    | gloss                         | Tiberian      |
| a) closed syllabic pathah:                         |        |        |                               |               |
| cad  | cad    | cad    | “side (of family or dispute)” | צד [šəð]      |
| b) originally closed syllabic pathah:              |        |        |                               |               |
| kálə   | kálə   | kálə   | “bride”                       | כלה [kalló]   |
| c) hataf pathah:                                   |        |        |                               |               |
| xázər  | xázər  | xázər  | “pig”                         | חזיר [házir]  |
| d) closed syllabic qameš:                          |        |        |                               |               |
| jam  | jam    | jam    | “sea”                         | ים [jóm]      |
| Vowel 21   |        |        |                               |               |
| NEY  | MEY    | NWY    | gloss                         | Tiberian      |
| a) closed syllabic segol:                          |        |        |                               |               |
| éstər  | éstər  | éstər  | “Esther”                      | אסתר [ʔestēr] |
| b) originally closed syllabic segol:               |        |        |                               |               |
| hétər  | hétər  | hétər  | “legal permission”            | היתר [hettér] |
| c) hataf segol:                                    |        |        |                               |               |
| éməs   | éməs   | éməs   | “true”                        | אמת [ʔéméθ]   |
| d) closed syllabic šere:                           |        |        |                               |               |
| šed  | šed    | šed    | “ghost”                       | שד [šēð]      |
| Vowel 31   |        |        |                               |               |
| NEY  | MEY    | NWY    | gloss                         | Tiberian      |
| a) unstressed closed syllabic hireq:               |        |        |                               |               |
| mídbər   | mídbər | mídbər | “desert”                      | מדבר [miðbǝr] |
| b) originally unstressed closed syllabic hireq:    |        |        |                               |               |
| xídəš  | xídəš  | xídəš  | “surprise”                    | חדוש [hiddúš] |
| c) stressed closed syllabic (long) hireq:          |        |        |                               |               |
| din  | din    | din    | “law”                         | דין [dín]     |
| Vowel 41   |        |        |                               |               |
| NEY  | MEY    | NWY    | gloss                         | Tiberian      |
| a) unstressed closed syllabic qameš (qameš qatan): |        |        |                               |               |
| kórbḡ  | kórbḡ  | kórbən | “sacrifice”                   | קרבן [qorbǝn] |
| b) closed syllabic holem:                          |        |        |                               |               |
| səd  | sət    | sət    | “secret”                      | סוד [sōð]     |
| Vowel 51   |        |        |                               |               |
| NEY  | MEY    | NWY    | gloss                         | Tiberian      |
| a) unstressed closed syllabic qibbuš:              |        |        |                               |               |
| xúcpə  | xícə   | xócpə  | “chutzpah”                    | חצפה [húspǝ]  |

|  |       |       |       |           |                 |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-----------|-----------------|
| b) originally unstressed closed syllabic qibbus: | šútəf | šítəf | šótəf | “partner” | פֿתָן [šuttɔ̃f] |
| c) closed syllabic shureq:                       | zxus  | zxis  | zəxós | “merit”   | זכות [zɔxúθ]    |

## Series 2:

|                                   |        |        |             |           |           |
|-----------------------------------|--------|--------|-------------|-----------|-----------|
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 12    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) open syllabic qameš:           |        |        |             |           |           |
| ləvónə                            | ləvúnə | ləvónə | “moon”      | לְבָנָה   | [ləvónɔ̃] |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 22    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) open syllabic šere:            |        |        |             |           |           |
| xéjlək                            | xájlək | xéjlək | “part”      | חֵלֶק     | [hélɛq]   |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 32    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) open syllabic ĥireq:           |        |        |             |           |           |
| šxítə                             | šxítə  | šəxítə | “slaughter” | שְׁחִיטָה | [šəhítɔ̃] |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 42    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) open syllabic ĥolem:           |        |        |             |           |           |
| séjdəs                            | sójdəs | sóudes | “secrets”   | סודות     | [sódðθ]   |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 52    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) open syllabic shureq:          |        |        |             |           |           |
| búšə                              | bíšə   | búšə   | “shame”     | בוֹשָׁה   | [búšɔ̃]   |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 13b   |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) stressed open syllabic pathaḥ: |        |        |             |           |           |
| páxət                             | páxət  | páxət  | “fear”      | פֿחַד     | [páħað]   |
|                                   |        |        | Vowel 25    |           |           |
| NEY                               | MEY    | NWY    | gloss       |           | Tiberian  |
| a) stressed open syllabic segol:  |        |        |             |           |           |
| régə                              | réjgə  | régə   | “moment”    | רֵגַע     | [réɣaf]   |

provided in Northeastern Yiddish (NEY) and Mideastern Yiddish (MEY), the two modern dialects that collectively provide a maximal set of oppositions, as well as Northwestern Yiddish (NWY), to represent the former dialects of the West. Transcriptions of Tiberian follow each example, using the following equivalents: qameš ⟨,⟩ =  $\bar{o}$ ; šere ⟨\_⟩ =  $\bar{e}$ ; long ĥireq ⟨(?)⟩ =  $\bar{i}$ ; ĥolem ⟨(ˆ)⟩, ⟨(ˆ)⟩ =  $\bar{o}$ ; (long) shureq ⟨(ˆ)⟩ =

$\bar{u}$ ; pathaḥ (ְ) = *a*; segol (ֿ) = *e*; short hireq (ִ) = *i*; unstressed closed syllabic qameṣ (qameṣ qatan) (ֻ) = *ɔ*; (short) qibbuṣ (ֹ) = *u*; ḥatef pathaḥ (ְּ) =  $\bar{a}$ ; ḥatef segol (ּֿ) =  $\bar{e}$ ; ḥatef qameṣ (ֻּ) =  $\bar{o}$ ; mobile shewa (ֵ) =  $\bar{ə}$ . Glosses provide usage in Yiddish.

### *Primary and Secondary Fusion*

“Primary Fusion” is the fusion between the Semitic and Germanic components of Yiddish immediately upon the settlement in Germanic-speaking lands of the Jews who were, retrospectively taken, the first Ashkenazim. This primary fusion encompassed the ten vowels of series 1 and 2. Each of these ten Yiddish protovowels came into existence by way of the fusion of a given Semitic with a given Germanic vowel into a unitary new Yiddish vowel.

“Secondary Fusion,” on the other hand, refers to joinings of Germanic and Semitic some time during the history of Yiddish. Consonantal loss and its phonetic effects are a prime catalyst of secondary fusion. Loss of  $\text{ʔ}$  (א) and  $\text{ʕ}$  (ע), for example, gave rise to hiatus which was variously resolved (cf. below). The hiatus merged with vowel 34 in Eastern Yiddish, e.g., NEY *dájgə* “worry,” *tájnə* “complaint” || MEY *dágə*, *tánə* || SEY *dáɡə*, *tánə* (cf. Tiberian  $\text{דאָג} \text{d}ə\text{ʔ}ə\text{ʕ}ə$ ,  $\text{תאָנ} \text{təʕən}$ ). Thus, from the viewpoint of Eastern Yiddish alone (and some parts of Western Yiddish), Semitic component 34 could be added to vowel 34 (see Table 4.1, Series 4). In other parts of Western Yiddish, however, hiatus gives  $\bar{a}$ , part of the local realization of merged 24/44 (in Southern Western Yiddish 13/24/44).

Finally, there are isolated cases where a Semitic component form has “gone astray” into a usually strictly Germanic vowel, e.g., (some) Mideastern Yiddish *gō*, *gou* “gentile” with vowel 54, for expected *gɔj*, “Christian” (cf. Tiberian  $\text{גוי} \text{g}ə\text{ʔ}$ ). The diphthong in the Hebrew-derived word fused in the dialect with the local realization of 54, apparently at a point in time when local 54 was /ɔj/. The conspicuous rarity of such exceptions serves to highlight the remarkable overall consistency in the Yiddish realizations through time and space, clearly pointing toward the derivation of Yiddish, and its Semitic component, from a protolanguage formed when primary fusion transpired (see Katz 1970; 1988c).

## **The Distinct Phonology of Ashkenazic**

### *The Notion “Formal Ashkenazic”*

Contrary to much popular belief, the sound patterns of Ashkenazic are not those of Yiddish. Every traditional Ashkenazi commands two distinct Semitic phonologies, one for the Semitic component in his or her Yiddish, the other for Ashkenazic. There is, moreover, a sociolinguistically determined continuum between the fixed pole of Yiddish, and the variable pole of Ashkenazic: from its most formal through a range of varieties ultimately approaching Yiddish. These varieties of Ashkenazic are discussed below. The forms cited for purposes of illustration will reflect “Formal Ashkenazic,” the variety used, for instance, in reading from the Torah. This variety is chosen for examples cited because it provides an opposing conceptual pole to the



phonology of Yiddish, facilitating comparison between two maximally different objects. That is not to gainsay the far more widespread usage of "Popular Ashkenazic". In some instances, penultimately stressed Popular Ashkenazic variants are provided alongside their Formal counterparts.

### *Major Differences between Ashkenazic and Yiddish*

Ashkenazic is phonologically distinguished from the Semitic component of Yiddish in two fundamental ways, one prehistoric (from the viewpoint of Ashkenaz), the other historic. Prehistorically, the Hebrew and Aramaic pronunciation that became Ashkenazic was never processed by an across-the-board rule of Closed Syllable Shortening (or "Laxing") which did process the Hebrew and Aramaic that became the Semitic component in Yiddish. In the Semitic component, Closed Syllable Shortening results in the systematic morphophonemic alternations 22 (proto \*ē) ~ 21 (\*ε); 12 (\*ō) ~ 11 (\*a); and 42 (\*ō) ~ 41 (\*ɔ). In each of the alternations the syllable boundary is the conditioning factor: closed syllables trigger Shortening. Hence the Tiberian pairs שְׂדִים *šēḏīm* "ghosts," sg. שֵׁד *šēḏ*; קְלָלִים *kəlōlīm* "rules," sg. קְלָל *kəlōl* "general rule," "generality"; סוֹפֵר *sōfēr* "scribe," pl. סוֹפְרִים *sōfərīm* "scribes," each of which has identical vowels, give Semitic component alternating pairs, e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *šējdim* (22) ~ *šed* (21), *klōlim* (12) ~ *klal* (11), *šéjfar* (42) ~ *sófrim* (41); Mideastern Yiddish *šájdəm* (22) ~ *šed* (21), *klūləm* (12) ~ *klal* (11), *sójfar* (42) ~ *sófrəm* (41). Note that in cases such as classical סוֹפְרִים *sōfərīm*, syllabification was obviously *sōf|rīm*, with no mobile shewa, at the point in history when Shortening occurred.

Dialects preserving length distinctions among the high vowels also alternate 32 ~ 31 and 52 ~ 51, or preserve vestiges of these alternations, e.g., (some) Mideastern Yiddish *dínəm* (32) "laws" ~ *din* (31), *gífə* (52) "itself" ~ *gif* (51) "body." Cf. Tiberian cognates דִּינִים *dīnīm*, s.g. דִּין *dīn*; גּוּפָא *gūfə* גּוּף *gūf*.

The Ashkenazic of each area, however, preserves long vowels in closed syllables as in open ones, except in the case of vowel 12, where Ashkenazic too shortens in closed syllables, not to 11 (*a*) as in Yiddish, but to 41 (*ɔ*). This Ashkenazic alternation is obscured in Northeastern Ashkenazic where 11 and 41 are merged (as unitary *ɔ*), but evident in other dialects. Classical אָדָם *ʔōḏóm* "man," "human," for example, turns up as Mideastern and Southeastern Ashkenazic *udóm* / *údóm* and Western Ashkenazic *ōdóm* / *ódóm*. The two Mideastern Ashkenazic types of *qames* are distinguished in modern Hasidic alphabet primers by explicit exercises (e.g., Birnhak 1976: 95; Fried 1983: 141–42; cf. below).

Table 4.6 contrasts Semitic component alternation with Ashkenazic nonalternation (differing alternation in the case of *qames*) for the three pairs of vowels which consistently alternate in all varieties of Yiddish. The contrasts are illustrated in Northeastern, Mideastern, and Northwestern Ashkenazic. Stress is left unmarked in Ashkenazic forms to allow for both more formal variants (with ultimate stress) and less formal variants (with penultimate stress).

The second series of differences between the Semitic component in Yiddish and Ashkenazic results from the resistance of Formal Ashkenazic to some of the phonological changes that have transpired during the history of Yiddish, most promi-

Table 4.6. Alternation in Yiddish vs No (or other) Alternation in Ashkenazic

| Northeastern Yiddish | Northeastern Ashkenazic |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| šéjdim ~ šed         | šejdim, šejd            |
| klālim ~ klal        | kələlīm, k(ə)ləl        |
| séjfar ~ sófrim      | sejfejr, sejf(ə)rim     |
| Mideastern Yiddish   | Mideastern Ashkenazic   |
| šájdəm ~ šet         | šajdim, šajd            |
| klíləm ~ klal        | kəlulīm, k(ə)ləl        |
| sójfər ~ sófrəm      | səjfajr, səjf(ə)rim     |
| Northwestern Yiddish | Northwestern Ashkenazic |
| šéjdəm ~ šet         | šejdīm, šejd            |
| kəlōləm ~ klal       | kəlōlīm, k(ə)ləl        |
| sóufər ~ sófrəm      | səufajr, səuf(ə)rīm     |

nently Stress Shift (to penultimate accentuation) and Posttonic Reduction (reduction of full vowels to a unitary shewa-like vowel after word-stress). The contrast is illustrated in Table 4.7 for the same three dialects. The three sample items are, in Tiberian, גַּנָּב *gannōv* “thief,” יִשְׂרָאֵל *jisrōʔél* “Israel,” כַּלָּה *kallō* “bride.”

