

A MORPHOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT IN YIDDISH*

Tsuguya Sasaki

1 INTRODUCTION

One of the salient features characterizing the structure of the Jewish languages in general and of Yiddish in particular is that they are fusion languages. According to Weinreich (1973: 1: 32-33), we may distinguish between source languages (*šmelcvargšpraxn*), determinants (*determinantn*) and components (*komponentn*). Source languages are languages or language groups from which the raw material for fusion is derived; in the case of Yiddish, the following four source languages have been proposed: Hebrew-Aramaic,¹ Romance, German and Slavic. For various historical and cultural reasons a certain part of the material of the source languages was not at the disposal of the Jews; those parts of the source languages which could theoretically enter Yiddish are called determinants.² Those parts of the determinants which actually entered Yiddish are called components.³ As a consequence of fusion and internal developments in Yiddish, these components underwent changes which are not found in the determinants. It is possible to schematize the relationship between the source languages, the determinants and the components as in the chart below.

Although numerous approaches to the study of the Hebrew-Aramaic component in Yiddish exist, in this paper discussion will be restricted to the classification of morphological developments in the Hebrew-Aramaic component (the area shaded in the chart) in contrast to the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant. This is in view of the fact that no comprehensive study has been made thus far, though several studies mention

sporadically some morphological features which distinguish the Hebrew-Aramaic component from the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant.⁴ Most of the examples mentioned below have been taken from Harkavy (1928) and Weinreich (1968).

Generally speaking, morphology may be divided into two main fields, i.e., inflection, which is concerned with relationships between various grammatical forms of the same lexemes, and word-formation, which is concerned with relationships between various lexemes related to each other in their forms. Furthermore, word-formation may be divided into derivation (formation of free morpheme + bound morpheme(s)) and compounding (formation of free morpheme + free morpheme). Changes in each of these three fields, i.e., inflection, derivation and compounding, will be discussed in turn according to whether the other components are involved or not. Verb formation will be treated separately.

		Y	Hebrew-Aramaic
		I	
		D	Romance
		D	
		I	German
		S	
		H	Slavic

|----- Source Languages -----|

|----- Determinants -----|

|-Components-|

2 CHANGES IN INFLECTION

2.1 CHANGES INVOLVING ONLY THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT

2.1.1 CHANGES IN THE FEMININE ENDING

Generally speaking, the feminine of words of Hebrew origin is formed with the help of *-e* (Hebrew, henceforth H, *-a*) or *-es* (H *-it/-et*), as in *almen* 'widower' > *almone* 'widow' (H *alman* > *almana*), *mejuxes* 'man of aristocratic descent' > *mejuxeses* 'woman of aristocratic descent' (H *mejuxas* > *mejuxeset*), etc. There are, however, a considerable number of cases where the feminine is formed with the help of *-te* (Aramaic *-ta*):

evjen 'poor person' > *evjente* (H *evjon* > *evjona*), *axzer* 'cruel person' > *axzerte* (H *axzar* > *axzarit*), *apetropes* 'guardian' > *apetropeste* (H *apotropos* > *apotroposit*), *balebos* 'owner, master, host' > *baleboste* (H *ba'al-habajit* > *ba'alat-habajit*), *baln* 'interested person' > *balnte* (H *ba'alan* > *ba'alanit*), *gabe* 'trustee or warden of a public institution, esp. a synagogue' > *gabete* (H *gabai* > *gabait*), *gazlen* 'robber' > *gazlente* (H *gazlan* > *gazlanit*), *giber* 'hero' > *giberte* (H *gibor* > *gibora*), *ganev* 'thief' > *ganevte* (H *ganav* > *ganevet*), *ger* 'convert to Judaism' > *gerte* (H *ger* > *gera*), *doveraxer* 'scoundrel' > *doveraxerte* (H *davar axer* 'another thing'), *vatren* 'generous person' > *vatrente* (H *vatran* > *vatranit*), *xaver* 'friend' > *xaverte* (H *xaver* > *xavera*), *xojnef* 'flatterer' > *xojnefte* (H *xonef* > *xonefet*), *xazn* 'cantor' > *xaznte* (H *xazan*), *jadn* 'savant' > *jadnte* (H *jad'an* > *jad'anit*), *jojreš* > *jojrešte* (H *joreš* > *jorešet*), *jaxsn* 'privileged person' > *jaxsnte* (H *jaxsan* > *jaxsanit*), *kajsn* 'irascible person' > *kajsnte* (H *ka'asan* > *ka'asanit*), *mejvn* 'connoisseur' > *mejvnte* (H *mevin* > *mevina*), *mumxe* 'expert' > *mumxete* (H *mumxe* > *mumxa/mumxit*), *mufker* 'reckless person' > *mufkerte* (H *mufkar* > *mufkeret*), *mexaber* 'author' > *mexaberte* (H *mexaber* > *mexaberet*), *meturef*

'lunatic' > *meturefte* (H *metoraf* > *metorefet*), *maxnes-ojrex* 'hospitable person' > *maxnes-ojrexte* (H *maxnis-oreax* > *maxnisat-oreax*), *mamzer* 'bastard' > *mamzerte* (H *mamzer* > *mamzeret*), *memale-mokem* 'substitute' > *memale-mokemte* (H *memale-makom* > *memalet-makom*), *menadev* 'donor' > *menadevte* (H *menadev* > *menadevet*), *menuvl* 'contemptible person' > *menuvlte* (H *menuval* > *memuvelet*), *mešores* 'servant' > *mešoreste* (H *mešaret* > *mešaretet*), *nojef* 'adulterer' > *nojefte* (H *no'ef* > *no'efet*), *nozer* 'hermit' > *nozerte* (H *nazir* > *nezira*), *onev* 'modest person' > *onevte* (H *anav* > *anava*), *akšn* 'stubborn person' > *akšnte* (H *akšan* > *akšanit*), *orl* 'non-Jew' > *orlte* (H *arel* > *arela*), *pazren* 'lavish person' > *pazrente* (H *pazran* > *pazranit*), *paxdn* 'coward' > *paxdnte* (H *paxdan* > *paxdanit*), *pikejex* 'clever person' > *pikejexte* (H *pikeax* > *pikaxat/pikxit*), *pašren* 'meditator' > *pašrente* (H *pašran* > *pašranit*), *kapcn* > *kapcnste* (H *kabcan* > *kabcanit*), *kojne* 'boyer' > *kojnete* (H *kone* > *kona*), *kamcn* 'stingy person' > *kamcnste* (H *kamcan* > *kamcanit*), *kapdn* 'fastidious person' > *kapdnte* (H *kapdan* > *kapdanit*), *ragzn* 'hot-tempered person' > *ragznte* (H *ragzan* > *ragzanit*), *roše* 'wicked person' > *rošete* (H *rašaa* > *reša'a/reša'it*), *šatxn* 'matchmaker' > *šatxnte* (H *šadxan* > *šadxanit*), *šojmer* 'guard' > *šojmerte* (H *šomer* > *šomeret*), *šutef* 'partner' > *šutefte* (H *šutaf* > *šutefet*), *štadlen* 'intercessor' > *štadlente* (H *štandlan* > *štadlanit*).

