

SOVIET YIDDISH

By S. A. Birnbaum

When I accepted the Editor's invitation to write about the Yiddish language in the Soviet Union I realised that I would not be able to do more than to offer a few observations about certain points in today's written language. I have used as my source some issues of two Soviet publications, the monthly Soviétis Hainland and the daily Birobidzhaner Emes, both from ^{1974 and} 1975.*

They are printed in the Hebrew alphabet.

But is that not a matter of course? Yiddish, like the other Jewish languages, is written in Hebrew characters. However, when we come to think of it, the retention of the Hebrew alphabet was not really in keeping with the radical ideas of the Jewish Bolsheviks. Why then did they do it? Was it because they thought it would be too much to expect a people of millions - most of whom were still traditionally religious and therefore naturally averse to such an attack on tradition - to switch alphabets suddenly? Or was there perhaps still something in their composition to prevent them ^{from} abandoning the alphabet they had grown up with? Although they witnessed the state-enforced abolition of the Arabic alphabet in the Islamic languages of the Soviet Union, neither the Yiddish linguists nor the leaders of the Jewish section of the Party, or, for that matter, the Soviet authorities, seem ever to have attempted to do the same to Yiddish.

The transcription system employed for the examples given here is based on the pronunciation of the three-quarter majority of all Yiddish-speakers, i.e., those who lived in Poland, the Ukraine, Rumania,
* It is, of course, possible that some of the examples quoted in the following pages have been used in our material for the first and last time. However, they would be characteristic for the kind of language they represent.

** c as ts in 'gets'; č as tch in 'catch'; i as i in 'mill';
j as i in 'mill'; š as sh 'sh'; x as ch in Scottish
'loch'; y as e in 'e' 'beyond'; ž as s in 'pleasure'.

and eastern Hungary, or who originated there.

The characteristics described in this article are not all restricted to Soviet Yiddish. Many are to be met with elsewhere too in the modern literary language. No research as to the extent and nature of the difference between the Yiddish of the free world and that beyond the Iron Curtain has yet come to my notice.

Grammar. In the journal Soviétis Haimland there is a feature, under a Russian heading, where a page or so of Yiddish grammatical material for learners is provided. Each word is translated into Russian. As this journal is intended for an intelligent and educated public it is to be assumed that some, at least, of the readers do not know Yiddish very well but are interested in improving their knowledge.

Gender. Certain of the words in our material are used with either the masculine or the neuter gender: dus der kol - dus kol. This is to be explained by the dialectal origins of the different writers: The Southerners use the original neuter gender, the Northerners have lost and replaced it by the masculine. Examples of such neuter nouns occurring here are: dus, ort, moul, faaier, léibn. Examples of feminines are: di sal, ſaan, liid, gluuz, ſif, ſiſtem, program; in addition, all nouns having the suffixes kait, is, e.g., méxtikait, giexkait, bagéigynis, hiſtadlys, raxvys, are feminines. Examples of masculine nouns are: der dor, czint, ainc. We can sometimes tell the gender the writer had in mind if the noun happens to have ~~a~~ an adjectival attribute. This remains uninflected in all of the grammatical cases when the noun is of neuter gender and is provided with the indefinite article: mit a ſmuil moul, a ziis léibn. If we were to find the forms ſmuil and ziiser ſmuil ~~ziiser ſmuil~~ we would know that in the writer's dialect the two nouns were masculine and that he was a Northerner.

Plural. In our material nouns having the suffix er remain unchanged in the plural: di arbyter, basicer. Words ending in or have the plural suffix /s/, e.g., sénégrator. Words like éggamyn have the ending ys, e.g., éggamynys. A frequent plural ending is /n/: puur-folkn 'married couples'

Variants. The phonological differences between the Yiddish dialects are not discernible in the written language because these differences run, as it were, on parallel lines: the /u/ and the /ou/ in the one dialect are, respectively, always /o/ and /oi/ in the other, etc. As the spelling of Yiddish is basically older than the dialects, the speakers of each of the dialects will read the written language in

his or her own way. Thus the orthography of Yiddish might be said to be interdialectal. Still, there are exceptions. Then the differences are apparent in the written language. In our material we have, for instance: daxtn/dúxtn, gyboiern/gybuurn, farsiidn/farśaidn, gysrign/gysriyn, zaant/zaat. In some cases where we know that variants exist we might meet with only one form in our material: (gykrgn (gykrogn), loixtn (laaxtn), ramyn/roumyn, rysuurn (rysoiern) etc. The explanation is probably quite simple - we cannot often expect to find both forms in so limited an amount of material. However, in cases where the appearance of one variant only is frequent, the absence of the ^{other} variant seems to be intentional, i.e., the writer, editor or compositor is deliberately keeping out one ~~one~~ variant, because he regards the other as more "correct" or desirable. Examples ^{here} are: Af (of), ba (baa), er fléigt (fléig), ict (icter, açind etc.), Iiliids ([Iliic]ns), klaabn (kloubn), nit (ništ), nituu (ništuu), raidn (rédn), gytrotn (gytréitn), tuun (tijn), gytuun (gytij[n]), fjn der vaatn (vaatns), zaat/zaant (zént), zaanyn (zényn).

