Dovid Katz
September 1978

Yiddish Dialectology
Professor M. I. Herzog

Genetic Notes on Netherlandic Yiddish Vocalism

C O N T E N T S

1. Introduction

1.1. Even a superficial glance at Netherlandic Yiddish (= Yiddish coterritorial with the speech territory of Netherlandic) confirms Hartog Beem's (1954: 122) claim that "the surviving remnants of this language among Dutch Jews [...] are a goldmine of words and phrases which, as a result of their linguistic isolation from the rest of Yiddish speaking Jewry, have retained archaic forms that are highly informative of the character of Western Yiddish, now nearly extinct."[1] It is no belittlement of the value of much other work on Western Yiddish (WY) to point to the unusually high value and reliability of Beem's (1970; 1975) lexical and phraseological compilations of Netherlandic Yiddish (NethY) as a fine model of data compilation.[2] Beem is both familiar with the language first hand as it was spoken during his youth and has worked extensively with native Netherlandic informants who survived the Nazi invasion of World War II. His transcriptions are lucid and readily convertible to symbols used by linguists. Lexical and phonological variants are not suppressed. We have moreover been fortunate to benefit from a number of personal responses from Beem to queries on various aspects of NethY phonology.[3]

1.2. Max Weinreich's (1973: II, 321-382; IV, 364-384) systematization of a scheme of Proto Yiddish vocalism surpasses earlier schemes from a number of angles. Unlike the sets of correspondences established by Gerzon (1902: 20-29) and Sapir (1915: 237-250), the Weinreich protosystem is designed to account for both the Germanic and Semitic components in Yiddish in a unitary scheme. Birnbaum's (1923) pioneering systematization used the synchronic vowel system of Central Yiddish as a point of departure, rather than Middle High German. Weinreich's system is however interdialectal, accounting for WY phenomena as well as the three major dialect areas of modern Eastern Yiddish (EY). This is achieved by replacement of the monodialectal phoneme by the interdialectal diaphoneme as the basic unit in historical and comparative Yiddish phonology (cf. U. Weinreich 1954).[4] Unlike Bin-Nun's (1973: 183-238, 267-278) highly evolved and meticulous statement of the correspondences of Proto Yiddish vowels with Middle High German and Tiberian, the Weinreich protosystem is autonomous, unhooked upon the vowel systems of the standardized versions of the stock languages.[5]

The vital significance of Max Weinreich's system of Proto Yiddish vocalism for Yiddish linguistics exceeds both its inherent genius and the notion that it represents a more perfect system than its predecessors.[6] Above all, the Weinreich

system provides a framework and a starting point for new inquiry into the history of Yiddish vocalism.

1.3. The practical value of M. Weinreich's protosystem has already been proven, both in his own works (1965; 1973) and in the work of other Yiddish scholars, e.g. Guggenheim-Grünberg (1964; 1973), Herzog (1965: 159-233, 275-278; 1969) and Zuckerman (1969: 42-50). It would none the less be a grave mistake if work in Yiddish phonology were to uncritically apply the Weinreich protosystem as it stands to every task. Herzog (1965: 161) for example, in his thorough treatment of dialectological and historical problems of EY vocalism, collapses vowels 13, 33 and 53 with 12, 32 and 52 respectively; vowels 23 and 24 with 22; vowels 43 and 44 with 42.[7] Unmodified employment of the protosystem in work confined to EY would not only be uneconomically cumbersome. It would, moreover, be theoretically unsound to automatically apply schematic distinctions which have no correlates amongst the real diaphonemes of EY. Historical work in comparative Yiddish phonology must do more than illustrate the usefulness of the protosystem. It must confront the protosystem with the vocalic correspondences evident from study of the dialects themselves.

2. Revision of the Protosystem

2.1. A base corpus of ninety-five Standard Yiddish forms is provided in Table 1.[8] The underscored segment in each form is at once the vowel (or diphthong) occurring under primary wordstress and the segment to which attention is drawn in the discussion at hand.[9] In Table 2, the Weinreich protosystem serves as a point of departure for systematization of the stressed vowel correspondences between NethY and the two most polarically differing EY dialects —— Central Yiddish (CY) and Northeastern Yiddish (NEY).[10] Six Yiddish words have been gleaned from the base corpus (Table 1) to represent each of M. Weinreich's twenty protovowels in Table 2, three from the Germanic Component (GC) and three from the Semitic Component (SC). The six words are represented in their NethY, CY and NEY forms. The exceptions to this mode of presentation in Table II are: firstly, those vowels (12, 22, 32, 42, 52, 24, 44, 54) for which no SC forms are postulated, and secondly, the protovowel (53) for which M. Weinreich (1973: II, 355) is able to provide less than three GC examples. The only substantive digression from orthodox Weinreichian interpretation of Proto Yiddish vocalism in Table 2 is the inclusion of SC forms for vowel 34.[11] This inclusion is motivated by the large number of SC forms conforming with the GC vowel 34 diaphoneme amongst the several dialects.[12]

Table 1: Base Corpus (Standard Yiddish Forms)

1. alt 'old'
2. bəkiəs 'expertise'
3. bɔym 'tree'
4. brɔyt 'bread'
5. brudər 'brother'
6. bušə 'disgrace'
7. daygəs 'worries'
8. din 'thin'
9. dir 'you (obj.)'
10. du 'you'
11. ɛməs 'true'
12. ɛsn '(to) eat'
13. eyn 'one'
14. eyzl 'donkey'
15. fleyš 'meat'
16. frum 'pious'
17. gayvə 'haughtiness'
18. gɛlt 'money'
19. gɛt 'divorce'
20. geyn '(to) go'
21. gibər 'strong man'
22. grin 'green'
23. grɔys 'large'
24. guzmə 'exaggeration'
25. hɔyz 'house'
26. hunt 'dog'
27. ir 'you (pl.)'
28. kalə 'bride'
29. kind 'child'
30. kɔl 'voice'
31. kɔvəd 'honor'
32. leyb 'lion'
33. leygn '(to) place'
34. lɔx 'hole'
35. lɔyb 'praise'
36. lɔyz 'louse'
37. maləx 'angel'
38. mayləs 'virtues'
39. mɛl 'flour'
40. mɛs 'corpse'
41. məšugə 'crazy'
42. məxutɛnəstə 'son/daughter in law's mother'
43. meyləx 'king'
44. meynən '(to) be of the opinion'
45. mir 'we'
46. mɔyl 'mouth'
47. naxt 'night'
48. nay 'new'
49. nɛfəš 'soul'
50. nəginə 'music'
51. nəvuə 'prophecy'
52. neytik 'necessary'
53. nɔdl 'needle'

CONTINUED . . .

54. nu̯ 'well! (interj.)'
55. ɔdər 'vein'
56. ɔrəm 'poor'
57. ɔy̯g 'eye'
58. parnɔsə 'livelihood'
59. rəfu̯ə 'remedy'
60. rɔy̯t 'red'
61. rɔy̯x 'smoke'
62. šə̯y̯nən '(to) shine'
63. šɛ̯mən (zix) 'be ashamed'
64. šə̯y̯n 'pretty'
65. ši̯f 'boat'
66. ši̯kər 'drunk'
67. šlɔfn '(to) sleep'
68. šɔləm 'peace'
69. šɔy̯tə 'fool'
70. štɔt 'synagogue pew'
71. šu̯l 'synagogue'
72. sə̯y̯fər 'sacred book'
73. sɔy̯xər 'merchant'
74. ti̯f 'deep'
75. ti̯pəš 'fool'
76. tɔxtər 'daughter'
77. va̯y̯n 'wine'
78. vɛ̯lt 'world'
79. vɔs 'what'
80. vɔx 'week'
81. vɔy̯l 'good'
82. vɔy̯nən '(to) dwell'
83. xa̯zər 'pig'
84. xɛ̯səd 'kindness'
85. xə̯y̯lək 'part'
86. xɔxmə 'wisdom'
87. xɔy̯dəš 'month'
88. xu̯cpə 'impudence'
89. yəši̯və 'Talmudic academy'
90. yɔntəf 'holiday'
91. za̯lc 'salt'
92. zɛ̯n '(to) see'
93. zi̯s 'sweet'
94. zu̯ntik 'Sunday'
95. zu̯xn '(to) search for'

Table 2: M. Weinreich's System of Proto Yiddish Vocalism as a Point of Departure

Table 2.1: Vowel 11 (A_1)

	NethY ă	CY ă	NEY a
GC:	ălt	ălt	alt
	năxt	năxt	naxt
	zălc	zălc	zalc
SC:	kălə	kălə	kalə
	măləx	măləx	maləx
	xăzər	xăzər	xazər

Table 2.2: Vowel 21 (E_1)

	NethY ɛ	CY ɛ	NEY ɛ
GC:	ɛsn	ɛsn	ɛsn
	gɛlt	gɛlt	gɛlt
	vɛlt	vɛlt	vɛlt
SC:	ɛməs	ɛməs	ɛməs
	gɛt	gɛt	gɛt
	mɛs	mɛs	mɛs

Table 2.3: Vowel 31 (I_1)

	NethY ĭ	CY ĭ	NEY i
GC:	dĭn	dĭn	din
	kĭnd	kĭnd	kind
	šĭf	šĭf	šif
SC:	gĭbər	gĭbər	gibər
	šĭkər	šĭkər	šikər
	tĭpəš	tĭpəš	tipəš

Table 2.4: Vowel 41 (O_1)

	NethY ɔ	CY ɔ	NEY ɔ
GC:	lɔx	lɔx	lɔx
	tɔxtər	tɔxtər	tɔxtər
	vɔx	vɔx	vɔx
SC:	kɔl	kɔl	kɔl
	xɔxmə	xɔxmə	xɔxmə
	yɔntəf	yɔntəf	yɔntəf

Table 2.5: Vowel 51 (U_1)

	NethY ŏ	CY ĭ	NEY u
GC:	frŏm	frĭm	frum
	hŏnt	hĭnt	hunt
	zŏntik	zĭntik	zuntik
SC:	gŏzmə	gĭzmə	guzmə
	məšŏgə	məšĭgə	məšugə
	xŏcpə	xĭcpə	xucpə

Table 2.6: Vowel 12 (A_2)

	NethY ō	CY u	NEY ɔ
GC:	ōdər	udər	ɔdər
	nōdl	nudl	nɔdl
	šlōfn	šlufn	šlɔfn

Table 2.7: Vowel 22 (E_2)

	NethY ɛy	CY ay	NEY ey
GC:	gɛyn	gayn	geyn
	nɛytik	naytik	neytik
	šɛyn	šayn	šeyn

Table 2.8: Vowel 32 (I_2)

	NethY ɪ̄	CY ɪ̄	NEY i
GC:	grɪ̄n	grɪ̄n	grin
	tɪ̄f	tɪ̄f	tif
	zɪ̄s	zɪ̄s	zis

Table 2.9: Vowel 42 (O_2)

	NethY ɔu	CY ɔy	NEY ey
GC:	brɔut	brɔyt	breyt
	grɔus	grɔys	greys
	rɔut	rɔyt	reyt

Table 2.10: Vowel 52 (U_2)

	NethY u	CY ɪ̄	NEY u
GC:	brudər	brɪ̄dər	brudər
	šul	šɪ̄l	šul
	zuxn	zɪ̄xn	zuxn

Table 2.11: Vowel 13 (A_3)

	NethY {ă,ō}	CY u	NEY ɔ
GC:	ărm	urəm	ɔrəm
	štăt	štut	štɔt
	văs	vus	vəs
SC:	kōvəd	kuvəd	kɔvəd
	parnōsə	parnusə	parnɔsə
	šōləm	šuləm	šɔləm

Table 2.12: Vowel 23 (E_3)

	NethY ɛy	CY ay	NEY ey
GC:	ɛyzl	ayzl	eyzl
	lɛyb	layb	leyb
	lɛygn	laygn	leygn
SC:	mɛyləx	mayləx	meyləx
	sɛyfər	sayfər	seyfər
	xɛylək	xaylək	xeylək

Table 2.13: Vowel 33 (I_3)