There are several forms which are doubly marked, i.e., both by *-es* and by *-te*:

mexutn 'relative by marriage' > *mexuteneste* (H *mexutan* > *mexutenet*), *mešumed* 'apostate' > *mešumedeste* (H *mešumad* > *mešumedet*), *noged* 'rich person' > *negideste* (H *nagid* > *negida*).

2.1.2 CHANGES IN THE PLURAL ENDING

There are nouns the plural of which is marked by *-im* (H *-im*) in contrast to *-es* (H *-ot*) as in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant:

tales 'tallith' > *talejsim* (H *talit* > *talijot/talitot*), *toes* 'error' > *teusim* (H *ta'ut* > *ta'ujot*), *moker* 'source' > *mekojrim* (H *makor* > *mekorot*), *šabes* 'Saturday, Sabbath' > *šabosim* (H *šabat* > *šabatot*), *šaxres* 'morning prayer' > *šaxrejsim* (H *šaxarit* > *šaxarijot*), *taxles* 'practical purpose' > *taxlejsim* (H *taxlit* > *taxlijot*), *tamces* 'gist' > *tamcejsim* (H *tamcit* > *tamcijot*), *tones* 'fast' > *tanejsim* (H *ta'anit* > *ta'anijot*);

or opposite cases where the plural is marked by *-es* in contrast to *-im* as in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant:

hezek 'damage' > *hezejkes* (H *hezek* > *hezekim*).

An interesting phenomenon is the plural of some phrases composed of a noun and an adjective, or of two nouns (*smixut*); the following phrases behave as one word synchronically, and they can take the masculine plural ending *-im*:

jon-tev 'holiday' > *jon-tojvim* (H *jom* 'day' + *tov* 'good' = *jom tov* 'holiday' > *jamim tovim*), *ojneg-šabes* 'enjoyment of the Sabbath' > *ojneg-šabosim* (H *oneg* 'enjoyment' + *šabat* 'Sabbath' = *oneg-šabat*), *psak-din* 'verdict' > *psak-dinim* (H *psak-din* > *piskej-din*);

or the feminine plural ending *-es*:

din-tojre 'lawsuit before a rabbinical court' > *din-tojres* (H *din-tora* > *dinej-tora*), *xut-hašedre* 'spinal cord' > *xut-hašedres* (H *xut-hašidra* > *xutej-hašidra*), *šone-tojve* 'New Year's card' > *šone-tojves* (H *šana* 'year' + *tova* 'good' = *šana tova* 'A Happy New Year').

Also, cases may be observed where the singular and the plural reflect two separate forms of the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant (suppletion):

hojreg 'killed person' > *harugim* (H *horeg* > *horgim* : *harug* > *harugim*), *lamdn* 'scholar' > *lomdim* (H *lamdan* > *lamdanim* : *lomed* > *lomdim*), *moser*

'informer' > *mosrim* (H *masur* > *masurim* : *moser* > *mosrim*), *ojšer* 'wealthy person' > *aširim* (H *ošer* > *ošrim* : *ašir* > *aširim*), *šeliex* 'messenger' > *šluxim* (H *šaliex* > *šlixim* : *šaluax* > *šluxim*).

2.1.3 CHANGES IN GENDER

Four types of gender change exist as follows:

Masculine in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > feminine in the Hebrew-Aramaic component; most disyllabic words ending in [e] according to the pronunciation in Yiddish are of this type:

geze 'stock, race' (H *gezaa*), *zere* 'semen, seed' (H *zeraa*), *teve* 'nature' (H *tevaa*), *kejle* 'vessel, instrument' (H *kli*), *mojre* 'fear' (H *mora*), *mikve* 'pool for ritual immersion' (H *mikve*), *mare* 'appearance' (H *mar'e*), *maške* 'beverage' (H *maške*), *mase* 'load' (H *masa*), *ine* 'torture rack' (H *inui*), *pele* 'amazing thing' (H *pele*), *pejre* 'fruit' (H *pri*), *rege* 'moment' (H *regaa*), *šefe* 'abundance' (H *šefaa*).

Masculine in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > neuter in the Hebrew-Aramaic component; some words ending in a consonant take this form:

bezdn 'rabbinical court' (H *bejt-din*), *hegdeš* 'filthy place, poorhouse' (H *hekdeš*), *mezumen* 'cash' (H *mezuman*), *mazl* 'luck' (H *mazal*), *of* 'fowl' (H *of*), *kol* 'voice' (H *kol*), *rov* 'majority' (H *rov*).

Feminine in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > masculine in the Hebrew-Aramaic component, a number of monosyllabic or disyllabic words ending in [is], [es], [as], [os] or [us], as well as some isolated words show this change:

evn-bojxn 'touchstone' (H *even-boxan*), *evn-tov* 'gem' (H *even tova*), *evn-negef* 'stumbling block' (H *even-negef*), *emes* 'truth' (H *emet*), *bdikes-xomec* 'the ceremonial search for leavened dough' (H *bdika* 'search' +

xamec 'leavened dough' = *bdikat-xamec*), *bris* 'the Covenant between God and Abraham' (H *brit*), *dales* 'poverty' (H *dalut*), *derex* 'way' (H *derex*), *das* 'religion' (H *dat*), *zxus* 'merit' (H *zxut*), *xcos* 'midnight' (H *xacot*), *tales* 'tallith' (H *talit*), *jad* 'pointer used in reading the Torah in the synagogue' (H *jad*), *kos* 'cup' (H *kos*), *mehus* 'essence' (H *mahut*), *ejdes* 'witness' (H *edut*), *rešus* 'permission' (H *rešut*), *šabes* 'Saturday, Sabbath' (H *šabat*), *taxles* 'practical purpose' (H *taxlit*), *tones* 'fast' (H *ta'anit*).