Dialects. In one of the novels in Sovietis Haimland we find this passage: Der gast mišt iber Galicianer Iidis mit Varšyver: "Iéx zug énk, réb Iaankvv ... zaat vilik cj ferſtaihn, dus Birobidžan iz éx a teritoriy I do not know which of these forms are supposed to be "Galician" and which "Varsavian", for the simple reason that all of them were common to Galicia and Warsaw, because in both regions the same dialect of Yiddish, the Southern one, was spoken. As regards details: Iéx should be iāx. The e and h of ferſtaihn have nothing to do with the pronunciation in any of the dialects. They just reflect the Germanised spelling system which was in general use in modern literature until a short while ago - Mendale, Peretz and ShuulymAlaichem employed it like everyone else. If the word dus is used here instead of az 'that', then it does not tell us anything about the spoken language, because nobody spoke like that, dus 'that' occurred only in the Germanised written language. The phrase vilik zaan is unknown to me. It is not clear whether éx means 'also'. If it does it should be oux here.

The Alphabet. Although the Hebrew alphabet was not banned in Soviet Yiddish it did undergo a change in one respect. Neither the Roman nor the Cyrillic alphabets have special forms for letters when they are in word-final position. The Yiddish linguists in the Soviet Union therefore decided to remove from the spelling of Yiddish the five final forms which are part of the Hebrew alphabet. Thus Soviet Yiddish had only one form

each, for x, m, n, f and q. Later the linguists decided to reinstate the final forms. However, not everybody changed back as may be seen in our two sources: Soviétis Haimland has the final forms, while Birobidzhaner Emes has not.

Spelling. There was another radical innovation but no reinstatement in this case. The words constituting the Semitic element of the Yiddish vocabulary had always been written according to their own spelling system. This, being part of the religious heritage, was now abandoned, and such words were spelled on the basis of the system employed for the Indo-European elements of Yiddish - a striking symbolical expression of the split between the Soviet world and that of the West.

Phonetics. Unphonetical spelling - inherited from pre-Soviet times and thus shared with the Yiddish west of the Iron Curtain, or that have we quite often come across ariser since then. This is especially striking in the Semitic element of Yiddish. Since neither the ancient Semitic phonology nor the traditional spelling are of any concern to the Soviet Yiddish linguists, we would expect them to apply their general spelling system where the traditional spelling of a word is not in keeping with its pronunciation. But one often meets with words where this is not done. ~~Anain~~ The reason seems to be that they were being influenced by the spelling they had acquired at school, and that they did not realise that there was a discrepancy between what they actually heard and what the spelling represented. Examples of this are: bsijry, iomtyv instead of psijry, iontyv; bguudim, zkainy instead of byguudym, skainy or zykainy; sytxim, plural ending im instead of stuxym, ym (although in one case - kabuulys puunym - we find ym, perhaps because of the singular meaning of puunym); maxnis (oirex zaan) instead of maxnys (oirex zaan); bydil hadal, minhyg instead of bydilydal, minyg.

When a voiced consonant meets an unvoiced one it becomes unvoiced: loibt - loipt. Whoever introduced (in the West) the neologism harbst 'autumn', was following the German spelling without realising that the /b/ had been unvoiced in front of the /s/ and that there was no reason why the historical spelling of ^{the word} German, which was based on Middle High German herhest, should be adopted. The correct Yiddish spelling would therefore have been harpst, like Yiddish ains 'fruits' ^{as} against German Obst from MHG obez. When the consonants are of identical or partly identical articulation, the assimilation becomes total: arous zugn - arousum, ous siisn - ousiisn. These cases of assimilation are not apparent in the spelling. Examples in our material are: smidt, jmouséplex. But, on the other hand, assimilation is shown to have taken place when the two

phonemes that meet are identical: araanemyn, cjnoiflii, jfashng. The reason, no doubt, is that the abolition of the doubling of letters - ~~mmmn~~ had been introduced ~~been introduced~~ as a result of the Enlightenment - was still within recent memory, and had the effect of causing the linguists to avoid ~~the~~ gemination even when the case was of a different nature. When they carried through their radical change of orthography they might have been expected to show every kind of assimilation it would not have been surprising if they had ~~phonographed~~ shown every kind of assimilation. However, as we have seen above, they did not, do so. Again, did they perhaps, under the influence of the written picture, fail to recognise the phonetic reality? There are pointers in this direction, as we will show.