	NethY ī	CY ī	NEY i
GC:	dīr	dīr	dir
	īr	īr	ir
	mīr	mīr	mir
SC:	bəkiəs	bəkīəs	bəkiəs
	nəgīnə	nəgīnə	nəginə
	yəšīvə	yəšīvə	yəšivə

Table 2.14: Vowel 43 (O_3)

	NethY ɔu	CY ɔy	NEY ey
GC:	lɔub	lɔyb	leyb
	vɔul	vɔyl	veyl
	vɔunən	vɔynən	veynən
SC:	šɔutə	šɔytə	šeytə
	sɔuxər	sɔyxər	seyxər
	xɔudəš	xɔydəš	xeydəš

Table 2.15: Vowel 53 (U_3)

	NethY u	CY ī	NEY u
GC:	du	dī	du
	nu	nī	nu
SC:	bušə	bīšə	bušə
	nəvuə	nəvīə	nəvuə
	rəfuə	rəfīə	rəfuə

Table 2.16: Vowel 24 (E_4)

	NethY ā	CY ay	NEY ey
GC:	ān	ayn	eyn
	flāš	flayš	fleyš
	mānən	maynən	meynən

Table 2.17: Vowel 34 (I_4)

	NethY ɛy	CY ã	NEY ay
GC:	nɛy	nã	nay
	šɛynən	šãnən	šaynən
	vɛyn	vãn	vayn
SC:	dɛygəs	dãgəs	daygəs
	gɛyvə	gãvə	gayvə
	mɛyləs	mãləs	mayləs

Table 2.18: Vowel 44 (O_4)

	NethY ā	CY ɔy	NEY ey
GC:	āg	ɔyg	eyg
	bām	bɔym	beym
	rāx	rɔyx	reyx

Table 2.19: Vowel 54 (U_4)

	NethY ɔu	CY ō (or ou)	NEY ɔy
GC:	hɔuz	hōz	hɔyz
	lɔuz	lōz	lɔyz
	mɔul	mōl	mɔyl

Table 2.20: Vowel 25 (E_5)

	NethY ē	CY ē (or ey)	NEY ɛ
GC:	mēl	mēl	mɛl
	šēmən	šēmən	šɛmən
	zēn	zēn	zɛn
SC:	məxŏtēnəstə	məxətēnəstə	məxutɛnəstə
	nēfəš	nēfəš	nɛfəš
	xēsəd	xēsəd	xɛsəd

2.2. The confrontation of Max Weinreich's twenty protovowels with the correlate correspondences between NethY, CY and NEY (Table 2) leads to two vital revisions in the protosystem.

Firstly, there is no empirical justification for the separation of vowel 23 from 22; 33 from 32; 43 from 42; 53 from 52. M. Weinreich (1973: II, 323-324) himself notes that in no Yiddish dialect is vowel 23 distinct from 22, or 43 from 42. The separation of these four pairs of vowels on the basis of distinct Middle High German cognate vowels has no more application in a protosystem of Yiddish vocalism than any of the scores of stock language distinctions of which no trace is evident in Yiddish. While Middle High German exhibits differing vowels (æ,ë) in such pairs as kæse vs. mël, the Yiddish cognates of these words share a unitary diaphoneme — NethY kēz 'cheese', mēl 'flour' || CY kēz, mēl || NEY kɛz, mɛl, i.e. vowel 25. Tiberian has distinct vowels (a, ă) in šabbṓθ vs. ḫăzír while the Yiddish cognates exhibit a unitary diaphoneme — NethY šăbəs 'Sabbath', xăzər 'swine' || CY šăbəs, xăzər || NEY šabəs, xazər, i.e. vowel 11.[13] Even as the Middle High German opposition of æ vs. ë and the Tiberian opposition of a vs. ă have no direct relevance to the autonomous system of Yiddish protovowels in the examples cited, so are the oppositions of Middle High German ê, ie, ô, uo vs. lengthened e, i, o, u superfluous in light of the four unitary cognate Yiddish diaphonemes.[14] Vowel 22/23 >

NethY ɛy || CY ay || NEY ey (Tables 2.7, 2.12); vowel 32/33 > NethY ɪ̱ || CY ɪ̱ || NEY i (Tables 2.8, 2.13); vowel 42/43 > NethY ɔu || CY ɔy || NEY ey (Tables 2.9, 2.14); vowel 52/53 > NethY u || CY ɪ̱ || NEY u (Tables 2.10, 2.15). M. Weinreich often stresses (e.g. 1973: II, 324-325) that the system of Proto Yiddish vocalism must proceed from the diaphonemes of Yiddish rather than the graphemic cognates in the stock languages (cf. above §1.2). The superfluous positing of vowels 23, 33, 43 and 53 constitutes a violation of this cardinal Weinreichian principle of Yiddish phonology by its own proponent.

Note moreover that vowel 53 is a phantom vowel. Once SC forms exhibiting the diaphoneme NethY u || CY ɪ̱ || NEY u are transposed from 53 (Table 2.15) to 52 (Table 2.10), only du and nu (cf. Table 1: nos. 10, 54) remain as GC examples provided by M. Weinreich (1973: II, 355) illustrative of vowel 53. Synchronically, there is no qualification for the classification of these two forms as vowel 53. Not only is 53 merged with 52 in all dialects of Yiddish, but in du and nu vowel 53 is synchronically merged with vowel 51. In NethY and CY, where 52/53 remains distinct from 51 (cf. Tables 2.5, 2.10, 2.15), the opposition of 52/53 vs. 51 is none the less

neutralized (phonetically in favor of 52/53) in stressed word final position. NethY •dŏ, •nŏ and CY •dĭ, •nĭ would be spurious forms in violation of the synchronic phonologies of these dialects.[15] Of course, 52/53 is merged with 51 in all positions in NEY. Historically, the notion of a GC vowel 53 becomes even more nebulous in light of the parallel attested Middle High German cognates of these two words with uo rather than u, as M. Weinreich (1973: IV, 377) himself notes.

2.3. Secondly, SC forms exhibiting the diaphoneme NethY ō || CY u || NEY ɔ have been misclassified as vowel 13. In NethY vowel 13 is kept distinct from vowel 12, whereas the two are merged in all forms of EY. In as much as vowels 12 and 13 are not merged in NethY, it becomes rapidly evident that the relevant SC forms appear as vowel 12 (NethY ō) rather than 13 (NethY ă).[16] This misclassification is obvious from inspection of Table 2.11, where SC forms are posited in spite of their failure to conform to the diaphoneme.[17] They are in perfect conformity with the diaphoneme of vowel 12 (Table 2.6).

2.4. The objections raised above in §2.2 are readily disposed of by the collapse of vowel 23 with 22; 33 with 32; 43 with 42; 53 with 52. The collapse yields unitary vowels 22, 32, 42 and 52. The number of Yiddish protovowels is thereby reduced from twenty to sixteen. The objection raised above in §2.3 is resolved by the transposition of SC forms exhibiting the diaphoneme NethY o̲ || CY u̲ || NEY ɔ̲ from vowel 13 to vowel 12. Vowel 13, rather than 12, is thereby rendered void of SC forms. These revisions are carried out in the Revised System of Proto Yiddish Vocalism (Table 3).

Table 3: Revised System of Proto Yiddish Vocalism

Table 3.1: Vowel 11 (A_1)

	NethY ă	CY ă	NEY a
GC:	ălt	ălt	alt
	năxt	năxt	naxt
	zălc	zălc	zalc
SC:	kălə	kălə	kalə
	măləx	măləx	maləx
	xăzər	xăzər	xazər

Table 3.2: Vowel 21 (E_1)

	NethY ɛ	CY ɛ	NEY ɛ
GC:	ɛsn	ɛsn	ɛsn
	gɛlt	gɛlt	gɛlt
	vɛlt	vɛlt	vɛlt
SC:	ɛməs	ɛməs	ɛməs
	gɛt	gɛt	gɛt
	mɛs	mɛs	mɛs

Table 3.3: Vowel 31 (I_1)

	NethY ĭ	CY ĭ	NEY i
GC:	dĭn	dĭn	din
	kĭnd	kĭnd	kind
	šĭf	šĭf	šif
SC:	gĭbər	gĭbər	gibər
	šĭkər	šĭkər	šikər
	tĭpəš	tĭpəš	tipəš

Table 3.4: Vowel 41 (O_1)

	NethY ɔ	CY ɔ	NEY ɔ
GC:	lɔx	lɔx	lɔx
	tɔxtər	tɔxtər	tɔxtər
	vɔx	vɔx	vɔx
SC:	kɔl	kɔl	kɔl
	xɔxmə	xɔxmə	xɔxmə
	yɔntəf	yɔntəf	yɔntəf

Table 3.5: Vowel 51 (U_1)

	NethY ŏ	CY ĭ	NEY u
GC:	frŏm	frĭm	frum
	hŏnt	hĭnt	hunt
	zŏntik	zĭntik	zuntik
SC:	gŏzmə	gĭzmə	guzmə
	məšŏgə	məšĭgə	məšugə
	xŏcpə	xĭcpə	xucpə

Table 3.6: Vowel 12 (A_2)

	NethY ō	CY u	NEY ɔ
GC:	ōdər	udər	ɔdər
	nōdl	nudl	nɔdl
	šlōfn	šlufn	šlɔfn
SC:	kōvəd	kuvəd	kɔvəd
	parnōsə	parnusə	parnɔsə
	šōləm	šuləm	šɔləm

Table 3.7: Vowel 22 (E_2)

	NethY ɛy	CY ay	NEY ey
GC:	ɛyzl	ayzl	eyzl
	gɛyn	gayn	geyn
	lɛyb	layb	leyb
	lɛygn	laygn	leygn
	nɛytik	naytik	neytik
	šɛyn	šayn	šeyn
SC:	mɛyləx	mayləx	meyləx
	sɛyfər	sayfər	seyfər
	xɛylək	xaylək	xeylək

Table 3.8: Vowel 32 (I_2)

	NethY ī	CY ī	NEY i
GC:	dīr	dīr	dir
	grīn	grīn	grin
	īr	īr	ir
	mīr	mīr	mir
	tīf	tīf	tif
	zīs	zīs	zis
SC:	bəkīəs	bəkīəs	bəkiəs
	nəgīnə	nəgīnə	nəginə
	yəšīvə	yəšīvə	yəšivə

Table 3.9: Vowel 42 (O_2)

	NethY ɔu	CY ɔy	NEY ey
GC:	brɔut	brɔyt	breyt
	grɔus	grɔys	greys
	lɔub	lɔyb	leyb
	rɔut	rɔyt	reyt
	vɔul	vɔyl	veyl
	vɔunən	vɔynən	veynən
SC:	šɔutə	šɔytə	šeytə
	sɔuxər	sɔyxər	seyxər
	xɔudəš	xɔydəš	xeydəš

Table 3.10: Vowel 52 (U_2)

	NethY u	CY ī	NEY u
GC:	brudər	brīdər	brudər
	du	dī	du
	nu	nī	nu
	šul	šīl	šul
	zuxn	zīxn	zuxn
SC:	bušə	bīšə	bušə
	nəvuə	nəvīə	nəvuə
	rəfuə	rəfīə	rəfuə

Table 3.11: Vowel 13 (A_3)

	NethY ă	CY u	NEY ɔ
GC:	ărm	urəm	ɔrəm
	štăt	štut	štɔt
	văs	vus	vɔs

Table 3.12: Vowel 24 (E_4)

	NethY ā	CY ay	NEY ey
GC:	ān	ayn	eyn
	flāš	flayš	fleyš
	mānən	maynən	meynən

Table 3.13: Vowel 34 (I_4)

	NethY ɛy	CY ā	NEY ay
GC:	nɛy	nā	nay
	šɛynən	šānən	šaynən
	vɛyn	vān	vayn
SC:	dɛygəs	dāgəs	daygəs
	gɛyvə	gāvə	gayvə
	mɛyləs	māləs	mayləs

Table 3.14: Vowel 44 (O_4)

	NethY ā	CY ɔy	NEY ey
GC:	āg	ɔyg	eyg
	bām	bɔym	beym
	rāx	rɔyx	reyx

Table 3.15: Vowel 54 (U_4)

	NethY ɔu	CY ō (or ou)	NEY ɔy
GC:	hɔuz	hōz	hɔyz
	lɔuz	lōz	lɔyz
	mɔul	mōl	mɔyl

Table 3.16: Vowel 25 (E_5)

	NethY ē	CY ē (or ey)	NEY ɛ
GC:	mēl	mēl	mɛl
	šēmən	šēmən	šɛmən
	zēn	zēn	zɛn
SC:	məxŏtēnəstə	məxətēnəstə	məxutɛnəstə
	nēfəš	nēfəš	nɛfəš
	xēsəd	xēsəd	xɛsəd

3. Genetic Considerations

3.1. The synchronic systems of stressed vowel phonemes in NethY, CY and NEY, and their genetic correspondences, are illustrated in Table 4. These correspondences are noted by the affixation of numerical subscripts which represent the sixteen Yiddish protovowels as presented in Table 3. This method of notation, credited to Haudricourt and Juilland (1949) was adapted successfully for the systematization of the synchronic correspondences amongst EY dialects by U. Weinreich (1958: 225-226), and for the system of Proto Yiddish vocalism by Herzog (1965: 161-163, 228 note 1) who replaces M. Weinreich's (1960) letter symbols with the numbering system used herein (cf. note 7). This substitution has the advantage of avoiding reference to an ultimately dubious assumption about the exact phonetic nature of a Yiddish protovowel, and it is moreover more coherent to reserve phonetic symbols for actual or reconstructed phonetic values, especially in discussion where reference is made to various reconstructed stages of dialects and groups of dialects.