Feminine in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > neuter in the Hebrew-Aramaic component; most polysyllabic words ending in *-es* (H *-ut*), as well as some isolated words are of this type:

avejles 'bereavement' (H *avelut*), *axdes* 'unity' (H *axdut*), *axrajēs* 'responsibility' (H *axarajut*), *ejxes* 'quality' (H *ejxut*), *axzorjēs* 'cruelty' (H *axzerijut*), *arixes-jomim* 'longevity' (H *arixat-jamim*), *bekies* 'proficiency' (H *beki'ut*), *gašmies* 'materiality' (H *gašmijut*), *dvejkes* 'religious ecstasy, attained by banishing all profane thoughts and communing with God' (H *dvekut*), *hištadles* 'endeavor' (H *hištadlut*), *hisbojdedes* 'seclusion' (H *hitbodedut*), *hisbojnenes* 'meditation' (H *hitbonenut*), *hisxajves* 'obligation' (H *hitxajevut*), *hislajves* 'exaltation' (H *hitlahavut*), *hisnagdes* 'opposition' (H *hitnagdut*), *hisnacles* 'apology' (H *hitnaclut*), *hispaļjes* 'enthusiasm' (H *hitpa'alut*), *zhires* 'care' (H *zehirut*), *xazones* 'cantorship' (H *xazanut*), *xšives* 'importance' (H *xašivut*), *tipšes* 'folly' (H *tipšut*), *jexoļjes* 'capacity' (H *jexolet*), *kames* 'quantity' (H *kamut*), *kašres* 'kashruth' (H *kašrut*), *lošn* 'language' (H *lašon*), *malxes* 'kingdom' (H *malxut*), *savlones* 'patience' (H *savlamut*), *anives* 'modesty' (H *anivut*), *ašires* 'wealth' (H *aširut*), *cnieš* 'modesty' (H *cni'ut*), *šajxes* 'relation' (H *šajaxut*), *tarbes* 'manners' (H *tarbut*).

2.1.4 CHANGES IN NUMBER

Some words which appear only in the plural as single concepts (*pluralia tantum*) in the Hebrew-Aramaic component function as singular nouns in the Hebrew-Aramaic component, and they themselves even have plural forms (except for *raxmim*):

arbe-kanfes 'Four Fringes' (H *arbaa-knafot*), *xiluke-dejes* 'controversy' (H *xilukej-de'ot*), *ponem* 'face' (H *panim*), *roše-tejves* 'abbreviation' (H *rašej-tevot*), *raxmim* 'mercy' (H *raxamim*), *šmues* 'chat' (H *šmu'ot*), *tnoim* 'engagement contract' (H *tna'im*).

2.2 CHANGES INVOLVING THE OTHER COMPONENTS

2.2.1 USES OF FORMANTS OF THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT IN THE OTHER COMPONENTS

Several words which belong to the other components take an ending of the Hebrew-Aramaic component for the indication of femininity:

ejzl 'donkey' > *ejzlte*, *pojer* 'peasant' > *pojerte*;

or for the indication of plurality:⁵

dokter 'physician' > *doktojrim*, *tajvl* 'devil' > *tajvolim*, *nar* 'fool' > *naronim/naroim*, *pojer* 'peasant' > *pojerim*, *kundes* 'prankster' > *kundejsim*.

2.2.2 USES OF FORMANTS OF THE OTHER COMPONENTS IN THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT

The opposite phenomenon to the above, i.e., inflectional endings of the other components being attached to stems of the Hebrew-Aramaic component for the indication of femininity, with the help of *-n* (spelled *-in*) of the German component as

in *lerer* 'teacher' > *lerern*, or with the help of *-ice* (vis-à-vis *-ik*) of the Slavic component as in *nudnik* 'pest' > *nudnice*, may be observed:

mefunek 'fastidious person' > *mefunice* (H *mefunak* > *mefuneket*),⁶ *xaver* 'friend' > *xavertorn* [= *xaverte*] (H *xaver* > *xavera*),⁷

as well as for the indication of plurality with the help of *-er* as in *vort* 'word' > *verter*:

ponem 'face' > *penemer* (H *panim*[*pluralis tantum*]), *kol* 'voice' > *keler* (H *kol* > *kolot*);

for the indication of plurality with the help of *-(e)n* as in *jid* 'Jew' > *jidn*:

evn-negef 'stumbling block' > *evn-negefn* (H *even-negef* > *avnej-negef*),
ejxes 'quality' > *ejxesn* (H *ejxut* > *ejxujot*), *arbe-kanfes* 'Four Fringes' >
arbe-kanfesn (H *arbaa-knafot*[*plural*]), *bejs-akvores* 'cemetery' >
bejs-akvoresn (H *bejt-hakvarot* > *batej-hakvarot*), *bris* 'the Covenant
between God and Abraham' > *brism* (H *brit* > *britot*), *gvul* 'limit' > *gvuln* (H
gvul > *gvulot*), *goles* 'exile' > *golesn* (H *galut* > *galujot*), *hodes* 'myrtle
branch' > *hodesn* (H *hadas* > *hadasim*), *hejxl* 'Temple' > *hejxlen* (H *hejxal* >
hejxalim/hejxalot), *hamojn* 'multitude' > *hamojnen* (H *hamon* > *hamonim*),
hištadles 'endeavor' > *hištadlesn* (H *hištadlut* > *hištadlujot*), *hisxajves*
'obligation' > *hisxajvesn* (H *hitxajevut* > *hitxajevujot*), *hisnagdes* 'opposition'
> *hisnagdesn* (H *hitnagdut* > *hitnagdujot*), *hisnacles* 'apology' > *hisnaclesn*
(H *hitnaclut* > *hitnaclujot*), *vlad* 'fetus' > *vladn* (H *valad* > *vladot*),
xiluke-dejes 'controversy' > *xiluke-dejesn* (H *xilukej-de'ot*[*plural*]), *xejn*
'charm' > *xejnen* (H *xen* > *xinim/xinot*), *toes* 'error' > *toesn* (H *ta'ut* > *ta'ujot*),
tam 'taste' > *tamen* (H *ta'am* > *te'amim*), *jojvl* 'jubilee' > *jojvlen* (H *jovel* >
jojvlot), *jam* 'sea' > *jamen* (H *jam* > *jamim*), *jarid* 'fair' > *jaridn* (H *jarid* >
jeridim), *kames* 'quantity' > *kamesn* (H *kamut* > *kamujot*), *krax* 'metropolis' >
kraxn (H *krax* > *krakim*), *ksav-jad* 'manuscript' > *ksav-jadn* (H *ktav-jad* >
kitvej-jad), *mabl* 'deluge' > *mablen* (H *mabul* > *mabulim*), *mehus* 'essence' >

