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NOTES ON JUDEO-GERMAN PHONOLOGY

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A GRATIFYING phase of Germanic study in recent years is the constantly increased attention paid to the modern spoken dialects. That the dialects still spoken by the rural population of Germany, for instance, have often preserved archaic features in vocabulary, phonology, morphology, and syntax, where the literary 'Gemeinsprache' is less conservative, is well known. Thus, attention may be called in passing to the fact that many of the dialects in Middle and Upper Germany still observe the distinction in pronunciation between short open *e* (<O.H.G. and M.H.G. *ĕ*, as in *gēban*, *gēben*) and short close *ɛ* due to *i*-umlaut of *a* (as in O.H.G. *bēzziro*, cf. Gothic *batiza*), while, as is well known, the 'Gemeinsprache' has levelled the distinction completely. By such archaic features the modern dialects are often able to throw a great deal of light on the history of the language; moreover, they are generally more easily handled, from the purely linguistic standpoint, than the literary monuments of Old and Middle High German, in that they are immediately accessible to study and are not distorted, particularly in regard to phonetics, by orthographic imperfections.

While the German dialects now spoken within the confines of Germany, Austria, and Switzerland are being diligently and profitably studied, little has as yet been

done in the way of scientifically examining the various dialects spoken by the Jews of Lithuania, Russian Poland, Galicia, southern Russia, and Roumania.¹ When one recollects that these Judeo-German or 'Yiddish' dialects have, since the beginning of the modern period (in the early part of the sixteenth century), developed in comparative isolation from the main body of German dialects and that they have been subjected to the influence, chiefly lexical, of the Slavic vernaculars (Polish, Russian, and Little Russian) on the one hand, and of the sacred Hebrew tongue on the other, it becomes clear that we are here dealing with a complex of linguistic conditions that must prove highly instructive to the student of language.²

¹ Besides Leo Wiener's two articles on Judeo-German in *The American Journal of Philology*, XIV, pp. 41-67 and 456-82 (phonologically unreliable because modern literary German, instead of Middle High German, is taken as the point of departure) and L. Sainéan's study ('Essai sur le Judéo-Allemand et spécialement sur le dialecte parlé en Valachie') in *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*, XII, pp. 90-138, 176-96 (treats of Roumanian Judeo-German), we have Jacob Gerzon's *Die jüdisch-deutsche Sprache, eine grammatisch-lexikalische Untersuchung ihres deutschen Grundbestandes* (Frankfurt am Main, 1902), treating mainly of the Lithuanian Judeo-German of Homel (Government of Mohilev). Valuable as Gerzon's work is, it is much less satisfactory in its treatment of the phonology (pp. 20-35) than of the morphology and syntax; in particular Gerzon has failed to point out the absence of quantitative differences in the vowels of stressed syllables and the development of voiced stops in final position, both of which are characteristic features of Judeo-German when contrasted with other High German dialects. The present study, though late to appear, was completed before access was had to Gerzon's work, so that the material here presented is the result of independent investigation. The dialect here treated is the form of Lithuanian Judeo-German spoken in the Government of Kovno. Further references to works on special points in Judeo-German may be found in L. Wiener's *History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1899), pp. 12-24 (chapter on 'The Judeo-German Language').

² The following taken from Grätz's *Geschichte der Juden* (vol. 9, p. 64)

The conditions are, in fact, not dissimilar to those that obtained in the development of the English language— isolation from the main body of the vernacular and considerable foreign influence. On the whole, the student of Judeo-German will be inclined to see a less extensive foreign influence in the case of Judeo-German than in that of English; the basis has remained thoroughly German, the foreign accretions and influences are, at best, of only secondary importance.

Before proceeding to the sketchy phonological observations I have to offer, it may not be inappropriate to call attention, by way of illustration, to some of the more interesting archaic features that Judeo-German presents. In vocabulary many Middle High German words now obsolete or, at any rate, not in common use in literary German, have been preserved in full vigour by Judeo-German. Such are *ēdm* 'son-in-law' (< M.H.G. *eidem*); *šver* 'father-in-law' (< M.H.G. *swēher*); *šnur* 'daughter-in-law'

will serve as historical basis of the above remarks. Grätz's statements apply to the period 1496–1525. 'Aber nicht bloss deutsche Talmudkunde haben die jüdisch-deutschen Flüchtlinge nach Polen verpflanzt, sondern auch die deutsche Sprache—in ihrer damaligen Beschaffenheit; sie impften sie den eingeborenen Juden ein und verdrängten nach und nach aus deren Munde die polnische oder ruthenische Sprache. Wie die spanischen Juden einen Teil der europäischen oder asiatischen Türkei in ein neues Spanien verwandelt haben, so machten die deutschen Juden Polen, Littauen und die dazu gehörigen Landesteile gewissermassen zu einem neuen Deutschland. . . . Mehrere Jahrhunderte hindurch zerfielen daher die Juden in *spanisch Redende* und *deutsch Sprechende*, gegen welche die Italiens als eine wenig zählende Klasse verschwand, da auch hier die Juden Spanisch oder Deutsch verstehen mussten. . . . [Die polnischen Juden] verehrten [die deutsche Sprache] wie ein Palladium, wie eine heilige Erinnerung, und wenn sie sich auch im Verkehr mit Polen der Landessprache bedienten, im trauten Familienkreise, im Lehrhause und im Gebete behielten sie das Deutsche bei. Sie galt ihnen nächst dem Hebräischen als eine heilige Sprache.'

(< M.H.G. *snur*); *tor* 'dare' (< M.H.G. *tar*, *gitar*); *zégꝝ* 'clock' (< M.H.G. *seiger*); *haint* 'to-day' (< M.H.G. *hînt* 'this night'); and many others. In phonetics, Judeo-German has, for instance, not levelled M.H.G. *î* and *ei* into *ai*, but has kept them apart as *ai* and *e* respectively; e.g. *vais* 'white' and *ix vês* 'I know' (< M.H.G. *wîz* and *ich weiz* respectively; contrast modern literary German *weiss* for both). In the case of *zamd* 'sand' an Indo-Germanic *m* has been preserved that has in practically all other Germanic dialects been assimilated to *n*—cf. Greek *ἄμθος* 'sand' < **samadhos*. A large number of archaic features are found also in the morphology. The old dative singular in *-en* of weak feminines (M.H.G. *der zungen*, *der mitten*, but modern German *der Zunge*, *der Mitte*) is preserved in stereotyped phrases like *in dꝝ mitꝝ drîn* 'right in the midst of it'. The M.H.G. feminine noun *heit* 'manner' preserved in modern German only as derivative suffix in abstract nouns (e.g. *Kühnheit*, *Menschheit*) survives in Judeo-German in adverbial genitives in *-ꝝ (h)ët* (e.g. *blindꝝ ët* 'blindly' < *blinder heit*). The preterito-present verb M.H.G. *touc* has in modern German been levelled to the great class of other verbs, while Judeo-German still has *er tég* 'he is of account' (contrast modern German *er taugt*). The old imperative *lâ* 'let' survives in phrases like *ló mir* (or *ló mix*) 'let me' (contrast modern German *lass mich*). In syntax, the double negative may be mentioned as an archaic feature, though something should here be perhaps ascribed to Slavic influence.

It would, however, be erroneous to suppose that the Judeo-German dialects are on the whole more archaic than modern literary German. They are not. In morphology particularly great simplification has taken place. The

preterite has disappeared in favour of the periphrastic perfect (e.g. *er hot gīzēn* = *er sah*). The dative and accusative (at least in Lithuanian Judeo-German, which dialect alone is here considered) have disappeared as such and have been merged into an objective case, partly dative and partly accusative in form (e.g. *er gīt mir* = *er gībt mir*; *er zēt mir* = *er sieht mich*). The ending *-er* preceded by umlaut and umlaut alone have greatly spread as plural signs (e.g. *plétsy* ‘places’; *teg* ‘days’ < **tēge* for *tage*). The umlaut of the second and third persons singular of strong verbs has in most cases been levelled out (*er zēt* = *er sieht*; *er fālt* = *er fällt*; *er lēft* = *er läuft*, cf. *ix léf* = *ich laufe*). A number of weak verbs have followed the analogy of strong verbs in their participle (e.g. *gīkrōḡḡ* ‘obtained’ as participle of *krīḡḡ* by analogy of such verbs as *fardrtsḡ* — *fardrōsḡ*; *gīšōtḡ* = *geschüttet*; *ōngītsundḡ* = *angezündet*). The third person reflexive has been generalized for all persons and numbers (e.g. *ix zets mir* = *ich setze mich*)—this is undoubtedly due to Slavic influence. There are many other levellings and analogical developments that have taken place in Judeo-German.