3.2. It is immediately apparent that NethY (Table 4.1) on the one hand and CY and NEY (Tables 4.2, 4.3) on the other, are mutually inderivable. NethY cannot derive from any form

Table 4.1: Netherlandic Yiddish

$\bar{\imath}_{32}$	$\check{\imath}_{31}$			u_{52}
$\bar{e}_{25}$			$\check{o}_{51}$	$\bar{o}_{12}$
$\varepsilon y_{22/34}$	ε_{21}		$\mathfrak{o}_{41}$	$\mathfrak{o}u_{42/54}$
		$\check{a}_{11/13}$		
		$\bar{a}_{24/44}$		

Table 4.2: Central Yiddish

$\bar{\imath}_{32/52}$	$\check{\imath}_{31/51}$			$u_{12/13}$
$\bar{e}$ (or ey)$_{25}$				$\bar{o}$ (or ou)$_{54}$
	ε_{21}		$\mathfrak{o}_{41}$	$\mathfrak{o}y_{42/44}$
		$\check{a}_{11}$		
		$\bar{a}_{34}$		
		$ay_{22/24}$		

Table 4.3: Northeastern Yiddish

$i_{31/32}$				$u_{51/52}$
$ey_{22/24/42/44}$				
	$\varepsilon_{21/25}$		$\mathfrak{o}_{12/13/41}$	$\mathfrak{o}y_{54}$
		a_{11}		
		ay_{34}		

of EY as it has kept distinct the reflexes of vowels 12 and 13 (ō vs. ă), 22 and 24 (ɛy vs. ā), 42 and 44 (ɔu vs. ā). These three pairs are merged in all of EY. Conversely, NethY cannot resemble an immediate ancestor of EY as vowels 24 and 44 are merged in NethY as unitary ā, a feature common to all of WY by definition (cf. Landau and Wachstein 1911: xli; Prilutski 1920: 79; M. Weinreich 1958: 164-165). In most parts of EY, 24 and 44 are distinct (CY ay vs. ɔy || Southeastern Yiddish ey vs. ɔy) and resemble somewhat the Middle High German cognate vowels (ei and ou). This crucial aspect of EY vocalism compels the conclusion that EY broke away early from western forms of Yiddish as the break had to occur before vowels 24 and 44 merged in the formation that was to become WY. The merger of vowels 24 and 44 in NEY is purely coincidental and does not indicate any unique genealogical relationship between NethY (or any other form of WY) and NEY. This conclusion is motivated by at least three considerations:

(a) While vowels 24 and 44 are merged as ā in NethY, they are merged as ey in NEY, suggesting that NEY ey_{24} is an archaic feature of the dialect (cf. Middle High German ei) with which vowel 44 (whatever its former realization) collapsed.

(b) Vowels 24 and 44 have no independent existence in any form

of EY. Vowel 24 is merged with 22 and vowel 44 with 42 throughout EY (CY $\underline{ay}_{22/24}$ || NEY $\underline{ey}_{22/24}$). The NEY merger of vowel 24 with 44 is then actually a merger of 22/24 with 42/44. Vowels 22 and 42 are, of course, not merged in NethY ($\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$ vs. $\underline{ɔu}_{42}$).

(c) The collapse of NEY 42/44 with 22/24 is recent. The more conservative Courland dialect of Western Latvia, now nearly extinct, preserves the distinction as $\underline{æy}_{22/24}$ vs. $\underline{øi}_{42/44}$ (M. Weinreich 1923: 201) or $\underline{øu}_{42/44}$ (Kalmanovitsh 1926: 167) or $\underline{øü}_{42/44}$ (U. Weinreich 1958: 251). Now in modern, spoken NEY (Table 4.3), vowels 22/24 and 42/44 are merged as NEY $\underline{ey}_{22/24/42/44}$ but even in Vilna, in the heartland of the classical variety of NEY, Kalmanovitsh (1926: 167) believed he was able to hear a difference between the realizations of 22/24 and 42/44 in his own time (cf. U. Weinreich 1958: 255).

3.3. Notwithstanding their mutual inderivability, it is clear that NethY and EY are closely related genetically in a cousin like manner, if the figure of speech is not taken too literally. The ultimate unilinear descent of both NethY and EY from Proto Yiddish is evident not only in the congruent fusion of GC and SC vowels in the two geographically noncontiguous areas (cf. Table 3). It is

equally evident from the weighty series of congruent anomalies. Tabulation of the salient congruent anomalies deserves to be the object of a special study. Four examples, two from each component, will suffice for the purpose at hand.

(a) Vowel 12 (cf. Table 3.6) is expected in the Yiddish cognate of Middle High German (MHG) lâzen, giving NethY •lōzn || CY •luzn || NEY lɔzn (cf. MHG âder, jâr, nâdel and NethY ōdər 'vein', yōr 'year', nōdl 'needle' || CY udər, yur, nudl || NEY ɔdər, yɔr, nɔdl). The actual diaphoneme corresponds to vowel 41 (cf. Table 3.4), hence NethY lɔzn '(to) let' || CY lɔzn || NEY lɔzn.

(b) Vowel 41 (cf. Table 3.4) is expected in the Yiddish cognate of MHG hocker, giving NethY •hɔkər || CY •hɔkər || NEY •hɔkər (cf. MHG ort, woche, wolf and NethY ɔrt 'place', vɔx 'week', vɔlf 'wolf' || CY ɔrt, vɔx, vɔlf || NEY ɔrt, vɔx, vɔlf). The actual diaphoneme corresponds to vowel 42 (cf. Table 3.9), hence NethY hɔukər 'hunchback' || CY hɔykər || NEY heykər.

(c) Vowel 21 (cf. Table 3.2) is expected in the Yiddish cognate of Tiberian ḥēn, giving NethY •xɛn || CY •xɛn || NEY •xɛn (cf. Tiberian mēθ, šēð, šēm and NethY mɛs 'corpse', šɛd 'ghost', šɛm '(good/divine) name' || CY mɛs, šɛd, šɛm || NEY mɛs, šɛd, šɛm). The actual diaphoneme corresponds to

vowel 22 (cf. Table 3.7), hence NethY xɛ̯yn 'witticism, pleasantness' [EY 'grace, charm'] || CY xa̯yn || NEY xe̯yn.

(d) Vowel 52 (cf. Table 3.10) is expected in the Yiddish cognate of Tiberian mă̆zūzṓ, giving NethY •məzu̯zə || CY •məzī̯zə || NEY məzu̯zə (cf. Tiberian bă̆θūlṓ, ḥavrūθṓ, malbūšī́m and NethY bəsu̯lə 'virgin', xavru̯sə 'company, bunch', malbu̯šəm 'clothing' || CY bəsī̯lə, xavrī̯sə, malbī̯šəm || NEY bəsu̯lə, xavru̯sə, malbu̯šəm). The actual diaphoneme corresponds to vowel 51 (cf. Table 3.5), hence NethY məzŏ̯zə 'traditional door post amulet, mezuzah' || CY məzĭ̯zə || NEY məzu̯zə.

Violations of the usual correspondences holding between the stock languages and Yiddish such as these four illustrative instances (anomalous vowel 41 for expected 12, 42 for 41, 22 for 21, 51 for 52) are not capriciously random. The same exceptional protovowel in lieu of the expected reflex appears in each case both in NethY, at the northwesternmost fringe of the historical territory of Yiddish, and throughout EY. This remarkable congruence of anomaly cannot be due to sheer chance. Such parallelisms compel the historical linguist to envisage a real primeval Yiddish from which much of the lexical inventories of the

modern dialects must derive. Such an approach can be productive as long as neogrammarian excesses are shunned. No claim is made that the entire inventories of each Yiddish dialect are unilinearly descended from the protolanguage. Moreover, no attempt is made to reconstruct the daily language of Proto Yiddish speakers. The discovery and ordering of the vocalic correspondences amongst the dialects seeks merely to establish the historical relations between the dialects themselves.

3.4. Before a consideration can be made of the historical relation of NethY to EY, it seems auspicious to compare NethY developments with parallel developments in the Netherlandic language ("Dutch"). If phonological features obviously due to Netherlandic impact on the phonology of the coterritorial Yiddish are taken note of, such features will not mendaciously be thought of as historical relics of older forms of Yiddish. The possibility of Netherlandic impact seems greatest in those features of NethY vocalism which are nearly or wholly restricted to this form of Yiddish alone. Three such features are here considered.

(a) The lowering of historical short *ŭ to NethY $\breve{o}_{51}$ (cf. Table 3.5) is perfectly congruent with the same phonetic development in Netherlandic (cf. Haeringen 1960: 59;

Weijnen 1968: 22). It applied in NethY to both components (cf. MHG hunt, sunne, vrum, Tiberian ḥuppṓ, ḥuṣpṓ, šuttṓf and NethY hŏnt 'dog', zŏn 'sun', frŏm 'pious', xŏpə 'wedding (canopy)', xŏcpə 'impudence', šŏtəf 'partner' || CY hĭnt, zĭn, frĭm, xĭpə, xĭcpə, šĭtəf || NEY hunt, zun, frum, xupə, xucpə, šutəf). The obvious source of the ŏ < *ŭ shift in the coterritorial language renders untenable M. Weinreich's (1973: II, 19) claim that $\breve{o}_{51}$ is a relic of "the 'pre-Ashkenazic', i.e. Southern Palestinian reading system which was also in effect in Central Europe until the Babylonian Renaissance." [18]

(b) The merger of vowels 22 and 34 as NethY $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/34}$ (cf. Tables 3.7, 3.13) is likewise congruent with the same phonetic development in Netherlandic (cf. Haeringen 1960: 100). Old West Germanic *ī, while still distinguished graphically in Modern Netherlandic as <ij>, has merged with the older diphthong ɛy. This merger engendered the collapse of NethY vowel 34 with $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$ yielding unitary NethY $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/34}$ (cf. MHG gên, snê, stên, Tiberian gērúš, sḗfɛr, śḗxɛl; MHG hînte, wîn, zît, Tiberian dəʔɔ́yṓθ, gaʔăwṓ, maʕălṓ and NethY gɛyn '(to) go', šnɛy 'snow', štɛyn '(to) stand', gɛyrəš 'expulsion', sɛyfər '(sacred) book', sɛyxl 'sense, intellect'; hɛynt 'today', vɛyn 'wine', cɛyt 'time', dɛygəs 'worries', gɛyvə 'haughtiness',

mɛylə 'virtuous attribute' || CY gayn, šnay, štayn, gayrəš, sayfər, sayxl; hānt, vān, cāt, dāgəs, gāvə, mālə || NEY geyn, šney, šteyn, geyrəš, seyfər, seyxl; haynt, vayn, cayt, daygəs, gayvə, maylə).