mehusn (H *mahut* > *mahujot*), *maxlojkes* 'quarrel' > *maxlojkesn* (H *maxaloket* > *maxalokot*), *mejuxeses* 'woman of aristocratic descent' > *mejuxesesn* (H *mejuxeset* > *mejuxasot*), *malxes* 'kingdom' > *malxesn* (H *malxut* > *malxujot*), *sof* 'end' > *sofn* (H *sof* > *sofot*), *sxum* 'amount' > *sxumen* (H *sxum* > *sxumim*), *sam* 'poison' > *samen* (H *sam* > *samim*), *roše-tejves* 'abbreviation' > *roše-tejvesn* (H *rašej-tevot*[plural]), *rešus* 'permission' > *rešusn* (H *rešut* > *rešujot*), *šmues* 'chat' > *šmuesn* (H *šmu'ot*[plural]), *šo* 'hour' > *šoen* (H *ša'a* > *ša'ot*), *thom* 'abyss' > *thomen* (H *tehom* > *tehomot*), *txum* 'pale, scope' > *txumen* (H *txum* > *txumim*);

or for the indication of plurality with the help of *-(e)s* as in *zejde* 'grandfather' > *zejdes*:

evn-bojxn 'touchstone' > *evn-bojxns* (H *even-boxan* > *avnej-boxan*), *almen* 'widower' > *almens* (H *alman* > *almanim*), *afikojmen* 'afikomon' > *afikojmens* (H *afikoman* > *afikomanim*), *geze* 'stock, race' > *gezes* (H *gezaa* > *gza'im*), *heskem* 'agreement' > *heskems* (H *heskem* > *heskemim*), *zikorn* 'memory' > *zikorns* (H *zikaron* > *zixronot*), *zemer* 'tune' > *zemers* (H *zemer* > *zmarim*), *xojsem* 'seal' > *xojsems* (H *xotam* > *xotamot*), *mojre* 'fear' > *mojres* (H *mora* > *mora'im*), *nadn* 'dowry' > *nadns* (H *nadan* > *nedanim*), *ojlem* 'public' > *ojlems* (H *olam* > *olamot*), *ciber* 'community' > *cibers* (H *cibur* > *ciburim*), *rege* 'moment' > *reges* (H *regaa* > *rega'im*), *rojšem* 'impression' > *rojšems* (H *rošem* > *rešamim*), *tnoim* 'engagement contract' > *tnoims* (H *tna'im*[plural]).

Vowel alternation characteristic of the German component as in *folk* 'nation' > *felker* 'nations' occurs in some words of the Hebrew-Aramaic component in plurals:

ponem 'face' > *penemer*, *kol* 'voice' > *keler*;

in diminutives (*-l* and *-ele* are diminutive suffixes):

balebos 'owner, master, host' (H *ba'al-habajit*) > *balebesl* 'newly-wed man; petty bourgeois', *of* 'fowl' (H *of*) > *ejfele* 'baby', *ponem* 'face' (H *panim*) >

peneml, kol 'voice' (H *kol*) > *kelxl, rov* 'Orthodox rabbi' > *revl*;

or in a comparative (-*er* is a comparative suffix):

xošev 'important' (H *xošuv*) > *xošever*.

3 CHANGES IN DERIVATION⁸

3.1 CHANGES INVOLVING ONLY THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT

3.1.1 BACK-FORMATION

Some singulars are derived from plurals through back-formation on the basis of such regular singular-plural pairs as *talmed* '(male) student' > *talmidim* (H *talmid* > *talmidim*), *talmide* '(female) student' > *talmides* (H *talmida* > *talmidot*), etc.:

bejce 'testicle' (H *bejca*) > *bej cim* 'testicles' (H *bej cim*) > *bejc* 'testicle',
bal-xajim 'animals'[interpreted as plural] (H *ba'al-xajim*[singular]) > *bal-xaj*
'animal', *arbe-kanfes* 'Four Fringes' (H *arbaa-knafot* < *kanaf* 'fringe') > *kanfe*
'one of Four Fringes'.

3.1.2 CONVERSION (ZERO-DERIVATION)

Several words and phrases may be observed which are employed in different parts of speech from that of the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant; seven types of conversion (zero-derivation) exist, as follows:

Noun in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > adjective in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

mi'us 'abomination' > *mies* 'loathsome, ugly';

Noun in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > adverb in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

mašma'ut 'meaning' > *mašmoes* 'probably';

Verb in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > noun in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

vajivrax '(and) he ran away' > *vajivrex* 'escape', *vajhi* '(and) it came to pass' > *vajhi* 'calamity', *jehi* 'may it be' > *jehi* 'fiat';

Verb in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > conjunction in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

tomar 'you will say' > *tomer* 'if';

Prepositional phrase in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > noun in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

bimkom 'in place of' > *bimkem* 'substitute', *keneged* 'against' > *keneged* 'opponent';

Prepositional phrase in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > preposition / conjunction in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

be'et 'during' > *bejs* 'during; while', *biš'at* 'during' > *bešas* 'during; while', *mexamat* 'because of' > *maxmes* 'because of; because';

Sentence in the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant > noun in the Hebrew-Aramaic component:

ani ma'amin 'I believe' > *ani-majmen* 'credo', *kajma lan* 'we are sure' > *kajme-lon* 'indisputable truth'.

4 CHANGES IN COMPOUNDING⁹

4.1 CHANGES INVOLVING ONLY THE HEBREW-ARAMAIC COMPONENT

4.1.1 COMPOUNDS THE SECOND ELEMENT OF WHICH IS THE HEAD

In compounds which are composed exclusively of elements belonging to the Hebrew-Aramaic component, the first element is in general the head, as in *roš* 'head' (H *ros*) + *ješive* 'yeshivah' (H *ješiva*) > *roš-ješive* 'head of a yeshivah' (H *roš-ješiva*). There are, however, a number of compounds composed according to the pattern of the German component, where the second element is the head:

gmore 'the Talmud' (H *gmara*) + *nign* 'melody' (H *nigun*) > *gmore-nign* 'the chant with which the Talmud is studied', *ješive* 'yeshivah' (H *ješiva*) + *boxer* 'young man' (H *baxur*) > *ješive-boxer* 'yeshivah student', *klal* 'the public' (H *klal*) + *injonim* 'affairs' (H *injanim*) > *klal-injonim* 'public affairs', *muser* 'edification' (H *musar*) + *sejfer* 'religious book' (H *sefer*) > *muser-sejfer* 'edifying book', *meluxe* 'state' (H *meluxa*) + *roš* 'head' (H *ros*) > *meluxe-roš* 'head of state', *raše* 'Rashi' (H *raši*) + *ksav* 'writing' (H *ktav*) > *raše-ksav* 'a Hebrew type font in which, among others, the Rashi commentary is printed', *šabes* 'Sabbath' (H *šabat*) + *goj* 'gentile' > *šabes-goj* 'gentile hired to perform domestic chores forbidden to Jews on the Sabbath', *targem* 'Aramaic translation of the Old Testament' (H *targum*) + *lošn* 'language' (H *lašon*) > *targem-lošn* 'Aramaic'.