Several interesting special developments that have taken place are: a gerund of adverbial force in *-dig*, which can be formed from any verb by suffixing this syllable to the infinitive (e.g. *er vent lēfndig* ‘he cries while running’; these forms in *-ndig* are doubtless based on M.H.G. participial forms in *-ende*, perhaps influenced by *lebendic* ‘alive’); a monosyllabic abstract noun which can be formed from any verb and which is used in phrases like *er git a šmék* ‘he gives a smell, he smells (momentaneously)’; the transfer of most neuter nouns to the feminine gender (e.g. *di hoiz* ‘the house’ < M.H.G. *daz hūs*;

a similar development has taken place in Lithuanian, in which old neuters have generally become masculines, e. g. *árklas* m. 'plough' as contrasted with Latin *arātrum* and Greek *ἀροτρον*).

In phonology two great revolutions have taken place in Judeo-German. In the first place, the quantitative vocalic differences that are so important in modern German (contrast *siech* with *sich*, *schal* with *Schall*, *Sohn* with *Sonne*, *Musse* with *muss*) are not found in Judeo-German. All accented vowels are of practically uniform length—approximately midway in quantity between the German long and short vowels; the quality of *i* and *u* is that of the German long *i* and *u*, in other words close. Thus, the vowel of Judeo-German *six* 'himself' is pronounced like that of German *siech*, as far as quality is concerned, but with a shorter quantity (yet not so short as in German *sich*); correspondingly with Judeo-German *u*. Judeo-German *o* is in quality identical with the German *o* in *voll*; there are two *e*-vowels, an open *e* (as in German *Mensch*) and a close *e* (as in German *geben*, barring quantity); *a* does not differ in quality from the normal German *a*. We might put the matter thus: there are no long *i*, *u*, *o*, *a*, *e* in Judeo-German. This radical difference in phonetic basis between Judeo-German and modern standard German I am inclined to explain by Slavic influence (the same lack of quantitative differences in accented vowels obtains in Russian and Polish; thus, Russian accented *i* is medium in quantity between German *ī* and *i*).

The second phonetic revolution referred to is the rise of final voiced stops and spirants. In Middle High German and its modern representatives a voiced (lenis) stop or spirant becomes voiceless (fortis) when final (M.H.G. *tages*, *tac*;

modern German *Todes*, *Tod*, i.e. *tôt*). In Judeo-German, however, a final sonant is not pronounced as surd, but preserves its sonant character; thus, *zôgn* 'to say': *ix zôg* 'I say'. I do not believe that sonants when final have really remained sonant. I prefer to explain the phenomenon by analogy. Original M.H.G. *tac* (= *tak*) *tages tage* was levelled to *tag tages tage*; when final *-e* later dropped, the *g* could no longer become surd, hence we have Judeo-German *tog* corresponding to Modern German *tak* (or *tax*)—*tâgə* (or *tâyə*). Similarly, *veg* 'road' < M.H.G. *wēc* by analogy with *wëges wëge* (but modern German *vēx'*—*vëgəs* or *vějəs*). That this explanation is correct is indicated by such words as *op* 'away' < M.H.G. *abe*, where no paradigmatic levelling could take place and where final *b* became *p*, according to regular German phonetic law; cf. also *avék* 'away' (= German *weg*) as adverb with *veg* 'road' as noun (the adverb was not associated with the noun, hence suffered no levelling). In any event, the great frequency of final voiced stops and spirants in Judeo-German is a feature that is entirely foreign to the main body of German dialects but is paralleled within Germanic by English and Swedish.

In the following is given in brief the development in Judeo-German of the Middle High German vowels and consonants, no claim of absolute completeness of treatment being made. The main lines of change must suffice.

VOWELS.

1. M.H.G. *a*.

- a. In closed syllables it remained unchanged: *gast* < M.H.G. *gast*; *vald* < M.H.G. *walt* (*wald-*); *ganz* 'goose' < M.H.G. *gans*; *hart* < M.H.G. *hart*; *az* < M.H.G. *als*; *árbət* < M.H.G. *arbeit*, *arebeit*; *bald* < M.H.G. *balde*; *land* <

M.H.G. *lant* (*land-*); *halz* < M.H.G. *hals*; *gayg* < M.H.G. *ganc* (*gang-*); *naxt* < M.H.G. *naht*. In open syllables followed by *x* (originally geminated, O.H.G. *-hh-*) it also remained, as in modern German: *máxxŋ* < M.H.G. *machen*; *láxxŋ* < M.H.G. *lachen*.

- b. In originally open syllables (in some cases now secondarily closed) it became lengthened to \bar{a} (cf. modern German $\bar{a} < a$ in open syllables), which, falling in with original \bar{a} , developed to open *o*: *hóbnŋ* < M.H.G. *haben*; *jógŋŋ* < M.H.G. *jagen*; *vógŋŋ* 'waggon' < M.H.G. *wagen*; *op* < M.H.G. *abe*; *nómŋŋ* < M.H.G. *name, namen*; *fótrŋ* < M.H.G. *vater*. Many cases of $o < a$ in originally closed syllables are readily explained by paradigmatic analogy: *tog* < *tac* (cf. *tage*). Original *tac* *táge*, pl. *táge* first developed to *tac* *táge*, *táge*, then, with consonantic levelling, to *tag* *táge*, *táge*; when $\bar{a} > o$, this series became *tag* *tóge*, *tóge*; vocalic levelling gave *tog* *tóge*, *tóge*; dropping of final unaccented *-e* would have reduced these forms to *tog* *tog*, *tog*, to avoid which umlaut as characteristic of noun plurals came in by analogy; as final result we have to-day nom. *tog*, dat.-acc. *tog*, pl. *teg*. Other examples of analogical $o < a$ in closed syllables are: *štot* < M.H.G. *stat*; *groz* < M.H.G. *gras*. In certain words *a* became lengthened before *r* to \bar{a} even in closed syllables; this \bar{a} also resulted in *o*: *gor* < M.H.G. *gar* (cf. modern German *gār*); *bort* < M.H.G. *bart*; *bórvos* 'barefoot' < M.H.G. *barvuoz*; *tor*, *torst* '(he) dares, (you) dare' < M.H.G. *tar*, *tarst*. More difficult to explain are *dos* < M.H.G. *daz* and *vos* < M.H.G. *waz*; perhaps these forms arose in combinations like *daz ist* (originally syllabified, before 'fester Einsatz' developed before *ist*, as *dazist*) > *dāz ist* > *dos iz*.
- c. Cases of $e < a$ are probably only apparent. *meg* (= modern German *mag*) is probably not directly developed from M.H.G. *mac*, but is due to analogy of 1st and 3rd person plural present indicative and infinitive *mēgen* (upper German) > Judeo-German *mégŋŋ* (see 4. below). *ken* (=

modern German *kann*) is similarly not directly developed from M.H.G. *kan* (> Judeo-German parallel form *kon*, see b above), but is due to analogy of *kennen* 'to know' > Judeo-German *kény*.

2. M.H.G. *ǎ*.

- a. This sound regularly became *o*, which is in no respect phonetically different from *o* < M.H.G. *o* or M.H.G. *a* in open syllables: *on* 'without' < M.H.G. *âne*; *do* < M.H.G. *dâ*; *nox* < M.H.G. *nâch*; *hor* 'hair' < M.H.G. *hâr*; *jor* < M.H.G. *jâr*; *mol* < M.H.G. *mâl*; *hot* 'has', *host* 'has', *hot* '(ye) have' < M.H.G. *hât*, *hâst*, *hât*; *blo* 'blue' < M.H.G. *blâ*; *gro* 'gray' < M.H.G. *grâ*; *lo* 'let!' < M.H.G. *lâ*; *gîrótn* < M.H.G. *gerâten*; *nont* 'near' < M.H.G. *nâhent*; *mon* < M.H.G. *mân*, *mâhen* 'Mohn'. Note that Judeo-German sometimes preserves *o* as reflex of M.H.G. *ǎ* where modern German has shortened *ǎ* to *a* (contrast Judeo-German *nox* with modern German *nach*; *host*, *hot* with *hast*, *hat*).
- b. It is shortened to *a* (as in modern German) before *xt*: *gîdâxt* < M.H.G. *gedâht*; *gîbrâxt* < M.H.G. *gebrâht*.
- c. In *vu* 'where', *ǎ* of M.H.G. *wâ*, after being labialized to *ǒ* (cf. modern German *wo*), became still further labialized to *u*.