The dental which develops in stressed syllables between /l/ and /n/, on the one hand, and /s/, /z/ or /ʃ/, on the other, is often not expressed in the spelling (nor in the West either): als, fardiinst. Are spellings like farjmert, bajmrrijikn, gyiirc, or breaks at the end of a line like groi-sartik, fa-réndikn to be explained as being in imitation of the Western alphabets (which have no aleph for the glottal stop) but have to be pronounced with open juncture: far'jmert, ba'jmrij'ikn, gy'iirc, grois'artik, far'endikn? Or do they actually have to be pronounced in the way they are spelled, with closed juncture? However, our material contains two words where the insertion of an aleph^{mis} indicates an open juncture: pa'fizy, 'a'uditoriy from Russian pauza, auditoriya.

The Semitic Element

The Semitic element has not been expurgated from Yiddish as an undesirable "clerical" inheritance. We find the Yiddish words of Hebrew and Aramaic origin and their normal integration in morphology and syntax with the other two elements: cufn-iām, xorvysfjl, xainyvdik, kolerlai, iontyvdik, ganyst, balbatis, xaduusym-lang, boilytkait, mylijxyl-plan, gyroidyft. However, we often see that words of Semitic origin have been replaced by German ones - an inheritance from ~~earlier-times~~ ^{and here} the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Enlightenment ~~but apparently~~ ^{to be many new ones besides}. It happens that both an old word and the new one are in use side by side. Examples from our material are: siiler - talmyd 'pupil', éry - kuvyd 'honour', úrtail - psak 'decision', farflixting - hisxaavys 'obligation, duty'.

The following Hebrew and Aramaic words of the Hebrew and Aramaic element have been collected at random to provide a general picture. Afily, azyv, almuuny, aimyđik, avady, axiily. // Bais, balbatis, balbuus, balbuustv, balyguuly, bériy, biniyn, boilyt, boilytkait, brairy, broigyz, buutl, buxer, byemys, byfairys, bykivn, byklal, bykoiek, byśjm oifn, byśuulym. // Cár, Ciiynist, cufn-iam, cuury. // Čjjvy. // Daangys-parnuusy, dafky, daiy, deriker, diiry, doirys, dor, dor doirys, duurym. // Efser, éicym, éirex, émys. // Gairym, ganvynyn, génym, gjify, goilym, goierl, syhénym, syoinym. // Hafsuky, hagam, haixl, hanuuy, hašmuudy, hašcuxy, hašpuuy, hašuury, héškym, hm hislaavys, hiskaavys, hištadlys. // Iabuusy, iaičer-hory, iam, iontoivym, fontyy, iontyvdik, ioršym, iišyy, iišjjvym, Iídyny, iykar-hamciis, iysod, iysoimym. // Kabuyls-puynym, kadmoinym, kaily, kaly, kás, kašern, (figuratively), kiym, kiýf, klal, klézmer, kloimerst, kluulym, koidym-kol, koixys, kol ('voice'), kolerlai, korbn, korbuunys, kroivym, ksaider, ksaiderdik, kuušer, kuusy, niskuušy, kuvyd, kydai, kymat. // Taxlijtn, lexaaiym, lydoirys, lykuvyd, lymuušl, lyšoinys, lyvaajy, lyvuuny. // Maaly, maasaly, maaxl, mabl, macl zaan, magaify, maily, malex, malexapuvys, mamys, mapuuly, mašky, matmyn, matrijex zaan, matiuuny, maxmys, maxnys oirex zaan, maxzer, meikex, méisex, mexabyd, zaan, mexaber, mexiily, micvy, milxumy, mistamy, mistumy, mispuxy, mizrex, vaat-mizrexdik, moicy, xain, moidiyy zaan, moidy zaan, moiex, moiry, moixl zaan, mukym-miklyt, myiekuusym, mykaaiym zaan,

mykabíl zaa, mykanu, zaan, mylijxy, myluxy, mysiirys-néifydik, mésles, mys'iey, mys'gynér, myvaker xoily zaan. // Nafkymny, nifter věiern, nimys věiern, nispuyl věiern, ništoimym věiern, nuvy, nyšumy. // Oifn, oifys, oilym. // Pairs, patern, plaity, poiyln, psak, psjjkym, puusyt, puuter věiern. // Raioinys, raiys, rásy, raxmuunys, raxvys, reigy, rijex, roidy, roify, rysjs. // Saifer, sam, saider ('order'), sáx, saxakl, sédry, ('series'), siby, simxy, sijdy, sod, sof, soidysdik, soiny sonym, sokrym, sraify, stam, stiiry, sufyk, sviivy, sxiiry. // Sáxys, Sabys, séitex, sém, sídex, síir-ha-siiry, un a šiier, sjjry, sliixys, soiry, šuulym-baaiys, šuu, šuxn, šxainy, šxainym, šxainys (plur.). // Taanyn, taanys, taikyf, taivy, talmjidym, tam, tamyyaty, tifiisy, toisvym, tuunys, tuuys. // Uvys. Xaduusy, Xaaiy, xaduušym, xain, xainyvdik, xaisyk, xalyšn, xaruuty, xasvny, xayer, xazern, xazern, xevry,

*(Hh)
lies* { xévrynik, xézbn, xilyk, xjc, xoidys, xoily mysjkn, xoisyd zaan, xoiv, xorvvsfil, xysuurn, xuliily, xuulymyn, xuulyš, xuuryv, xuušyv, xuxym.
Zoixy zaan, zykainy, zykuurn.