Closed Syllable Shortening, Stress Shift, and Posttonic Reduction all conspire to make for numerous differences in the phonological representations of historically identical lexical items. The correspondences characterizing the Yiddish-Ashkenazic phonological relationship are illustrated in Table 4.8. Oppositions levelled in Yiddish by Closed Syllable Shortening are preserved in Ashkenazic. Stress Shift results in Tiberian pretonic vowels bearing word stress, while Posttonic Reduction

Table 4.7. Yiddish Stress Shift and Posttonic Reduction vs Unshifted, Unreduced Ashkenazic

| Northeastern Yiddish | Northeastern Ashkenazic |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ganəv</i>         | <i>ganōv</i>            |
| <i>jisrəʔəl</i>      | <i>jisrəʔél</i>         |
| <i>kālə</i>          | <i>kalō</i>             |
| Mideastern Yiddish   | Mideastern Ashkenazic   |
| <i>gánəf</i>         | <i>ganōv</i>            |
| <i>jisrúəl</i>       | <i>jisruájł</i>         |
| <i>kālə</i>          | <i>kalú</i>             |
| Northwestern Yiddish | Northwestern Ashkenazic |
| <i>gánəf</i>         | <i>ganōv</i>            |
| <i>jisrōəl</i>       | <i>jisrōélł</i>         |
| <i>kālə</i>          | <i>kalō</i>             |

Table 4.8. Yiddish-Ashkenazic Vowel Correspondences

| Yiddish  | Ashkenazic           | Tiberian                                  |
|--|----------------------|---|
| <b>11</b>  | <b>11, 41</b>        | <b>Pathah, closed syllabic</b>            |
| NEY: <i>sam</i> "poison," <i>jam</i> "ocean"     | <i>sam, jəm</i>      | <b>qameṣ</b>                              |
| MEY: <i>sam, jam</i>                             | <i>sam, jəm</i>      | סַם <i>sam</i> , יַם <i>jəm</i>           |
| NWY: <i>sam, jam</i>                             | <i>sam, jəm</i>      |   |
| <b>21</b>  | <b>21, 22</b>        | <b>segol, sere</b>                        |
| NEY: <i>éřər</i> "maybe," <i>ger</i> "proselyte" | <i>efřər, gejr</i>   | אֶפְרֵר <i>efřər</i> , גֶּר <i>gēr</i>    |
| MEY: <i>éřər, ger</i>                            | <i>efřər, gajr</i>   |   |
| NWY: <i>éřər, ger</i>                            | <i>efřər, gejr</i>   |   |
| <b>41</b>  | <b>41, 42</b>        | <b>unstressed closed syllabic</b>         |
| NEY: <i>kórbə</i> "sacrifice," <i>səf</i> "end"  | <i>kərbəɔn, sejf</i> | <b>qameṣ, holem</b>                       |
| MEY: <i>kórbə, səf</i>                           | <i>kərbəɔn, səjf</i> | קַרְבֵּן <i>qərbəɔn</i> , סוֹף <i>səf</i> |
| NWY: <i>kórbəɔn, səf</i>                         | <i>kərbəɔn, səuf</i> |   |
| ə  | <b>11</b>            | <b>pathah</b>                             |
| NEY: <i>kárpəs</i> "celery [at Passover]"        | <i>karpas</i>        | כַּרְפָּס <i>karpás</i>                   |
| MEY: <i>kárpəs</i>                               | <i>karpas</i>        |   |
| NWY: <i>kárpəs</i>                               | <i>karpas</i>        |   |
| ə  | <b>21</b>            | <b>segol</b>                              |
| NEY: <i>xéjřəx</i> "darkness"                    | <i>xejřex</i>        | חֹשֶׁךְ <i>hōřex</i>                      |
| MEY: <i>xəjřəx</i>                               | <i>xəjřex</i>        |   |
| NWY: <i>xəuřəx</i>                               | <i>xəuřex</i>        |   |
| ə  | <b>31</b>            | <b>hireq</b>                              |
| NEY: <i>jájən</i> "(ritual) wine"                | <i>jájin</i>         | יַיִן <i>jájin</i>                        |
| MEY: <i>jájən</i>                                | <i>jájin</i>         |   |
| NWY: <i>jájən</i>                                | <i>jájin</i>         |   |
| ə  | <b>41</b>            | <b>qameṣ</b>                              |
| NEY: <i>bátlən</i> "lazy fellow"                 | <i>batlən</i>        | בַּטְלָן <i>batlən</i>                    |
| MEY: <i>bátlən</i>                               | <i>batlən</i>        |   |
| NWY: <i>bátlən</i>                               | <i>batlən</i>        |   |
| ə  | <b>12</b>            | <b>qameṣ</b>                              |
| NEY <i>halóxə</i> "Jewish law"                   | <i>haləxə</i>        | הַלְכָה <i>haləxə</i>                     |
| MEY <i>halúxə</i>                                | <i>halúxū</i>        |   |
| NWY <i>halóxə</i>                                | <i>halóxə</i>        |   |
| ə  | <b>22</b>            | <b>sere</b>                               |
| NEY <i>téjvəs</i> "(month of) Teveth"            | <i>tejvejs</i>       | טֵבֶת <i>tēvət</i>                        |
| MEY <i>tájvəs</i>                                | <i>tajvajs</i>       |   |
| NWY <i>téjvəs</i>                                | <i>tejvejs</i>       |   |
| ə  | <b>32 (~ 31)</b>     | <b>hireq</b>                              |
| NEY <i>jóxəd</i> "individual"                    | <i>jəxid</i>         | יְחִיד <i>jəhíd</i>                       |
| MEY <i>júxət</i>                                 | <i>juxíd juxid</i>   |   |
| NWY <i>jóxet</i>                                 | <i>jóxíd</i>         |   |
| ə  | <b>42</b>            | <b>holem</b>                              |
| NEY <i>xaléjməs</i> "dreams"                     | <i>xalejmejs</i>     | חֲלוֹמוֹת <i>həlómót</i>                  |
| MEY <i>xaləjməs</i> "dreams"                     | <i>xaləjməjs</i>     |   |
| NWY <i>xalóuməs</i> "dreams"                     | <i>xaləuməus</i>     |   |
| ə  | <b>52</b>            | <b>shureq</b>                             |
| NEY <i>xəřən</i> "important"                     | <i>xəřuv</i>         | חֲשׁוּב <i>həřív</i>                      |
| MEY <i>xúřəf</i> "important"                     | <i>xúřiv</i>         |   |
| NWY <i>xəřəf</i> "important"                     | <i>xəřív</i>         |   |

renders stressed Tiberian vowels both stressless and reduced. Yiddish shewa is therefore cognate with a whole range of full vowels in the Ashkenazic of the same speakers.

In the sample items provided in Table 4.8, stress is left unmarked in Ashkenazic forms to allow for comparison between Yiddish and various styles of Ashkenazic (see below). Thus, for example, in the final contrast cited, Northeastern Yiddish *ə* in *χóšəv* is cognate with Northeastern Ashkenazic *u* in *χóšuv*, whether it is *χóšív* (Formal Ashkenazic) or *χóšuv* (Popular Ashkenazic). Items penultimately stressed in Tiberian retain penultimate stress in all forms of Yiddish and Ashkenazic.

## Resistance of Ashkenazic to Yiddish Sound Change

### *Sacred Language Resistance to Vernacular Sound Shift*

Speakers would not, a priori, in any given generation, hasten to incorporate in their sacred languages the latest vogue in pronunciation to take hold in the vernacular. There is potential in the evidence of sacred languages for better understanding the nature of sound shift in general. Is there a difference in principle, or a predictable difference, between “imperceptible gradual shift” and “abrupt shift”? One might perhaps predict that “low-level phonetic shift” would go unnoticed and permeate the sacred language, while higher level phonological shift not entailing “phonetic difficulty” in undoing a fait accompli sound shift would be more “resistible” in the sacred language. Alternatively, one might postulate a sociolinguistic condition: perhaps as long as a sound shift remains a variable, the population will shun it in the sacred language, but once the old form disappears, it is “goodbye Charlie” in the sacred language every bit as much as in the vernacular.

As in political history, it is often the case in the social history of language that one cannot necessarily predict what will become an issue and what won't. At the end of the day, it may boil down to the linguistic background and views of those in positions of authority and influence who make a fuss of some incorporations of sound shift into the sacred language, and let others go unnoticed. Moreover, scholars of a Dialect A which did not undergo a certain shift would be predisposed to object to incorporation of a Dialect B sound shift in the sacred language used even by Dialect B speakers. Ashkenazic studies can provide a wealth of material for students of theoretical linguistics and sociolinguistics.

### *Final Devoicing*

Modern Standard Yiddish, following Northeastern and Southeastern usage, does not have the rule of Final Devoicing, but Mideastern Yiddish does, and all of Western Yiddish had it. Many modern Mideastern Yiddish speakers who have Final Devoicing in their Yiddish do not have it in their Ashkenazic, producing such pairs as Mideastern Yiddish *kúrəf* “relative (n.),” *mín(h)ək* “custom,” *dúvət* “David,” contrasting with Mideastern Ashkenazic *kuróyv* / *kúrəyv* “close”; *minhóg* / *mínhəg*; *duvíd* / *dúvid*; (cf. Tiberian קרוב *qərób*, מנהג *minhóg*, דוד *dōwíð*). Hebrew primers for Hasidic children have special exercises dedicated to the preservation of word final voicing distinctions (e.g. Fried 1983: 93–114).

The battle against Final Devoicing in Ashkenazic is at least seven hundred years old on the evidence of Yekusiel of Prague (whether he was indeed from Prague is not at all certain). Dated by Zunz (1845: 115) to the late thirteenth century and by Gumpertz (1957: 36–37) to the early part of that century, he is also known as Yah(a)bi (acronym of Yekusiel Hakoyheybn ben Yehudo). Amongst Ashkenazim he was known as Zalmen Hanakdn “Zalmen the Vocalizer [i.e., expert on the Hebrew vowel pointing system]” (see Elye Bokher 1538: 77). Defending the phonological integrity of the reading of sacred Hebrew and Aramaic texts, Zalmen Hanakdn stormed against the word-final collapse of [d] and [t], and of [v] and [f] in Hebrew reading amongst the Ashkenazim, citing such minimal pairs as אב *ʔav* “father (construct),” אף *ʔaf* “also.” He complains of “people who ruin many words on account of the letters at their end, pronouncing them as other letters” (Yekusiel 1395: [189a]). (See Eldar in this volume.)

### Fronting of the Old *u* Vowels

The Battle of Final Devoicing continues to be fought in the education of today’s Mideastern Yiddish speaking Hasidic schoolchildren. Other battles were fought by individuals but resolved by language history centuries ago. It is often acquiescence, not resistance, that has prevailed. A case in point is application of the fronting and unrounding of all old *u* vowels to *i* in Southern Eastern Yiddish (comprising Mideastern and Southeastern Yiddish), whereby  $\bar{u} \rangle \bar{i}$  and  $u \rangle i$ , e.g., מלכות *məluxō*  $\rangle$  *m(ə)līxə* “kingdom,” “country,” חוצפה *huspō*  $\rangle$  *xīcpə* “insolence,” “chutzpah.”

There is evidence that in older Yiddish, short *u* shifted before long  $\bar{u}$ ; at first to  $\bar{i}$ , before its unrounding to *i* which led to merger with old *i*. A large body of evidence was assembled by Birnbaum (1934). Christian Hebraists from Reuchlin onward sometimes distinguish  $\bar{u}$  = qibbuš from *u* = shureq, notwithstanding their overall predilection for Sephardic variants (e.g., Reuchlin 1506: 12, 14, 16, 19, 20).

Shabse Soyfer of Pshemishl (Shabbethai Sofer of Przemyśl, ca. 1565–1635), a grammarian and specialist on Hebrew pointing, writing of Ashkenazic on Mideastern Yiddish territory, warned against pronouncing *i* for *u* (see Reif 1979: 37, 94). He is echoed by Yekhiel-Mikhl Epshteyn (d. 1706), well-known German rabbi, educationalist, and popular kabbalist, who warned against pronouncing qibbuš as hireq (i.e., as *i*), insisting that it be pronounced as *shureq*, in other words, that the classical *u* quality be preserved (Yekhiel-Mikhl Epshteyn 1697: 49a–49b; 1714: 20b–21a). In Yekhiel-Mikhl’s variety of Ashkenazic, historical short *u* had shifted to *i*, but historical long  $\bar{u}$  remained unshifted. It can be inferred that in seventeenth-century varieties of Ashkenazic known to these scholars, some people succeeded in blocking the application of vernacular sound shift to the sacred language.


Incidentally, these and other traditional Ashkenazic authors use the traditional Ashkenazic terms for these vowels: Ashkenazim’s *shureq* = qibbuš (ֿ) and Ashkenazim’s *melupum* (ֿ Aramaic *məlō pūm* “full mouth”) = shureq (ֿ). The pronunciation of the vowel names varies according to dialect, hence Northeastern *šūrək*, *məlúpṁ*, Mideastern *šírək*, *m(ə)lípṁ*, and so forth.

Among those on the other side of the debate was no less a figure than the Maharal of Prague (Yudo Leyb ben Betsalel ca. 1525–1609), known in folklore as the creator of the Golem. He went to great lengths to defend his  $\bar{u}$  pronunciation of

qibbuṣ. The following is an excerpt from a discourse in which he invokes arguments from (a) proposed interrelationships between the shapes of the vowel graphemes and their phonetic realizations, (b) kabbalistic interpretations of the graphic shapes and their relative positions, and (c) the force of tradition and his belief in its sanctity:

I have seen people accuse the Ashkenazim of changing the vowel system—the vowels which are [symbolically] the People of Israel— . . . saying . . . that the shureq that is in the letter [ו] and the three dots [ ] have a single reading, for they have so read in the works of the grammarians. And in order that the rest of the people who are not experts in the grammar of the language not fall into error and think this thing to be true and bring about the ruin of the language, a matter of great importance to Torah sages, I will here demonstrate with reliable evidence that the reading of the Ashkenazim is a proper reading. In fact, you will not find a true way other than the reading of the Ashkenazim. . . .

They [the grammarians] wrote that the qibbuṣ sefathayim (that we call shureq) [ ] and the shureq (that we call melupum) [ו] should be read identically, which the Ashkenazim do not do. . . . Now according to the reading of the Ashkenazim, all the vowel signs have shapes demonstrating their vowel quality. . . . [Here follows an explanation of the graphic shape of each vowel sign as an indication of the shape of the mouth when uttering the vowel it represents.] And so it is with the three dots . . . and the dot in the letter *vov*. . . . Here too we read each one according to what the vowel points show us: . . . the three dots under each other [apparently his *ū*] because we extend the voice of three dots fully and it is like the extending of the three continuous dots; . . . one dot in the letter [apparently his *u*], according to which the extending . . . is in the middle, not above nor below, but in the middle just as the dot is in the middle. But in qibbuṣ sefathayim the extending of the voice is downward like the three dots which are extended from the top downward. And it is not possible for there to be three extended dots without a middle one which is always the essence of the vowel.