3. M.H.G. *ë*.

- a. This sound normally remained as open *e*: *erd* < M.H.G. *ërde*; *ber* 'bear' < M.H.G. *bër*; *velt* < M.H.G. *wërlt*; *šlext* < M.H.G. *slëht*; *feld* < M.H.G. *vëlt* (*vëld-*); *hëlfen* < M.H.G. *hëlfen*; *zeks* < M.H.G. *sëhs*. It is to be particularly noted that *ë* in open syllables did not, as in most dialects, lengthen to *ē* (> Judeo-German *ē*), but remained open *e*: *lëbn* < M.H.G. *lëben* (contrast modern German *leben*, i.e. *lëbn*); *bëzn* < M.H.G. *bëseme* 'Besen'; *nëmn* < M.H.G. *nëmen*; *lëzn* < M.H.G. *lësen*; *bëtzn* 'to ask for' (= modern German *bitten*) < M.H.G. *bëten* 'bitten (um Almosen)'; *gëbn* < M.H.G. *gëben*.
- b. M.H.G. *-ëhe-* regularly contracted to *e* (not, as in modern

German, to $\bar{e} > \epsilon$): *tsen* 'ten' < M.H.G. *zēhen*; *zen* 'to see' < M.H.G. *sēhen*; *šver* 'father-in-law' < M.H.G. *swēher*.

- c. Before *r* plus consonant, \bar{e} regularly became broadened to *a* (cf. English *farm* < Middle English *ferm*): *barg* 'hill, mountain' < M.H.G. *bērc* (*bērg-*); *harts* < M.H.G. *hērze*; *fártsn* 'to break wind' < M.H.G. *vērzen*; *várfn* < M.H.G. *wērſen*; *štárbn* < M.H.G. *stērbēn*; *řarg* (e.g. *grínřarg* 'green stuff, vegetation') < M.H.G. *wērřh*, *wērc* (modern German *Werg* 'tow'). *e* remains, however, in *erd* 'earth' < M.H.G. *ērde*.
- d. \bar{e} appears as *i* in *bíln* 'to bark' < M.H.G. *bēllen*. This may be due to *i* of M.H.G. singular present indicative *bille*, *billest*, *billet*, though ordinarily *e* is generalized in Judeo-German (cf. *helft* = modern German *hilft*).
4. M.H.G. \bar{e} (*i*-umlaut of *a*).
- a. In originally closed syllables this sound fell in, as in modern German, with *e* < M.H.G. \bar{e} . Examples of *e* < \bar{e} are: *end* < M.H.G. *ende*; *bésř* < M.H.G. *bēzzer*; *menš* < M.H.G. *mēnsche*; *s vēnt zix* 'it depends' (= *es wendet sich*) < M.H.G. *wēnden*; *épl* 'apple' < M.H.G. *épfel* (plural of *apfel*, but also used as singular; cf. Kluge's remark: 'in Schwaben, der Schweiz und der Oberpfalz ist das plurale *Äpfel* Singularform geworden'); *šmékn* 'to smell' < M.H.G. *smēcken* 'to taste, to smell' (Kluge remarks: 'die Bedeutung "riechen" wahren das Alemannische und Baierische, auch das Hessische teilweise').
- b. M.H.G. *ēhe*, like *ēhe*, contracted to *e*: *trer* 'tear' < M.H.G. *trēher* (singularized plural of *traher*; modern German *Thräne* is similarly originally plural, M.H.G. *trēhene*, of M.H.G. *trahen*).
- c. \bar{e} , like \bar{e} , seems to have been broadened to *a* before *r* plus consonant in *árbās* 'pea' < M.H.G. *ērweiz* (modern German *Erbse*); parallel M.H.G. *arweiz* would probably have resulted in **órbās* rather than *árbās* (see 1. b above). Note *ferd* 'horse' < M.H.G. *řfárt* (*řfárd-*).

- d. *ê* is preserved as *ɛ* (close quality as in French *été*) before *ɣg*, *ɣk*: *brɛŋŋ* 'to bring' < M.H.G. *brɛngen* (Middle German dialectic form of *bringen*; cf. also Old Saxon *brengean* < **brangjan*); *dɛŋkŋ* < M.H.G. *dɛnken*; *zix bɛŋkŋ* 'to long for', cf. M.H.G. *bɛnge* (alongside of *bange*) 'Angst, Sorge'. *ɛ* < *ê* also appears in open syllables: *hɛbŋ* 'to lift' < M.H.G. *hɛben*, *hɛfen*; *kɛt* (plural *kɛtŋ*) < M.H.G. *kɛten* 'Kette'; *tsɛlŋ* < M.H.G. *zɛln*; *ɛnikl* 'grandson' < M.H.G. *ɛnikel*, *ɛninkel*; *ɛdl* < M.H.G. *ɛdel*; *hɛvŋ* 'yeast' < M.H.G. *hɛve*.
5. M.H.G. *ê*.
- a. This sound, while losing its length, retained its quality as close *ɛ*; *ʃtɛn* 'to stand' < M.H.G. *stɛn*; *ɣɛn* < M.H.G. *gɛn*; *ʃnɛ* < M.H.G. *snɛ*; *vɛtag* 'pain' < M.H.G. *wɛtac* 'leiblicher Schmerz, Leiden, Krankheit' (literally 'woe-day'); *ɛdɔr* 'rather, sooner' (with inorganic *-d-*) < M.H.G. *ɛr*. Before final *r*, *ɛ* is followed by glide *ɔ*: *zɛɔr* 'very' < M.H.G. *sɛre*.
- b. It becomes broadened to open *e* before *r* in: *mer* 'more' < M.H.G. *mɛr*; *ɛrst* < M.H.G. *ɛrst*.
6. M.H.G. *æ* (*i*-umlaut of *ǣ*).
- a. This sound fell in completely with *ɛ*. Examples of *e* < M.H.G. *æ* are: *ʃver* < M.H.G. *swære*; *ver* < M.H.G. *wære* (1st and 3rd person preterite subjunctive of *sîn*); *het* < M.H.G. *hæte* 'hätte'; *gîrɛlŋnis* 'capable person, wohlgeratene Person' (*ret*- < M.H.G. *ræt*, cf. *geræte* 'Rat, Überlegung').
- b. *æ* has become *i* in: *gix* 'quick' < M.H.G. *gæhe* (*gex*, which would be normally expected, is also found).
7. M.H.G. *i*.
- a. As in modern German, M.H.G. *i* has normally remained: *zix* < M.H.G. *sich*; *gîfŋŋ* < M.H.G. (*ge*)*finden*; *iz* < M.H.G. *ist*; *blind* < M.H.G. *blint* (*blind-*); *fiš* < M.H.G. *visch*.
- b. In *bárnə* 'pear' < M.H.G. *bir* (genitive *birn*) and *karš* 'cherry' < M.H.G. *kirse*, this sound seems, like *ɛ*, to have become *a* before *r* plus consonant (see 3 c). Is *a* in these words

due to parallel dialectic *ē* (cf. Anglo-Saxon *peru* : O.H.G. *bira* ; Lat. *cerasum* : O.H.G. *kirsa*)?

- c. *em* 'him' < M.H.G. *im(e)* is probably developed from parallel Middle German dialectic *em(e)*.

8. M.H.G. *ī*.

- a. As in modern German, M.H.G. *ī* regularly became diphthongized to *ai* : *taix* 'lake, creek' < M.H.G. *tīch* 'pond' ; *zait* 'side' < M.H.G. *sīte* ; *tsait* < M.H.G. *zīt* ; *drai* < M.H.G. *drī* ; *vāilē* '(short) while' < M.H.G. *wīle* ; *main* < M.H.G. *mīn*.
- b. In *gīt* 'gives', *gīst* 'givest', *i* is shortened from *ī* (M.H.G. *gīī, gīstī*), rather than directly derived from *i* of *gibet, gibest*.

9. M.H.G. *o*.

- a. In closed syllables *o* remained : *dort* < M.H.G. *dort* ; *oks* < M.H.G. *ohse* ; *fol* < M.H.G. *vol (voll-)* ; *mōrgn* < M.H.G. *morgen* ; *ort* < M.H.G. *ort*.
- b. It has become *u* in *fun* < *von*. *u* of *zun* 'Sohn', *zun* 'Sonne', and *kūmŋ* 'kommen' is not derived from original *o*, but goes back to *u* (see 11 a).
- c. In originally open syllables *o* became lengthened, as in modern German, to \bar{o} , which then, falling in with original long \bar{o} , developed to ϵ (see 10 a) : *ēb* 'ob' < M.H.G. *obe* ; *évnŋ* 'stove' < M.H.G. *oven* ; *ēbnŋ* < M.H.G. *oben* ; *fégŋ* < M.H.G. *vogel* ; *hézŋ* 'trousers' < M.H.G. *hosen*. In words where *o* of close and *o* of open syllables varied paradigmatically, older *o* : ϵ (o : \bar{o}) was levelled out to ϵ (\bar{o}) : *hēf* < M.H.G. *hof (hoves)*. It is not clear why we have ϵ , instead of *o*, in *hēkŋ* 'hunchback' < M.H.G. *hocker* (perhaps < parallel **hoker* with ungeminated *k* ; cf. parallel *hoger*).