The German Element. Whatever may have been the time when Yiddish originated, one thing is certain - the language cannot have come into being during the last few centuries, because its Germanic element is clearly related to an earlier period of the German language. However, our material (in common with the written Yiddish from west of the Iron Curtain) bears witness to the impact of modern German, which has invaded the vocabulary, morphology, semantics and syntax of the literary language in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Yiddish word - used ~~as~~ critically - for a Germanism is the expression Daačmerizm.

Syntax. Der bliiyndiker suud 'the flowering orchard', dus fiirndiky ort 'the leading place', a śvaagndiker ijng 'a silent youth', We seem to meet with Germanisms more frequently in Soviet Yiddish than elsewhere.

di vaksndiky folks-iniciatiiv 'the growing initiative of the people', di staicndiky tempn 'the increasing tempos': Although the verbal form with the ending (y)ndik is not a present participle, it is used as an adjective under the influence of German and Slavonic where the participle is thus employed.

Di śvéier gykowyty siiex 'the heavily iron-studded boots', zaan nox nit arous gyzugter baslfis 'his still unexpressed decision', zaan kinetlex cymaxty 'iinsl'skait' 'his artificially assumed boyishness', dus vaat nit naaiy .. koftl 'the far from new .. jacket': Here a qualifier is inserted between the article and ~~and~~ an adjectival ~~with~~ attribute - an unYiddish construction adopted from German and/or Russian.

"Naturalisation". The adoption of German words and forms is very often accompanied by a process of "naturalisation". When a word, or a part of one, is adopted, it is generally given the shape it would have if it were a Yiddish inheritance: vollkommen - fjlkjm, vollständig - filstendik, Auftrag - jftrug, Ausgaben - ouscubn. The German prefixes an, be, ent, er, un, ver occur very frequently: angenehm - ungyném, bewaffnet - bavufnt, enthaltln - anthaltn, Erfolg - derfolg, erfolgreich - derfolgraix, Erinnerungen - derineriingyn, erlauben - derloubn, erobern - derobern, erscheinen - dersaīnyn, unbedeutend - jmbadaitndik, vervollkommnen - farfjlkjmyn.

Sometimes the process of "naturalisation" is only partly carried out: Geigner - keigner, Entwicklung - antvikling which would have to be keigynner, antvikyljng. At other times words are incorporated just as they are: verantwortlich - farantvortlex 'responsible', not faréñferlex (the reason in this case being, presumably, that there is a Yiddish verb fareñfern zex which has a different meaning ('to justify oneself')). Occasionally we come across a word in both a "naturalised" and a non-naturalised" form: raízy & 'travel' and raís. (The s in raís cannot be regarded as an original /z/ that was unvoiced through being in word-final position, since s also appears in the plural: raísn, az against German rajzn.)

Germanised Forms. There is also a process ~~which would be~~ of "denaturalisation", Yiddish forms are Germanised. Instead of gyvaintlex 'as usual', Jngern 'Hungary', poips 'pope' we come across gyvainlex 'usual', Jngarn, ~~poip~~ poipst. In the case of Jngern the writer might not have known the Jewish name for that country, or he might have regarded the German name as the "official", and therefore the "real", one. But as a matter of fact, Ungern is actually an earlier German form. Poips, the /t/ form without the /t/ might have been considered by the writer as a corruption of the "correct" one with /t/. But, again, the form without the /t/ is the older of the two - the excrescent /t/ of Papst did not make its appearance till late in the Middle High German period. The word for 'cotton' in Yiddish is banvl (the n is not pronounced, it indicates that the /a/ is nasalised). This word is clearly connected with the German Baumwolle. The Yiddish form, however, could not have arisen from this form, since its (East) Yiddish equivalent would have been boimvol and the /oi/ could not then have developed into /a/. But boimvol is actually the word used in our material - it is a case of "naturalisation", not of inheritance. Banvl seems to be derived from a dialectal German form, where the Middle High German form boum had developed via baum into baam. The Yiddish word is presumably connected with the Polish bawelna, but the how has yet to be discovered.

A partial development occurs in the case of the prefix cj when it is joined to a verb: cjgain 'to melt'. The adverb cj was also spelt ci, so that when it was followed by an infinitive there was no visual difference between cjgain 'to melt' and

cjgain 'to go up.to'. (the position of the stress is different in the two words - but stress is not shown in writing.) To do away with this ambiguity, the solution arrived at in the West was taken over in the east - the prefix was replaced by ce (i.e., cy) which brings it close to German zer. ~~summonmamnism~~ The adverb remained unchanged. So now a visual difference was achieved: cesain and cjgain. (In the traditional system no artificial change in the pronunciation is necessary, as the adverb is not joined to the infinitive, and, in addition, the quantity of the vowels is shown: cjgain but cj gain, the same as in gait, cj.) The linking of the adverb with the infinitive is, of course, a Germanism.