(c) Vowels 42 and 54 are merged as unitary NethY $ɔu_{42/54}$ (cf. Tables 3.9, 3.15) (cf. MHG brôt, hôch, grôz, Tiberian šōṭɛ́, sōðōθ, sōḥḗr; MHG bûch, hûs, mûs and NethY brɔut 'bread', hɔux 'high, loud', grɔus 'large', šɔutə 'fool', sɔudəs 'secrets', sɔuxər 'merchant'; bɔux 'stomach', hɔuz 'house', mɔuz 'mouse' || CY brɔyt, hɔyx, grɔys, šɔytə, sɔydəs, sɔyxər; bōx, hōz, mōz || NEY breyt, heyx, greys, šeytə, seydəs, seyxər; bɔyx, hɔyz, mɔyz). This merger is not paralleled by a congruent development in Netherlandic, where Old West Germanic *ū was diphthongized to øü. Now a case could be made that NethY may have once had $*øü_{54}$ under phonetic influence of Netherlandic and that this diphthong underwent subsequent unrounding to NethY $ɔu_{54}$ merging with $ɔu_{42}$. Such a view could be structurally supported by the absence of front rounded vowels in NethY. Even if further study should prove such a view tenable, the merger of vowels 42 and 54 would none the less remain an internal NethY development as Netherlandic øü (or its regional variants) remains distinct

from ɔu (cf. Haeringen 1960: 100). We conclude, however, that the merger of vowels 42 and 54 in NethY is an archaism which WY speakers had in their speech at the time of their initial settlement in the Netherlands. This conclusion is founded upon documentation of $ɔu_{42/54}$ in Alsation Yiddish, which is not coterritorial with Netherlandic (cf. Zuckerman 1969: 48-49; also Beranek 1965: 16-17, 118-119; Zivy 1966: 6). The merger of vowels 42 and 54 in Standard Yiddish is of course unrelated to the NethY development as the merger has no dialectal basis. The standard language has $ɔy_{42}$ from CY and Southeastern Yiddish, $ɔy_{54}$ from (parts of) NEY.

While the merger of vowels 42 and 54 cannot be ascribed to the impact of Netherlandic on NethY, the lowering of *ŭ to NethY $ŏ_{51}$ and the collapse of vowel 34 with vowel 22 yielding unitary NethY $ɛy_{22/34}$ are obviously the effects of pressure from the coterritorial language. By subtracting, as it were, these two features from the synchronic system of stressed vowel phonemes of modern NethY (Table 4.1), we arrive at the system of stressed vowel phonemes as it stood prior to Netherlandic impact. Since this prior system was not arrived at by comparison with other Yiddish dialects, but by comparison of relevant stock language forms with sound shifts which occurred in Netherlandic, it is

perhaps best referred to as Pre-NethY rather than Proto NethY. The stressed vowel system of Pre-NethY is illustrated in Table 5.1.

3.5. While NethY and EY are mutually inderivable (§3.2), it is none the less likely that the stressed vowel system of Pre-NethY can prove valuable in the determination of the stressed vocalism of Proto EY. Proto EY is in principle the immediate ancestor of the major dialect areas of EY (CY, Southeastern Yiddish and NEY) arrived at by use of the comparative method. It seems a priori probable that Pre-NethY shared a number of common inherited features with Proto EY. We propose specifically that the values in Pre-NethY of vowels 12 (ō), 22 (ɛy) and 25 (ē) resembled the realizations of Proto EY vowels 12/13, 22/24 and 25.[19] The stressed vowel systems of Pre-NethY and Proto EY are contrasted in Table 5. Note that this juxtaposition does not entail the dubious practice of basing one reconstruction upon another. To the contrary, Pre-NethY (Table 5.1) rather than modern NethY (Table 4.1) is confronted with the stressed vowel system of Proto EY (Table 5.2) precisely because the NethY realizations of vowels 12, 22 and 25 cannot be attributed to the force of parallel developments in the coterritorial Netherlandic.

Table 5: The Stressed Vowel Phonemes of Pre-Netherlandic Yiddish and Proto Eastern Yiddish and their Genetic Correspondences

Table 5.1: Pre-Netherlandic Yiddish

$\bar{\imath}_{32}$	$\check{\imath}_{31}$		$*\check{u}_{51}$	$\bar{u}_{52}$
$\bar{e}_{25}$				$\bar{o}_{12}$
εy_{22}	ε_{21}		$\mathfrak{o}_{41}$	$\mathfrak{o}u_{42/54}$
		$\check{a}_{11/13}$		
		$\bar{a}_{24/44}$		
		$*ay_{34}$		

Table 5.2: Proto Eastern Yiddish

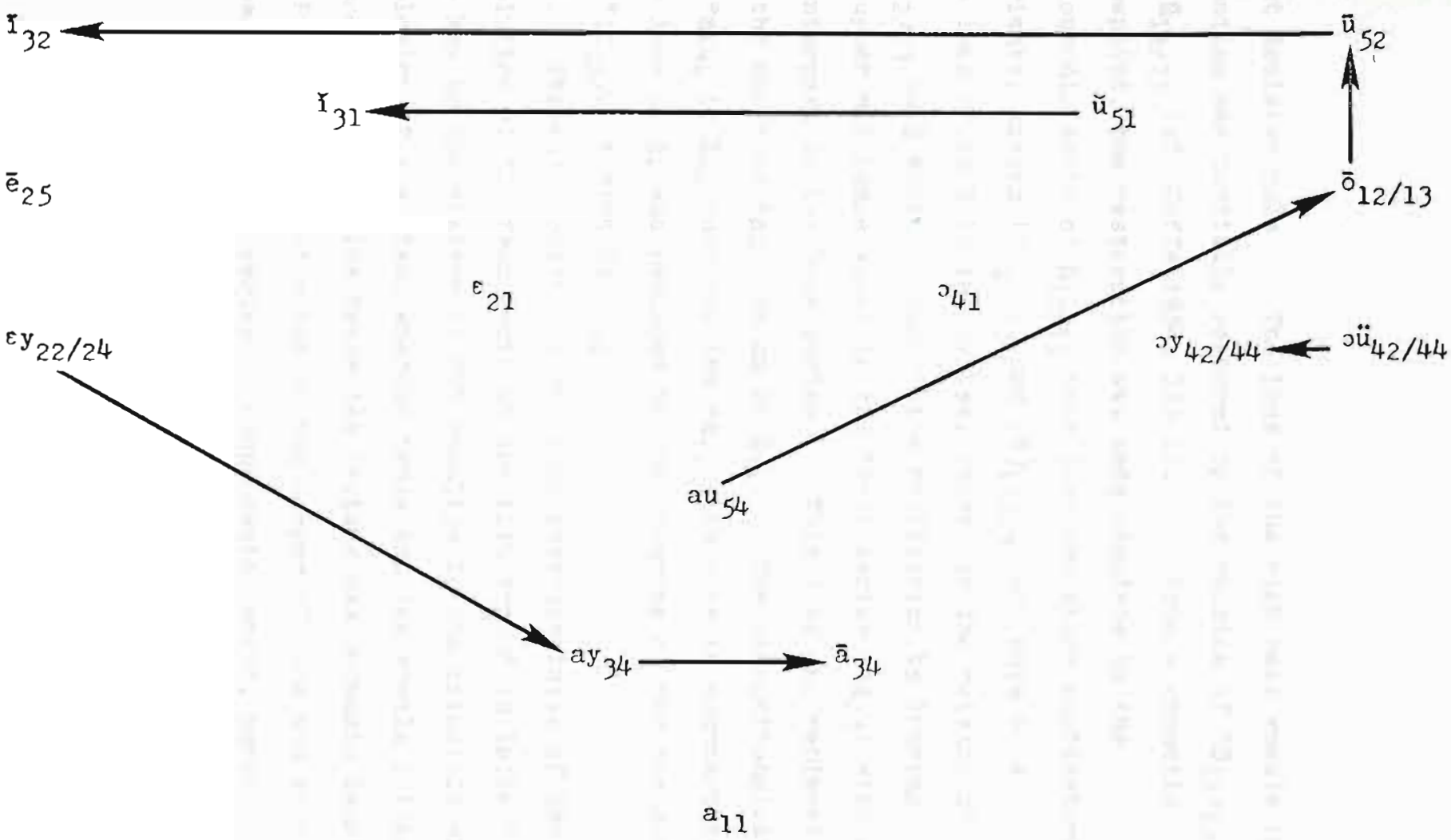
$*\bar{\imath}_{32}$	$*\check{\imath}_{31}$		$*\check{u}_{51}$	$*\bar{u}_{52}$
$*\bar{e}_{25}$				$*\bar{o}_{12/13}$
$*\varepsilon y_{22/24}$	$*\varepsilon_{21}$		$*\mathfrak{o}_{41}$	$*\mathfrak{o}\ddot{u}_{42/44}$
		$*a_{11}$		
		$*ay_{34}$		
		$*au_{54}$		

In the vowel system of Pre-NethY, only the values of Pre-NethY *$\underline{a}y_{34}$ and *$\underline{\breve{u}}_{51}$ represent reconstructions (cf. above §3.4: a—b).

3.6. The major shifts of phonemes characteristic of the evolution of CY from Proto EY are illustrated in Table 6. Of the greatest relative antiquity is the fronting of *$\underline{\bar{u}}_{52}$ and *$\underline{\breve{u}}_{51}$. The chronological precedence of this shift is attested to by massive philological evidence (cf. Birnbaum 1934) and is confirmed by structural analysis (cf. Herzog 1965: 165). Fronting of the high back vowels led to an intermediate stage of *$\underline{\bar{\ddot{u}}}_{52}$ and *$\underline{\breve{\ddot{u}}}_{51}$, both of which underwent subsequent unrounding which resulted in the merger with the high front vowels, hence CY $\underline{\bar{\imath}}_{32/52}$ and $\underline{\breve{\imath}}_{31/51}$ (cf. Table 4.2). It seems likely that *$\underline{ɔ\ddot{u}}_{42/44}$ shifted to $\underline{ɔy}_{42/44}$ concurrently with the unrounding of *$\underline{\bar{\ddot{u}}}_{52}$ and *$\underline{\breve{\ddot{u}}}_{51}$ to $\underline{\bar{\imath}}_{52}$ and $\underline{\breve{\imath}}_{51}$ respectively.