4.1.2 EXOCENTRIC COMPOUNDS

Also to be observed are isolated cases of compounds where there is no dependency between the two elements:

xosn 'bridegroom' (H *xatan*) + *boxer* 'young man' (H *baxur*) > *xosn-boxer* 'marriageable young man', *xosn* 'bridegroom' (H *xatan*) + *kale* 'bride' (H

kala) > *xosn-kale* 'bride and groom', *parcef* 'face' (H *parcuf*) + *ponem* 'face' (H *panim*) > *parcef-ponem* 'face', *kine* 'envy' (H *kin'a*) + *sine* 'hatred' (H *sin'a*) > *kine-sine* 'rivalry'.

5 VERB FORMATION

In language contact, verbs are, in general, less liable to be borrowed than nouns or adjectives, and more likely to take affixes, etc. of the borrowing languages for the indication of their part of speech; this applies also to Yiddish. In spite of this structural limitation, a considerable number of verbs of Hebrew origin have been integrated into Yiddish in various ways. In this chapter, verb formation in several of its manifestations will be dealt with, and an attempt will be made to classify its various types.

5.1 FORMATION BY MEANS OF INFLECTION (WITH THE ADDITION OF THE VERBAL SUFFIX *-(E)(NE)N* OF THE GERMAN COMPONENT)

One method by which verbs of Hebrew origin have been integrated into the grammatical structure of Yiddish is by means of inflection, i.e., the addition of the verbal suffix *-(e)(ne)n* of the German component to verbs of the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant. Verbs serving as stems can derive from one of the three sources:

5.1.1 STEMS DERIVED FROM THE ROOT(?)

axlen 'to eat' (H *axal*), *asern* 'to forbid' (H *asar*), *gazlen* 'to plunder' (H *gazal*), *ganvenen* 'to steal' (H *ganav*), *darše(ne)n* 'to preach' (H *daraš*), *harge(ne)n* 'to kill' (H *harag*), *zarken* 'to hurl' (H *zarak*), *xazern* 'to repeat' (H

xazar, *xalešn* 'to faint' (H *xalaš*), *xanfe(ne)n* 'to flatter' (H *xanaf*),
xasme(ne)n 'to sign' (H *xatam*), *joxlen* 'to be able' (H *jaxol*), *jaršenen* 'to
inherit' (H *jaras*), *lakxenen* 'to swipe' (H *lakax*), *masern* 'to report, denounce'
(H *masar*), *paslen* 'to invalidate' (H *pasal*).

5.1.2 STEMS DERIVED FROM THE INFINITIVE

From PA'AL:

lejmern 'to blab' (H *le'emor*).

5.1.3 STEMS DERIVED FROM 3RD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE PARTICIPLE

From PA'AL:

bojrern 'to arbitrate' (H *borer*), *gojsesn* 'to be dying' (H *goses*), *rojdefn* 'to
persecute' (H *rodef*).

5.2 FORMATION BY MEANS OF DERIVATION

Verbs are likely to be derived from nouns of the Hebrew-Aramaic component with the addition of the verbal suffix *-(e)(ne)/(eve)n* with or without the reflexive pronoun *zix*.

5.2.1 DENOMINATIVES WITHOUT THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

balebos 'owner, master, host' (H *ba'al-habajit*) > *balebateven* 'to keep house, manage', *get* 'divorce' (H *get*) > *getn* 'to divorce', *dajge* 'worry' (H *da'aga*) > *dajgen* 'to worry', *dejfek* 'pulse' (H *defek*) > *dejfekn* 'to pulsate', *xolem* 'dream'

(H *xalom*) > *xolemen* 'to dream', *xežbm* 'account' (H *xešbon*) > *xežbenen* 'to calculate', *tajne* 'claim' (H *ta'ana*) > *tajnen* 'to claim', *joyvl* 'jubilee' (H *jovel*) > *joyvlen* 'to celebrate', *lec* 'clown' (H *lec*) > *leceven* 'to clown', *mabl* 'deluge' (H *mabul*) > *mablen* 'to pour torrentially', *muser* 'edification' (H *musar*) > *musern* 'to reproach', *mišpet* 'judgement' (H *mišpat*) > *mišpetn* 'to judge', *silek* 'settlement' (H *siluk*) > *silekn* 'to settle', *sam* 'poison' (H *sam*) > *samen* 'to poison', *sofek* 'doubt' (H *safek*) > *sofekn* 'to doubt', *ejce* 'advice' (H *eca*) > *ejcen* 'to advise', *pejger* 'carcass' (H *peger*) > *pejgern* 'to die (animal)', *raš* 'noise' (H *ra'aš*) > *rašn* 'to make noise', *šatxn* 'matchmaker' (H *šadxan*) > *šatxenen* 'to attempt to match', *šiker* 'drunkard' (H *šikor*) > *šikern* 'to drink (habitually)', *šmad* 'conversion to Christianity' (H *šmad*) > *šmadn* 'to convert to Christianity', *šmues* 'chat' (H *šmu'ot*) > *šmuesn* 'to chat'.

5.2.2 DENOMINATIVES WITH THE REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

berje 'skilfull person' (H *brija/birja*) > *berjen zix* 'to manage', *heskem* 'agreement' (H *heskem*) > *heskemen zix* 'to accord', *xaver* 'friend' (H *xaver*) > *xavern zix* 'to be friends', *xideš* 'surprise' (H *xiduš*) > *xidešn zix* 'to be surprised', *xoxme* 'wisdom, joke' (H *xoxma*) > *xoxme(ne)n zix* 'to joke', *xkire* 'speculation' (H *xakira*) > *xkiren zix* 'to speculate', *jixes* 'pedigree' (H *jixus*) > *jixesn zix* 'to be proud of one's ancestry'.

5.3 FORMATION BY MEANS OF PERIPHRASTIC CONSTRUCTION¹⁰

This last, and most common, method by which verbs of the Hebrew-Aramaic determinant have been integrated into Yiddish, occurs with the help of the auxiliary verbs *zajn* 'to be' or *vern* 'to become' with or without the reflexive pronoun *zix*, to form a

periphrastic construction. Verbs conveying the lexical content may be in the 3rd person singular masculine participle (from the *binjanim* PA'AL, PA'UL, NIF'AL, P'EL, PU'AL, HITPA'EL, HIF'IL and HUF'AL), or in the 3rd person singular masculine perfective (from the *binjan* NITPA'EL). This lexical part can occasionally be composed not only of the participle alone, but of a participle, and an object or an adverbial phrase (a kind of incorporation), as well as of two verbs in participle form connected by the conjunction *ve-* 'and' (a kind of serial verb).