A Yiddish word is sometimes only partly influenced by a German one: In our material the word cytraasaft is given as traasaft, presumably under the influence of German treu und Treue (and, it seems, in ignorance of the German form setreu).

German suffixes that are frequently adopted are bar, heit, ler, los, tum; fiilbar, méndhait, gréinycloz, Iidntum. There has been a growing use of ler: avtotransportler 'autotransporter', farbincler 'telephonist', fis-cixtler 'fishbreeder' (Fischzüchter + ler); gréinycler 'frontierman'. This suffix seems to have its origin in the word mit-caatler which was coined between the two World Wars in Poland to provide an equivalent for the German term 'Zeitgenosse' 'a contemporary'. Los was presumably not "naturalised" because the Yiddish adjective loiz was either not seen to be related to los or because the meaning of the Yiddish word - 'loose' - was felt to be too distantly related to the meaning ~~to the meaning~~ of the German suffix. Thus los was adopted outright (not, of course, with the exact German pronunciation).

Sometimes Germanisms give rise to new formations: ibercaign 'to convince' produced the adjective ibercaigydik 'in a convincing way', which is not a transposition of überzeugend (that would be ibercaigndik). Busnam

~~ausnahm~~ 'exception' (Ausnahme) produced ousnémlex 'exceptional' (there is no ausnahmlich in German). A Germanism may be constructed on a German pattern without there being a German equivalent: fiilevulik 'numerous' corresponds to vielmalig, but there is nothing resembling slaxtn-laat 'battle men'. Not surprisingly it is sometimes difficult to decide whether there is a connexion and, if so, how it came about: baaliendik 'adjoining, neighbouring', used of a place, might have been created under the influence of 'nahe gelegen', 'situated close by' + beiliegend 'enclosed'; Yiddish lign 'to lie, be situated' is not used for a place. Another example of such uncertainty is fuurkjymn 'to take place'. Is it really derived from vorkommen? In most cases the German word does not mean 'to take place'. Or take for instance fiilbar. It does not seem to be derived from the German fühlbar which means 'tangible, palpable, perceptible' while the fiilbar in our text means ~~sens~~ 'sensitive'. It would therefore be correct to speak of a new formation: Yiddish fiiln 'to feel' + the Germanism bar meaning 'possessing a certain quality expressed by the word to which it is attached'. Occasionally ~~it seems~~ the adoption of a German ^{word} ^{it having been} seems to come about through misunderstanding. Fuurzeen in 'to continue' is the German fortsetzen. As Yiddish fort has quite a different meaning ('for all that, after all' etc.) it appears to have been understood as German vor 'in front of' thus suggesting 'forwardly', and so, 'further'.

A morphological example is farsvindn (*verschwinden*) 'to vanish' instead of farsvjndn veiern, a verb of the fourth conjugation.

It is of interest that the Germanism keinig 'king' is avoided and the old kiinig is used in the word kiinigraax 'kingdom', which itself is interesting in the ^{Soviet} type of language.

Semantics. Semantic changes work in two directions. (a) Words adopted from German but used with a different meaning: fraidik 'pleasing, gratifying' instead of 'joyful' in German, Standhaftik 'continuous' instead of 'steadfast' etc. (b) The modern German meaning is added to, or ~~new~~ replaces, the meaning of the corresponding Yiddish word: bafbln 'to send word' becomes 'to command' (befehlen), bastain 'to agree' becomes bastain (fin) 'to consist (of)' from German bestehen(aus), batraxtn 'to think about' becomes 'to look at' from betrachten, cailn 'to count' acquires also the intransitive meaning 'to amount to'. Finally, two rather difficult cases. The German Umgebung means 'environs, environment'. How explain umgeibung meaning 'situation' here? Can it have arisen from a wrongly understood word in a Russian-German dictionary?

Idioms. Idioms taken from German are frequent in our material.
kmymn cij der maxt - zur Macht kommen 'to come to power', trgn a numyn - einen Namen tragen 'to bear a name', gyfinyn far méiglex - 'to find a thing possible', bréngyn cjm faln - zu Fall bringen 'to cause the downfall', dij géréxtiky zax - die gerechte Sache 'the just cause'; ex tij ys géiern - Ich tue es gern 'I am glad to do it' instead of the Yiddish construction ex bin géiern ys cij tijn like in English.

Vocabulary. Here is a list of lexical Germanisms from our material. Sometimes one gets the impression that when the writer uses a certain word he has only just looked it up in a Russian-German dictionary. At other times one feels that he must be a person who had once lived in Berlin. And, of course, one cannot tell whether that word is in general use.