You may understand something great and wonderful, for no other vowel has what is in the shureq. For all the other vowels have their vowel point under the letter or upon the letter, but in the case of shureq a self-contained *vov* was established, and in it the shureq [ו]. This teaches us something vital on the seven vowels [תְּנוּעוֹת] of the pointing system, which reflects the movements [תְּנוּעוֹת] of the Seven Sides. For one vowel sign is always to one side: above, or below, or to the right, or to the left, or in front, or in back, or in the middle, and therefore they are seven vowels [here follows a discussion of the human qualities kabbalistically represented by each of the vowel signs and their positions] reflecting the Seven Voices at the Giving of the Torah, . . . and the Middle was set apart unto itself, . . . and because the shureq reflects the Middle, it was given a *vov* unto itself. . . . From this alone you will understand the differentiation that exists between the shureq and the three dots [נקודות = “dots,” “points,” “the traditional vowel points”]: that the shureq reflects the middle that is set apart unto itself, and it is the middle point that has no width or length at all, only a single point. Therefore the shureq was given one dot in a letter unto itself, reflecting the Middle which is a single point unto itself. But the three dots comprising the qibbuṣ sefathayim reflect the Middle that is not a point alone, as it is impossible to create a middle without three, for the one that is between the other two is the middle. And the explanation is, that when three dots are placed in such a shape, extended diagonally as such , the middle dot has the judgment of the Middle that does not go out of the realm of balance and justice. For the upper one tends to the right and the

lower to the left and the middle one tends neither to right nor left, but stands in the middle and in the justice of the middle judgment, and is thereby set apart unto itself as is the case with every middle, but it is not totally set apart as is the dot in the vowel [י]. . . . Qibbuš sefathayim reflects the movements [/vowels] of the Middle, but does not reflect the Middle that is set apart unto itself, for that which is set apart unto itself has greater virtue. But the qibbuš sefathayim reflects the Middle that is not fully distinguished, and therefore no instance of these three dots has a vowel [letter] unto itself. . . . [Arguments are presented in favour of the Ashkenazic pronunciation of sheva as ə, and against the a realization preferred by some Sephardi grammarians].

We have not come here to argue other than to maintain the reading that is in our hands from our forefathers of old, to not change, God forbid, anything in it, because of that which is found in the books of the later Sephardi grammarians, who are themselves not of one opinion. It is therefore incumbent upon us to stand for our tradition and our custom of old. For even if a wise man wrote in his work certain things, they did not come down to him by tradition, but according to his hypothesis (and Ibn Ezra [b. Tudela, Spain 1089, d. 1164] himself noted that these things did not come down to him via tradition), and how are his views contradicted by the custom in our hands and the tradition unto us from our forefathers. All the more so bearing in mind that we have explained that our custom has the appearance of wisdom and good taste and knowledge, and if we err, will not our forefathers intercede in our favour? And He, blessed be He, will place His Torah in our hearts to bestow upon us from His wisdom, Amen.

(Maharal of Prague 1599: 58b–59b)

The Maharal's defense of Ashkenazic  $\ddot{u}_{\text{qibbuš}}$  was echoed by his contemporary, the talmudic luminary Mordekhay Yafe (Mordechai Jaffe), known as *der Levush* "the Levush" (ca. 1535–1612), who was, incidentally, a teacher of Shabse Soyfer (who, as noted above, took the opposite theoretical viewpoint, albeit on the *i* rather than the  $\ddot{u}$  realization of qibbuš). The Levush starts off with the force of tradition, and proceeds to a structural linguistic argument drawing analogies from the qameš ( $\ddot{o}$ ) vs. pathaḥ (*a*) and šere (historically  $\bar{e}$ ) vs. segol ( $\epsilon$ ) oppositions which are distinguished qualitatively in Ashkenazic (e.g., Northeastern Mideastern  $\ddot{o}$  vs. *a*, *ej* vs.  $\epsilon$ ; Mideastern *u*/ $\ddot{o}$  vs. *a*, *aj* vs.  $\epsilon$ , Western  $\bar{o}$ / $\ddot{o}$  vs. *a*, *ej* vs.  $\epsilon$ ). By way of analogy, he infers that the shureq vs. qibbuš opposition must also be qualitative, presumably shureq = *u* (or  $\ddot{u}$ ) vs. qibbuš =  $\ddot{u}$ . He invokes the homiletic argument that the sacred and complete Torah could not be bereft of any vowel, and proceeds to offer phonological arguments derived from the graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew:

For I have seen recently that some people who consider themselves wise in their own eyes in the science of grammar have come forward to the point of leading astray some students, who err following them, and have made themselves like remnants of the generation of the Tower of Babel whose language was confounded, and they have invented and thought up a new language, and have gotten themselves and their students used to reading our vowel shureq [= qibbuš,  $\ddot{u}$ , apparently his  $\ddot{u}$ ] exactly as we read the vowel melupum [= shureq,  $\ddot{u}$ , apparently his  $\ddot{u}/u$ ], and they say that there is no difference between the vowel shureq and the vowel melupum except for lengthening of the breath of the vowel: for the shureq short, and for melupum long, as in the case of our correct [pronunciation of the] vowel hireq without yud [י] and hireq with yud [י] which we correctly differentiate by shortening the breath for the one, and lengthening it for the other. And maybe they were confused because Rashi calls our

melupum “qibbuṣ sefathayim,” and some grammarians call the shureq “qibbuṣ sefathayim,” and therefore thought that they [ַ and ׀] are one vowel.

I have therefore decided to write somewhat at length to demonstrate the nonsense and the error of the people I referred to, and [to demonstrate] that we should not change the vowel which we have received from our forefathers on the grounds of “Forsake not the teaching of thy mother” [Prov. 1:8, 6:20].

And if they have fallen into this error because all agree that our shureq [= qibbuṣ, ׀] is [phonologically] the short counterpart of the melupum [= shureq, ׀], which is a long vowel (like hireq without yud and hireq with yud, the one being called short, the other long, but alike in their vowel [quality], only one is short and one long; they therefore want to draw an analogy to the vowels shureq and melupum)—if this is their argument, they have no case, for if so, what will they do with pathaḥ and qameṣ, with segol and šere, being that the pathaḥ is [phonologically] the short counterpart of the qameṣ, and the segol is [phonologically] the short counterpart of the šere, even though their vowel [quality] does not match that of their long-vowel counterpart. So why should we not say this also in the case of shureq and melupum?

Moreover, I propose that from the viewpoint of common sense and a priori logic it is not possible for things to be so, for if, according to their view, the vowel of the melupum and the shureq are identical and there is no difference between them other than in the length of the breath, if that were the case, one vowel that is within the power of human speech would be missing in the vowel system of the Torah, and that is the vowel which we read for our shureq [presumably *ū*]. Heaven forbid that the complete Torah which was given to us to complete within ourselves wholeness in all human knowledge, physical and logical, should lack a vowel that is present and very common in the pronunciation of humans, and that there should not be found one word to be read with that vowel! That is nothing but nonsense and foolishness, for of course all the vowels that a human can with his palate emit from his lips in his pronunciation are included, and especially this vowel, with which we pronounce our shureq, which is common among all and extremely frequent in the pronunciation of most speakers, and how could it be lacking, God forbid, in the vowels of the Torah.

One cannot claim an inconsistency in my view on the grounds that if I am right then *their* [i.e., the grammarians' Sephardi] pronunciation of shureq would be missing from the Torah, for you would be pointing out an inconsistency in your own position, bearing in mind that the vowels qameṣ and šere are called “great vowels” [תְּנוּעוֹת גְּדוֹלוֹת], which are long in the breath. Why were signs not also devised for when one wishes to shorten the breath, as was done in the case of hireq without yud and hireq with yud? To the contrary, you must concede that the tradition came down to the Pointers [i.e., the Masoretes] who were masters of pure language, that in the case of the “great vowels” even if one wants to shorten them one cannot by nature do so to any great extent, to the point that whoever would try to shorten them greatly would have to lengthen them somewhat to spirantize a following *begedkefet* consonant [*b, g, d, k, p, t* spirantize to *v, γ, ð, x, f, θ* in Hebrew and Aramaic via postvocalic spirantization; in Tiberian, short unstressed vowels occur in closed syllables, hence after a short vowel, *begedkefet* geminate stops occur (spirants do not geminate). Cf., e.g. *jab|b555* “dry land” vs. *j5|v55* “dry.” The Levush is arguing that qameṣ and šere are *phonologically* long/tense vowels that cannot be “shortened” to make a short vowel]. Moreover, a shewa that follows [qameṣ or šere] is mobile shewa [because a long unstressed vowel always occurs in an open syllable; hence if the next vowel is shewa, it is a mobile shewa initiating the syllable thereafter; thus, e.g., <כְּתִבּוּ> is *k5|θ5|vū*]. Moreover, even there we find that special signs were made [which bear upon vowel length], the *mappiq*, and the *mafsiq* and the *dehīq* and *šē mērahīq*.



This being the case, we may here too also in the case of melupum [= shureq: ʔ] discern the reason why there is no diacritic to incite shortening of the vowel, because it is like the qameš and the šere, and unlike the vowel ĥireq which by nature can be shortened greatly, in view of which a special mark was designed to differentiate the short from the long, i.e., the yud [ʔ]. This seems to me obviously to refute the views of those who are in error, and [confirm] that we should introduce no change in the vowel shureq [= qibbuš: ֿ]. And, forsake not the teaching of thy mother.

(Levush 1603: 49b)

It is significant that both the Maharal and the Levush offer intellectual defenses for the retention of *ü* in Ashkenazic. It is equally significant that neither relies on this defense alone. Both bring to bear the argument of tradition. The polemic tone is indicative of the passions raised by disputes on the pronunciation of Ashkenazic. Shabse Soyfer and Yekhiel-Mikhl Epshteyn have as their ideal a "correct" Ashkenazic which preserves the historical [u] quality of qibbuš and must not be overrun by the *u* > *ü*, or *u* > *i* shift common to some Yiddish dialects.

Looking back, it is obvious that the Maharal's and the Levush's views were in concord with the course of history. Modern Mideastern and Southeastern Ashkenazic users have *i* quality realizations in regard to both qibbuš and shureq. Older *ü* (from original *u*) was unrounded to *i*. It was never unfronted back to *u*. To the contrary, it dragged long *ū*, which was fronted to \**ü*, then to *ī*. The two ensuing *i* vowels are no longer phonemically opposed in many forms of Mideastern and Southeastern Ashkenazic (see below).

There are, however, attestations of "dipping into history" or dipping into other dialects in certain circumstances, and preserving an *u* quality. One informant, from a village in Romania (Southeastern Yiddish territory), recalls that shureq was consistently *ī* in his Ashkenazic, with the exception of the word ריח *rúah* which was read *rúax* in the Bible to avoid the sacrilege of uttering *ríax* in that hallowed context. In the coterritorial Yiddish, *ríax* is a curse word, e.g., *a ríax in zajn tátŋ* "Damn his father" = "Damn him."

In fact, this *i* vowel, like the other vowels of Mideastern Ashkenazic, is for its users a symbol of authenticity and religiosity which proudly sets them aside from modernized and Northeasternized forms of Ashkenazic as well as from Israeli Hebrew. And thus it transpires, as so often in the history of language and culture, that a feature that once symbolized radical "incorrect" usage becomes the banner of "classic" language for a future generation.

One large question looms here for Western Yiddish studies. In view of all of Birnbaum's (1934) philological evidence pointing to *ü*<sub>qibbuš</sub> in older Western Yiddish, how is it that attestations from the eighteenth century onward generally have *u* in the West? Could it be that Ashkenazic Resistance prevailed in the West? This calls for a monograph.

### *Ashkenazic Sound Shift Lag*

Looking at twentieth-century relationships between Yiddish and Ashkenazic recoverable from native informants, it is obvious that those dialectal features of Yiddish that are most stigmatized are most likely to be kept out of Ashkenazic. One

case in point is the variety of Southeastern Yiddish popularly known as *tátə-mámə lúšŋ*, after its rendition of standard *tátə* “father” and *mámə* “mother.” In linguistic terms, historical short *a* (vowel 11) merged with historical *ɔ*<sub>41</sub> in most environments (see Veynger 1929: 133–35; U. Weinreich 1958: 225, 236). Southeasterners often report that the historical *a* quality was however retained in Ashkenazic, hence Southeastern Ashkenazic *šabós* / *šáboš* “Sabbath” vs. Southeastern Yiddish *šóbəs* (cf. Tiberian שַׁבָּת *šabbót*).

There are other examples of “lag in progress” in the attempts of speakers to override their sound shifts. In *sábəsdikər lóšŋ*, a folkloristic name for Northeastern Yiddish, *s* is merged with *š*, and *c* (*t*′) with *č* (see U. Weinreich 1952). There is evidence from some informants that sibilant merger was less prevalent in Ashkenazic than in Yiddish. Altbauer (1968: 455) notes that some Northeastern Ashkenazic users, who have *ej*<sub>22/24/42/44</sub> in their Yiddish, preserve *ɔ*<sub>42</sub> in their rendition of *holem*, thereby undoing the Northeastern merger of 42 and 22 in the sacred language (e.g., some Northeastern Yiddish *tějra* “Torah” vs. Ashkenazic *təjró* / *tójrɔ*, cf. תּוֹרָה *tōrót*). Bin-Nun (1973: 300) describes a variety of Siebenbürgen that has *ej* for *šere* in Ashkenazic, contrasting with the *aj* of the same speakers in Yiddish.

In each instance, the “stigmatized” feature is one rejected by Modern Standard Yiddish. Ashkenazic thereby provides valuable evidence for the societal forces at work in the rise of Standard Yiddish, before and wholly outside the compass of the secular Yiddish scholars who formalized the notion and the features of the standard language (cf. Kerler 1988). This is one of many potential services of Ashkenazic studies to Yiddish linguistics and to sociolinguistics generally.

It is possible, with caution, to extrapolate Ashkenazic lag into situations in the past where documentation may not be readily available. For example, in Northern Transitional Yiddish and in parts of northern Western Yiddish, initial *s*, for historical *samekh* (ס) and *šin* (שׁ), was affricatized to *c* (*t*′), merging with the reflex of *šade* (tsadik), historical *š* (צ), giving e.g., Northern Transitional *cájfər* “(sacred) book” (Tiberian שֵׁפָר *šéfer* (see Friedrich 1784: 39; Cohen 1923: 59; Katz 1988a: 50–51). Perhaps some speakers in the area would have had *sájfər* in their Ashkenazic contrasting with the *cájfər* of their Yiddish.