10. M.H.G. \bar{o} .

- a. This sound regularly became ϵ , probably through transitional stages *oi* > *öi* > *ei*. Examples are : *grēs* < M.H.G. *grōz* ; *šēn* 'already' < M.H.G. *schōn(e)* ; *hēx* < M.H.G. *hōch* ; *brēt* < M.H.G. *brōt* ; *rēt* < M.H.G. *rōt* ; *azē* < M.H.G. *alsō* ; *lēz*

< M.H.G. *lös*; *rɛ* < M.H.G. *rō*. Before final *r* glide *ə* intervenes: *ɛər* 'ear' < M.H.G. *ōre*.

11. M.H.G. *u*.

- a. It normally remains as *u*: *un* 'and' < M.H.G. *unde*; *štub* < M.H.G. *stube*; *tsuyg* < M.H.G. *zunge*; *šnur* 'daughter-in-law' < M.H.G. *snur*; *zun* 'son' < M.H.G. *sun* (modern German *Sohn* is specifically Middle German, M.H.G. *son*); *zun* 'sun' < M.H.G. *sunne* (modern German *Sonne* is specifically Middle German); *kúmŋ* < M.H.G. *kumen* (variant of *komen*, probably extended by analogy from singular of present indicative *kume*, *kumest*, *kumet*); *zámŋ* 'summer' < M.H.G. *sumer*; *trúkn* 'dry' < M.H.G. *trucken*; *rúkn* 'to shove' < M.H.G. *rucken* (parallel to *rücken*); *hunt* < M.H.G. *hunt* (*hund*-).
- b. M.H.G. *u* seems to have become *i*, probably via *ü*, in *um zíst* 'um sonst' < M.H.G. *umbe sust*.
- c. Before *r* plus consonant *u* is broadened to *o* in *vórtsl* 'root' < M.H.G. *wurzel* (cf. Middle German *worz* for *wurz* 'plant, root'), also before final *r* in *nor* 'only' < M.H.G. *nur*.

12. M.H.G. *ú*.

- a. Diphthongization has taken place, as in modern German, but to *oi* (probably through *ui*, which seems to be found in some Judeo-German dialects), not *au*. Examples are: *oif* < M.H.G. *úf*; *hoiz* < M.H.G. *hús*; *moiz* < M.H.G. *mús*; *moil* < M.H.G. *múl* 'Maul'; *kloiz* 'Talmudic school' < M.H.G. *klúse* 'abgeschlossene Wohnung'; *hoit* < M.H.G. *hút*; *toiznd* < M.H.G. *túsent* (*túsend*-); *boian* < M.H.G. *búwen*. Glide *ə* appears after *oi* before final *r*; *zoíər* < M.H.G. *súr*; *poíər* 'peasant' < M.H.G. *búr*.
- b. Before *x* plus consonant it is shortened to *u* in *mir dúxt* 'it seems to me' < M.H.G. *dúhte* (preterite of *dunken*, *dünken*); cf. *á* > *a* before *x* plus consonant (see 2 b above).
- c. M.H.G. *ú* has become *a* in *farzáamŋ* 'to miss, neglect' < M.H.G. *verstámen*. No reason that is apparent can be given for this singular change.

- d. M.H.G. *ū* has apparently become *ai* in: *klaibn* 'to gather' < M.H.G. *klúben* 'pflücken, stückweise ablesen, auflesen' (> Modern German *klauben*). This is hard to understand phonologically. With its strong participle *giklibn*, it looks remarkably as though developed from M.H.G. *klíben*, past participle *gekliben* 'anhangen, Wurzel fassen und gedeihen', though there are semantic difficulties here. Perhaps **kloibn* < *klúben* and *klaibn* < *klíben* became confused in one form.

13. M.H.G. *ü*.

- a. Ordinarily *ü* was unrounded and thus fell in completely with original *i*: *mil* < M.H.G. *mül* 'mill'; *ib* < M.H.G. *über*; *zin* 'sons' < M.H.G. *süne*; *kinig* < M.H.G. *künic* (*künig*-); *únmiglæx* < M.H.G. *unmügelich*; *híntl*, diminutive of *hunt* 'dog' < M.H.G. *hunt* (*hund*-); *liŋ* 'lie' (subst.) < M.H.G. *lügen, lügene*.
- b. It became velarized to *u* in: *fúl* 'fulness' < M.H.G. *vülle*; *kúšn* 'to kiss' < M.H.G. *küssen* (perhaps by analogy of *kuš* 'kiss'); *fúftsn* 'fifteen' < M.H.G. *vünfzēhen*; *fúftsig* 'fifty' < M.H.G. *fünfaic* (*fünfaig*-) (cf. M.H.G. *vunf, vumf* as parallel forms of *vünf, vümf*).
- c. Before final *r* and before *rr* it became broadened to *a* (cf. 3 c, 4 c, 7 b) in: *far* < M.H.G. *vür*; *dar* 'thin' < M.H.G. *dürre*.

14. M.H.G. *iu*.

This sound (pronounced *ū*) represents older diphthongal *iu* and *ū* as *i*-umlaut of *ū*. In Judeo-German it became unrounded to *ī*, which, falling in with original *ī*, became diphthongized to *ai*. Examples are: *háizr* 'houses' < M.H.G. *hiuser*; *maiz* 'mice' < M.H.G. *miuse*; *nai* 'new' < M.H.G. *niuwe*; *aix* < M.H.G. *iuch*; *diar* < M.H.G. *iurwer*; *báixl* < M.H.G. *biuchel*, diminutive of *búch* 'Bauch'; *lait* < M.H.G. *liute*.

15. M.H.G. *ö*.

- a. As with other umlaut vowels, *ö* was unrounded to *e*, thus falling together with original *ě*. Examples of *e* < M.H.G. *ö*

are: *rékł* < M.H.G. *röckel*, diminutive of *roc* (*rock-*) 'coat'; *hérny* < M.H.G. *hörner*, plural of *horn*; *gikéxts* 'something cooked' < **geköchtes* (such forms seem to be based on substantivized neuter past participles in *-tes*, e.g. *gekochtes*, influenced by neuter collectives in *ge- . . -e* with umlaut, e.g. *gehörne*).

- b. In *el* 'oil' < M.H.G. *öl*, *öle* it seems that M.H.G. *ö* resulted in *ɛ* instead of expected *e*. However, *el* may go back to parallel M.H.G. *ol*, *ole* according to 9 c.

16. M.H.G. *æ* (*ō*).

- a. This sound became unrounded to *ē*, thus falling together with original *ê*, whence Judeo-German *ɛ*: *šen* < M.H.G. *schæne*; *flésty* < M.H.G. *vlatzen* (causative of *vliezen*); *lénny* 'to take in money' (< 'to release value'?) < M.H.G. *læsen*; *tréstny* < M.H.G. *træsten*.
- b. It is broadened to *e* before *r* (cf. 5 b): *hérny* < M.H.G. *hæren*.
- c. In certain comparatives *ē* < M.H.G. *æ* developed to *e* instead of *ɛ* without apparent phonetic reason: *grésy* 'larger' < M.H.G. *græzer*; *šény* < M.H.G. *schæner*; *héxy* 'higher' < M.H.G. *hæher*. In *héxy* open *e* may be phonetically explained as due to shortening of *ō* to *ö* before *x* (which had been introduced into comparative from positive *hōch*; **hōcher*, instead of *hæher*, > **höcher* > *héxy*); cf. 1 a (last sentence), 2 b, 12 b. The combined influence of *héxy* and such *e*-comparatives as *lénny* 'longer' (in which *e* regularly developed from *ê*, *i*-umlaut of *a*) may have served to establish a category of *e*-comparatives, which analogically displaced the phonetically justified comparatives **grésy*, **šény*. The change thus effected is functionally useful, inasmuch as a difference of form is established between the comparative and the inflected positive (nominative masculine singular): *a grésy man* 'ein grosser Mann', but *er iz grésy* 'er ist grösser' (modern German *schöner* corresponds to both *šény* and *šény*). That this change of *æ* to *e* is not phonetic, but analogic in character, is further indicated by the parallel *klény* < *kleiner* (but positive *klen* < *klein*).

17. M.H.G. *uo*.

- a. This diphthong was monophthongized to *u* and, there being no quantitative differences in Judeo-German accented vowels, fell together with original *u*: *šux* < M.H.G. *schuoh*; *mútr* < M.H.G. *muoter*; *bux* < M.H.G. *buoch*; *štul* < M.H.G. *stuol*; *ku* < M.H.G. *kuo*; *brúdy* < M.H.G. *bruoder*; *tsu* < M.H.G. *zuo*; *fus* < M.H.G. *vuoz*.
- b. In *ton* 'to do' < M.H.G. *tuon* it appears as *o*. This is probably due to the analogy of the participle *gítón* < M.H.G. *getán* (the ablaut *uo-d*, Judeo-German *u-o*, is isolated and therefore easily levelled out).