Aangliidern, aaladn, aignsaft, aigntimer, ainfax, ainhajtlex, ainqik alc (m. f. spash) ('as'), algymain, am (am méierstn), amt, anstalt, antdékn, anthaltn, antslosnkit, antsprexn, antsúldikn, antviklung, antviklyn ('to speak about') Baaligndik, bacoubert, badaítung, badaítndik, badingungyn, badouern, baféiln, bafélkerung, bafrjidikn, bagaistert, bahauptung, baíspjil, bamérkn, baśaidn ('small'), báseftikt, bašlús, baštaiñ fjn, baštéitikung, baštéitiñ, baštélung, bašténdik, baštimyn, batraxtn, bavéigung, bavufnt, baziign, bazjnders, bazúxer, bibliotéik-véizn, bildung, birmerkrieg, bity (noun) bity ('please'), blic-snéł, blik, brénsjof búxstabn. Céigjer, céign, cartkait, cixtler, cufélik, mom cušouer, cušand, cuxt, cízamynhang. Dankbar, dankbarkait, derfolg, derfolgraix, derinerungyn, derloubn, derobern, dersinyn, dorxsnitlex, drang, droúna. Éftlex, éinlex, éndern zex, énderung, éndlex, éxt.

Faaierlex (adj.), faaierlexkait, farbréixeris, farbréxyn (noun), fardiinst ('merit'), fardriislex, faréftlexn, farfjlkjmy, farliibt, farnixtn, farodynung, faršvindn, farúrtailn, farvandlyh, farvirklexn, farvúndy, farzéxern, félkersaft, fii ('cattle'), fii-cúxt, fiil (many), fiilbar, fjil-cuulik, fiil-štímik, fis-cixtler, folgnd, folgndik, forgyśixty, forgyśritn, foriber, forík, forslug, forstelung, fortrag, forverts forzecung, forzeen, forzixtik, foust, fraibait, frainfsaft, fraidik, friiling, fristik, fruxtblar (work). Géignéstand, gerixt, ginstik, sláixgiltik, gratúliirung, gréjnycloz, griixis, groisartik, rrouzamkait, cij gunstn, cybaidy, cybiit, cybildyt, cybúrtstug, gyfar, cyféllex, cyfélíkait (amenity), gymiitlex, gymiitlexkait, sysixty, káuksopn, cyspréx, gyśtimt, szélschaftlex, gyzjxt. Hafn, handl, harbst, héiflex, hél, héld, héslex, hinterland, binzixt, hoix-intelektueil

Iam-rais, iberaſuna, ibercatign, ibercatigvydik, indzl, jnerlex, inhalt, iúbldik, iuur-hjndert. jgaber, fmérkzajkait, jfréign, jftrug, jmbadaitndik, jmbadingt, jmbavéiglex, jmayféier, jmoússéplex, Jngaris, Jngariš, Jngariš, jnternérung, intersrift. Kamf, kémfer, kimern zex, kindhait, kinftik, kraft, kraft-transformator, kražiz, krankait, krigs-, cyfangzny. Landvirtsäft, landvirtsäftlex, lérn-anstalt, liibn, liiby, -loz. maxtloz, méierhait, ménchait, mérkbar, mérkn, mérkvirdig, méxtikait, mitailp, mitailung, mürmlyn, mút. Naigerik.

Ousbildn, ouscug, ouſer, ouſergvainlex, ouſerordntlex, ouſganglozikait, ouſtätung, ouſtous. Préxtik. Raixtimer, raís, raisin(plur.), raízy, rixtung, rygiirung. Sainhait (beautiful woman), síiller, sláidern, slaxt, slaxt-laát, smjáðum, smidn, smidt, snél, snélkait, sprax, standhaftik. cyai-stélik, stím, stitung, stréky. Téitik, touſn zex, troc, trouv. Umsténdn (plur.), uphénzik, úrloub, úrtail, unblík, uncug (suit), unfang, uungyném, unsténdik, untail némyn, unstuut, untbroit. Vagn (verb), vál, vaxzamkait, véizn see bibliotéik, véizntlex, vélén (waves), velt-aptviklung, velt-křig, velt-jfaſung, vélx (rel.pron.), viderstándkémfer, vřdik, virkung, virklexkait, vúks. Zax (fjn suulym), zélbsteítik, zélbsteítikait, zig, ziger, zorgzam.

The Slavonic Element. The Slavonic element of Yiddish is to be met with in every sphere of the language. A striking example from grammar is the insertion of a long ~~an~~ qualifier between an adjectival attribute and its noun: di kolosalý bádaitung fjn der uungynjmyner ofn cízamynfuur suulym-program 'the colossal importance of the peace programme adopted at the congress'. If we imitate this construction in English we will realise how strange it sounds in real Yiddish, too: 'the colossal importance of the adopted at the congress peace programme'. Here are a few more examples: ainy fjn ði grésty ofn afrikanísn kontinént hidroelektrostanciy 'one of the largest hydroelectrical stations on the African continent'; di éiersty in der vél t melijxy fjn arbyter jn p pouerym 'the first workers' and peasants' state in the world'; di fuuraykjmyny dii téig barixt jn valkonferénc 'the report and election conference[which took place recently]'; inym éierstn farn ictikn iuurnjmer 'in the first issue of this year'; zaan štaltny héxer fjn mitlvúks figúür 'his shapely, taller than medium height figure'; der iúbldiker ungsfilter mit di léxtiksty téner kol 'the jubilant voice filled with the brightest sounds'; dus frailexy Dianys piuunym 'the cheerful of Diane face', i.e. 'Diane's cheerful face'.