5.3.1 3RD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE PARTICIPLE + ZAJN

From PA'AL

bojged zajn 'to betray' (H *boged*), *bojdek zajn* 'to examine' (H *bodek*), *gojver zajn* 'to overcome' (H *gover*), *gojzer zajn* 'to decree' (H *gozer*), *gojrem zajn* 'to cause' (H *gorem*), *gojres zajn* 'to accept (an interpretation or reading)' (H *gores*), *dojxe zajn* 'to refuse' (H *doxe*), *dojxek zajn* 'to press' (H *doxek*), *dojres zajn* 'to trample' (H *dores*), *dan zajn* 'to pass judgement' (H *dan*), *zoxje zajn* 'to be worthy of, have the honor of' (H *zoxe*), *xojlek zajn* 'to contest' (H *xolek*), *xojker zajn* 'to investigate' (H *xoker*), *xojšed zajn* 'to suspect' (H *xošed*), *xal zajn* 'to apply' (H *xal*), *tojvl zajn* 'to immerse' (H *tovel*), *tojem zajn* 'to taste' (H *to'em*), *jojce zajn* 'to repay' (H *joce*), *kojlel zajn* 'to include' (H *kolel*), *mojxl zajn* 'to forgive' (H *moxel*), *mojred zajn* 'revolt' (H *mored*), *nojef zajn* 'to commit adultery' (H *no'ef*), *negeje zajn* 'to concern' (H *nogea*), *nojte zajn* 'to incline' (H *note*), *sojvl zajn* 'to tolerate' (H *sovel*), *sojmex zajn* 'to base' (H *somex*), *sojter zajn* 'to contradict' (H *soter*), *ojver zajn* 'to transgress' (H *over*), *ojle zajn* 'to make a pilgrimage, immigrate to Israel' (H *ole*), *ojsek zajn* 'to engage in' (H *osek*), *ojker zajn* 'to flee' (H *oker*), *orev zajn* 'to guarantee' (H *arev*), *pojgeje zajn* 'to injure' (H *pogea*),

poter zajn 'to interpret (dreams)' (H *poter*), *kojveje zajn* 'to fix' (H *kovea*),
kojne zajn 'to buy' (H *kone*), *tojfes zajn* 'to grasp' (H *tofes*);
bojdek-xomec zajn 'to search for leavened dough' (H *bodek* 'to examine' +
xamec 'leavened dough'), *tojem-tam zajn* 'to get a taste of' (H *to'em* 'to taste'
+ *ta'am* 'taste'), *mojser-medoe zajn* 'to announce publicly' (H *moser* 'to
deliver' + *moda'a* 'announcement'), *mojce-xejn zajn* 'to find favor with' (H
moce 'to find' + *xen* 'favor'), *nojse-xejn zajn* 'to find favor with' (H *nose* 'to
carry' + *xen* 'favor'), *ojver-švue zajn* 'to perjure oneself' (H *over* 'to violate' +
švu'a 'oath'), *ojle-ligdula zajn* 'to achieve grandeur' (H *ole* 'to rise' + *ligdula*
'to-greatness'), *ojle-regl zajn* 'to make a pilgrimage, esp. to Jerusalem' (H *ole*
regel 'to make a pilgrimage'), *ojker-min-ašojreš zajn* 'to eradicate' (H *oker*
'to pluck' + *min* 'from' + *hašoreš* 'the-root'), *pojgeje-bekoved zajn* 'to offend'
(H *pogea be-* 'to injure' + *kavod* 'honor'), *pojrec-geder zajn* 'to infringe' (H
porec 'to break' + *gader* 'fence, limit'), *pojter-xolem zajn* 'to interpret a/the
dream of' (H *poter* 'to interpret' + *xalom* 'dream'), *kojne-šem zajn* 'to acquire
a reputation' (H *kone* 'to acquire' + *šem* 'reputation');
xojker-vedojreš zajn 'to investigate thoroughly' (H *xoker* 'to investigate' +
ve- 'and' + *doreš* 'to investigate').

From NIF'AL:

neehe zajn 'to enjoy' (H *nehene*).

From PI'EL:

mevaer zajn 'to expound' (H *meva'er*), *mevaze zajn* 'to degrade' (H *mevaze*),
mevatl zajn 'to distract' (H *mevatel*), *mevaješ zajn* 'to shame' (H *mevaješ*),
mevalbl zajn 'to confuse' (H *mevalbel*), *megadl zajn* 'to bring up' (H
megadel), *megazem zajn* 'to exaggerate' (H *megazem*), *megajer zajn* 'to
convert to Judaism' (H *megajer*), *megale zajn* 'to reveal' (H *megale*),
medakdek zajn 'to be pedantic' (H *medakdek*), *mehader zajn* 'to observe' (H

mehader), *mehane zajn* 'to gratify' (H *mehane*), *meharher zajn* 'to meditate' (H *meharher*), *mevater zajn* 'to give up' (H *mevater*), *mezake zajn* 'to favor' (H *mezake*), *mezalzl zajn* 'to humiliate' (H *mezalzel*), *mezane zajn* 'to commit fornication' (H *mezane*), *mexaber zajn* 'to author' (H *mexaber*), *mexadeš zajn* 'to innovate' (H *mexadeš*), *mexajev zajn* 'to oblige' (H *mexajev*), *metaer zajn* 'to purify' (H *metaher*), *metame zajn* 'to defile' (H *metame*), *mejaeš zajn* 'to disappoint' (H *meja'eš*), *mejased zajn* 'to found' (H *mejased*), *mexabed zajn* 'to honor (someone) with' (H *mexabed*), *mexavn zajn* 'to intend' (H *mexaven*), *mexaper zajn* 'to atone' (H *mexaper*), *memale zajn* 'to complement' (H *memale*), *menadev zajn* 'to donate' (H *menadev*), *menacejex zajn* 'to conquer' (H *menaceax*), *meojrer zajn* 'to stir' (H *me'orer*), *meakev zajn* 'to inhibit' (H *me'akev*), *mefajes zajn* 'to conciliate' (H *mefajes*), *mefarnes zajn* 'to support (a family)' (H *mefarnes*), *mefarsem* 'to publicize' (H *mefarsem*), *mefareš zajn* 'to comment upon' (H *mefareš*), *mecamcem zajn* 'to limit' (H *mecamcem*), *mecaer zajn* 'to grieve' (H *meca'er*), *mecaref zajn* 'to include (in a count)' (H *mecaref*), *mekaber zajn* 'to bury' (H *mekaber*), *mekadeš zajn* 'to sanctify' (H *mekadeš*), *mekajem zajn* 'to fulfil' (H *mekajem*), *mekane zajn* 'to envy' (H *mekane*), *mekacer zajn* 'to abridge' (H *mekacer*), *mekarev zajn* 'to befriend' (H *mekarev*), *meramez zajn* 'to allude' (H *meramez*), *mešalejex zajn* 'to dismiss' (H *mešaleax*), *mešane zajn* 'to alter' (H *mešane*), *mešaer zajn* 'to assume' (H *meša'er*), *mesamejex zajn* 'to entertain' (H *mesameax*), *mesakn zajn* 'to correct' (H *metaken*);