### *Lexicalized Variants of Yiddish-Ashkenazic Cognates*

Phonologically differentiated reflexes of the same Hebrew or Aramaic etymon have often undergone centuries of divergent semantic development in Yiddish, contrasting with older meanings surviving in Ashkenazic. This results in such doublets as e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *baləbós* “boss,” vs. Ashkenazic *baal habájis* “head of the household” (⟨בַּעַל הַבַּיִת *báfal habbájiθ*); *nəkéjvə* “woman of loose morals” vs. Ashkenazic *nəkejvó* / *nəkéjvɔ* “female,” “feminine gender” (⟨נִקְבָּה *nəqēvót*); *ɔs* “letter [of the alphabet]” vs. *ejs* “heavenly omen” (⟨אוֹת *əθ*); *vajzósə* “fool” vs. *vajzósó* / *vajzósɔ* “name of one of Haman’s ten sons” (⟨וַיְזָס *vajzót*); *xadgádjə* “jail [humorous]” vs. *xad gadjós*, *xad gádjɔ* “name of the Passover song *Chad gadyo*” (⟨חַד גַּדְיֹה *had gadjót* “one kid”); *xóxmə* “sense of the joke” or “stupid idea passed off as a wise one” vs. *xóxmó* / *xóxmɔ* “wisdom” (⟨חֻכְמָה *hóxmót*). In each pair cited, note that Yiddish forms can be used for either the “Yiddish” or the “Ashkenazic”

meaning, while Ashkenazic forms are strictly limited to the Ashkenazic meaning— itself usually identical with the classic Hebrew or Aramaic gloss.

### Ashkenazic as a Self-Contained Structure

#### *Synchronic Structure*

For the foregoing discussion, Ashkenazic has been viewed through the eyes of the Semitic Component in Yiddish, on the grounds of the primacy of native spoken language in phonological analysis. It is, however, equally important to view Ashkenazic as a synchronic linguistic structure capable of description, analysis, and reconstruction. Everybody learning Ashkenazic acquires the pronunciation via the study of the Tiberian system of vowel diacritics. These diacritics (called *nəkiúds* in Yiddish) are before the eyes of Ashkenazic users for an important part of their use of Ashkenazic (all of it for speakers whose Ashkenazic is limited to prayer and Pentateuch study, both of which entail “pointed texts,” i.e., texts with the vowel diacritics included). A synchronic description of Ashkenazic may therefore include reference to the diacritics. The vowel system of each dialect of Ashkenazic may conveniently be mapped out using the Pan-Yiddish vowel correspondence (see above).

The stressed vowel system of present day Northeastern Ashkenazic comprises six phonemes, as illustrated in Table 4.9.

By contrast, the vowel system of Mideastern Ashkenazic, illustrated in Table 4.10, preserves more distinctions than any other modern form of Hebrew (Ashkenazic or non-Ashkenazic). It does not however preserve as many as the Semitic component of Mideastern Yiddish; in the Semitic component, the long vs. short reflexes of hireq and shureq are determined by Tiberian phonology. In many forms of Mideastern Ashkenazic the length differentiation seems on the whole to have been reinterpreted allophonically (long in stressed open syllables, short elsewhere), but this point requires further fieldwork. It is almost certain that *ej* and *ε* are also complementary and therefore nonphonemic in Formal Ashkenazic. In popular varieties, application of posttonic reduction causes them to appear in the same environment (stressed open syllable), rendering them clearly phonemic, e.g., *xéjsed* “kindness” vs. *émés* “truth”; cf. formal *xéjsed*, *emés* (Tiberian  $\text{חֶסֶד}$  *héseḏ*,  $\text{אֱמֶת}$  *?éméth*; cf. below). The theoretical question arises however of whether a nonvernacular language can have “allophones” that are unquestionably “phonemes” in the native language of its users. Are they real or the results of overstructuralism by the linguist? This question, posed by Ashkenazic studies, merits further research.

Table 4.9. The Vowel System of Northeastern Ashkenazic

|                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| i <sub>hireq</sub>               | u <sub>shureq/qibbus</sub> |
| e <sub>şere/holem</sub>          |                            |
| ε <sub>segol/hatef segol</sub>   | o <sub>qames/hatef</sub>   |
|                                  | qames                      |
| a <sub>pathah/hatef pathah</sub> |                            |

Table 4.10. The Vowel System of Mideastern Ashkenazic

|  |  |
|--|--|
| $\bar{i}$ hireq/shureq/ in stressed open syllables                           | $\bar{u}$ ( $\sim$ u) <sub>qameš</sub> in open syllables   |
| $\dot{i}$ hireq/shureq/qibbuš in closed syllables, unstressed open syllables |  |
| $e$ j <sub>segol</sub> in stressed open syllables                            | $\text{ɔ}$ j <sub>holem</sub>  |
| $\epsilon$ <sub>segol</sub> in closed syllables/hatef segol                  | $\text{ɔ}$ <sub>qameš</sub> in closed syllables/ before hey with mappiq/before yud;<br>hatef qameš |
|  | $a$ j <sub>sere</sub>  |
|  | $a$ <sub>pathah/hatef pathah</sub>   |

### *Ashkenazic Hebrew Education in Late Twentieth-Century Primary Schools*

Children in Hasidic schools rooted in southern (i.e., non-Lithuanian) East European traditions around the world generally learn the Mideastern Ashkenazic system from the outset. In some schools, however, all segols are rendered  $\epsilon$  when studying the vowel points, and the *ej* realization in stressed open syllables is “picked up” later in primary education, resulting in a child learning e.g., *emés* and *xésed*, modified at a later age to *emés* vs. *xéjsed*. Whether this is a symptom of declining use of *ej* for stressed open-syllabic segol in Hasidic communities needs to be researched. The two Mideastern Ashkenazic types of qameš ( $\bar{u}$  / *u* in open syllables,  $\text{ɔ}$  in closed syllables) are however distinguished in alphabet primers by explicit exercises (e.g., Birnhak 1976: 95; Fried 1983: 141–42).

## Historical Phonology of Ashkenazic

### *Overview*

The historical phonology of Ashkenazic is, in short, one of a Tiberian-like system that has undergone phonetic and phonological development over a millennium of European history. Its phonetic history generally follows closely upon that of co-territorial Yiddish dialects, but its phonological history is characterized by a substantial measure of independence resulting both from generation-to-generation language transmission (nonspoken living languages are transmitted this way too) and from the phonologically retentive power of the hallowed system of vocalization signs.

### *Consonantism*

The consonantism of Ashkenazic is a much leaner system than its Tiberian antecedent. Consonants “not supported” by the indigenous central European phonetic scene,  $\text{ʔ}$  (א),  $\text{ʕ}$  (ח),  $w$  (ו),  $h$  (ה),  $t$  (ט),  $q$  (ק), and  $\text{ʃ}$  (ש), disappeared. Likewise, of the “begeckefet” spirants, arising from Northwest Semitic postvocalic spirantization ( $b$  >  $v$ ,  $g$  >  $\gamma$ ,  $d$  >  $\delta$ ,  $k$  >  $x$ ,  $p$  >  $f$ ,  $t$  >  $\theta$ ), those without European counterparts—

$\gamma$ ,  $\delta$ , and  $\theta$ —also disappeared. Phonetic “disappearance” can have diverse structural implications. The following listing covers (a) loss, (b) merger, and (c) phonetic shift retaining phonological distinctiveness. Within each category, the order follows the Jewish alphabet.

(a) Loss

א [ʔ] } zero, e.g., אָמֵן *ʔōmēn* “amen” } Northeastern Ashkenazic (NEA) *oméjn*, Mid-eastern Ashkenazic (MEA) *umájn*, Western Ashkenazic (WA) *ōméjn*.

Functionally consonantal ʔ was lost in all positions although [ʔ] does occur phonetically in various environments in Yiddish dialects. Traces of historical ʔ may be recovered from Yiddish (and cautiously extrapolated, with allowance for time lag, to Ashkenazic). Cf. e.g., Northeastern Yiddish *sónim* “enemies” ~ sg. *séjnə*, Mid-eastern *sónəm* ~ *sójnə*. The vocalic alternations in all dialects result from the application of Closed Syllable Shortening, demonstrating that aleph was consonantal (at the pre-Ashkenazic time of Shortening), i.e., \**sōn|ʔīm* } \**sɔn|ʔīm* via shortening (hypothetical *sōn|nīm* would not have processed by Shortening). On the bearing of this evidence on mobile shewa, see below.

ע [ʔ] } zero, e.g., עוֹלָם *ʔōlóm* “world” } NEA *ejlóm* / *éjlom*, MEA *ɔjlóm* / *ɔjlom*, WA *ōlóm* / *ólom*.

Ayin too has left recoverable traces in Yiddish, which may bear on its presence in early Ashkenazic. Closed Syllable Shortening has processed the Biblical נָעַד וְנָס *nōd wōnōd* “a fugitive and a wanderer” (Gen. 4:12, 14), giving Yiddish *na vənád* (*zajn*) “wander without a home,” where the *a* in *na* ( < נָעַד *nōd* ) betrays an erstwhile closed syllable (cf. vowel-final monosyllables, e.g., בָּרָא *bō* “comes” } NEA *bɔ*, MEA *bu*, WA *bō* etc; syllable-final < אָ ) and < הָ ) are not consonantal in Tiberian).

There are a number of issues on which the fates of ʔ and ʕ are best treated together. Loss of both resulted in sequences of two successive vowels. In Yiddish, the ensuing hiatus fused with various Germanic component vowels (see above, where this instance is cited to illustrate secondary fusion): with vowel 34 in Eastern Yiddish (hence דאָגאָ *dəʔɔɔ* } Northeastern Yiddish *dájgɔ* “worry,” Mideastern *dágə*). In some forms of Western Yiddish, merger occurred with Western Yiddish  $\bar{a}_{24}$ , the local realization of 24/44 or 13/24/44 (see Guggenheim-Grünberg 1973: 40–43).

In Northeastern Yiddish, hiatus was resolved by yotization, e.g., *švújəs* “(the holiday) Shavuoth” < שְׁבֻעוֹת *švūʔōθ*. These and other Yiddish reactions to hiatus are often absent in Ashkenazic where the two ensuing vowels in succession are simply read in sequence, e.g., Northeastern Ashkenazic *dəɔgɔ* / *dəógɔ*, *švúéjs* / *švúéjs*.

Yekusiel of Prague warns against such pronunciations as אָמַר *wəʔmár* “and bitter” for אָמַר *wəʔmár* “and he said,” quipping that such errors are רע וּמַר בְּעֵינַי *raf wəʔmár bəʔejnáj* “evil and bitter in my eyes” (Yekusiel 1395: [186b]). He also bemoans failure to distinguish עוּר *ʔōr* “hide (n.)” from אור *ʔōr* “light” (ibid. [189b]).

It is evident from Yekusiel's samples that by the thirteenth century the old aleph (ʔ) vs. ayin (ʕ) distinction, and the aleph vs. zero and ayin vs. zero distinctions, were all in trouble.

(b) *Merger with European-Compatible Consonants*

ג [ɣ] merged with ג [g], e.g., עֵגֶל *ʕēʕel* "calf" > NEA *éjgel*, MEA *ájgel*, WA *éjgel*.

ד [ð], merged with ד [d], e.g., עוֹד *ʕōð* "yet" "more" > NEA *ejd*, MEA *ɔjd*, WA *ɔud*.

In names of letters of the Jewish alphabet there is evidence of *s* reflexes in Western Yiddish. Bibliophilus (1742: 3) offers the variant spellings ⟨Jud⟩ and ⟨Jus⟩ for י, ⟨Lamed⟩ and ⟨Lames⟩ for ל. Cf. classical יוד, למד. These forms are also attested in a twentieth-century variety of German in the village of Schopfloch which borrows heavily from Western Yiddish (see Philipp 1983: 43; Shy 1990: 346).

ו [w] merged with ו [v], e.g., וַיִּקְרָא *wajjigrá* "and he called" > NEA *vajikró* / *vajikru*, MEA *vajikrú* / *vajikru*, WA *vajikró* / *vajikrō*.

Yekusiel mourns the collapse of historical אָבִיו *ʔóvív* "his father" with אָבִיב *ʔóvív* "Spring" (Yekusiel 1395: 189a).

ח [h] merged with ח [x], e.g., חָכֵם *hōxóm* "wise man" > NEA *xōxóm* / *xóxom*, MEA *xuxóm* / *xúxom*, WA *xōxóm* / *xóxom*.

In the medieval Rhineland dialects of the "Children of hes," *h* merged with *h* [h] rather than with *ch* [x] (see M. Weinreich 1958; Katz 1987a: 57; 1988a: 39–42; 1990b; 1991; and below).

ט [t] merged with [t], e.g., טַל *tal* "dew" > Pan-Ashkenazic *tal*.

Yekusiel decries merger of שְׁבִטּוֹ *šivtō* "his sojourn" and שְׁבִטּוֹ *šivtō* "his staff," "his tribe" (Yekusiel 1395: 189b).

ק [q] merged with ק [k], e.g., קָדוֹשׁ *qōšōš* "sacred" > NEA *kōdējš* / *kódejš*, MEA *kudójš* / *kúdajš*, WA *kōdōuš* / *kódouš*.

Yekusiel cites merger of קַלָּה *qallá* "easy (fem.);" with כַּלָּה *kallá* "bride" (1395: 189b) as one of the evils resulting from failure to distinguish the two consonants.

ת [θ] merged with ט [s] ( ט [ś] was itself almost certainly merged with [s] long before the rise of Ashkenaz), e.g., אֵת *ʔeθ* "[particle preceding accusative definite noun]" > Pan-Ashkenazic *es*.

In the name of the fourth letter of the Jewish alphabet, דלת, final ת appears as plosive *t* (itself usually the reflex of ת [t] or ט [t]), or as [d], hence *dálət* or *dáləd* in modern Ashkenazic. There is however evidence of older Western Yiddish *s*. Bibliophilus (1742: 3) has ⟨Dalet⟩ alongside ⟨Dales⟩.

(c) *Phonemic Preservation Via Phonetic Shift*

צ [š] was affricated to [c] ([tʃ]), leaving a distinct phoneme. Probably during the primary fusion characterizing the birth of Yiddish and Ashkenazic, the Semitic *š* fused with medieval German ⟨tz⟩, producing the unitary Yiddish /c/ phoneme which

occurs in both components, producing such homonyms as *kac* = “cat” (cf. Middle High German *katze*) and “Katz” (cf. Hebrew קָצִיז).

### Vowel System

The vowel system of Ashkenazic derives straightforwardly from a system closely resembling a version of Tiberian vocalism. There are, however, differences: (1) in Proto-Ashkenazic, the three *ḥatef* or ultrashort vowels (  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$  [ĕ],  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  [ă],  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$  [ō]) were not distinguished from their normal-length counterparts (  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{e}}$  [ε],  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{a}}$  [a], unstressed closed-syllabic  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$  [ɔ]). Secondly, the variant imported to Ashkenaz apparently had short  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$  (corresponding with Yiddish vowel 41) for *qameš* in *all* closed syllables (not only in unstressed closed syllables, as per classical Hebrew grammar). The descriptive environment of that shortening rule includes as consonants [j] and ה with *mappiq* ( ה ), which traditional Hebrew grammarians consider to mark the exceptional consonantality of word-final ה. It is morphologized in third-person possessives ending in ה. The Proto-Ashkenazic *qameš* shortening apparently inherited from the Near East was therefore of the type *qameš* → [— long] / —C| (where | = syllable boundary). The phonology of the language obviously treated /j/ and /H/ (where H = ה) as consonantal.