18. M.H.G. *üe*.

This diphthong, which serves as *i*-umlaut of *uo*, became unrounded to *ie* and, falling together with original *ie*, became monophthongized to *i* (it is also possible that *üe* first became monophthongized to *ü* and then unrounded to *i*): *grin* < M.H.G. *grüene*; *ki* < M.H.G. *küeje* 'cows'; *mid* < M.H.G. *müede*; *kil* < M.H.G. *küele*, *küel*; *bíxl* < M.H.G. *büechel*, diminutive of *buoch*.

19. M.H.G. *ie*.

- a. As *uo*, when monophthongized, fell together with *u*, so *ie*, after being monophthongized, fell together with original *i*: *líxt* < M.H.G. *lieht*; *tif* < M.H.G. *tief*; *flígn* < M.H.G. *fliegen*; *bígn* < M.H.G. *biegen*; *hir* < M.H.G. *hier*; *fír* < M.H.G. *vier*.
- b. It became broadened to *e* before *r* plus consonant in *érgats* 'somewhere' < M.H.G. *iergen(t)*, *nérgats* 'nowhere' < M.H.G. *niergen(t)*. Contrast *i* < M.H.G. *ie* in *ímrg* < M.H.G. *iemer* and *ístt(r)* 'now' < M.H.G. *iezent*.
- c. *zē* 'they' < M.H.G. *sie* (but *zi* 'she' < M.H.G. *sie*) is perhaps best explained as secondarily lengthened from M.H.G. *se*, proclitic form of *sie*.

20. M.H.G. *ei*.

- a. This was not preserved as diphthong *ai*, as in modern German, but was monophthongized to *ɛ* (probably via *ē*): *hész* <

M.H.G. *heizen*; *en* < M.H.G. *ein*; *brēt* < M.H.G. *breit*; *hēm* < M.H.G. *heim* (note also Judeo-German adverb *ahēm* 'nach Hause'); *ē* 'egg' < M.H.G. *ei*; *édm̄* 'son-in-law' < M.H.G. *eidem*; *kļen* < M.H.G. *kleine, klein*; *mēnn̄* < M.H.G. *meinen*; *hēln̄* < M.H.G. *heilen*; *ren* < M.H.G. *rein*.

- b. It appears as *e* in *ém̄* 'pail' < M.H.G. *eimer, eimber* (cf. M.H.G. parallel form *ember*). *e* of *klén̄* 'smaller' is best explained as due to analogy (see explanation of *grés̄* and *šén̄* in 16 c).

21. M.H.G. *ou*.

This diphthong early became monophthongized to \bar{o} (cf. *ei* > \bar{e} , see 20 a) and was further developed, together with original \bar{o} , to *ē* (probably via *oi* > *öi* > *ei*): *bēm* < M.H.G. *boum*; *ēg* < M.H.G. *ouge*; *kéf̄n̄* < M.H.G. *koufen*; *štēb* < M.H.G. *stoup* (*stoub*-); *r̄ex* < M.H.G. *rouch*.

22. M.H.G. *eu, öu*.

This diphthong also became Judeo-German *ē* (perhaps via \bar{o} > \bar{e} ; or via *öi* > *ei*, cf. M.H.G. *vröide* as variant of *vröude*): *frēd* 'joy', *Fréd̄ə* 'Joy' (girl's name) < M.H.G. *vröude, vreude*; *hē* 'hay' < M.H.G. *höuwe, höu*; *lēb* 'lion' < M.H.G. *löuwe* (parallel to *l̄ēwe*, which would have developed to **leb*).

We thus see that the original rich vocalism of Middle High German has been greatly simplified in Judeo-German by unrounding rounded vowels (*ü* > *i*, *ū* > *ī* > *i*, *üe* > *ie* > *i*, *ö* > *e*, $\bar{ö}$ > \bar{e} > *ē*), by obliterating quantitative vocalic differences (\bar{i} < *ie* and *i* both give *i*; \bar{u} < *uo* and *u* both give *u*; these secondary \bar{i} and \bar{u} are of course to be carefully kept apart from original M.H.G. \hat{i} and \hat{u} , which did not fall together with them because they had already become diphthongized when *ie* became \bar{i} and *uo* became \bar{u}), and by monophthongizing of diphthongs (*ei* > \bar{e} > *ē*, *ou* > \bar{o} > *oi* > *öi* > *ei* > *ē*). In particular *ē* is, at least in the Lithuanian dialect, the reflex of no less than eight distinct vowels and diphthongs: \acute{e} (in

open syllables), *ê*, *ei*, *eu* (*öu*), *æ*, *ô*, *ou*, and *o* (in open syllables). Similarly, *i* goes back to *i*, *ii*, *ie*, and *iee*; *o* to *o* (in closed syllables), *â*, and *a* (in open syllables). Many words that in Middle High German are phonetically distinct have, in Judeo-German, fallen together owing to the operation of the phonetic laws we have sketched. Thus, *br̥et* corresponds to modern German *breit* and *Brot*; *š̥en* to *schön* and *schon*; *š̥ten* to *stehen* and *Stein*; *nox* to *noch* and *nach*; *égn̥* to *eigen* and *Augen*.

Unaccented M.H.G. *e* has generally dropped in absolute finality; examples of this have incidentally occurred in the discussion of the accented vowels. Where unaccented *-e* is preserved (as 'Murmelvokal' *-ə*), it is generally due to a functional, not a phonetic, reason (e.g. *gút̥ lait* 'good people' and *a gút̥ tóxtr̥* 'a good daughter', in which *-ə*, as adjectival ending, indicates respectively plurality and feminine gender. Unaccented M.H.G. *e* unites with following tautosyllabic *l*, *m*, *n*, and *r* to form sonantic (syllabic) *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*, and *r̥*. In unaccented syllables and when after vowels or when followed by one or more stop or spirant consonants M.H.G. *e* appears as *ə* (e.g. *érgəts* < M.H.G. *iergent*; *díər* < M.H.G. *iurwer* 'your'). Unaccented M.H.G. *e* sometimes disappears in other than final position. Thus, regularly in participial *-et* after all consonants, including *d* and *t*, *-det* and *-tet* contracting to *-t* (e.g. *gívárt* < M.H.G. *gewartet*; *gíhít* < M.H.G. *gehüetet*; *gírét* < M.H.G. *gerédet*); similarly, *-est* of second person singular and *-et* of third person singular and second person plural present indicative (and imperative) regularly become *-st* and *-t*, *-det* and *-tet* contracting to *-t* (e.g. *du vártst* < M.H.G. *du wartest*; *er rét*, *gífnt* < M.H.G. *er rédet*, *gíndet*: *ir hít* < M.H.G. *ir hüetet*; second person plural imperative *ret* < M.H.G. *rédi*). Such

syncopated forms go back in part to M.H.G. originals (e.g. M.H.G. *vint* 'finds' alongside of *vindet*; *getraht* alongside of *getrahtet*).

Other unaccented vowels than *ə* are also found, though rather less frequently than in modern German. They occur chiefly in secondarily accented syllables. Examples of suffixed elements with vowel not dulled to *ə* are: *-ik* (e.g. *kínik* < M.H.G. *künic*); *-iš* < M.H.G. *-isch* (e.g. *míšš* 'ugly'); *-nis* < M.H.G. *-nisse* (e.g. *gírétúnis*); *-ung* (e.g. *ménung* < M.H.G. *meinunge*); *-ket* < M.H.G. *-keit* (e.g. *gútsket* 'goodness', *grésket* 'greatness'). Diminutive *-lín* appears in Judeo-German as secondarily accented *-le*, preceding M.H.G. *-e* being developed to *-a* (e.g. *kíndalè* < M.H.G. *kindelín*; these diminutives in *-alè* imply a loving or caressing attitude, whereas forms in *-əl*, *-l* are simply diminutive). M.H.G. *-lich* regularly appears as *-lax* (e.g. *frélax* < M.H.G. *vralich*). Full vowels of unaccented syllables which have no definite significance as word-forming elements tend more frequently than in modern German to be dulled to *ə* (e.g. *árbas* 'pea' < M.H.G. *érweiz*, *arweiz*; *árbət* 'work' < M.H.G. *arbeit*). This is true even in cases where the unaccented vowel is the stem vowel of the second member of a compound, provided the analysis of the compound is not felt as obvious (e.g. *bórvas* 'barefoot' < M.H.G. *barvuoz*; *kímpət* 'confinement after childbirth' < M.H.G. *kinbtétte*). An example of extreme reduction, in which not only an unaccented diphthong but also the consonant following it is lost, is *knóbł* 'garlic' < M.H.G. *knobelouch*.