mevaker-xojle zajn 'to visit (a sick person)' (H *mevaker* 'to visit' + *xole* 'sick person'), *mexaje-mejsim zajn* 'to revive (from the dead)' (H *mexaje* 'to revive' + *metim* 'dead men'), *mexalel-ziveg zajn* 'to commit adultery' (H *mexalel* 'to violate' + *zivug* 'matching'), *mexalel-šabes zajn* 'to desecrate the Sabbath' (H *mexalel* 'to violate' + *šabat* 'Sabbath'), *mexalel-šem zajn* 'to blaspheme' (H

mexalel 'to violate' + *šem* 'name'), *menaxem-ovl zajn* 'to comfort (a mourner)' (H *menaxem* 'to comfort' + *avel* 'mourner'), *mekabel-beaave zajn* 'to accept without protest' (H *mekabel* 'to accept' + *be'ahava* 'with love'), *mekajem-psak zajn* 'to execute a sentence' (H *mekajem* 'to execute' + *psak* 'sentence').

From HITPA'EL:

mixavn zajn 'to intend' (H *mitkaven*), *mispalet zajn* 'to pray' (H *mitpalet*).

From HIF'IL:

majrex zajn 'to expatiate' (H *ma'arix*), *mavxn zajn* 'to differentiate' (H *mavxin*), *maftiex zajn* 'to assure' (H *mavtiex*), *madrex zajn* 'to guide' (H *madrix*), *mojde zajn* 'to admit' (H *mode*), *medie zajn* 'to announce' (H *modia*), *mojled zajn* 'to beget' (H *molid*), *mojsef zajn* 'to add' (H *mosif*), *mazer zajn* 'to warn' (H *mazhir*), *maxmer zajn* 'to be rigorous' (H *maxmir*), *maxrev zajn* 'to devastate' (H *maxriv*), *mejtev zajn* 'to make amends for' (H *metiv*), *matriex zajn* 'to trouble' (H *matriex*), *makxeš zajn* 'to deny' (H *maxxiš*), *maxbed zajn* 'to encumber' (H *maxbid*), *maxrez zajn* 'to proclaim' (H *maxriz*), *maxrie zajn* 'to decide, settle' (H *maxria*), *malšn zajn* 'to slander' (H *malšin*), *mamšex zajn* 'to continue' (H *mamšix*), *masber zajn* 'to explain' (H *masbir*), *majver zajn* 'to depose' (H *ma'avir*), *mafsek zajn* 'to interrupt' (H *mafsik*), *mafcer zajn* 'to urge' (H *mafcir*), *mafker zajn* 'to discard' (H *mafkir*), *macdek zajn* 'to justify' (H *macdik*), *macl zajn* 'to save' (H *macil*), *macliex zajn* 'to succeed' (H *macliex*), *makped zajn* 'to be meticulous' (H *makpid*), *makrev zajn* 'to sacrifice' (H *makriv*), *marviex zajn* 'to profit' (H *marviex*), *mašbie zajn* 'to conjure' (H *mašbia*), *mašve zajn* 'to reconcile' (H *mašve*), *mašlem zajn* 'to complete' (H *mašlim*), *mašpie zajn* 'to influence' (H *mašpia*), *maštn zajn* 'to urinate' (H *maštin*), *masig zajn* 'to comprehend' (H *masig*), *mater zajn* 'to permit' (H *matir*);

mojce-šem-ra zajn 'to slander' (H *moci* 'to bring out' + *šem* 'name' + *raa* 'bad'), *maxnes-orejx zajn* 'to offer hospitality to' (H *maxnis* 'to bring in' + *oreax* 'guest'), *maseg-gvul zajn* 'to transgress' (H *masig* 'to remove' + *gvul* 'limit'), *majver-naxle zajn* 'to disinherit' (H *ma'avir* 'to transfer' + *naxala* 'inheritance').

From HUF'AL:

mutl zajn 'to be incumbent upon' (H *mutal*).

5.3.2 3RD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE PARTICIPLE + ZAJN + ZIX

From PA'AL:

toje zajn zix 'to err' (H *to'e*), *nojeg zajn zix* 'to conduct oneself' (H *noheg*), *nojkem zajn zix* 'to take revenge' (H *nokem*);
mojser-nefeš zajn zix 'to sacrifice one's life' (H *moser* 'to deliver' + *nefeš* 'soul'), *šojel-ejce zajn zix* 'to seek advice of' (H *šo'el* 'to ask' + *eca* 'advice').

From PTEL:

mexaje zajn zix 'to enjoy oneself greatly' (H *mexaje*), *mejašev zajn zix* 'to deliberate' (H *mejašev*), *mefalpl zajn zix* 'to dispute over details' (H *mefalpel*), *meraxem zajn zix* 'to pity' (H *meraxem*).

From HITPA'EL:

misgaber zajn zix 'to prevail' (H *mitgaber*), *misvade zajn zix* 'to confess' (H *mitvade*), *misvakejex zajn zix* 'to argue' (H *mitvakeax*), *misxajev zajn zix* 'to commit oneself' (H *mitxajev*), *misasek zajn zix* 'to busy oneself' (H *mit'asek*), *miskane zajn zix* 'to become jealous' (H *mitkane*).

From HIF'IL:

makdim zajn zix 'to get ahead of others' (H *makdim*).

5.3.3 3RD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE PARTICIPLE + *VERN*

From PA'UL

poter vern 'to get rid of' (H *patur*).

From NIF'AL:

nojled vern 'to originate' (H *nolad*), *nigzer vern* 'to be decreed' (H *nigzar*),
nizek vern 'to be injured' (H *nizok*), *nixšl vern* 'to stumble against' (H *nixšal*),
nifter vern 'to die' (H *niftar*), *nicl vern* 'to survive' (H *nicol*), *nicmex vern* 'to
spring up' (H *nicmax*), *nelm vern* 'to disappear' (H *ne'elam*).

From PU'AL:

mevubl vern 'to become confused' (H *mevulbal*), *megulgl vern* 'to be
transformed into' (H *megulgal*), *mekujem vern* 'to be realized' (H *mekujam*).

From HUF'AL:

mušve vern 'to be reconciled' (H *musve*).

5.3.4 3RD PERSON SINGULAR MASCULINE PERFECTIVE + *VERN*

From NITPA'EL:

nistalek vern 'to die' (H *nistalek*), *ništojmem vern* 'to be amazed' (H
ništomem), *nisgale vern* 'to be revealed' (H *nitgala*), *nisale vern* 'to rise' (H
nit'ala), *nisašer* 'to become rich' (H *nit'ašer*), *nispael vern* 'to become
enthusiastic' (H *nitpa'el*).