The effects of this pre-Ashkenazic shortening are evident in modern dialects of Ashkenazic which distinguish vowel 12 (Proto-Ashkenazic \* $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ , corresponding with *qameš*) from 41 (Proto-Ashkenazic \* $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ , corresponding with stressed open-syllabic *qameš* and *ḥatef qameš*). Thus, for example, in modern Mideastern Ashkenazic, where open-syllabic *qameš* is realized as *u* (often [ū] but there is no phonemic length opposition for this vowel, hence the unitary transcription *u*), closed-syllabic *qameš* and *qameš* before *j* and *mappiq* are realized as  $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ , e.g., *purón* “(Wilderness of) Paran” ( פִּרְאָן; *bizvājón* “disgrace” ( בִּיצְוֵיִן *bizzvājón*; *išó* “her husband” ( אִישׁוֹ *išóH* (cf. *išú* “woman” ( אִשָּׁה *iššó*). *Mappiq* forms often retain ultimate stress even in Popular Ashkenazic, accentuating such contrasts as *išú* “woman” vs. *išó* “her husband.”

### The Proto-Ashkenazic Vowel System

The proposed system of Proto-Ashkenazic vocalism is illustrated in Table 4.11. Yiddish vowel numbers are added to denote the fusion with vernacular vowels which took place at the theoretical linguistic starting point of Ashkenaz.

Table 4.11. Proto-Ashkenazic Vocalism

|   |   |
|---|---|
| * $\bar{\text{i}}$ <sub>long</sub> hireq / 32           | * $\bar{\text{u}}$ <sub>(long)</sub> shureq / 52                                  |
| * $\dot{\text{i}}$ <sub>short</sub> hireq / 31          | * $\text{u}$ <sub>(short)</sub> qibbuš / 51                                       |
| * $\bar{\text{e}}$ <sub>gere</sub> / 22                 | * $\bar{\text{o}}$ <sub>holem</sub> / 42  |
| * $\text{e}$ <sub>segol</sub> , <i>ḥatef segol</i> / 21 | * $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ <sub>open syllabic qameš</sub> / 12                |
|   | * $\underset{\cdot}{\text{o}}$ <sub>closed syllabic qameš, ḥatef qameš</sub> / 41 |
|   | * $\text{a}$ <sub>pathah, ḥatef pathah</sub> / 11                                 |

### Summary of Sound Changes

#### (1) Assorted Consonantal Shifts (See Above)

Loss of  $\text{ʔ}$  and  $\text{ʕ}$ ; Merger of  $\gamma$  with  $g$ ;  $\delta$  with  $d$ ;  $w$  with  $v$ ;  $h$  with  $x$ ;  $t$  with  $t$ ;  $q$  with  $k$ ;  $\theta$  with  $s$ ; shift of  $\text{ʃ}$  to  $c$  ( $t^c$ ).

#### (2) Lengthening

Lengthening, inspired by the analogous German development, processed short vowels in stressed open syllables at an early point in the history of Ashkenaz. Only two Tiberian vowels met the structural description of the rule: pathaḥ and segol in stressed open syllables, hence  $*xésed$   $\rangle$   $*xé̄sed$  “kindness, mercy,”  $páxad$   $\rangle$   $*pá̄xad$  “fear.” In terms of Pan-Yiddish vocalism, proto 21 ( $*\epsilon$ , e.g.,  $*xésed$ ,  $*emés$  “truth”) split into unlengthened 21 ( $*\epsilon més$ ) vs. lengthened 25 ( $*xé̄sed$ ). Proto 11 ( $*a$ , e.g.,  $xajjō$  “animal,”  $páxað$ ) split into unlengthened 11 ( $*xajjō$ ) vs. lengthened 13 ( $*pá̄xað$ ) with dialectological consequences parallel to those in the Semitic component of Yiddish (see above). Wherever a Tiberian form did not meet the structural description (the conditions, so to speak) of the sound shift, it escaped Lengthening. In the samples cited, the first  $\epsilon$  in  $emes$  escaped because it was not stressed (there is no evidence that hatef vowels differed in Proto-Ashkenazic from their non-hatef variants). The  $a$  of  $xajjō$  was originally in a closed syllable (opened only later by Degemination, no. 3). Cf. the Tiberian cognates  $\text{חֶסֶד}$   $héseð$ ,  $\text{אֱמֶת}$   $eméθ$ ,  $\text{חַיָּו}$   $hajjō$ ,  $\text{פָּחַד}$   $páħað$ .

#### (3) Degemination

By  $C^1 C^1 \rightarrow C^1$ , consonantal length was lost, e.g.,  $*bammōkōm$  “in the place”  $\rangle$   $*bamōkōm$ ,  $*gibbōr$  “mighty (man)”  $\rangle$   $*gibōr$ ,  $*jittēn$  “(he) will give”  $\rangle$   $*jitēn$ ,  $*mōnaššē$  “Manasseh”  $\rangle$   $*mōnašē$ ,  $*šuttōf$  “partner”  $\rangle$   $*šutōf$ ,  $*uzzī$  “my strength”  $\rangle$   $*uzī$ . Cf. Tiberian cognates  $\text{בַּמָּקוֹם}$   $bammōqōm$ ,  $\text{גִּבּוֹר}$   $gibbōr$ ,  $\text{יִתֵּן}$   $jittēn$ ,  $\text{מְנַשֶּׁה}$   $mōnaššē$ ,  $\text{שׁוּטָף}$   $šuttōf$ ,  $\text{זְרִי}$   $ʕuzzí$ .

#### (4) Stress Shift

Formal Ashkenazic was never processed by Stress Shift, but many forms of Popular Ashkenazic were, in varying degrees, under the impact of the Semitic component in Yiddish (cf. Katz 1980; and above). Stress Shift entailed the collapse of ultimate and penultimate stress to a unitary pattern of penultimate accentuation, e.g.,  $*axašvērōš$  “[King] Ahasuerus”  $\rangle$   $*axašvērōs$ ,  $*rōš haššōnō$  “New Year”  $\rangle$   $*rōš haššōnō$ ,  $*šōlāx$  “(he) sent”  $\rangle$   $*šōlax$  (cf. Tiberian cognates  $\text{אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ}$   $ʔāħašwērōš$ ,  $\text{רֹשׁ הַשָּׁנָה}$   $rōš haššōnō$ ,  $\text{שָׁלַח}$   $šōlāħ$ ).

There are a number of categories of exceptions. In morphology, articles and particles do not generally accept stress, hence monosyllables preceded by these retain stress, e.g.,  $*hōš$  “the man” ( $\langle$   $\text{הָאִישׁ}$   $hōš$ ) never became  $\cdot hōš$  (the black dot  $\cdot$  distinguishes spurious forms from asterisked reconstructions, which are at any rate not meant to be spurious). In semantics, particularly sacred terms, notably names of



God, retained ultimate stress, e.g., \**elōhīm* “God” did not usually undergo Stress Shift to *·elōhīm* (cf. אֱלֹהִים *?ēlōhīm*). In phonology, if the penultimate and antepenultimate syllable vowels are both long, stress *may* move back to the antepenult, e.g., Northeastern *gəjrəšin*, Mideastern *gájrəšin* “laws of divorces” (cf. גֵּרְוּשִׁין *gērūśín*), cf. Leibel 1965.

#### (5) Great Yiddish Vowel Shift

Ashkenazic was fully processed by the Great Yiddish Vowel Shift, which paved the way for it to follow the major events in the ensuing phonological history of the various Yiddish dialects. The Great Shift included raising of \* $\bar{e}_{25}$  >  $\bar{e}_{25}$  and \* $\bar{o}_{12}$  >  $\bar{o}_{12}$ ; lowering and diphthongization of old \* $\bar{e}_{22}$  to  $\epsilon j_{22}$  and old \* $\bar{o}_{42}$  to  $\omega_{42}$  (for a more detailed survey, see Katz 1982: 77–81).

By the Great Vowel Shift, then, \**xésed* > *xésed*, \**dōvíd* > *dōvíd*, \**xélek* > *xéjlek*, \**ólóm* > *oulóm*. These processed forms are amply attested in Western Yiddish. In Eastern Ashkenazic dialects, further phonological development gave the characteristic modern forms (Northeastern *xésed*, *dovíd*, *xéjlek*, *ejlóm*; Mideastern *xéjsed*, *dūvíd*, *xájlek*, *ojlóm*).

#### Questions of Relative and Absolute Chronology

Consonantal shifts and the Great Vowel Shift can, from a structural point of view, be ordered anywhere. Consonantal shifts are tentatively assigned to (1) because of the speed with which Semitic sounds would have a priori disappeared among a population shifting to a central European base of articulation (cf. above). The Great Vowel Shift results in vowels largely preserved in Western Yiddish, and the similarity of its results to a documented near-modern variety might augur for a late relative dating.

The internal ordering of Lengthening and Degemination cannot be determined because their environments are mutually exclusive: stressed open-syllabic short vowels are in Tiberian phonology never followed by a geminate consonant. Indeed, geminate consonants invariably close the preceding syllable.

What is certain is that Lengthening preceded Stress Shift. This is evident from forms such as Popular Mideastern Ashkenazic *élul* “(month of) Elul,” *émes* “true.” One of the conditions for Lengthening is stress. At the time of Lengthening, these items were still ultimately stressed (\**emés*, \**elúl*), hence their escape, whereas items such as \**xésed* “kindness” and \**réga* “moment,” both historically penultimate, were duly processed by Lengthening, hence modern (Popular) Mideastern Ashkenazic *élul*, *émes* vs *xéjsed*, *réjga* (cf. Tiberian אֱלֹל *?ēlúl*, אֶמֶת *?ēméθ*, חֶסֶד *héseð*, רֵגַף *réyaf*). By virtue of Stress Shift, the effects of Lengthening, originally allophonic, became phonemicized (*é* and *éj* both occur in stressed open-syllabic position).

It is extremely probable that Degemination also preceded Stress Shift. Circumstantial evidence comes from forms such as Popular Mideastern Ashkenazic *hékajš* “(type of) analogy,” *šábəs* “Sabbath.” At the time of Lengthening, these items were still in closed syllables (\**hek* | *kéš*, \**šab* | *bōθ*), hence their escape, whereas items such

as \**hével* “vanity” and \**jáhað* “together,” historically in open syllables, were duly processed by Lengthening, hence modern (Popular) Mideastern Ashkenazic *hékajš* vs. *héjvel*, *šábos* vs. *jáxad* (cf. Tiberian שְׁקֵץ *heqqés*, הֶבֶל *hével*; שַׁבָּת *šabbót* “Sabbath,” יָאֵד *jáxad*). Note that *ā* forms such as *jáxad* occur only in the more conservative Southwestern portions of Mideastern Ashkenazic (e.g., Stencl 1978). In many varieties of Mideastern Ashkenazic, these forms have been shortened to *a*. The evidence here is “circumstantial” because stresslessness can also explain nonlengthening of historical *ε* and *a* in such forms as *hékajš* and *šábos*. In other words, lack of stress can itself explain all the unlengthened forms, whereas erstwhile presence of geminate consonants (closing the preceding syllable, thereby blocking lengthening) can explain only some of them.

The absolute chronology of Degemination is assisted by Yekusiel of Prague. He notes that dagesh forte (= *dagesh ĥazaq*, the diacritic marking gemination) was pronounced for *w, z, t, l, m, n, s, š, q, š* “by most people of our land,” but moans that “the younger readers were in the habit of not pronouncing dagesh forte in these letters when shewa occurs under the letter with the dagesh [i.e., when the relevant consonant is followed by shewa].” A bit later in the same discussion, Yekusiel’s characterization of those who fail to geminate sours a bit, proceeding from youth to boorishness. He notes that “for the letters *w, z, t, l, m, n, s, š, q, š*, the boors miss out on their dagesh, as we said, when shewa occurs under the letter with the dagesh” (Yekusiel 1395: [187b]).

### Mobile Shewa

The fate of mobile shewa in Ashkenazic, like so many of the issues touched upon, needs to be the object of a monograph. In the most formal style of reading by trained readers, mobile shewa will appear as a shewa vowel (locally [ə], [i], [I], [ɜ], etc.). In Popular Ashkenazic, however, historical mobile shewa underwent various fates. It was reduced to zero in phonetic environments where Yiddish tolerates consonant clusters, e.g., Northeastern Ashkenazic *krejvó* “close” < *qərōvó*, *gvul* “border” < *gəvúl*, *həlxó* “she went” < *həlaxó*. Contextual loss of mobile shewa may result in wholesale remake of the classical Tiberian CV(C) syllabic structure, e.g., the last cited example, where CV|CV|CV → CVC|CV. There is, however, conflicting evidence from Closed Syllable Shortening that some graphic shewas which classical Hebrew grammar regards as mobile were in fact silent long before Ashkenaz. Cf., e.g., Mideastern *sófrəm* “scribes,” *sónəm* “enemies” where the short vowel betrays a pre-Ashkenazic closed syllable. The Yiddish forms cannot derive from *šō | nə | řīm*, *sō | fə | rīm*.

Possibly as a hypercorrection introduced to combat shewa loss, and possibly as a normal sound shift buttressed by penultimate stress in popular renditions of Ashkenazic (and maybe even both), shewas that do survive have been known in many forms of Ashkenazic to be “exaggerated” to vowel 22, i.e., to merge with the local realization of *šere* (see, e.g., Emden 1745: 4a; Wessely 1827: 204). In many variants of Yiddish, in fact, the name of the shewa vowel has itself shifted to 22, e.g., (some) Mideastern Yiddish *šájvə*, (some) Southeastern, Northeastern *šéjvə*, both alongside expected *švu*, *švə* respectively (cf. אָשָׁו *šəvó*).

## Old East and Old West Ashkenaz

### *Two Kinds of Ashkenazim*

Ashkenaz, in its early history, comprised two culturally distinct groups. The most famous, in the Rhineland, was centered in the cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (collectively known as *Shum*, from the Hebrew acronym ש"מ). The second group lay further eastward on the banks of the Danube and the surrounding areas, centered in Regensburg, Rothenburg, Nuremberg, and also Prague. That is the area that was the Eastern Ashkenaz of those days. In later centuries, of course, it along with the Rhineland became the new Western Ashkenaz, in contradistinction to the later and modern Eastern Ashkenaz of the Slavonic and Baltic lands (see Katz 1987a: 54–55; 1990; 1991; 1992).