In der Rjisišer jn Iđišer spraxn 'in the Russian and Yiddish languages': The lack of agreement between the singular of the attribute and the plural of the noun is quite correct in the English translation and not striking because the adjectives are not inflected, but it is unbearable in Yiddish grammar with its inflexions, where the singular of the noun is only a short-cut ~~and~~ for 'in the Russian language and in the Yiddish language'. The correct Yiddish construction is in der Rjisišer jn Iđišer sprax..

Ousvaksn in hñdert muul 'to increase hundredfold'; farbraitert in cén muul 'widened ten times': the prepositional link between the verb and the adverbial phrase, as in Russian, is foreign to Yiddish which has ousvaksn hñdert muul, farbraitert cén muul.

The Russian suffix ior (the rendering of the French eur) is used in terms like transportior 'transporter', frizior ~~hñm~~ 'hairdresser'.

A lexical picture of the Slavonic elements in our material is given in the following list. Berézy, boliacky, briky, brjk, bródiyn, bulbys, bjšyvyn, bék, Gepyn, óyhun, Disyl, dlopiy, džégexc, Ganykl, gyvaldyvyn, Horypašnik, Jagydy, iakos, Iaponiy, iat, Kaliyky, kanapy, kasy, kavijrn, kelymsikl, keryvyn, kolbas, koldry, kosyk, krenycy.

Losyk, Maiontky, ministerstvy, molodiec, Njikyn.

9triad. Papiroš, pas, pasy, pexoty, planety, ploit, poct, podesvy, poryn, zex, pravyn, prost. Ratunek, récky, riabiny, ríckelex, Saýy, step, stolier, stolovy, Sanyvyn, ſepcyn, ſkarpetn, smatky, štaltny. Taky, tičyn, traſlyn, traskeraai. Ukaz.

Voncys. Farxliniyn zex, xlopoty, cixrastyt, xvaliy.

Zavod, farzmíryt.

In this list there are, among the Slavonic words, a number of Russian ones, although before the Revolution hardly any Jews were permitted to live in Russia proper and so the Jews had no ordinary contact with the Russian people and their language. However, it was the language of the rulers, who were represented by the administrative authorities throughout the empire. Thus words connected with official matters had ~~already~~ gained entry, in to Yiddish long before the Revolution - take, for instance, the names of the months: Ianvar, Févrál, Mart, Aprél, Iúl, Avgúst, Noiaber, Dékáber. Since then, with Jews having settled in Russia proper, many more have been added. Others are concealed in loan translations; as e.g., derlérnyt 'to study' from izučat or ousfiln 'to carry out' (a duty) from yispol'iyan. Here is a list from our material.

Stalits

Alfarbandis, alfolkiš, alRisiš, alRislendis, alveltlex, arousloz
('graduation class') avtonom. BaaAmúrer, baleibt, bastand,
Pipyfiuur (five year plan'). Ekipaz, éselon.. Geigntkom,
cigromiirm, cigromiirjng, Hinter-aigler. Jfvirkn. Kantkom,
réignsteln (to compare'), kolvirknik, kosmišy ſif, kraizis,
kultúr-ifkeier-ſul, kvadratny. Magnitiš. Orbity, ousfirkom.
Piédstal, profarainis. Raikom, mshumherprshumhem
Soviét, soviétis, sportsménky. Slusler, ſluslern.
Vaat-nizrexdk. Ximiy (chemistry), ximis.

While possession is usually expressed in Yiddish by the verb hubn 'to have', our material contains cases where it takes the form of a local relationship: Baa Sloimyn iz a hoixer ſtéiern, 'Solomon has a high forehead' instead of Sloimy (h)ot a hoixn ſtéiern. Similarly, the dative is used with the verb zaan in an idiom like Dim alain, iz ſoin bald fiftcik iuur 'He himself will soon be fifty years of age.'

Di arbytdiky 'the working ones' instead of die arbyter seems to be a calque from Russian, although German is also a possible source.

In a story in our material we find names like Rozy Volfovna Vaanštain or Jjri Gavrilovic (without the surname), according to the Russian custom, where the patronymic is added to the first name or is inserted between it and the surname. Are we to understand that the people in the story were speaking like that in Yiddish? Or is the story written in Yiddish, just reporting conversations held in Russian?

A striking Russianism is the way a specific year is referred to: it is given as an ordinal number: in 1975str. iuur.