NOTES

- * The present paper is a partial translation of Sasaki (in press) with the correction

of some minor typographical errors which crept into the Hebrew original.

- 1 Although other terms such as Semitic, *lošn-kojdeš* 'the Sacred Tongue' or simply Hebrew exist, in this paper the term Hebrew-Aramaic is employed, as in Weinreich (1971).
- 2 The Hebrew-Aramaic determinant is also referred to as *lošn-kojdeš mameš* 'whole Hebrew' (Weinreich 1973: 2: 5).
- 3 The Hebrew-Aramaic component is also referred to as *ajngešmolcn lošn-kojdeš* 'merged Hebrew' (Weinreich 1973: 2: 5).
- 4 See Baumgarten (1990: 22-23), Birnbaum (1922: 32-43, 49-53), Birnbaum (1979: 82-93), Fal'kovič (1984: 712-714), Harshav (1990: 27-49), Kutscher (1982: 273-276), Mark (1958), Tavjov (1923: 228-230), Weinreich (1940: 91-95), Weinreich (1973: passim), Weinreich (1960-61: 28-35), Weinreich (1971: 792-793), Weisberg (1988: 191-192), etc.; Wexler (1971) and Wexler (1980) deal with verb formation by means of periphrastic construction in particular.
- 5 The indication of plurality by a Hebrew plural suffix is accompanied by a vowel alternation characteristic to some plurals of the Hebrew-Aramaic component, as in *šoxn* 'neighbor' > *šxejnim* 'neighbors'.
- 6 *mefunice* was formed as a consequence of the metanalysis *mefunek* < *mefu-* + *-ik*.
- 7 Here is a double indication of femininity, both by a German suffix *-n* and by an Aramaic suffix *-te*, which underwent a phonetic change.
- 8 If the fact that Yiddish is a fusion language is taken into consideration, it is only natural that there are numerous words derived from elements of more than one component. Although the treatment of such is beyond the scope of this paper, it is worth pointing out that there are many cases where the stems are of the Hebrew-Aramaic component and the affixes are of the other components (mostly of the German component, but occasionally of the Slavic component, too), but no opposite case exists.

- 9 For the same reason pointed out in note 8, it goes without saying that there are a large number of compounds where one of the two elements is of the Hebrew-Aramaic component, and the other is of another component. These compounds are not treated here.
- 10 Strictly speaking, verb formation by means of periphrastic construction does not belong to morphology per se, but for the sake of completeness this word-formation type has been included with the other morphological types.

REFERENCES

- Altbauer, M. 1957. Metanaliz fun hebreiše antlejungen in jidiš. *Di goldene kejt* 29: 224-227.
- Baumgarten, J. 1990. *Le yiddish*. Paris.
- Bin-Nun, J. 1953. Ha'ivrit šebejidiš. *Lešonenu* 17: 139-144.
- Birnbaum, S. A. 1922. *Das hebräische und aramäische Element in der jiddischen Sprache*. Leipzig.
- Birnbaum, S. A. 1979. *Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar*. Toronto.
- Elzet, Y. 1958. Šmuesn vegn hebreiš-jidiš un jidiš-hebreiš. In: Y. Mark (ed.). *Judah A. Joffe Book*. New York. 236-256.
- Fal'kovič, È. 1984. O jazyke idiš. In: M. A. Šapiro et al. (eds.). *Russko-evrejskij (idiš) slovar'*. Moscow. 666-714.
- Harkavy, A. 1928². *Jidiš-engliš-hebreišer verterbux*. New York.
- Harshav, B. 1990. *The Meaning of Yiddish*. Berkeley.
- Holm, J. 1988-89. *Pidgins and Creoles* 1-2. Cambridge.
- Katz, D. 1985. Hebrew, Aramaic and the Rise of Yiddish. In: J. A. Fishman (ed.). *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*. Leiden. 85-104.

- Katz, D. 1986. Hajesod hašemi bejidiš: jeruša mimej kedem. *Hasifrut* 10/3-4: 228-251.
- Kutscher, E. Y. 1982. *A History of the Hebrew Language*. Jerusalem.
- Mark, Y. 1954. A Study of the Frequency of Hebraisms in Yiddish. In: U. Weinreich (ed.). *The Field of Yiddish* 1. New York. 28-47.
- Mark, Y. 1958. Jidiš-hebreiše un hebreiš-jidiše najšafungen. In: S. Bickel & L. Lehrer (eds.). *S. Niger Memorial Volume*. New York. 124-158.
- Mark, Y. 1978. *Gramatik fun der jidišer klal-šprax*. New York.
- Prilucki, N. 1938. Vikuex vegn di hebreizmen. *Jidiš far ale* 1: 65-75.
- Sasaki, T. In press. Hamarkiv ha'ivri-arami bejidiš: torat hacurot vetorat hamašma'ut. *Masorot* 8.
- Steinbaum, J. 1933. Der hebreišer element in jidiš: a pruv fun a verter-skale. *YIVO-bleter* 5/3-5: 304-328.
- Tavjov, J. H. 1923. Hajesodot ha'ivriim bežargon. In: *Kitvej J. H. Tavjov*. Jerusalem-Berlin. 214-278.
- Weinreich, M. 1940. Jidiš. *Algemejne enciklopedje*, jidn 2: 23-90.
- Weinreich, M. 1973. *Gešixte fun der jidišer šprax* 1-4. New York.
- Weinreich, U. 1960-61. Ha'ivrit ha'aškenazit veba'ivrit šebejidiš: bexinatan hage'ogرافit. *Lešonenu* 24: 242-253, 25: 57-80, 180-196.
- Weinreich, U. 1968. *Modern engliš-jidiš jidiš-engliš verterbux*. New York.
- Weinreich, U. 1971. Yiddish Language. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 16: 789-798.
- Weisberg, J. 1988. *Jiddisch: Eine Einführung*. Bern.
- Wexler, P. 1971. Some Observations of Structure in Language Contact. In: *Symbolae in Honorem Georgi Y. Shevelov*. Munich. 474-482.
- Wexler, P. 1980. Periphrastic Integration of Semitic Verbal Material in Slavicized Yiddish and Turkish. In: M. Herzog et al. (eds.). *The Field of Yiddish* 4. Philadelphia. 431-473.
- Wexler, P. 1981. Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework. *Language*

57: 99-149.

Wexler, P. 1982. Slavization vs. De-slavization in Yiddish Verb Formation. *Die Welt der Slaven* 27: 359-381.

Wexler, P. 1991. Yiddish - The Fifteenth Slavic Language. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 91: 9-150.

(佐々木嗣也、エルサレム・ヘブライ大学博士課程)