The key to the history of CY vocalism is the principle of symmetrical equilibrium of the system. No claim is made that equilibrium of a system, when disrupted by sound change, must a priori be restored. The claim is only made that in the history of CY the force of restoration of equilibrium was indeed a potent factor which played a

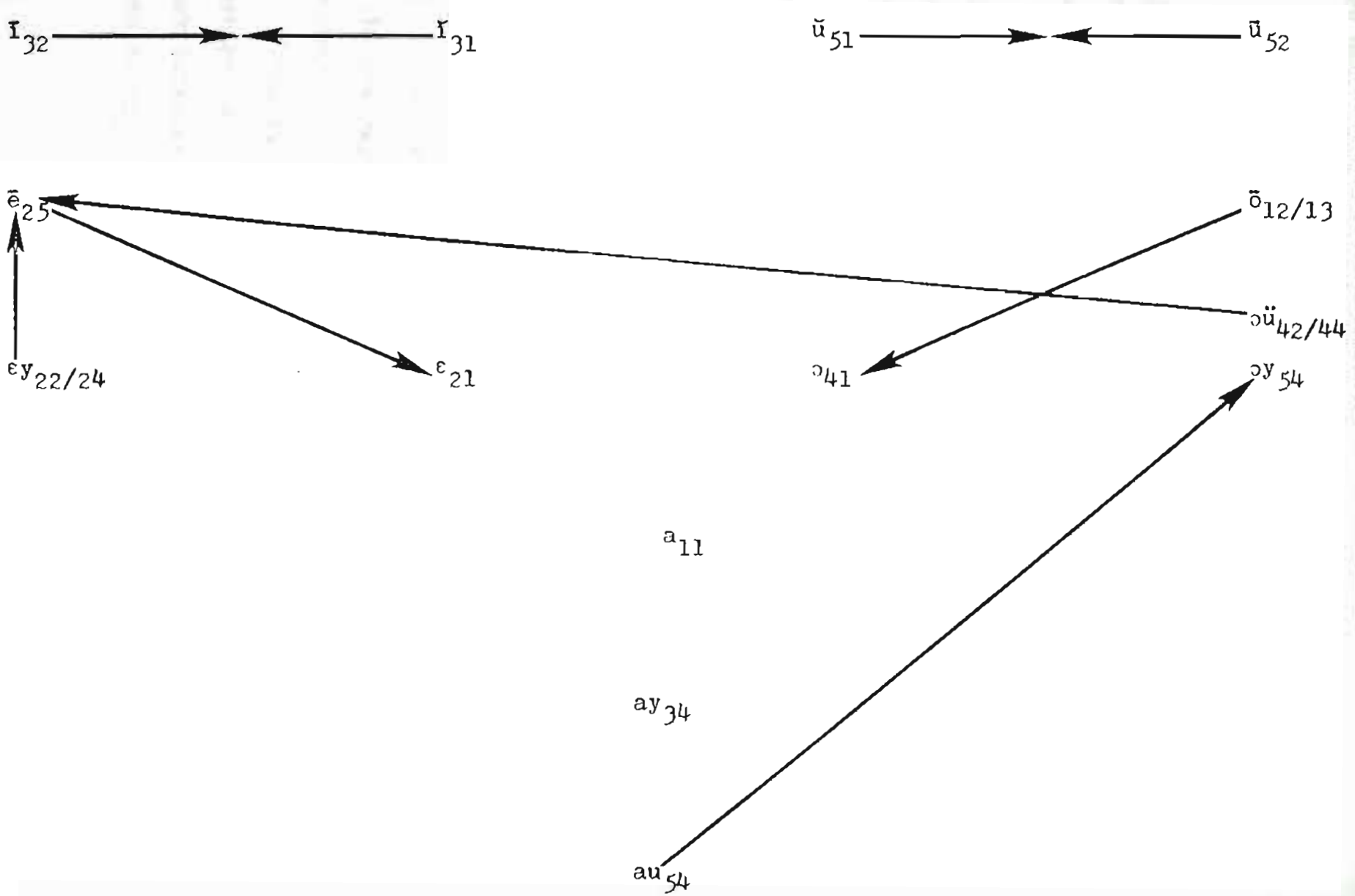
Table 6: The Evolution of Central Yiddish from Proto Eastern Yiddish



most decisive role. The loss of the high back vowels by fronting was partially restored by the raising of *$\bar{o}_{12/13}$ to $\bar{u}_{12/13}$ (cf. Joffe 1954: 119-120). From a phonetic viewpoint, the restoration was made complete by the allophonic split of $\bar{u}_{12/13}$ into long and short combinatory variants, giving $[\bar{u}]_{12/13}$ and $[\breve{u}]_{12/13}$ (cf. note 8: e). The loss of an $\bar{o}$ in the system, caused by the raising of *$\bar{o}_{12/13}$ to $\bar{u}$ again disrupted the equilibrium by leaving an upper mid tense vowel in the front series (*$\bar{e}_{25}$) with no counterpart in the back series. This loss was replaced by the shift of *$\underline{au}_{54}$ to $\underline{ou}$ or $\bar{o}_{54}$. The monophthongization of *$\underline{ay}_{34}$ to $\bar{a}_{34}$ supplied lax *$\underline{a}_{11}$ with a tense counterpart. The loss of $\underline{ay}$ was replaced by the lowering of the nucleus of *$\underline{ey}_{22/24}$ giving $\underline{ay}_{22/24}$.

3.7. The major shifts of phonemes characteristic of the evolution of NEY from Proto EY are illustrated in Table 7. The key to the history of NEY vocalism is the principle of implosion of a system, whereby tense and lax vowels collapse. Where the distinctive tense/lax feature was phonemic length in Proto EY, implosion led to the merger of long and short vowels as a single series of nonphonemic length, hence

Table 7: The Evolution of Northeastern Yiddish from Proto Eastern Yiddish



$\underline{i}_{31/32}$ < *$\underline{\check{i}}_{31}$, *$\underline{\bar{i}}_{32}$ and $\underline{u}_{51/52}$ < *$\underline{\check{u}}_{51}$, *$\underline{\bar{u}}_{52}$. Where the distinctive tense/lax feature was vowel color (tense close vs. lax open) in Proto EY, implosion favored the lax vowel in each pair. In the front series, tense *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ collapsed with lax *$\underline{\varepsilon}_{21}$ giving unitary NEY $\underline{\varepsilon}_{21/25}$. In the back series, tense *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12/13}$ collapsed with lax *$\underline{\mathfrak{o}}_{41}$ giving unitary NEY $\underline{\mathfrak{o}}_{12/13/41}$. While the loss of an $\underline{\bar{o}}$ in the system was not replaced, the loss of an $\underline{\bar{e}}$ in the front series, where there is more phonetic space in the oral cavity, was replaced by the nucleus raising of *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/24}$ giving $\underline{ey}_{22/24}$. Perhaps due to its instability, *$\underline{\mathfrak{o}\ddot{u}}_{42/44}$ shifted to $\underline{ey}_{42/44}$ (through several stages, e.g. *$\underline{\phi\ddot{u}}$ and *$\underline{\phi y}$). Vowel 42/44 thus merged with 22/24 giving unitary NEY $\underline{ey}_{22/24/42/44}$. The loss of a diphthongal nucleus amongst the back rounded vowels may have been a factor in the shift of *$\underline{au}_{54}$ to $\underline{\mathfrak{o}y}_{54}$ and its regional variants.[20]

3.8. The positing of Proto EY *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/24}$, *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ and *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12/13}$ on the analogy of Pre-NethY $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$, $\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ and $\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$ may contribute a number of insights into the history of EY vocalism.[21]

The nucleus of Proto EY diphthong 22/24 was open [ɛ] (perhaps [æ]) notwithstanding the cognate vowels in the stock languages (cf. MHG $\underline{\hat{e}}$, $\underline{ei}$, open syllabic $\underline{e}$; Tiberian $\underline{\bar{e}}$).[22] Proto EY $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/24}$ was intermediate between the two phonetic

endpoints reached as a result of opposite pressures. The nucleus of vowel 22/24 was raised in NEY as a result of the loss of an ē (itself caused by collapse of *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ with *$\underline{\varepsilon}_{21}$), hence NEY $\underline{ey}_{22/24}$. It was lowered in CY as a result of the loss of an ay (itself caused by the monophthongization of *$\underline{ay}_{34}$ to $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$). The positing of Proto EY *$\underline{ey}_{22/24}$ would not only entail reconstruction of the unlikely shift of *ey to ay in CY. It would moreover constitute reconstruction of an implausible system where *$\underline{ey}_{22/24}$ was distinct from *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$.[23] The merger of vowel 22/24 with 25 in (parts of) Southeastern Yiddish is of course a secondary development as the two are kept distinct elsewhere (cf. NethY $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22(/34)}$, $\underline{\bar{a}}_{24(/44)}$ vs. $\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ || CY $\underline{ay}_{22/24}$ vs. $\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ || NEY $\underline{ey}_{22/24(/42/44)}$ vs. $\underline{\varepsilon}_{(21/)25}$).[24]

Vowel quality (height, degree of opening) rather than length was the distinctive feature in the Proto EY oppositions of vowels 25 vs. 21 and 12/13 vs. 41. Both the long and short high back vowels were fronted in CY. Now the drag chain set in motion by fronting of the high back vowels led to the raising of only the next-to-highest back vowel to replace the loss of a high back vowel. Had the distinctive feature distinguishing Proto EY 12/13 vs. 41 been length, both 12/13 and 41 would have been raised, *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12/13}$ to $\underline{\bar{u}}_{12/13}$ and •*$\underline{\breve{o}}_{41}$ to

•$\breve{u}_{41}$. Since vowel 41 was a lower vowel, it escaped raising. Note moreover that Proto EY *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12/13}$ (like *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22/24}$) was intermediate between the two phonetic endpoints reached as a result of different pressures. In NEY, *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12/13}$ was lowered in consequence of the collapse of the upper mid tense vowels with the lower mid lax vowels. It was raised in CY as a result of the loss of *$\underline{\bar{u}}_{52}$.

Finally, the distinctiveness of vowel quality rather than length in the Proto EY oppositions of vowel 25 vs. 21 and 12/13 vs. 41 is vital to the understanding of the evolution of NEY. While implosion of the system led to loss of phonemic length amongst the high vowels, it led to collapse of the mid vowels in favor of the lax (lower, more open) vowel in each pair. The notion of "loss of phonemic length" therefore has no independent status in the history of NEY. It applied to the high vowels even as laxing applied to the tense mid vowels. Both processes together constitute the implosion which led to the vowel system characteristic of modern NEY.

4. Notes on Regional and Etymological Variation

4.1. Internal regional variation in NethY is exceedingly difficult to reconstruct due to the demise of the dialect and the relatively uniform graphemic standards prevailing in literary monuments of years gone by.[25] Nevertheless, further analysis of extant materials and more questioning of informants will doubtlessly result in the emergence of a number of isoglosses. In addition to the works and letters of Beem (cf. note 3), we have consulted a recording of an interview with an informant from the eastern Netherlands, conducted on behalf of the Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry.[26] We have moreover been fortunate to interview an informant born in 1905 in Den Bosch, in the southern Netherlands.[27] In contrasting individual lexical items obtained from these two sources with Beem's documentations, dozens of phonetic, phonological, lexical and semantic variants became readily apparent. Tabulation of the individual discrepancies is outside the scope of the present notes which are devoted to the broad outline of the stressed vowel system of NethY.[28]

4.2. One such digression emerges from the eastern Netherlandic informant, whose speech is virtually devoid of $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{34}$. Vowel 34 appears either as $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$ (fr$\underline{\bar{a}}$tək 'Friday', h$\underline{\bar{a}}$nt 'today') or $\underline{ay}_{34}$ (c$\underline{ay}$t 'time', f$\underline{ay}$vəš 'Fayvesh [forename]'). The $\underline{ay}$ realization is in all probability a relic which regionally resisted Netherlandic impact (cf. above §3.4: b; Table 5.1) and $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$ may represent a subsequent partial merger with NethY $\underline{\bar{a}}_{24/44}$. Of course, further investigation must determine whether impact of other Yiddish dialects has played a role here. Other areas of WY (like NEY) have $\underline{ay}_{34}$ (cf. Beranek 1965: 14-15; M. Weinreich 1973: II, 357) and CY has $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$ (cf. Table 4.2). We tend to provisionally conclude however, that the differing realizations of NethY vowel 34 reflect a blurred isogloss. Beem, who has $\underline{\varepsilon y}_{34}$ none the less documents (1970: 18) $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$ in the possessive pronouns d$\underline{\bar{a}}$n 'your', m$\underline{\bar{a}}$n 'my' and z$\underline{\bar{a}}$n 'his'.[29] Perhaps Pre-NethY *$\underline{ay}_{34}$ shifted to $\underline{\varepsilon y}$ under primary stress, while the loss of an $\underline{ay}$ led to merger with $\underline{\bar{a}}_{24/44}$ in the case of the generally unstressed possessive pronouns (in Beem's variety).