M.H.G. *e* standing in a syllable immediately preceding the accent seems regularly to develop to *a*: *ba-* < M.H.G. *be-* (e.g. *baklógŋ* < M.H.G. *beklagen*); *far-* < M.H.G. *ver-* (e.g. *farbrénŋ* < M.H.G. *verbrénnen*); *ar-* < M.H.G. *här* (e.g.

ar- in local adverbs—*arúntr*, *aribý*, *aróis*, and others); *ant-* < M.H.G. *en(t)-* (e.g. *antkégy* < M.H.G. *engēgen(e)*); *antléfn* < M.H.G. *entloufen*); *a-* < M.H.G. *en-* in adverbs (e.g. *avék* < M.H.G. *en-wëc* ‘away’; *ahér* < M.H.G. *ën-hër* ‘hither’; *ahín* ‘thither’; *ahém* ‘towards home’). Accented *ent-*, however, remains: *entfory* ‘to answer’ < M.H.G. *entwürten* (parallel to *antwürten*). Unaccented M.H.G. *bê* also developed to *ba* (e.g. *ba mir* ‘bei mir’ < M.H.G. *bê mir*); unaccented M.H.G. *ûf* became *af* (e.g. *af a bányk* ‘on a bench’); M.H.G. unaccented *vor* developed to *far*, thus falling together with M.H.G. *ver-* and *vür* (see 13 c; *far* < *vür* very likely also developed in unaccented position) (e.g. *farbái* ‘vorbei’; *far jory* ‘years ago’ < M.H.G. *vor jâren*; *far tóg* ‘before daybreak’; *fartsáitny* ‘long ago’). M.H.G. *ein* as article, which always stands in proclitic position, has become *a* (before consonants), *an* (before vowels); as numeral ‘one’, however, it develops to *en* (see 20 a). M.H.G. *zer-*, *ze-* appears as *tsu-* (e.g. *tsurísny* < M.H.G. *zerrissen*); this correspondence, however, is undoubtedly not purely phonetic in character, as parallel M.H.G. *zur-*, *zu-* is found in Middle German dialects. M.H.G. verb prefix *er-* appears in Judeo-German as *dy-*; cf. parallel M.H.G. *der-*. M.H.G. *ge-* appears as *gř-* with short open *i* (e.g. *gřmáxt* < M.H.G. *gemacht*; *gřzúnt* < M.H.G. *gesund*); it is barely possible that this *gř-* goes back to O.H.G. *gi-*. Proclitic *man*, in its indefinite sense, becomes reduced to *mny* (e.g. *mny mēnt* ‘man meint’).

The whole Judeo-German vowel scheme thus reduces itself to six full vowels: *a*, *o*, *i*, *u*, *e*, *ę*; a ‘Murmelvokal’ *ə* (also *ř*); and two diphthongs: *ai*, *oi*.

CONSONANTS.

The Middle High German consonants have undergone less sweeping changes than the vowels. The most important innovation has already been mentioned: the generalization of a paradigmatic final stem sonant, the otherwise constant interchange in German dialects between final surd and medial sonant being thus obliterated in Judeo-German. The comparatively few consonant changes that it has suffered will be noted under the various consonants. The chief points of general application are these:—

The stops exist in two strictly differentiated series as surds and sonants; there is no amalgamation of the two into one group of 'voiceless mediae', as in many Middle German dialects, nor has the sonant lost any of its resonant quality; the surds and sonants are as clearly set against each other as in English. The distinction that obtains in modern German between guttural x (after back vowels) and palatal x' (after palatal vowels, r , and l) is absent in Judeo-German; the guttural x (as in German *Bach*) is used in all positions (thus, to German *schlecht* corresponds Judeo-German *šlext* with x as in Dutch *slecht* and as in Swiss dialects). The pronunciation of r differs in different parts of the Judeo-German area. While the trilled tongue-tip r , which may be due to Slavic influence, is found in Southern Russia, the uvular r (r grasseyé) prevails in the Lithuanian dialect; it is pronounced with considerable vigour, but is not markedly trilled, hence is probably better defined as voiced velar spirant (γ). This uvular r and the frequency of guttural x serve to give Judeo-German a characteristic guttural acoustic effect. In our consideration of the consonants we begin with the semivowels.

1. M.H.G. *j*.

- a. It is generally preserved as *j* (*y* of English *young*): *jung* < M.H.G. *junc* (*jung-*); *jor* < M.H.G. *jár*; *jögn* < M.H.G. *jagen*.
- b. Where it served as glide consonant in M.H.G. between preceding palatal vowel and following unaccented *e* (as in *küeje*, *müeje*, *sæjen*) it has dropped in Judeo-German (together with final *-e*): *ki* 'cows' < M.H.G. *küeje*.
- c. It has dropped initially before Judeo-German *i* (M.H.G. *ü*): *íngl* < M.H.G. *jüngel(in)*; *id* 'Jew' < M.H.G. *jüde* (parallel to *jude*). It is interesting to note that *i*- < *ji*- requires *a* as preceding article: *a id* 'ein Jude' (not *an id*).

2. M.H.G. *w*.

- a. This sound, where preserved, became dento-labial *v*: *vald* < M.H.G. *walt* (*wald-*); *tsve* < M.H.G. *zwei*; *šver* 'heavy' < M.H.G. *swære*; *švax* < M.H.G. *swach*; *kwéln* 'to well up, swell (with joy)' < M.H.G. *quëllen* (i. e. *kwëllen*); *vort* < M.H.G. *wort*.
- b. It appears as *f* after *t* in: *éntfærη* 'to answer' < M.H.G. *antwürten*.
- c. After *l* and *r* it became stopped to *b*, as in modern German: *árbás* 'pea' < M.H.G. *ärwiz*; *farb* 'colour' < M.H.G. *varwe*.
- d. Between vowels (but not after *u*-vowels) *w* seems, as in Swabian dialects (cf. also German *hieben* < M.H.G. *hiewen*), to have become *b*: *leb* 'lion' < M.H.G. *lëwe*, *löuwe*; *ébig* < M.H.G. *éwic* (*éwig-*); *íngbr* 'ginger' < M.H.G. *ingerwër* (cf. M.H.G. variants *ingebër*, *imbër*).
- e. It is syncopated between *u*-vowel and following vowel: *bóian* 'to build' < M.H.G. *búwen*; *aíar* < M.H.G. *iuwer*.

3. M.H.G. *l*.

- a. Normally it remains: *land* < M.H.G. *lant* (*land-*); *lang* < M.H.G. *lanc* (*lang-*); *laixt* < M.H.G. *licht*; *als* 'all' < M.H.G. *allez*; *fáily* < M.H.G. *vallen*; *gold* < M.H.G. *goit* (*gold-*).
- b. It has been syncopated before an accented syllable in: *az* 'that, when' < M.H.G. *als*; *azé* 'so' < M.H.G. *alsô*.

4. M.H.G. *r*.

- a. As we have seen, it became uvular in pronunciation: *ret* < M.H.G. *rôt*; *rēgn* < M.H.G. *rēgen*; *rēx* < M.H.G. *rouch*; *ber* 'bear' < M.H.G. *bēr*; *gor* < M.H.G. *gâr*; *hērŋ* < M.H.G. *hæren*.
- b. In *mâtyn* 'to torment' < M.H.G. *martern* *r* has been syncopated by dissimilation from *r* of *-ern*. In forms of *vērŋ* < M.H.G. *wërden* *r* is syncopated before final *-t* and *-st*: *du vest* < *du wirst*, *er vet* < *er wirt* (*e* of *vest* and *vet* is analogical), *ir vet* < *ir wërdet*.

5. M.H.G. *n*.

- a. This sound normally remains, also in infinitive ending *-en*: *nai* < M.H.G. *niurwe*; *nit* 'not' < M.H.G. *niet* (variant of *nieht*, *niht*); *noz* < M.H.G. *nase*; *nas* < M.H.G. *naz*; *ken* < M.H.G. *kan* and *kënne*; *helfŋ* < M.H.G. *helfen*; *zint* < M.H.G. *sint* 'since'.
- b. In *ein* as indefinite article *n* has remained only before vowels, otherwise it is syncopated: *a mân* 'ein Mann' but *an ôks* 'ein Ochs' (cf. English *a*, *an*). Wrong division has produced, e.g., *nam* 'nurse' (M.H.G. *ein' amme* > *an am* > *a nam*); *nol* 'awl' (M.H.G. *ein' âle* > *an ol* > *a nol*). *n* has been syncopated also in: *lêbêdik* 'alive' < M.H.G. *lêbendic*; *fúftsŋ* < M.H.G. *vünfzēhen*, *fúftsic* < M.H.G. *vünfzic*. It is barely possible that *fúftsŋ* and *fúftsic* have been remodelled, by analogy of *finf* 'five', from etymologically justified **fux-* < **fūx-* < **fuyx-* < Indogermanic **pyḡkw-* (cf. Swabian *fuchzē* 'fifteen'; see W. Streitberg, *Urgermanische Grammatik*, 1900, p. 111).
- c. In M.H.G. *nēben* 'near' *n-* has become dissimilated to *l*: *lêbn*.
- d. It is assimilated before *p* to *m* in *kímpæt* < M.H.G. *kintbêtte*; *váimprlax* diminutive plural < M.H.G. *wîn-bēr*.