### *Two Distinct Languages*

The western communities, in the Rhineland, spoke a Germanic-based Jewish language that was not Yiddish, and used a liturgical form of Hebrew and Aramaic that was not at all like any known variety of Ashkenazic. Both the Semitic component of the Rhineland Jewish language and its speakers' pronunciations of Hebrew and Aramaic had a five-vowel system very much like the vocalism of Sephardic Hebrew, in which qameṣ and pathaḥ were merged as unitary *a*, ṣere and segol as unitary *e*, ḥolem and qameṣ qatan as unitary *o*, long and short hireq as unitary *i*, long and short shureq as *u*. This is betrayed in medieval manuscripts by massive promiscuous confounding of qameṣ with pathaḥ and ṣere with segol (see Katz 1987a: 56).

Moreover classical [ḥ], represented by the Hebrew letter ח (classical חית *ḥēθ*), had merged with [h] among the old Rhinelanders, rather than with [x] (cf. M. Weinreich 1958; Katz 1987a: 57; 1988a: 39–42; 1990b; 1991; 1992). In fact, this isogloss provided the names of the two groups. In Old Ashkenazic folklore, the westerners were known as בני חית *bnej hes* "Children of *hes*," i.e., "those who pronounce '*hes*' for ח," the easterners as בני חס *bnej xes* "those who pronounce '*xes*' for ח. The fictitious letter חית (*hes*) was coined to poke fun at the westerners. Westerners occasionally used the spelling חס to refer to the [x] pronunciation of the easterners. These names invoke a humorous reference to the biblical Children of Heth of Genesis 23 (see Katz 1991, 1992).

This shibboleth refers to the two groups in all sorts of legal, cultural, and folkloristic contexts. For example, in his responsa, the Maharil (acronym of Moyreynu Horav Yankev Haleyvi, also known as Mahari Segal; Yankev Segal; Mahari Molin; Yankev ben Moyshe Haleyvi Moellin/Mollin, ca. 1360–1427) notes a difference in custom concerning the *tfiln* (phylacteries) donned during weekday morning prayer. The question concerns the positioning of the box of the *tfiln shel yad* ("hand phylactery"), whether it should be placed with the *maabarto* (aperture at one end of the box through which the strap passes) at top or at bottom. The easterners positioned the box so that the end with the *maabarto* and strap are at bottom, closer to the hand. By contrast, the western tradition placed the side with the *maabarto* at the top, closer to the head (both descriptions assume the arm is at rest at one's side).

The Maharil put it this way:

*Tfiln shel yad: bnej estrajkh* ["the Children of Austria"] and all the regions of the *bnej hes* position the *maabarto* toward the hand; and we, the Children of the Rhine and all the *bnej hes*, position the *maabarto* toward the body, as with the head phylactery.  
(Maharil 1556: 6a)

Added to their five-vowel system and their *h* realization of ן, the Rhinelanders had a third major linguistic feature. Yekusiel of Prague noted that:

We also know that there are some Ashkenazim who pronounce ן [*hē?* = *h*] and ן [*hēθ* = *h*] as one and likewise ן [*śīn* = *ś*] and ן [*śīn* = *s*].  
(Yekusiel 1395: [189b])

In pointed Hebrew and Aramaic texts, ⟨װ⟩ marked by the diacritic to the left denotes an [s] rather than an [ś] pronunciation (the letter is known as *sin*, *śin smol*, or *der smol* in Yiddish). Transcribed [ś] by Semitists to distinguish it from *samekh* ⟨ׁ⟩, it was nevertheless merged with *samekh* long before the European period in Jewish history, and attempts to prove otherwise have not succeeded (see Faber 1982: 86). On the fate of Hebrew sibilants in medieval Europe, see Gumpertz (1942; 1953: 33–50), M. Weinreich (1973: 2:36–38, 4:51–55) and Faber (1982; 1987: 18).

By the early thirteenth century, then, it was known to Yekusiel of Prague that the subgroup of Ashkenazim who had merged [ħ] with [h], i.e., the *bnej hes*, had also merged [ś] and [s]. Unlike [ħ], which is limited to the Semitic component, [ś] and [s] are well represented in the Germanic component, and so in a stroke Yekusiel solves for us the old question of why a single grapheme, ⟨װ⟩, is used almost exclusively for both historical [ś] and [s] in old Yiddish texts (see, e.g., Shtif 1928: 143–46; Timm 1987: 272–73; Kerler 1988: 227–28).

### *Destinies of the Two Branches of Old Ashkenaz*

Both the vernacular of the early Rhineland Jews, and their Hebrew and Aramaic phonology, became extinct many centuries ago, although not without leaving traces in both Yiddish and Ashkenazic. The language of Danube Jewry—*Yiddish*—and its Hebrew and Aramaic phonology—*Ashkenazic*—spread to the four corners of Ashkenaz, and, via migration in recent centuries, to many parts of the world.

## Social and Contextual Dialects

### *Formal vs. Popular Ashkenazic*

Ashkenazic shares with natural languages social and contextual variation. Nearly all that variation can be measured on a scale extending from the pole of "Formal Ashkenazic" to a variety incorporating features of the coterritorial Semitic component in Yiddish, principally: Closed Syllable Shortening, Penultimate Stress Assignment, and Posttonic Reduction (see above). Varieties incorporating one or more of these Yiddish features may collectively be called "Popular Ashkenazic."

*The Ashkenazic Continuum*

One might a priori postulate that social prestige necessarily slips downward from Formal Ashkenazic to the forms processed by Closed Syllable Shortening, Penultimate Stress Assignment and Posttonic Reduction. One would be misguided. It all depends on what is being uttered, by whom, and in what context. As it happens, Popular Ashkenazic is used in the highest academic endeavours of Ashkenazic society, Talmud and Kabbalah, which are studied from unpointed texts. The same scholar who will read *dōm* "blood" in the Bible, or in reciting the ten plagues at Passover *seyder*, will use *dam*, with Closed Syllable Shortening, in Talmud study (cf. Tiberian *dōm*). On the other hand, in synagogue reading from the Pentateuch and weekly portions from the Prophets, Formal Ashkenazic would be the variety aspired to (with the advent of possible interference from varieties of Popular Ashkenazic, or, in other words, interference from the phonology of the vernacular). Use of Popular Ashkenazic in Torah reading might well be taken as a sign of ignorance and lack of education. Khayim ben Moyshe Lifshitz summed up the differential this way in his *Seyfer derekh khayim* ("Book of the Way of Life"):

A man should be careful to read with the Accents [i.e. the Tiberian stress marks] everything that is from the Torah, the Prophets and the Hagiographa [i.e. anything from the Hebrew Bible]; analogously, [a man should be careful to read] Mishna and Gemara [= the Talmud] with the [traditional] melody.

(Lifshitz 1703: 20b, no. 28.9)

Jacob Emden allowed rather more leeway:

One should be careful with *miley* ['penultimate stress'] and *milra* ['final stress'], for whom it is possible and knows these things. But for the man who did not acquire this habit in his youth, it is impossible to bother him with placing of the accents for this would trouble him so and make his speech weary, and his loss is greater than his reward.

(Emden 1745: 4a–4b)

Between the poles of Formal Ashkenazic for biblical readings in synagogue and Popular Ashkenazic for Talmud, Kabbalah, and an array of informal and semiformal uses of phrases and formulas, there is a huge middle ground with considerable variation. Much of that middle ground is occupied by the daily and festival liturgy, and by Torah study (as opposed to formal synagogue reading). The first two words of most blessings, classical *בְּרַךְ אֱתָהּ בְּרַךְ* *bōrūx ʔattō* "Blessed art Thou," and the first two words of the Bible, *בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא* *bərēšīθ bōrō* "In the beginning created," occur inter alia in variants illustrated in Table 4.12. Note the appearance of pretonic reduction (no. 2).

The complex phonological and sociological interplay of stress pattern and vowel reduction merits a monograph. The same Northeasterner, say, who might have *bərejšís bōrō* for Torah reading in synagogue, might utter *brejšís bōrō* when reading the text more rapidly at home, *bréjšís bōrō* in a more comfortable setting of study, and *bréjšəs bōrə* when citing the Hebrew passage in a Yiddish conversation. Like many generalizations, these can serve for orientation but cannot do justice to the complexity of real life. In one and the same genre, considerable sociolinguistic

Table 4.12. The Ashkenazic Continuum: Realizations of  
 בְּרִיךְ אֱתָהּ *bōrīx ʔattō* and בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרָא *bərēšīθ bōrō*

|  | Northeastern                                       | Mideastern                               |
|--|--|--|
| 1. <i>Formal Ashkenazic:</i>                         | <i>bōrīx atō</i><br><i>bərejšīs</i><br><i>bōrō</i> | <i>burīx atú</i><br><i>bərajšīs burú</i> |
| 2. <i>With Pretonic Reduction:</i>                   | <i>brīx atō</i><br><i>brejšīs bōrō</i>             | <i>brīx atú</i><br><i>brajšīs bərú</i>   |
| 3. <i>With Stress Shift:</i>                         | <i>bōrux átō</i><br><i>bréjšīs bōrō</i>            | <i>būrīx átú</i><br><i>brájšīs búru</i>  |
| 4. <i>With Stress Shift and Posttonic Reduction:</i> | <i>bōrəx átə</i><br><i>bréjšəs bōrə</i>            | <i>būrəx átə</i><br><i>brájšəs búrə</i>  |

variation can be observed. Appendix 1 provides two renditions of the first chapter of the Book of Esther (traditionally read twice in synagogue during the festival of Purim). The first approaches Formal Ashkenazic (with some incursions by Penultimate Stress Assignment). The second is in a variety of Popular Ashkenazic (with mixed stress patterns and several hypercorrections).

In some cases, a semantic distinction is supported by pronunciations taken from different rungs on the Ashkenazic continuum. The same Northeasterner, say, who might have *bəól(ə)mō* or *bəól(ə)mō* “in the world” in the hallowed kaddish prayer, will say *bəálmə* “generally,” “with no specific intention,” in equally hallowed Talmud study (cf. Tiberian *בְּעֵלְמָא בְּעֵלְמָא*). The sociophonological differentiation within Ashkenazic represents a treasure of research possibilities in the study of exotic forms of multilingualism.

### *Modern Standard Ashkenazic*

In the nineteenth and twentieth century, various versions of Standard Ashkenazic arose. The classic variety of standard literary Ashkenazic follows Standard Yiddish in its vowel system, characterized as “Northeastern Yiddish except that vowel 42/44 is realized *ɔj* as in the other Eastern Yiddish dialects, not *ej* as in Northeastern.” As it happens, Standard Ashkenazic adopts penultimate stress, but not, on the whole, posttonic reduction. It is in this variety that some of the greatest modern Hebrew poetry was written. Israeli literary scholars, while Sephardicizing the vowels (merging qameš and pathaḥ in *a*, šere and segol in *ε*, ḥolem and qameš qatan in *ɔ*), retain penultimate stress to preserve the rhythm of the poetry.

Standard Ashkenazic renditions of H. N. Bialik’s *Loy bayoyim veloy balaylo* (“Not by day and not by night,” Israeli Hebrew *Lo bayom velo balayla*) and of the original first verses of N. H. Imber’s *Hatikvah* appear in Appendix 2. With the final two lines rewritten after the author’s death, these verses became the Israeli national anthem. Note from these transcriptions that standard literary Ashkenazic does not spirantize across word boundaries (hence *lɔj bajɔjm*, not *lɔj vajɔjm*); it does not gen-

erally preserve pausal forms (*balájlɔ*, not *balǎjlɔ*); it often omits mobile shewa (*pǎjsrɔ*, not *pǎjsərɔ*).

A variant of standard Ashkenazic developed in the United States has *ōu* (or other local American reflexes of "long o" as in *home*) for *holem*. In the 1960s, it was used as the spoken language in the classroom for Jewish studies classes in New York City in a number of Hebrew day schools, including Etz Chaim, Rambam and RJJ (Rabbi Jacob Joseph Yeshiva). The *ōu* for *holem* came to signify a Hebrew-speaking, Orthodox, pro-Zionist, Ashkenazic social setting. It was to the cultural "left" of those (Hasidim and "yeshiva circles") using the East European *ɔj*. Ashkenazic in the British Isles similarly uses local reflexes of *ou* (as in *home*), or in circles consisting now mainly of older people *au* ("ou" as in *round*), for *holem*, variants possibly derived from older German Jewish practice. London Yiddish *ɔ* for historical *a* (*šǎbəs* for *šábəs*) seems not to have made many inroads into local Ashkenazic (which usually has expected *šabǎs* or *šábəs*). Here again, as throughout the field of Ashkenazic studies, rewarding fieldwork awaits the researcher.

### Epilogue

Sadly, the prejudices and misconceptions concerning Ashkenazic have, as is so often the case, affected scholars as much as others. Of necessity, much of twenty-first century Hebrew historical linguistics will concentrate on the Ashkenazic Hebrew and the Ashkenazic Aramaic that the twentieth century failed to study in depth. There are still many Ashkenazim born before World War II who use exotic and uncharted forms of Ashkenazic, and a rapidly dwindling few born before the First World War. There is still time to capture this invaluable linguistic data and still time to conserve this great Hebrew and Aramaic heritage, one of the most splendid and creative in the history of those languages.

### Appendix 1. Two Versions of *Esther*, Chapter 1 in Varieties of Mideastern Ashkenazic

NOTE: These transcriptions aim at phonemic accuracy. In view of both informants' chanting the text according to traditional Ashkenazic musical realizations of the Tiberian stress marks (which double as musical notes), there are instances where it is difficult to distinguish lexical from musical stress. Some ambiguities also arise concerning vowel length amongst the high vowels, *ī/i* and *ū/u*. In the transcription that follows, *ī* and *ī̄* are distinguished because they are distinguished in the native Yiddish of the readers. Longer and shorter renditions of /u/, on the other hand, are strictly contextual variants in both Mideastern Yiddish and Ashkenazic, and are not distinguished in the transcription. Realization of /u/ is longest in stressed open syllables.

Informants' texts are retained intact, even where they diverge from the accepted standard versions.

A: As chanted in synagogue, in London, on Purim of 1984 by Mr. Shimen Mandel, born 1951 in Antwerp. Mr. Mandel is a member of the Belz Hasidic community whose parents were born between 1925 and 1930 in central Galicia between Lancut and Belz.