4.3. There is a deep and as yet unexplored genetic overlap of vowels 24 and 34. While lack of stress can be argued as the cause of $\underline{\bar{a}}_{34}$ in the possessive pronouns, no such claim can be made regarding the weighty number of SC forms where Beem notes the variation $\underline{\varepsilon y}$ ~ $\underline{\bar{a}}$. Here the very notion of a vowel 34 reflex must be cast in doubt. Cf. e.g. m$\underline{\varepsilon y}$nsə ~ m$\underline{\bar{a}}$(n)sə 'story', m$\underline{\varepsilon y}$rəv ~ m$\underline{\bar{a}}$rəv 'evening prayer; west', š$\underline{\varepsilon y}$lə ~

šāle 'question (pertaining to Jewish law asked of an authority)'. It seems likely that such NethY SC ā forms are relics of an ancient Yiddish regional variety where the loss of Tiberian pharyngeals ʔ and ʕ led to fusion with GC forms as vowel 24 rather than the 34 characteristic of all of EY and the NethY ɛy$_{34}$ variant (cf. above 3.4: b; Table 3.13).[30] A less likely theory which may not however be dismissed out of hand might claim that the SC ā$_{34}$ forms represent borrowings from other forms of WY (cf. Beranek 1965: 18-21, 30-31, 76-77; Guggenheim-Grünberg 1973: 40-43, 100-101).[31]

4.4. Beranek (1965: 88-89) claims that historical *ĭ$_{31}$ was lowered to ɛ in NethY. This development would be congruent with the development of *ĭ (regionally) in NethY (cf. Weijnen 1968: 22). It would moreover prove symmetrical with the lowering of *ŭ to NethY ŏ$_{51}$ (cf. above §3.4: a). Beem (1970: 19) however calls lowering "sporadic" and lists several instances. Neither of the informants recorded shows any trace of ɛ$_{31}$.[32] Further inquiry may reveal whether or not there is a blurred isogloss at hand.

4.5. Series of forms which exhibit reflexes of unexpected protovowels in a Yiddish dialect are of special interest to the study of Proto Yiddish vocalism. Two such series in NethY are taken note of.

A number of GC lexical items which appear throughout EY with vowel 25 (cf. Table 3.16) exhibit the reflex of vowel 21 (i.e. ɛ̲ rather than ē) in NethY, e.g. brɛ̲t 'board', gɛ̲bn '(to) give', lɛ̲bn 'life', lɛ̲bər 'liver' (cf. CY brē̲t, gē̲bn, lē̲bn, lē̲bər || NEY brɛ̲t, gɛ̲bn, lɛ̲bn, lɛ̲bər).[33] Since vowel 25 did not collapse with 21 in NethY (as is the case in NEY), such forms may be Old Yiddish relics which (regionally) escaped lengthening (cf. note 19: c). They merit a special study.

4.6. A number of SC lexical items which appear throughout EY with vowel 25 (cf. Table 3.16) exhibit the reflex of vowel 22 (i.e. ɛy̲ rather than ē) in NethY, e.g. kɛy̲ləv '(vicious) dog; coarse fellow', rɛy̲vəx 'profit', šɛy̲kər 'falsehood' (cf. Tiberian kɛ́lɛ̲v, rɛ́waḥ, šɛ́qɛ̲r and CY kē̲ləv, rē̲vəx, šē̲kər || NEY kɛ̲ləv, rɛ̲vəx, šɛ̲kər). These forms are reminiscent of the series of SC segolate nouns where Tiberian stressed open syllabic segol (= ɛ̲) is cognate with Pan Yiddish vowel 22 (e.g. Tiberian mɛ́lɛ̲x, pɛ́saḥ, qɛ́vɛ̲r and

NethY mɛylǝx 'king', pɛysǝx 'Passover', kɛyvǝr 'grave' || CY maylǝx, paysǝx, kayvǝr || NEY meylǝx, peysǝx, keyvǝr). Alternatively, Tiberian stressed open syllabic segol is cognate with Pan Yiddish vowel 25 (e.g. Tiberian bɛ́yɛð, mɛ́laḥ, nɛ́fɛš and NethY bēgǝd 'garment', mēlǝx 'salt', nēfǝš 'soul' || CY bēgǝd, mēlǝx, nēfǝš || NEY bɛgǝd, mɛlǝx, nɛfǝš). The congruence of several Tiberian forms with vowel 22 in NethY, where EY exhibits vowel 25, merits a special study.[34]

N O T E S

1. On extralinguistic aspects of the history of Yiddish language and literature in the Netherlands cf. Shatzky (1936).

2. Beem's writings are virtually the only available linguistically reliable compilations of extensive scope on NethY per se. On the difficulties in separating the extraneous from the relevant in Voorzanger and Polak (1915) cf. M. Weinreich (1923: 50-51; 1958: 180). Notwithstanding its many defects, a profound and comprehensive analysis of NethY will none the less greatly benefit from those materials in Voorzanger and Polak (1915) which do reflect specific traits of NethY.

3. We are deeply indebted to Hartog Beem, currently of Hilversum, The Netherlands, for his invaluable assistance. Except where indicated otherwise (cf. §§4.1-4.4), the NethY forms cited herein, and others upon which conclusions on the stressed vowel system of NethY are based, have been gleaned from Beem's published works and personal

communications. Naturally, full responsibility for the theories advocated herein and the arguments put forward in their behalf, as well as for errors of fact or interpretation, rests wholly with us. We are also thankful to Mr. Joel Cahen for extensive assistance on Netherlandic aspects of problems relating to NethY phonology.

4. The diaphoneme was first used productively in this regard by U. Weinreich (1958) in his systematization of the synchronic correspondences between the stressed vowels of EY dialects. M. Weinreich (1973: IV, 368) notes that the direct impetus toward his protosystem came from a preliminary version of U. Weinreich's systematization. M. Weinreich's protosystem creates a delicate balance between a protosystem in the classical sense and a system of interdialectal correspondences. Splits, for example, result in establishment of separate protovowels only when they are of import to the entire historical speech territory of Yiddish (e.g. the conditioned lengthening which resulted in vowel 25 —— cf. below note 19: c) while those within individual dialects are not thus recorded (e.g. the conditioned shortening of vowel 12/13 in Central Yiddish —— cf. below note 8: e).

5. From the viewpoint of recognizing and tabulating even the most minute correspondences, Bin-nun's (1973) protosystem is highly advanced. Yiddish protovowels in his system act as midpoints between stock language vowels and dialectal realizations in the modern language. M. Weinreich's system is however structurally more advanced, despite its more general character. The numbered Weinreich protovowel (simultaneously a synchronic diaphoneme), rather than the stock language vowel or the reflex in a given Yiddish dialect, is the point of departure. Not only is the "fundamental unity of Yiddish through time and space" (M. Weinreich 1960: 71) thereby demonstrated empirically. The Weinreich protosystem offers, moreover, greater theoretical self-sufficiency, practical applicability to ongoing research in dialectology and historical phonology, economy and elegance. Where Bin-nun posits dozens of correspondences, M. Weinreich postulates but twenty protovowels corresponding to the sixteen Yiddish diaphonemes (cf. §§ 2.2, 2.4). This internalization and autonomization of the system of Proto Yiddish vocalism is a brilliant achievement on M. Weinreich's part, while Bin-nun's system remains the most detailed statement of correspondences to date. The historian of Yiddish linguistics will have to pass judgment on Bin-nun's (1973: 4) claim that M. Weinreich's (1960) initial formulation

of the scheme of Proto Yiddish vocalism did not properly credit his own work (originally written in the nineteen thirties).

6. No attempt has been made here to enumerate all the statements and systematizations of the correspondences between the system of stressed vowels in Yiddish and stock language cognates (cf. e.g. Reyzen 1920; 51-63, 79-83; Veynger 1929: 60-73, 94-100, 116-119, 127-130, 133-140). Such a study would prove an intriguing inquiry into the sociology of Yiddish phonology.

7. The designation of protovowels by two digit numbers represents Herzog's (1965: 228, note 1) symbological modification of the system. M. Weinreich uses upper case letter symbols accompanied by a subscript. In Herzog's modified system, used herein, the first digit denotes the presumed quality of the Proto Yiddish vowel or diphthongal nucleus (1 = A, 2 = E, 3 = I, 4 = O, 5 = U). The second digit marks the protovowel series to which the vowel belongs (1 = short monophthong, 2 = long monophthong, 3 = lengthened monophthong, 4 = diphthong, 5 = lengthened ę vowel). Thus, e.g. NethY $\underline{\text{ɛy}}_{22}$ denotes the synchronic reflex /ɛy/ in NethY of vowel 22 (E_2), i.e. the originally long *$\bar{\text{ę}}$ in the protosystem. For the sake of clarity, both the upper case

letters with single digit subscripts and the corresponding double digit desginations are redundantly provided in Tables 2 and 3. M. Weinreich (1973: IV, 369) calls the modified two digit notation "without any doubt completely legitimate."

8. The transcription of stressed vowel phonemes herein aims at conveying synchronic phonemic contrasts, and, at the same time, broad phonetic accuracy.

(a) Where two vowels of the same quality are phonemically opposed by length distinction, both are marked, e.g. NethY $\breve{a}_{11/13}$ vs. $\bar{a}_{24/44}$. NethY $\breve{a}_{11/13}$ may be phonetically identical with NEY a_{11}. The use of ˘ to mark NethY vowel 11/13 denotes the phonemic opposition of this vowel to a long $\bar{a}$ in the same system (i.e. vowel 24/44). The nonuse of ˘ to mark NEY vowel 11 denotes the lack of such opposition in the stressed vowel system of NEY.

(b) The vowels transcribed $\breve{\imath}$ and $\breve{u}$ may be phonetically equivalent to [I] and [U] respectively.

(c) The nucleus of NethY εy may be intermediate in degree of opening between [ɛ] and [æ].

(d) The nucleus of NethY $ɔu$ is intermediate in degree of opening between [ɔ] and [ɑ].

(e) Concluding with U. Weinreich (1958: 235) that "u is the one vowel of Ctl. Yid. whose short and long renditions are combinatory variants (allophones) of a single phoneme" CY vowel vowel 12/13 is unitarily transcribed as u (cf. Tables 2.6, 2.11, 3.6, 4.2). Historically, the long vowel at hand (cf. Table 6) was shortened (Birnbaum's Law) before labial and velar (= [+grave]) consonants, diphthongized before word final [-grave] consonants, and retained elsewhere as [ū] (cf. Birnbaum 1918: 27; 1923: 125). Note, however, that in some varieties of CY the opposition of $[\bar{u}]_{12/13}$ vs. $[\breve{u}]_{12/13}$ is phonemicized (cf. Herzog 1965: 183; also Gutman 1926: 380).

In the interests of providing as uniform as possible a transcription of cited forms, less phonetic detail has been provided in transcriptions of consonants and unstressed vowels.

(a) Posttonic reduced vowels are unitarily transcribed as ə. They may have variant realizations positionally and regionally (e.g. [I], [ɨ], [ə], [a]).

(b) Postconsonantal word final -l, -m, -n may represent sequences of [əl], [əm], [ən] in NethY but syllabic [l̩], [m̩],

[n̥] in EY. On postconsonantal word final neutralization the /m/ vs. /n/ opposition, cf. U. Weinreich (1958b: 227). (c) The final devoicing of voiced plosives and spirants, which applies in NethY and (at least regionally) in CY, has not been marked in the transcriptions provided.

9. The many diphthongizations and monophthongizations of historical Yiddish dialectology make separate treatments of monophthongs and diphthongs inconceivable. In the synchronic stressed vowel systems of modern Yiddish dialects, diphthongs are often best analyzed as long vowels. One of the grand achievements of M. Weinreich's protosystem is its emancipation from the "Diphthongization" and "Monophthongization" of German historical phonology. The Yiddish cognates of Middle High German ie and uo are most productively conceived of as long (monophthongal) Proto Yiddish vowels (32 and 52). Conversely, the cognates of Middle High German î and û are cognate to diphthongal Yiddish protovowels (34 and 54).

10. Southeastern Yiddish forms will of course be cited where helpful. The citing of a diaphoneme may usually however

be abbreviated to include only CY and NEY realizations. There is no historical vocalic opposition which is lost by the omission of Southeastern Yiddish realizations in the statement of a diaphoneme. The pivotal role of Southeastern Yiddish in Yiddish dialectology is of course not minimized.

11. Note however that only GC and SC forms are cited. The Slavic Component in EY is irrelevant to comparisons with WY vowel systems as WY is almost void of Slavisms, the handful of items being borrowings from EY. The small but ancient corpus of lexical items of Romance (or Laazic) origin are of course relevant to the study of Pan Yiddish vocalism but the handful of such forms which are documented would of course not suffice to exemplify each protovowel (cf. note 17: d on <u>c̆ɔ́lnt</u>, note 30 on <u>léyənən</u>). M. Weinreich (1973: II, 50) notes that he considers the Laazic elements in Yiddish a component (in his own technical sense of the term) on historical and sociological grounds, rather than because of weighty linguistic representation in the language.