6. M.H.G. *m*.

This consonant seems to have remained in all cases: *mêdl* 'girl' < M.H.G. *meidel*; *man* < M.H.G. *man* (*mann-*); *mos*

< M.H.G. *máz*; *mir* < M.H.G. *mir*; *kúmn̄* < M.H.G. *kumen*; *hēm* < M.H.G. *heim*. It is particularly noteworthy that unaccented *-em* has not been weakened to *-η* as in modern German: *bézn̄η* 'switch used in rubbing down in sweat-bath' < M.H.G. *bēseme* (cf. German *Besen*); *fód̄m̄* < M.H.G. *vadem* (cf. German *Faden*); *béd̄m̄* 'loft, attic' < M.H.G. *bodem* (cf. German *Boden*). In *zamd* 'sand' *m*, as we have seen, is more archaic than *n* (M.H.G. *sant*, *sand-*).

7. M.H.G. *ŋ* (written *n*).

This sound, which occurs only before *g* and *k*, has been preserved in all cases: *gīgányŋ* < M.H.G. *gegangen*; *jung* < M.H.G. *junc* (*jung-*); *ýngl̄* < M.H.G. *jüngel(în)*; *dányk̄* < M.H.G. *danken*; *déŋk̄* < M.H.G. *dēnken*.

8. M.H.G. *v*, *f* (Urgermanisch *f*) and *-ff-*, *-f-* (Urgermanisch *þ*).

a. As in other modern German dialects, these two etymologically distinct sounds fell together in Judeo-German, except for intervocalic *-v-* (see b): *fótr̄* < M.H.G. *vater*; *fil* < M.H.G. *vil*; *féd̄r̄* < M.H.G. *vēder*; *fét̄r̄* 'uncle' < M.H.G. *vēter* 'Vatersbruder'; *far-* < M.H.G. *ver-*; *šlōfn̄* < M.H.G. *slōfen*; *tif* < M.H.G. *tief*; *hēlf̄n̄* < M.H.G. *hēlfen*; *šarf* < M.H.G. *scharf*; *dorf* < M.H.G. *dorf*; *ōfn̄* < M.H.G. *offen*; *hef* < M.H.G. *hof*; *volf* < M.H.G. *wolf*.

b. Medially before vowels M.H.G. *v* appears as *v* (voiced dento-labial identical with *v* < M.H.G. *w*, see 2 a): *évn̄* 'stove' < M.H.G. *oven*; *taiv̄l̄* 'devil' < M.H.G. *tiuv̄el*; *hév̄ŋ* 'yeast' < M.H.G. *hève*; *bórv̄v̄s* 'barefoot' < M.H.G. *barvuoz*. *hóbr̄* 'oats' goes back to M.H.G. *haber*, not *haver* (see 10 a).

9. M.H.G. *pf* (*ph*).

a. Initially *pf* has become simplified to *f*: *funt* < M.H.G. *pfunt*; *ferd* < M.H.G. *pfert* (*pfērd-*); *ix flég* 'I was wont to' (present in form, but imperfect in meaning) < M.H.G. *pflege*; *fan* 'pan' < M.H.G. *pfanne* (*fainkux̄ŋ* 'Pfannkuchen' is probably made over by analogy of *fain* < *fīn*).

b. Medially and finally it lost its spirantal element and became

p: *kop* < M.H.G. *kopf*; *klópn* < M.H.G. *klopfen*; *épl*_o < M.H.G. *épfel*, *apfel*; *štúpn* 'to shove' (*er štupt úntr* 'he eggs on') < M.H.G. *stuppen* 'stechend stossen, antreiben'.

10. M.H.G. *b*.

- a. Normally *b* is preserved (as voiced lenis); it occurs also finally (< M.H.G. *-p*), probably by analogy of medial *-b-*: *brét* < M.H.G. *breit*; *brét* < M.H.G. *brót*; *bai*, *ba* < M.H.G. *bí*; *barg* < M.H.G. *bërc* (*bërg-*); *lébn* < M.H.G. *leben*; *lébn* < M.H.G. *nëben*; *hóbr* 'oats' < M.H.G. *haber* (of which *haver* > modern German *Hafer* is variant); *tsíbl* 'onion' < M.H.G. *zibolle* (variant of *zwibolle*, *zwibe*); *štub* < M.H.G. *stube*; *štëb* < M.H.G. *stoup* (*stoub-*).
- b. In *óvnt* 'evening' < M.H.G. *ábent*, M.H.G. *b* has become spirantized to *v*; also in *hóravn*, see 18 c. For M.H.G. medial bilabial spirant *ð*, from older *-b-*, in Middle German dialects see V. Michels, *Mittelhochdeutsches Elementarbuch*, 1900, § 159.
- c. M.H.G. *-mb-* has, as in modern German, become assimilated to *-mm-* > *-m-*: *kam* < M.H.G. *kamp* (*kamb-*); *um* < M.H.G. *umbe*; *lam*, diminutive *lémale* < M.H.G. *lamp* (*lamb-*), diminutive *lémbelín*.
- d. In a number of words M.H.G. *b* appears as *p*. This is intelligible where final *-b* developed to *-p* and was not levelled out by analogy of medial *-b-*: *zip* 'sieve' < M.H.G. *sip* (*sib-*); *op* < M.H.G. *abe*, *ab* (*aróp* 'herab'; as verb prefix before participial *gĩ-*, *op-* appears as *ó-*: *ógĩton* 'abgetan'). Less easily explained are certain examples of initial and medial *p*: *poíar* 'peasant' < M.H.G. *búr*; *pútr* 'butter' < M.H.G. *buter*; *gópl* 'fork' < M.H.G. *gabel*; *klépn* 'to be stuck to' < M.H.G. *klëben*; *váimpr*_o (*lax*) < M.H.G. *wínber*. In estimating these and similar developments (*t* < *d*, *k* < *g*) it must be remembered that Judeo-German knows no 'voiceless lenis' stops, but only fully voiced lenis stops (corresponding to Upper German voiceless lenis) and unaspirated voiceless fortis stops (corresponding to Upper German voiceless fortis).

11. M.H.G. *þ*.

This sound regularly remains : *parþēn* < M.H.G. *pērsōn* (for *a* < *ǣ* see 3 c); *þpīln* < M.H.G. *spīlen*; *þprung* < M.H.G. *sprung* (*sprung*).

12. M.H.G. *s*, *-ss-* and *-z-*, *-zz-*.

a. Initial and medial *s* (except before voiceless consonants) became voiced to *z* (this includes also final *-s* when alternating with medial *-s-*); *zun* < M.H.G. *sun* 'son' and *sunne* 'sun'; *zōgn* < M.H.G. *sagen*; *zēgr* 'clock' < M.H.G. *seiger*; *zúxn* < M.H.G. *suochen*; *az* < M.H.G. *als*, *alse*; *azé* < M.H.G. *alsó*; *únzr* < M.H.G. *unser*; *kez* 'cheese' < M.H.G. *kāse*; *blōzn* < M.H.G. *blāsen*; *bloz* 'breath' < M.H.G. *blās* (*blās-*) 'Hauch'; *groz* < M.H.G. *gras* (*gras-*). Medial ungeminated *-z-* has also developed to *z* in : *lōzn* 'to let' < M.H.G. *lāzen*. Judeo-German *z* in *muz* 'must' may be similarly developed from medial ungeminated *-z-* (M.H.G. *muoz*: *müezen* > *muz*: *müzn* with generalized vocalism of *muoz* and medial *-z-* of *muezen*) or, perhaps less likely, from medial *-s-* of preterite *muose* (later superseded by analogical *muoste*). More often, however, *-z-* is treated like *-zz-* (see b).

b. Final *-z*, medial *-zz-* and (generally) *-z-*, and medial *-s-* before voiceless consonants appear in Judeo-German, as in modern German, as voiceless *s*: *ois* 'out' < M.H.G. *úz*: *fus* < M.H.G. *vuoꝛ*; *vais* < M.H.G. *wíꝛ*; *dos* < M.H.G. *duꝛ*; *ésꝛ* < M.H.G. *ēzzēn*; *bésꝛ* < M.H.G. *bēzzēn*; *baisꝛ* < M.H.G. *bīzen*; *hésꝛ* < M.H.G. *heizen*; *nest* < M.H.G. *nēst*; *um zíst* < M.H.G. *umbe sust*; *host* < M.H.G. *hást*. Judeo-German *místn* 'to measure' (with analogic participle *gímóstn*) has perhaps resulted from confusion of M.H.G. *mēzzēn* 'messen' and *mēstern* 'den Inhalt messen'. M.H.G. *ist* > Judeo-German *iz* is due to loss of *-t* and voicing of *s* because of its frequent use as proclitic (*iz* probably generalized from antevocalic use, e.g. *iz a mán* < M.H.G. *is(t) ein man*).

c. For some not evident reason medial M.H.G. *-s-* appears as

Judeo-German *-s-* instead of *-z-* in : *kéšy* < M.H.G. *keiser* ;
nísn 'to sneeze' < M.H.G. *niesen*.