- 1: vajəhí bimáj axašvajrójš hí axašvajrójš haməjlájx  
majhójdi vəád kíš šéjva vəesrím imájv mədínú:
- 2: bajumím huhájv kəšéjves haméjlex axašvajrójš al  
kisáj malxisój ašér bəšišán habirú:
- 3: bišnas šulójš ləməlxój usú mištéj ləxól surón  
vaavudón xajl purás imudáj hapartəmím vəsuráj  
hamədínójs ləfunón:
- 4: bəharəjsój es ójšer kəvójv malxisój vəés jəkór  
tiféjres gədilusój jumím rabím šməjním iməás jójm:
- 5: ivimləjójš hajumím huájle usu haméjlex ləxól  
huóm hanimceím bəšišán habirú ləmigudójv vəád kutón  
mištéj šivás jumím baxacár gínas bísan haméjlex:
- 6: xír karpás isxájles uxíz bəxavláj bic vəargumón al  
gəliláj xéjsef vəamídaj šájš mītójs zuhón vuxéjsef al  
ricpas báhat vūšájš vədár vəəjxúres:
- 7: vəhaškójs bixláj zuhón vəxájlím mikájlím šójnim  
vəjájín malxís rón kəjád haméjlex:
- 8: vəhaššíju xadós ájn əjnájš kí xajv jisád haméjlex  
al kol rav bajsój laasójs kírcójn iš vuiš:
- 9: gam vaští hamalkú əsəsú mištáj nuším bajs  
hamalxís ašér laméjlex axašvajrójš:
- 10: bajójv hašví kətójv lajv haméjlex bajójín umár  
liməhímən bízəsú xarvójnu bígsu vaavagsú zajsár  
vəxarkás šivás hasurísím haməšəreším es pənáj  
haméjlex axašvajrójš:
- 11: ləhuví es vaští hamalkú lifnáj haméjlex bəxéjser  
málxís ləharójs huámím vəhasúrim es jəfjój kí tojvás  
márej hí:
- 12: vatəmuájv hamalkú vaští luvój bidvár haméjlex  
ašér bəjád hasurísím vajikəjv haméjlex məójv  
vaxamusój buárú vəj:
- 13: vajójmər haméjlex laxaxumím jəjdáj huitím kí  
xajv dvar haméjlex lifnáj kol jəjdaj dəs vudín:
- 14: vəhakurójv ajlón karšənú šajsór admúsu saršíš  
mėjres mársənu məmíxən šivás suráj purás imudáj  
rəjáj  
pənáj haméjlex hajójšvim ríšəjnu bamálxís:
- 15: kədós ma laasójs bamalkú vaští al ašér ləj əsəsú es  
maamár haméjlex axašvajrójš bəjád hasurísím:



16: vajójmer məmíxón lifnáj haméjlex vəhasurím ləj  
al haméjlex ləvədəj əvsú vaští hamalkú kī al kəl  
hasurím vəál kəl huamím ašér bəxól mədīnójs haméjlex  
axašvájrojs:

17: kī jajcáj dvar hamalkú al kəl hanuším ləhavzój  
baalajhén bəajnajhén bəəm්රóm haméjlex axašvájrojs  
umár ləhuví es vaští hamalkú ləfunón vəlój vúu:

18: vəhajójm hazéj tojmárnū surójs purás imudáj ašér  
šumí es dvar hamalkú ləxól suráj haméjlex ixədəj  
bizójjn vukúcof:

19: im al haméjlex tojv jajcáj dvar málxis mīlfunón  
vəjikusájv bəduśáj purás imudáj vəlój jaavójr ašér ləj  
suvój vaští lifnáj haméjlex axašvájrojs imalxísó jitájv  
haméjlex lirísó hatójvu miménu:

20: vəniśmá piśgóm haméjlex ašér jaaséj bəxól  
malxísój kī rabú hī vəxól hanuším jitní jəkór  
ləbaalajhén ləmigudójl vəád kutón:

21: vajítav haduvór bəajnáj haméjlex vəhasurím  
vajáas haméjlex kidvár məmíxón:

22: vajiślax səfurím el kəl mədīnójs haméjlex el  
mədīnú imədīnú kixsuvó vəél am vuóm kilšójnój lihijój  
kəl iš səjrájv bəvajsój imədabájv kilšójn amój:

B: As chanted at home, in London, by Majer Bogdanski, born 1912 in Piotrkow, Poland (Yiddish *Pyeterkov*), as per his memory of Piotrkow practice in his youth.

1: vajəhí bimáj axašvájrojs hí axašvájrojs hamójlajx  
majhódí vəád kiš šéjva vəesrím imajú mədīnú:

2: bəjumím huhájv kašéjves haméjlex axašvájrojs al  
kisáj malxísój ašér bəšíšan habíru:

3: biśnás šulójš ləməlxój úsu míšte ləxól súrəv  
vaavúdəv xajl purás imudáj hapártəmim vəsúraj  
hamədīnójs ləfúnəv:

4: bəharəjsój es ójšer kəvójd malxísój vəés jəkór  
tiféjres gədilúsój júmim rábim šmójnim iməás  
jojm:

5: ivimlójjs hajúmim huajléj úsu haméjlex ləxól  
huóm hanímceim bəšíšan habíru ləmigúdjv vəád kútəv  
míštej šívas júmim báxcar gínas bítan hamejlex:

6: xír karpás isxájles úxiz bəxávlaj vic vəərgúmim al  
gəlílaj kéjsef vəamídaj šájíš mátojs zúhəv vəxéjsef al  
rícpas bahát vūšájš vədár vəsəjxúres:

7: vəhaškójs bixláj zúhəv vəxájlim mikájlim šójnim  
vəjájv malxís rav kəjád haméjlex:

- 8: vøhaššiju kadós ajn ojnájs kī xajn jisád haméjlex  
al køl rav bájsøj láasøjs kírcøjn iš vuiš:
- 9: gam vásti hamálku ósøsu mištéj núšim bøbájs  
mélex ášer laméjlex axašvájrošj:
- 10: bajójm hašvīi kətøjv lajv haméjlex bajójin umár  
limøhímøn bízøsu xarvøjnu bígsu vaavágsu zájsar  
vøxárkas šivas hasurīsim hamšørsim es pnáj haméjlex  
axašvájrošj:
- 11: løhúvī es vásti hamalkú iifnáj haméjlex bøxéjsø  
málxis løharøjs huámim vøhasúrim es jøfjīø kī tøjvas  
maréj hī:
- 12: vatmuájv hamálku vaštī luvøj bidvár haméjlex  
ašer bøjád hasurīsim vajíkøjv haméjlex møøjd  
vaxmúsoj buáru bøj:
- 13: vajøjmer haméjlex laxaxúmim jøjðaj huítim kī  
xajn døvar haméjlex lífnaj køl jøjðaj das vudín:
- 14: vøhakurøjv ajløn káršønu šájsøø admúsu táršiš  
méjres mársønu mømīxøn šivas súraj púras imúðaj  
røjaj  
pønáj haméjlex hajøjšvim rīšøjnu bamalxis:
- 15: kədós ma lasøjs bamalkú vaštī al ašer løj ósøsu es  
maamár haméjlex axašvájrošj bøjád hasurīsim:
- 16: vajøjmer mømīxøn lífnaj haméjlex vøhasúrim løj  
al haméjlex løvádøj øvzøsu vásti hamálku kī al køl  
hasúrim vøál køl huámim ašer bøxøl mæðínojs haméjlex  
axašvájrošj:
- 17: kī jájcaj døvár hamalkú al køl hanúšim løhávzojs  
baalájhen bøjnájhen bøømrøø haméjlex axašvájrošj  
úmar løhúvi es vásti hamálku løfúnøv vøløj vúu:
- 18: vøhajøjm hazéj tøjmarnú súros púras imudā ašer  
šømi es døvar hamálku løxøjl súraj haméjlex ixðáj  
bizújøjn vukúcev:
- 19: im al haméjlex tøjv jájcaj døvár málxis milfúnøv  
vøjikúsajv bødúsaj purás imudā vøløj jáavøjr ašer løj  
túvoj vásti lífnáj haméjlex axašvájrošj umalxisø jítájv  
haméjlex lírusó hatøjvu mimenú:
- 20: venišma pišgøm haméjlex ášer jáase bøxøl  
malxisøj kī rabú hī vøxøl hanúšim jífni jøkør  
løbaalájhen læmigudøjl vøád kutøn:
- 21: vajítav hadúvøø bøjnáj hamájlex vøhasurím  
vajáas haméjlex kidvár mømīxøn:
- 22: vøjíšlax søfúrim el køl mæðínojs haméjlex el  
mæðínu vimðínu kixsúvø vøél am vuóm kilšøjnoj lihijøjs  
køl iš søjrajv bøbájsøj imðabájv kilšøjv amøj:

## Appendix 2. Two Modern Hebrew Poems in Standard Ashkenazic

Sung by Menke Katz (b. Svintsyau, Lithuania 1906) in Spring Glen, New York, 8 October 1990, as remembered from New York in the 1920s. The informant's text is retained intact. Note that in *Hatikvah* (text 2), adaptation of the words to its Bohemian melody results in most of the final words in each line being ultimately stressed, contrasting with the penultimate stress of the rest. The troche-iamb pattern of each line is a characteristic feature of the song.

### 1. Bialik's *Loy bayoyim veloy balaylo*

loj bajóym veloj balájlo  
 xereš éjcej li atájlo  
 loj bohór vələj babíko  
 šito ójmdo šom atíko  
 vəhašito pójstro xídəjs  
 umagídə hi asídəjs  
 es hašito éšal óni  
 mi vəmí jehéj xasóni  
 umejájim jónəj šito  
 hamipójlin əj milíto  
 habmerkónə jáavəjr švíloj  
 im bəmákləj uvtarmíloj  
 uma jóvi li šilúmim  
 xaruzej pńnim im algúmim  
 uma to්රəj cax im šəxəjr  
 almən hu im ójdəj bóxur  
 šemə zókejn šito tójvə  
 əz loj éšma əz loj ójve  
 óymar ləóvi hamiséjmi  
 uvjad zókejn al titnéjmi  
 lərágləv épəjl vəšókejn  
 ax loj zókejn ax loj zókejn.

### 2. Imber's *Hatikvah* (First Stanza and Refrain)

kəl əjd baléjvəv pnimó  
 néfeš jehúdi həjmió  
 ulfaásej mízrox kədimó  
 ájin ləcíojn cəjfió  
 əjd loj óvdo tikvəséjnu  
 hatíkvo hanəjšónə  
 lóšuv ləérec avəjséjnu  
 ləir bo dóvid xənó

## References

- ALTBAUER, M. "Mekhhkar hamasoret haivrit haashkenazit vezikato ladialektologia shel ha-yidish." In *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies. Papers*, Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies. 2:455, 1968.
- . "Yesodot shel ivrit ashkenazit betaatik kirili mehamakhatsit harishona shel hamea hashesh-esre." In Werses et al. 1977: 55–65.
- ASSAF, SIMCHA. *Mekorot letoledot hakhinukh beyisrael (mitekhilat yemey habenayim ad tekufat hahaskala)*. Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1954.
- BAUER, HANS, AND PONTUS LEANDER. *Historische Grammatik der hebräischen Sprache des alten Testaments*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1922.
- BEN-DAVID, ABBA. "Minayin hakhaluka litenuot gedolot uketanot?" *Leshonenu* 22 (1958): 7–35, 110–36.
- BESCH, W., U. KNOOP, W. PUTSCHKE, AND H. E. WIEGAND, eds. *Dialektologie. Ein Handbuch zur deutschen und allgemeinen Dialektforschung*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1983.
- BIBLIOPHILUS. *Jüdischer Sprach-Meister oder Hebräisch-Teutsches Wörter-Buch*. Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1742.
- BIKL, SHLOYME, AND LEYBUSH LEHRER, eds. *Shmuel Niger bukh*. New York: Yivo, 1958.
- BIN-NUN, JECHIEL. *Jiddisch und die deutschen Mundarten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des ostgalizischen Jiddisch*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1973.
- BIRNBAUM, SHLOYME [SALOMO/SOLOMON A.]. "Di historye fun di alte u-klangen in yidish." *Yivo bleter* 6 (1934): 25–60.
- BIRNHAK, EFRAYIM. *Seyfer alef beys*. Brooklyn, NY: Sefer Lanoar, 1976.
- BROSI, JOHANNES. "Southwestern Yiddish. A Study in Dialectology, Folklore and Literature." M. Litt. thesis: Oxford University, 1990.
- BRUGMANS, HK. AND A. FRANK, eds. *Geschiedenis der joden in Nederland, eerste deel (tot circa 1795)*. Amsterdam: Van Holkema & Warendorf N.V., 1940.
- CATALÁN, DIEGO, ed. *Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet. Estructuralismo e historia*. 2. La Laguna: Universidad de La Laguna, 1958.
- CHOMSKY, WILLIAM. *Hebrew: The Eternal Language*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1957.
- COHEN, B. "Die Aussprachegruppen der heutigen Judenheit." In *Jeschurun. Monatsschrift für Lehre und Leben im Judentum* 10 (1923): 56–75.
- DAWIDOWICZ, LUCY S., ALEXANDER ERLICH, et al. (Organizing Committee) *For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday. Studies in Jewish Languages, Literature, and Society*. The Hague: Mouton, 1964.
- ELDAR, ILAN. *Masoret hakeria hakedam-ashkenazit. Mahuta vehayesodot hameshutafim la ulemasoret sefarad*. Vol. 1. *Inyaney hagaya venikud* [= *Eda velashon. Pirsumey mifal mesorot halashon shel edot yisrael*, ed. Sh. Morag, 4]. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1978.
- ELYE BOKHER. *Seyfer masoyres hamasoyres*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1538.
- EMBER, AARON. "Pronunciation of Hebrew among the Russian Jews." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 19 (1903): 233–34.
- EMDEN, JACOB. *Polotin beys eyl hooymeyd al shivo amudey shomayim. Venikro gam oyr shivas hayomim*. Altona: 1745.
- . *Seyfer moyr uktsio*, 1. Altona, Author, 1761.
- FABER, ALICE. "Early Medieval Hebrew Sibilants in the Rhineland, South Central and Eastern Europe." *Hebrew Annual Review* 6 (1982): 81–96.
- . "A Tangled Web: Whole Hebrew and Ashkenazic Origins." In Katz 1987b: 15–22.
- FISHMAN, JOSHUA A., ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985.