Following modernist usage in the West, certain Slavonic words are replaced by German ones: osijn 'autumn' by harbst, vésny 'spring' by friiling.

The Russians have laid down rules as to how Russian words are to be transcribed in the non-Cyrillic alphabets of the Soviet languages: in conformity with the Russian spelling, not the pronunciation. Thus we find Sovétis instead of Soviétis in the very name of one of our journals. In 'international' words of Greek etymology we find yspsilon rendered as v, for instance Avrust, avtonat, avtor, kosmonavt. As in Russian, this v is transferred also to Avstralij although the phoneme in question is not the Greek yspsilon but the Latin /u/ in australis. In the ordinary way Latin /u/ is rendered as u in Russian and therefore in Soviet Yiddish, too: auditoriy, paúzy.

As Russian has no /h/ it is replaced, in foreign words, by a /g/ (presumably because this corresponds to the /h/ of some of the other Slavonic languages): Gugo fon Gofmanstal for Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Soviet Yiddish does the same (or has to do it), although it has at its disposal the phoneme /h/ and the letter h̄ to write it with which. As a matter of fact, we ~~too~~ too, (in the West) are used to the surnames Kagan, Kogan, Gurwitz, Guberman, ^{*}Gildesgame** whose g's were born in passports, i.e., they were transliterated ~~in the~~ from Russian passports. In recent times, however, the Russian linguists have been using the Cyrillic letter ~~the~~ x (= [x] = kh, ch) to render the h of the Roman alphabet when they transcribe ~~the~~ Oriental languages. Examples of this also occur in our material: Xanoi instead of Hanoi. The name of one of the authors is spelled nwsyn'ww. This is obviously a transcription from the Cyrillic transcription of Yiddish Nuusynov ("Nathanoff") which should have been spelled n'sn'ww.

So we find that the word Haimland in the name of our journal is transcribed on the back cover as Gaimland.

Specimens. Finally, here are a few lines of specimens.

(a) From a newspaper report: Di farmestjng iz cyvoorn a méxtiker faktor fjm héxern di éfektiivkait fjn der producirjng, fjn farbésern caigers. (b) Heading of an ukase: Ukaz fjn prézidium fjn oiber-soviét fjn RSFSR veign bastéitikn dym bastand fjn der géightlexer vál-komisiy far di vál in géightlexn soviét fjn depútatn fjn di arbytndiky fjn der Iídiser avtonomer géight. (c) From Aibiker rúm by Mixuuyl Mailex:

* This does not correspond to the German name Hubermann, but to the Jewish name Hahermann which is the translated form of Huberman. (Thus in Yiddish the first syllable of the name is to be spelled with an aleph).

** Hildesheim.

Etiket
but English
modern power

Di militérisy komisariatn zaanyn balagert fijn der iugnt, aly fodern: "Ofn front! ofn front!" Ex stjip zex oux dorx cjm séffjnym militérisn komisariat. Léibn mir - a brait-plaicíker buixer, zaier a hoixer. Fijn zaan sain puunym kapt svais. Eier, vi aly, prijvt araan stékn zaan militérisn biliét in di hént fijnym komandiir. Nor miir jn dym buixer kériert iéner jm círik di biliétn. Far vuus? Inym paragraf "Specialitéit" stait baa jndz faráribn "A ljeft-fliier in réserv". - "Als vét zaan in ordynjng", zugt fraantlex der militaríser komisar, "mör (h)obn a strengyn baféil: Aax, pilotn, némyn in der armal étvus spéiter. (d) From Probléimyn fijn dym Dym Nisters safn by Hers Réménik: Mitn psévdonim Der Nister iz in der Iídíser literatúr fijnym uunhaib cvoncikstn iuur-hjndert gykjmy a groiser kinctler, vus zaan familiy jn zaan numyn iz gyvéin Pinkys Kahanovid (1884-1950). Psévdonim zaanyn a farápraity dersainung in der literatúr. Der psevdonim fijn a sraaber kon zaan badingt fijn céfeliky, méier oder vainiker ouserlexy sibys fijn gyzelšaftlexn oder staigerisn xarakter. Fiil sraaber jn politísy tijer (in Rjsland jn in andery lénder) (h)obn arous gygéibn zaiery vérk jnter psévdonimyn iber politísy taamym, vélxy zaanyn gyvéin farbjndn mit der jmlegaler révolutionéirer téitikait fijn di avtorn. (e) From Miliy by Hésl Rabinkow Mary (h)ot zex jmgykéiert fijn der kantíser stuut, vjj zi (h)ot zex bataillkt in a konkúrs fijn parikmaxers, jn gyfjny baa zex in poct-késtl a kartl fijn ir xaverty Miliy Gjilka, vus (h)ot amuul gyvoingt in dym sxainisn houz. Miliy (h)ot gyáribn, az zi klaabt zex of étlexy téig arup xapn mham "ahaim," zi iz soin axt iuur duu nit gyvéin jn (h)ot zex stark farbénkt.