12. This series (cf. SC forms in Table 3.13) is apparently not accounted for in M. Weinreich's protosystem. Cf. §4.3; notes 30-31.

13. Transcriptions of Tiberian forms follow segment symbols used by Schramm (1964: 29) but the length distinctions of the classical grammarians (cf. e.g. Qimḥi in Chomsky 1952: 12-13; Gesenius 1910: 40-54). Yiddish does not derive from the standardized Middle High German and Tiberian forms. None the less, the citing of these forms provides a convenient frame of reference, as they generally exhibit a direct correspondence (statable in terms of traditional sound laws) with Proto Yiddish forms as well as the modern diaphonemes.

14. It may be argued that the distinctions between Middle High German æ̲ vs. ë̲ and Tiberian a̲ vs. ă̲ are far less systematic vis a vis the history of Yiddish than those between the two series of originally long vs. lengthened vowels. But then the highly systematic distinction between SC vowels corresponding to Tiberian short vowels vs. identical SC vowels corresponding to Tiberian long vowels (subsequently shortened in closed syllables) could equally be reflected by

the positing of two series, one for originally short vowels and a second for originally long vowels subjected to shortening. Cf. e.g. Tiberian wadáʔy, ʔɛfšɔ́r, śinʔɔ́, ḥɔ̆xmɔ́, guzmɔ́ vs. yɔ̄m, mē̆θ, dīn, sō̆ō̆, ḥūš and the five unitary Yiddish diaphonemes: NethY avă̄də 'certainly', yă̄m 'sea'; ɛ̄fšər 'maybe', mɛ̄s 'corpse'; sĭ̄nə 'hatred', dĭ̄n (~ dī̄n) 'law'; xɔ̄xmə 'wisdom', sɔ̄d 'secret'; gŏ̄zmə 'exaggeration', xŏ̄š 'sense' || CY avă̄də, yă̄m; ɛ̄fšər, mɛ̄s; sĭ̄nə, dĭ̄n; xɔ̄xmə, sɔ̄d; gĭ̄zmə, xĭ̄š || NEY avă̄də, yă̄m; ɛ̄fšər, mɛ̄s; sī̄nə, dī̄n; xɔ̄xmə, sɔ̄d; gŭ̄zmə, xŭ̄š. If two series are warranted by long vs. lengthened GC vowels, two series are equally warranted by short vs. shortened SC vowels. If the Weinreich protosystem is to demonstrate its stated principle, protovowels must emanate solely from the diaphonemes of Yiddish.

15. The black circle (•) marks spurious forms. The asterisk (*) is reserved for historical reconstructions.

16. All references to M. Weinreich's protosystem refer to the final (1973) version. Despite Weinreich's (1973: IV, 368-369) own claim that differences between

the first published version (1960) and the final version are slight, there are in fact profound differences. In the earlier version (1960: 67), Weinreich reserves judgment on these SC forms, noting that in WY areas where vowels 12 and 13 are not merged, the SC forms appear unambiguously as 12. The switch to vowel 13 in the 1973 version is not explicitly explained (cf. note 18).

17. While SC forms (cognate with Tiberian open syllabic qameṣ) appear unambiguously as NethY $\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$, it does not hold that vowel 13 GC forms (cognate with Middle High German open syllabic <u>a</u>) <u>always</u> appear distinct from 12, as is the case in other areas of WY, e.g. Alsace where $\underline{\bar{a}}_{13}$ (less frequently $\underline{\check{a}}_{13}$) is always opposed to SC $\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$ (less frequently $\underline{ɔu}_{12}$) (cf. Zuckerman 1969: 43, 46-48). In NethY, vowel 13 (defined here as Yiddish cognates of short Romance and Germanic <u>a</u> which appear as CY <u>u</u> || NEY <u>ɔ</u> in the East) may appear as

(a) $\underline{\check{a}}_{(11/)13}$ (as in the forms cited in Table 3.11);

(b) $\underline{\bar{o}}_{(12/)13}$ e.g. gr<u>ō</u>bn '(to) dig' (cf. CY gr<u>u</u>bn || NEY gr<u>ɔ</u>bn);

(c) $\underline{\breve{a}}_{(11/)13} \sim \underline{\bar{o}}_{(12/)13}$ e.g. t$\underline{\breve{a}}$g ~ t$\underline{\bar{o}}$g 'day', z$\underline{\breve{a}}$g ~ z$\underline{\bar{o}}$g '(I) say' (cf. CY t$\underline{u}$g || NEY z$\underline{ɔ}$g). The $\underline{\breve{a}}_{13}$ forms occur in the speech of an informant from the Eastern Netherlands (cf. §4.1; note 26), while Beem documents $\underline{\bar{o}}$. Further interviews may help determine if these variations reflect an internal NethY isogloss (lengthened rounded vs. short unrounded vowel 13).

(d) $\underline{\bar{a}}_{13(/24/44)}$ e.g. š$\underline{\bar{a}}$lət '(type of) Sabbath food' (cf. CY č$\underline{u}$lnt || NEY č$\underline{ɔ}$lnt) of Romance origin (cf. Borokhov 1913: 8; Mieses 1924: 242; Kosover 1964: 171-176; M. Weinreich 1973: II, 55-57; IV, 79-81).

(e) $\underline{\bar{a}}_{13(/24/44)} \sim \underline{\bar{o}}_{(12/)13}$ e.g. n$\underline{\bar{a}}$z ~ n$\underline{\bar{o}}$z 'nose' (cf. CY n$\underline{u}$z || NEY n$\underline{ɔ}$z). Cf. Beem (1975: 82, 87).

18. A further fallacy is of course the application of lowering ($\underline{\breve{o}}_{51} < *\underline{\breve{u}}_{51}$) throughout the GC of NethY. The fantastic theory of a (phonological!) "Babylonian Renaissance" in Central Europe of the Middle Ages (originally expounded in M. Weinreich 1954: 93-99) has resulted in quite a few unnecessary complications in the historical phonology of Yiddish. One of these is the insistence on classifying the SC cognates of Tiberian

open syllabic qames as vowel 13 rather than 12 in spite of the contrary empirical evidence (cf. §2.3; note 17). This point of contention is actually part of a wider issue in the history of SC vocalism in Yiddish. The "Babylonian Renaissance" was designed in good measure to accommodate the notion that the SC entered Yiddish with short vowels only. This notion was uncritically adapted from the views of (among others) Veynger (1913) and Yalon (1941-2; 1941-2b; 1942-3).

19. These values (*$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$, *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$, *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$) are <u>not</u> posited for Proto Yiddish. We are dealing here with relics of the latest stage of Yiddish prior to the split into WY and EY. Using phonological criteria, this stage may be referred to as Old Yiddish. The historian of Yiddish is fortunate to be able to reconstruct a number of sound shifts of the Old Yiddish period on the evidence of cognates in both major stock languages. The Old Yiddish realizations *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$, *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$ and *$\underline{\bar{e}}_{25}$ themselves resulted from the following shifts:

(a) Proto Yiddish *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$ > Old Yiddish *$\underline{\bar{o}}_{12}$.

(b) Proto Yiddish *$\underline{\varepsilon}_{22}$ > Old Yiddish (*$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$ >) *$\underline{\varepsilon y}_{22}$.

(c) Proto Yiddish *$\underline{\varepsilon}_{21/25}$ (in stressed open syllables) > Old Yiddish *$\underline{\bar{\varepsilon}}_{25}$ (vs. Old Yiddish *$\underline{\varepsilon}_{21}$ in other environments).

20. The Courland Yiddish realizations of vowels 22 (æy), 25 ($\underline{\bar{\varepsilon}}$), 42 (øy, øu or øü; cf. §3.2: c) and 54 (au) (cf. U. Weinreich 1958: 251) apparently resemble Proto EY realizations more closely than the corresponding reflexes in the present day spoken dialects of EY.

21. Detailed structural diachronic analyses of EY vocalism are provided in U. Weinreich (1958) and Herzog (1965: 159-233, 274-290; 1969). The present discussion focuses mainly on the three protovowels of EY which NethY realizations are presumed to illuminate, although of course, the system as a whole is taken into account. A point of substantive phonological (rather than phonetic) difference between the EY protosystems proposed and the system posited herein (Table 5.2) is our contention that the modern CY realization of vowel 25

([ē] or [ey]) is an archaism rather than the result of a CY sound shift. CY diphthongization of the vowel (ey$_{25}$ rather than ē$_{25}$) is in our view a phonetic property in a system where all the long vowels may be glided and has no import for the phonological history of CY (cf. the positionally determined CY realizations [uwə]$_{12/13}$, [iyə]$_{32/52}$, [āə]$_{34}$, [owə]$_{54}$). Cf. note 23.

22. The possibility of Proto EY *ɛy$_{22}$ is noted by U. Weinreich (1958: 252). Cf. M. Weinreich (1973: IV, 374).

23. The purely phonetic character of the ē vs. ey distinction is exemplified by the differing transcriptions of the same vowel in modern Yiddish. NEY vowel 22/24/42/44, most frequently transcribed ey or ei is transcribed ê by Gerzon (1902) and ę by Sapir (1915: 236). CY vowel 25, most frequently transcribed ev or ei, is transcribed ê by Birnbaum (1923: 129).

24. The regional realizations of vowel 25 as ĭ or ī further corroborate the relative closeness of the Proto EY vowel. On ĭ$_{25}$ and ī$_{25}$ cf. Prilutski (1920: 17-28), Veynger (1929: 64), U. Weinreich (1958: 236-237), Herzog (1965: 178, 181; 1969: 62-64) and M. Weinreich (1973: II, 359-360).

25. The Yiddish of personal letters and other nonliterary texts is less standardized than the language reflected in the many works printed in Amsterdam for distribution throughout Yiddish speaking Europe. Cf. e.g. the letters written in Amsterdam and Rotterdam published by Maitlis (1955: 240-252).

26. We are most thankful to Professor M. I. Herzog for kindly providing access to the recording of this interview in the Atlas.

27. We are most thankful to Mr. M.C. for his kind help. This interview was conducted during his visit to New York, February 2, 1978.

28. E.g. the Eastern Netherlandic informant shows sporadic occurrences of $\underline{ay}_{24}$ (e.g. v$\underline{ay}$nən '(to) weep', cv$\underline{ay}$ 'two'), possibly under the influence of New High German or CY (he is familiar with both). While such stray occurrences do not of themselves alter the picture of the vowel system as a whole, they must be noted as further inquiries may establish or disconfirm the former existence of an isogloss.

29. Beem (1975: 128) also documents tātš 'Yiddish' (cf. CY tāč || NEY tavč 'meaing').

30. It is often claimed that the factor common to Tiberian cognates of SC lexical items appearing as EY vowel 34 is a sequence of [a][ʔ or ʕ][ă] (e.g. Spivak and Bloomgarden 1911: xiii; Birnbaum 1922: 26). This holds true from some words (e.g. Tiberian maʔăxə́l, maʕămə́ð and CY māxl 'food; delight', māməd 'standing || NEY mavxl, maymәd). Borokhov (1913b: 43-44, no. 333) challenges the "rule" by adducing examples of such sequences which do not correspond to vowel 34. It is our view that the factor common to Tiberian forms which do correspond to EY vowel 34 is the presence of Tiberian pharyngeal [ʔ] or [ʕ] in intervocalic position, irrespective of the quality and quantity of the surrounding vowels (cf. e.g. Tiberian dăʔɔ̄yə́, găʕɔ̄rə́, šăʔēlə́ and CY dāgə 'worry', kārə '(ritual) plate', šālə 'question (...)' || NEY daygə, kayrə, šaylə). In each case, the sequence of consecutive syllabic segments (hiatus) caused by ʔ, ʕ > ∅ fused with a certain stage of GC vowel 34. The fusion with vowel 34 is reflected today in EY as well as in the NethY SC ey_{34} variants. The NethY SC ā variants are relics of a variety where the loss of the Tiberian pharyngeals intervocalically led to fusion with a

certain stage of vowel 24 (cf. MHG ei) which subsequently shifted to ā. The fusion character of vowel 24 is further attested to by léyənən '(to) read' of Romance origin (cf. Mieses 1924: 238-239), which appears as NethY lāyən ~ lāy(ə)nən || CY lay(ə)nən || NEY ley(ə)nən. The historical segmentation of the NethY form is [l][ā][y]—— rather than [l][ay]——. Although there is no synchronic distinctive opposition of [ā][y] vs. [ay], the y is to be regarded as radical rather than a deviant ay_{24} realization (cf. note 28). Beem, whose NethY vowel system has no ay (cf. Table 4.1), none the less has lāyən, lāyənən (1970: 61; 1975: nos. 380, 838, 1048, 1081). In the East, radical y coalesced with the diphthongal offglides of CY $ay_{(22/)24}$ and NEY $ey_{(22/)24(/42/44)}$. It is the WY ā realization which distinguishes the vowel as 24 (rather than 22). In his detailed treatment of the history of the Romance elements in Yiddish, M. Weinreich (1973: IV, 87) notes that léyənən appears as vowel 24, but the word strangely appears as vowel 23 (cf. Table 2.12; §2.2) in the protosystem (1973: II, 353).