- FRIED, CHAIM. *Seyfer alef bino*. Brooklyn, NY: Yeshivah Toldoth Jacob Joseph, 1983
- FRIEDRICH, CARL WILHELM. *Unterricht in der Judensprache und Schrift. zum Gebrauch für Gelehrte und Ungelehrte*. Prenzlau: Chr. Gottf. Ragoczy, 1784
- GUGGENHEIM-GRÜNBERG, FLORENCE. *Jiddish auf alemannischem Sprachgebiet. 56 Karten zur Sprach- und Sachgeographie*. Zurich: Juris, 1973
- GUMPERTZ, Y. F. "Hashin, tiltuleha vegilguleha." *Tarbiz* 13 (1942): 107-15.
- . *Mivtaey sefatenu. Studies in Historical Phonetics of the Hebrew Language*. Jerusalem: Mosad Harav Kook, 1953
- . "Shaar hametigot lerabi Yahabi." *Leshonenu* 22 (1957): 36-47.
- HERZOG, MARVIN I. *The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland. Its Geography and History*. Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore, and Linguistics, publication 37 (*International Journal of American Linguistics*, 31.2). The Hague: Indiana University & Mouton, 1965
- HIRSCHEL, L. "Cultuur en volksleven." In Brugmans and Frank 1940: 454-97.
- IDELSOHN, A. Z. "Die gegenwärtige Aussprache des Hebräischen bei Juden und Samaritanern." *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* n.s. 21 (1913): 527-45, 697-721.
- KATZ, DOVID. "First Steps in the Reconstruction of the Proto Vocalism of the Semitic Component in Yiddish." Unpublished paper placed before the Seminar in Yiddish Studies, Department of Linguistics, Columbia University, 1977
- . "Der semitisher kheylek in yidish. A yerushe fun kadmoynim. Metodn un meglekhkaytn." Unpublished paper placed before the First International Conference on Research in Yiddish Language and Literature at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies. Oxford, 6-9 August, 1979 [Hebrew version = Katz 1986].
- . "Reconstruction of the Stress System in the Semitic Component of Yiddish." John Marshall Prize essay (unpublished). University College London, 1980.
- . "*Explorations in the History of the Semitic Component in Yiddish*." Ph.D. diss. University of London, 1982.
- . "Yidish in tsvelftn un draytsetn yorhundert: evidents fun hebreyishe un aramische ksavyadn." Unpublished paper placed before the Second International Conference on Research in Yiddish Language and Literature at the Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew studies, Oxford, 10-15 July, 1983. (1983a)
- . "Dialektologie des Jiddischen." In Besch et al. 1983: 1018-41. (1983) (1983b)
- . "Hebrew, Aramaic and the Rise of Yiddish." In Fishman 1985: 85-103.
- . "Hayesod hashemi beyidish: yerusha mimey kedem." *Hasifrut* n.s. 10.3/4 (35-36) (1986): 228-51.
- . "The Proto Dialectology of Ashkenaz." In Katz 1987b: 47-60. (1987a)
- . Ed. *Origins of the Yiddish Language. Papers from the First Annual Oxford Winter Symposium in Yiddish Language and Literature, 15-17 December 1985* (= Winter Studies in Yiddish). Oxford: Pergamon, 1987. (1987b)
- . "Origins of Yiddish Dialectology." In Katz 1988b: 39-55. (1988a)
- . Ed. *Dialects of the Yiddish Language. Papers from the Second Annual Oxford Winter Symposium in Yiddish Language and Literature, 14-16 December 1986* (= Winter Studies in Yiddish, 2 Oxford: Pergamon, 1988 (1988b)
- . "Proto Language Theory and the Case of Yiddish." Unpublished paper placed before the Seminar in Linguistics and Philology, University of Oxford, May 1988. (1988c)
- . "Di eltere yidishe leksikografye: Mekoyres un metodn." *Oksforder yidish* 1 (1990): 161-232. (1990a)
- . "The children of Heth and the Ego of linguistics. A story of seven Yiddish mergers" *Transactions of the Philological Society* 89.1 (1991), pp. 95-121.

- . "East and West, Khes and Shin, and the Origin of Yiddish." in *Keminhag ashkenaz u-polin, Festschrift for Chone Shmeruk*. Ed. C. Turniansky et al. Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Centre, 1992
- KERLER, DOV-BER. "The Eighteenth Century Origins of Modern Literary Yiddish." D. Phil. diss. Oxford University. (In press, Oxford University Press), 1988
- KIMCHI, DAVID. *Sefer mikhlol*. Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1545
- KIMCHI, MOSHE. *Mahalakh shevile hadaat*. Pesaro: [1509–1518]
- KLAR, B. "Letoledot hamivta bimey habenayim." *Leshonenu* 17 (1951): 72–75.
- LEBENSOHN, ADAM [AVROM DOV-BER MIKHALISHKER] HAKOYHEYEN BEN KHAYIM. "Yisroyn leodom." Subtextual commentary in Yehudo Leyb Ben-Zeeyv, *Seyfer talmud loshoyn ivri*. Vilna: Romm, 1874
- LEIBEL, DANIEL. "On Ashkenazic Stress." In U. Weinreich 1965b: 63–72.
- LEVUSH [MORDEKHAY YAFE]. *Levush ho'oyro*. Prague, 1603
- LIFSHITZ, KHAYIM BEN MOYSHE. *Seyfer derekh khayim*. Sulzbach: Aharon ben Uri Lipman, 1703
- MAHARAL OF PRAGUE [YUDO LEYB BEN BETSALEL]. *Seyfer tiferes yisroel*. Venice: Daniel Zanetti, 1599
- MAHARIL (YANKEV MOLIN/MÖLIN). *Seyfer sheeloys utshuvoys khibrom hagooyen hamuflog reysh gluso moyreynu horav rav Yaakoyn Segal tehey nishmosoy tsuro bitsroyr hakhayim omeyn keyn yehi rotsoyn*. Cremona: Vincenzo Conti, 1556
- MORAG, SHELOMO. "Pronunciations of Hebrew." In *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 13 (1971): 1120–45. Jerusalem and New York: Keter & Macmillan.
- NIGER, SH., ed. *Der pinkes. Yorbukh far der geshikhte fun der yidisher literatur un shprakh, far folklor, kritik un biblyografye*. Vol. 1 [No more published]. Vilna: B. A. Kletskin, 1913
- NOBLE, SHLOYME. "Yidish in a hebreyishn levush." In Bikl and Lehrer 1958: 158–75.
- PHILIPP, K. *Lachoudisch, Geheimsprache Schopflochs*. Dinkelsbühl: C. W. Weng KG, 1983
- REIF, STEFAN C. *Shabbethai Sofer and His Prayer-book*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.
- REUCHLIN, JOHANN. *De rudimentis Hebraicis*. Pforzheim: Thom. Anselm, 1506
- SCHREINER, MARTIN. "Zur Geschichte der Aussprache des Hebräischen." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 6 (1886): 213–59.
- SEGAL, MOSHE TSVI. *Yesodey hafonetika haivrit. Khakira bahibaron haivri vetoledotav*. Jerusalem: J. Junovitch, 1928. (1928a)
- . "Letoledot hamivta shel hakamats." *Leshonenu* 1 (1928): 33–39. 1928b
- SHTIF, NOKHEM. "Mikhael Adams dray yidishe bikher." *Filologishe shriftn* 2 (1928): 135–68.
- SHY, HADASSAH. "Reshtlakh fun yidish in shopflok." *Oksforder yidish* 1 (1990): 333–55.
- STENCL, AVROM-NOKHEM. Taped interview, Whitechapel, 10 November, 1978
- TIMM, ERIKA. *Graphische und phonische Struktur des Westjiddischen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zeit um 1600*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1987
- TSHEMERINSKI, KH. "Di yidishe fonetik." In Sh. Niger 1913: 47–71.
- VEYNGER, M. "Hebreyishe klangen in der yidisher shprakh." In Sh. Niger 1913: 79–84.
- . *Yidishe dyalektologie*. Minsk: Vaysrusisher melukhe-farlag, 1929.
- WEINREICH, MAX "Prehistory and Early History of Yiddish: Facts and Conceptual Framework." In U. Weinreich 1954: 73–101.
- . "Bney hes un bney khes in ashkenaz: di problem un vos zi lozt undz hern." In Bikl and Lehrer 1958: 101–23.
- . "Di sistem yidishe kadmen-vokaln." *Yidishe shprakh* 20 (1960): 65–71.
- . "Reshit hahavara haashkenazit bezikata lebeayot kerovot shel hayidish veshel haivrit haashkenazit." *Leshonenu* 27–28 (1963–64): 131–47, 230–51, 318–39.

- . *Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh. Bagrifn, faktn, metodn.* 4 vols. New York: Yivo, 1973.
- WEINREICH, URIEL. "Sábediker losn in Yiddish: a Problem of Linguistic Affinity." *Word* 8 (1952): 360–77.
- . Ed. *The Field of Yiddish. Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore, and Literature* 1. *Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York*, 3. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, Columbia University, 1954.
- . "A Retrograde Sound Shift in the Guise of a Survival." In *Catalán* 1958: 221–67.
- . "Haivrit haashkenazit vehaivrit shebeyidish. Bekhinatan hageografit." *Leshonenu* 24 (1959): 242–52, 25 (1960–61): 57–80, 180–96. Republished in book form as U. Weinreich 1965a.
- . "Western Traits in Transcarpathian Yiddish." In Dawidowicz et al. 1964: 245–64.
- . *Haivrit haashkenazit vehaivrit shebeyidish. Bekhinatan hageografit.* Jerusalem: 1965. (1965a).
- . Ed. *The Field of Yiddish. Studies in Language, Folklore, and Literature. Second Collection.* The Hague: Mouton, 1965. (1965b).
- WERSES, SHMUEL, NATAN ROTENSTREICH, and CHONE SHMERUK, eds. *Sefer Dov Sadan*, Tel Aviv: Hakibuts hameukhad, 1977.
- WESSELY, NAPHTALI HARTWIG [VIZL, NAFTOLI HIRTS]. *Mikhtovim shoynim* and [in Latin type] *Michtowim*. Vienna: Anton Edlen v. Schmid, 1827.
- YALON, H. "Sheviley mivtaim." *Kuntresim leinyaney halashon haivrit* 1 (1937–1938): 62–78.
- . "Hagiya sefaradit betsarefat hatsefonit bedoro shel Rashi uvedorot sheleakharav." *Inyaney lashon* 1 (1942): 16–31.
- YEKHEL-MIKHL EPSHTEYN. *Seyder tfilo derekh yeshoro*. Frankfurt: 1697.
- . *Seyder tfilo derekh yeshoro*. Frankfurt: Johann Kellner, 1714.
- YEKUSIEL HAKOYHEYN BEN YEHUDO. MS British Library Add. 19,776 [= Margoliouth 1899: no. 80]. (1395)
- ZIMMELS, H. J. *Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Their Relations, Differences, and Problems as Reflected in the Rabbinical Responsa.* London: Oxford University Press, 1958
- ZUNZ, [LEOPOLD]. *Zur Geschichte und Literatur*, I. Berlin: Veit und Comp, 1845

### Acknowledgments

In preparing this paper, I was generously assisted by the following, none of whom bear responsibility for the contents: Marion Aptroot (Queen Mary and Westfield College, London), Joseph Bar-El (Bar-Ilan University), Majer Bogdanski (London), David Djanogly (London), Lewis Glinert (School of Oriental and African Studies, London), Shmuel Hiley (London), Brad Sabin Hill (British Library, London), Richard Judd (Bodleian Library, Oxford), Dov-Ber Kerler (Oxford Centre for Postgraduate Hebrew Studies), Israel Dov Lerner (Board of Jewish Education, New York), the late I. A. Lisky (London), George Mandel (OCPHS), David Patterson (OCPHS), S. S. Praver (Queen's College, Oxford), Moyshe-Nosn Rosenfeld (London), Jerry Schwarzbard (Jewish Theological Seminary of America), Nick Thomas (Oxford), Jonathan Webber (OCPHS), Marie Wright (OCPHS), Herbert Zafren (Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati).



be regarded as the conceptual coexistence of all dialect realizations of a single historical vowel (i.e., one occurring consistently in the same positions in the same words).

The sixteen diaphonemes are assigned numbers, facilitating discussion of any historical vowel or group of vowels (see Herzog 1965: 228 n. 1; Katz 1983b: 1021–24). The first digit represents the broad proto-quality posited by Max Weinreich, according to the code 1 = *a*, 2 = *e*, 3 = *i*, 4 = *o* and 5 = *u*. The second is a code for historical status, by which series 1 = short, series 2 = long, series 3 = short subject to early lengthening, and series 4 = diphthong. Series 1 and 2 have five vowels each, series 3 has two vowels, and series 4 has four vowels, making for a total of sixteen historical vowels. In any given variety of Yiddish, splits and new acquisitions from neighbouring languages increase the number, while mergers decrease it. The “magic number sixteen” is a unit of comparative Yiddish linguistics, and irrelevant to the synchronic analysis of any single dialect.

For example, Yiddish dialectologists may discuss notions such as “Northeastern Yiddish *ej*<sub>22/24/42/44</sub>,” a formulation encompassing a mass of ideas and information, including “the Northeastern Yiddish synchronic vowel phenome /*ej*/ which represents a merger of protovowels \**ē*, \**ej*, \**ō*, and \**ou*”; or, perhaps, “the Northeastern *ej* cognate with Northwestern *ej*, *a*, or *ou*”; or “the Northeastern vowel usually corresponding to classical Hebrew *šere* or *holem* and to Middle High German *ê*, *ei*, *ô*, or *ou*”; or any number of other potential statements of correspondence. Circularity is averted by the firm anchorage of each vowel number to an empirically real set of consistently corresponding realizations, in the same lexical items, amply documented in the dialects of the modern language.

It is not necessary to accept Max Weinreich’s or anybody else’s proposed phonetic protovalues to use the system. Vowel 12, for example, *exists*, in thousands of lexical items, and one can still refer to it as “vowel 12” even if one disagrees, as I do, with Max Weinreich’s reconstruction of the *a* quality which provides the first digit of “12” (I opt for open *ə*, and thanks to the numbering system, historical interrelationships can be constructively discussed independently of any one phonetic reconstruction).

Two vowels in the system are not protovowels. They are the two Series 3 vowels (anomalously comprising 13 and 25, see Katz 1983b: 1024). They derive from 11 and 21, subjected to a lengthening that occurred very early in the history of the language, and one that has had repercussions throughout the phonological history of the language. For these reasons, they are included among the diaphonemes. A stricter protolanguage construction would eliminate them and regard 13 and 25 as the results of the splits effected by Open Syllable Lengthening on 11 and 21, respectively (see below for examples).

Table 4.1 provides an illustrative corpus of three items each from the Germanic component (GC) and Semitic component (SC) of Yiddish, except for those vowels which are usually exclusively Germanic (e.g., 24/44) or where fusions with Semitic component words are restricted to only portions of the Yiddish territory (see below). Major dialect reflexes of each vowel are provided, but for brevity illustrative words appear in their Standard Yiddish (StY) form.