M. Weinreich (1973: II, 355) may have been a bit too hasty in claiming that "protovowel E_4 [= 24; cf. note 7] occurs only in the German Component." In short, the history of vowel 24 merits a monographic study.

31. We deem this possibility less likely because it is methodologically unsound to plead "dialect borrowing" wherever a <u>series</u> of relatively systematic deviating forms defies superficial explanation. Even if subsequent investigation should demonstrate borrowing, however, it will remain fully evident that the SC <u>ã</u> forms were fused originally with vowel 24 in these other forms of WY. GC vowel 34 appears distinctly as <u>ay</u>$_{34}$ in other WY areas (cf. e.g. Beranek 1965: 14-15; Zuckerman 1969: 50; M. Weinreich 1973: II, 357). The deeprootedness of both variants (SC {V?V, V?V} > VV > vowel 24 ~ vowel 34) on WY territory is evident from Guggengeim-Grünberg's (1973: maps 7, 8, 37) localized documentations.

32. In all likelihood, the claim of blanket lowering of vowel 31 in NethY exemplifies the unreliability of many of Beranek's (1965) sweeping generalizations reflected in isoglosses drawn on maps bereft of localized documentations (cf. Lowenstein 1969: 16-17). On the lowering of vowel 31 in Alsace, cf. Guggenheim-Grünberg (1964: 80) and Zivy (1966: 7).

33. Occasionally, internal NethY variation is documented, e.g. gɛ̲l ~ gē̲l 'yellow' (cf. Beem 1970: no. 1099). EY has vowel 25 (CY gē̲l || NEY gɛ̲l).

34. The mystery here may relate to issues in the sociology of traditional Ashkenazic society. Although Ashkenazic Hebrew and Aramaic were never everyday spoken languages, they have been in extensive use for liturgical and academic (rabbinical) purposes during the past millenium. Where Yiddish SC Vowel 25 is cognate with Tiberian stressed open syllabic segol, the vowel has a unitary realization in both the SC of Yiddish and the Ashkenazic of each dialectal region. Where the SC digresses however, and Tiberian stressed open syllabic segol is cognate with Yiddish SC vowel 22, there is a dual realization in each dialectal region. Thus, for example, cognates of Tiberian nɛ́fɛš̲ appear unitarily as vowel 25 both in Yiddish (NethY nē̲fəš || CY nē̲fəš || NEY nɛ̲fəš) and in Ashkenazic (Netherlandic Ashkenazic nē̲fɛš || Central Ashkenazic nē̲fɛš || Northeastern Ashkenazic nɛ̲fɛš). Cognates of Tiberian qɛ́vɛr̲, however, appear as vowel 22 in Yiddish (NethY kɛy̲vər || CY kay̲vər || NEY key̲vər) but vowel 25 in Ashkenazic (Netherlandic Ashkenazic kē̲vɛr || Central Ashkenazic kē̲vɛr || Northeastern Ashkenazic kɛ̲vɛr).

Now it is likely that the congruence of several SC forms with vowel 25 in EY, where NethY cognates have 22, is due to accommodation to the Ashkenazic forms, which enjoy a special prestige in traditional communities. NethY probably preserves the original Yiddish (vowel 22) realizations (which violate the Ashkenazic reading tradition) while these forms were replaced in EY by the (vowel 25) forms conforming with Ashkenazic phonology. Bin-Nun (1973: 273) documents CY šaykər alongside the "younger" šēkər. Evidence of social pressure in favor of the Ashkenazic forms is provided by the southern Netherlandic informant consulted (cf. note 27) who remarks: "With us it ['Passover'] was pronounced pēsax. In Amsterdam the proletarians called it pɛysəx. We said mēləx ['king'] but the common people said mɛvləx."

R E F E R E N C E S

Beem, H.

1954 "Yiddish in Holland: Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Notes" in The Field of Yiddish (U. Weinreich, ed.), 1.122-133.

1970 Jerösche. Jiddische spreekwoorden en zegswijzen uit het Nederlandse taalgebied. 2nd edition. Assen: Van Gorcum.

1975 Resten van een taal. Woordenboekje van het Nederlandse Jiddisch. 2nd edition. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Beranek, Franz J.

1965 Westjiddischer Sprachatlas. Marburg: N. G. Elwert.

Bin-Nun, Jechiel

1973 Jiddisch und die deutschen Mundarten. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Birnbaum, Salomo A.

[1918] Praktische Grammatik der jiddischen Sprache für den Selbstunterricht [= Die Kunst der Polyglottie, 128]. Vienna: A. Hartleben.

1922 Das hebräische und aramäische Element in der jiddischen Sprache. Leipzig: Gustav Engel.

1923 "Übersicht über den jiddischen Vokalismus" in Zeitschrift für deutsche Mundarten, 18.122-130.

1934 "Di historye fun di alte u-klangen in yidish" in Yivo bleter, 6.25-60.

Borokhov, Ber

1913 "Di ufgabn fun der yidisher filologye" in Der pinkes (Sh. Niger, ed.), 1.1-22.

1913b "Di biblyotek funem yidishn filolog" in Der pinkes (Sh. Niger, ed.) 1.[separate pagination at end]1-68.

Chomsky, William

1952 David Kimḥi's Hebrew Grammar (Mikhlol). New York: Bloch.

Gerzon, Jacob

1902 Die jüdisch-deutsche Sprache. Eine grammatisch-lexikalische Untersuchung ihres deutschen Grundbestandes. Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann.

Gesenius, W.

1910 Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar (E. Kautzsch, A. E. Cowley, eds.). Oxford: Clarendon.

Guggenheim-Grünberg, Florence

1964 "Überreste Westjiddischer Dialekte in der Schweiz, im Elsass und in Süddeutschland" in For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday, 72-81. The Hague: Mouton.

1973 Jiddisch auf alemannischem Sprachgebiet [= Beiträge zur Geschichte und Volkskunde der Juden in der Schweiz, 10]. Zürich: Juris.

Gutman, Teodor

1926 "A pruv fun a fonetik fun lodzher yidish" in Filologishe shriftn [= Landoy bukh = Shriftn fun yidishn visnshaftlekhn institut, 1], 1.377-388.

Haeringen, C. B. van

1960 Netherlandic Language Research. Men and Works in the Study of Dutch. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Haudricourt, André and Alphonse G. Juilland

1949 Essai pour une histoire structurale du phonétisme français. Paris.

Herzog, Marvin I.

1965 The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland. Its Geography and History. The Hague: Mouton and Bloomington: Indiana University.

1969 "Yiddish in the Ukraine: isoglosses and historical inferences" in The Field of Yiddish (M. I. Herzog, W. Ravid, U. Weinreich, eds.), 3.58-81.

Joffe, Judah A.

1954 "Dating the Origin of Yiddish Dialects" in The Field of Yiddish (U. Weinreich, ed.), 1.102-121.

Kalmanovitsh, Z.

1926 "Der yidisher dialekt in kurland" in Filologishe shriftn [= Landoy bukh = Shriftn fun yidishn visnshaftlekhn institut, 1], 1.161-188.

Kosover, Mordecai

1964 "Doynen = davnen; toytsn = tetshn; shalt = tsholnt. Fun dem verter oytser in dem parizer yidishn minhogim ksav yad" in For Max Weinreich on his Seventieth Birthday, [Yiddish pagination] 163-176.

Landau, Alfred and Bernhard Wachstein

1911 Jüdische Privatbriefe aus dem Jahre 1619. Vienna.

Lowenstein, Steven

1969 "Results of Atlas Investigations among Jews of Germany" in The Field of Yiddish (M. I. Herzog, W. Ravid, U. Weinreich, eds.), 3.16-35.

Maitlis, J.

1955 "London Yiddish Letters of the Early Eighteenth Century" in Journal of Jewish Studies, 6.153-165, 237-252.

Mieses, Matthias

1924 Die Jiddische Sprache. Eine historische Grammatik des Idioms der integralen Juden Ost- und Mitteleuropas. Berlin: Benjamin Harz.

Prilutski, Noyakh

1920 Tsum yidishn vokalizm. Etyudn [= his Yidishe dialektologishe forshungen, 4]. Warsaw.

Reyzen, Zalmen

1920 Gramatik fun der yidisher shprakh. Ershter teyl. Vilna: Sh. Shreberk.

Sapir, Edward

1915 "Notes on Judeo-German Phonology" in Jewish Quarterly Review, 6.231-266.

Schramm, Gene M.

1964 The Graphemes of Tiberian Hebrew. Berkeley: University of California.

Shatzky, J.

1936 "Di letste shprotsungen fun der yidisher shprakh un literatur in holand" in Yivo bleter, 10.232-265.

Spivak, C. D. and S. Bloomgarden

1911 Yidish yerterbukh. New York.

Veynger, M.

1913 "Hebreishe klangen in der yidisher shprakh" in Der pinkes (Sh. Niger, ed.), 1.79-84.

1929 Yidishe dialektologye. Minsk: Vaysrusisher melukhe farlag.

Voorzanger, J. L. and J. E. Polak

1915 Het Joodsch in Nederland. Aan het hebreeuwsch en andere talen ontleende woorden en zegswijzen. Amsterdam: N. V. de erven H. van Munster en zoon.

Weijnen, A. A.

1968 Het Schema van de Klankwetten. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Weinreich, Max

1923 Shtaplen. Fir etyudn tsu der yidisher shprakh-visnshaft un literatur-geshikhte. Berlin: Wostok.

1954 "Prehistory and Early History of Yiddish: Facts and Conceptual Framework" in The Field of Yiddish (U. Weinreich, ed.), 1.73-101.

1958 "Roshe-prokim vegn mayrevdikn yidish" in Yuda A. Yofe bukh (Y. Mark, ed.), 158-194. New York: Yivo.

1960 "Di sistem yidishe kadmen-vokaln" in Yidishe shprakh, 20.65-71.

1965 "On the Dynamics of Yiddish Dialect Formation" in The Field of Yiddish (U. Weinreich, ed.), 2.73-86.

1973 Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh. IV vols. New York: Yivo.

Weinreich, Uriel

1954 "Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?" in Word, 10.388-400.

1958 "A Retrograde Sound Shift in the Guise of a Survival. An Aspect of Yiddish Vowel Development" in Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet. Estructuralismo e historia, 2.221-267. La Laguna.

1958b "Di klangike struktur fun a podolyer reydenish" in Yuda A. Yofe bukh (Y. Mark, ed.), 221-231. New York: Yivo.

Yalon, H.

1941-2 "Hagiya sefaradit betsarefat hetsefonit" in Inyaney lashon, 16-31.

1941-2b "Al hagiyat hakamets vehakamets heḥatuf beashkenaz" in Inyaney lashon, 31-36.

1942-3 "Letoledot hagiyat haivrit beashkenaz" in Inyaney lashon, 52-58.

Zivy, Arthur

1966 Elsässer Jiddisch. Basel: Victor Goldschmidt.

Zuckerman, Richard

1969 "Alsace: An Outpost of Western Yiddish" in The Field of Yiddish (M. I. Herzog, W. Ravid, U. Weinreich, eds.), 3.58-57.