- d. M.H.G. *-ss-* seems to have regularly developed to *š*, i.e. modern German *sch* (it has thus not, as in modern German, fallen together with M.H.G. *-z-*, *-z-*): *kuš* < M.H.G. *kus* (*kuss-*); *kúšŋ* (with vocalism of *kuš*) < M.H.G. *küssen* 'to kiss'; *kíšŋ* < M.H.G. *küssen* 'pillow'; *píšŋ* 'to urinate' < *pissen*.
- e. After *r* both *s* and *z* appear as *š*; *karš* < M.H.G. *kirse*; *paršén* 'beautiful woman' < M.H.G. *pěrsón*; *eršt* < M.H.G. *erst*; *hirš* < M.H.G. *hirz*.
- f. Before *l*, *m*, *n*, *w*, *p*, and *t* initial M.H.G. *s* developed, as in modern German, to *š*: *šlext* < M.H.G. *sléht*; *šmaísn* 'to beat' < M.H.G. *smízen* 'streichen, schlagen'; *šne* < M.H.G. *sné*; *šver* < M.H.G. *swære*; *špet* < M.H.G. *spæte*; *šten* < M.H.G. *stein*.

13. M.H.G. *sch*.

This sound is regularly preserved as *š*: *šépn* < M.H.G. *schépfen*; *šainŋ* < M.H.G. *schínen*; *šétŋ* 'perruque with evenly parted hair worn by orthodox Jewish women' < M.H.G. *scheitel* 'crown of the head, parting of the hair'; *míšŋ* < M.H.G. *mischen*; *ídiš* < M.H.G. *jüdisch*.

14. M.H.G. *z* and *-tz-*.

These affricatives are everywhere preserved as *ts*: *tsen* < M.H.G. *zēhen*; *tsón* < M.H.G. *zan*; *tsve* < M.H.G. *zwei*; *harts* < M.H.G. *hērze*; *kats* < M.H.G. *katze*.

15. M.H.G. *d*.

- a. Normally *d* is preserved (as voiced lenis); it occurs also finally (< M.H.G. *-t*), probably by analogy of medial *-d-*: *dax* < M.H.G. *dach*; *dar* 'thin' < M.H.G. *dürre*; *drai* < M.H.G. *dri*; *moid* < M.H.G. *maget* (*maged-*); *bod* < M.H.G. *bat* (*bad-*); *feld* < M.H.G. *vělt* (*věld-*); *ferd* < M.H.G. *pfěrt* (*pfěrd-*); *ódy* 'vein' < M.H.G. *áder*. Examples of *nd* < M.H.G. *nd* (including cases of *-nt* alternating with *-nd-*) < O.H.G. *nt* are: *bíndŋ* < M.H.G. *binden*;

óntsindŋ < M.H.G. *anzünden*; *vúndŋ* < M.H.G. *wundern*; *blind* < M.H.G. *blint* (*blind-*); *land* < M.H.G. *lant* (*land-*); *rund* < M.H.G. *runt* (*rund-*); *kind* < M.H.G. *kint* (*kind-*); *end* < M.H.G. *ende*. For examples of *nt* < M.H.G. *-nt* (*-nd-*) see 15 d below.

- b. M.H.G. *rd* appears as *r* in: *vérnŋ* < *wërden* (similarly *ix ver* < M.H.G. *ich wërde*, *gëwórnŋ* < M.H.G. *geworden*; *-rst* and *-rt* of this verb develop to *-st*, *-t*, see 4 b). This development is not strictly normal, but is probably due to frequently proclitic character of *wërden* owing to its use as auxiliary verb; contrast *ferd* < M.H.G. *pfërd-*. Quite parallel to this is *l* < M.H.G. *ld* in: *mánzbil* 'man' < M.H.G. *mannes bilde* (e.g. *zwei mannes bilde er dâ gesach* 'da sah er zwei Männer', *Der Wartburgkrieg*, herausgegeben von Karl Simrock, 1858, p. 65, l. 4 of no 37), in which *bilde* has lost its accent (*-z-* of *mánzbil* due to voiced surroundings of M.H.G. *-s-*); contrast accented *bild* 'picture' < M.H.G. *bilde*. In certain cases *nd* is assimilated to *nn* > *n* (cf. *m* < M.H.G. *mb*, see 10 c): *un* 'and' < M.H.G. *unde*; *fránŋ* 'in existence, to be found' < *vorhanden*; *gífínŋ* 'to find' (simplex *fínŋ* not in use) < M.H.G. *gevinden*; *gíštánŋ* < M.H.G. *gestanden*; *tson* < M.H.G. *zant* (*zand-*), but also *zan*. In *un* we can readily explain *n* < *nd* as due to lack of accent (cf. *r* < *rd* and *l* < *ld* above); in *fránŋ* and *gíštánŋ* it seems very likely that original *-ndŋ* regularly developed to *-nnŋ*, internasal *-d-* becoming completely assimilated (in such forms as *bíndŋ*, *gíbúndŋ* it is clear that *-ndŋ* was restored by analogy of forms like *ix bind*, *er bint*; note that in *fránŋ*, whose connexion with M.H.G. *hant* (*hand-*) was lost, and *gíštánŋ*, with its infinitive and present *štēn*, *ix šte*, no disturbance by analogical levelling could take place). As for *gífínŋ* (also *gífúnŋ*, *ix gífín*) and *tson* (also plural *tséŋŋ*; diminutive *tséndŋ*) has not original *-nd-* but intrusive *-d-*, see 15 c below), I would suggest that M.H.G. *nd* of *zand-* and *vinden* (which goes back to O.H.G. *nd-*—*zand*, *findan*— < Urgermanisch *nþ*—cf. Gothic *tunþus*,

- finpan*) was, at least in some dialects, phonetically distinct from M.H.G. *nd* < O.H.G. *nt* (thus, O.H.G. *findan* > M.H.G. *vinden* > Judeo-German *fīny*; O.H.G. *bintan* > M.H.G. *binden* > Judeo-German *bīndy*); in *āndr* < M.H.G. *ander* < O.H.G. *ander*, *-nd-* may have been protected from becoming *-n-* because of following *-r* (cf. M.H.G. *winter* < O.H.G. *wintar* as contrasted with *winden* < *wintan*).
- c. Between *n* as stem ending and \int (*-l-*) as diminutive ending *d* develops as glide consonant (cf. Gothic *timrjan*: O.H.G. *zimbarōn*): *bēndŷ* 'little bone' < M.H.G. *beinel*; *fēndŷ* 'little pan', diminutive of *fan* < M.H.G. *pfanne*; *hēndŷ* 'little cock' < M.H.G. *hēnel*; *hīndŷ* 'little hen' < M.H.G. *hūenel*; diminutive plural of nouns in *-n-* is *-ndlax* (e.g. *bēndlax* 'little bones, fruit pits').
- d. In certain cases, as we have seen in 15 a, M.H.G. *-nt* (*-nd-*) and *-lt* (*-ld-*) developed to *-nd* and *-ld*, as would be normally expected for Judeo-German. In a large number of examples, however, *-t* is generalized, replacing *-d-* also medially: *gīzūnt* (also, e.g., in *a gīzūntr* 'ein gesunder') < M.H.G. *gesunt* (*gesund-*); *hunt* (also, e.g., diminutive *hīntŷ*; contrast *hīndŷ* as diminutive of *hun* 'hen') < M.H.G. *hunt* (*hund-*); *hant* (also, e.g., diminutive *hēntŷ*; contrast *hēndŷ* as diminutive of *hon* 'cock') < M.H.G. *hant* (*hand-*); *vint* (also, e.g., diminutive *vīntŷ*) < M.H.G. *wint* (*wind-*); *funt* < M.H.G. *pfunt* (*pfund-*); *fraint* < M.H.G. *vriunt* (*vriund-*); *faint* < M.H.G. *viant* (*vīand-*); *bunt* (also, e.g., diminutive *bīntŷ*) < M.H.G. *bunt* (*bund-*); *ōvnt* < M.H.G. *ābent* (*ābend-*); *gīdūlt* < M.H.G. *gedult*, *gedulde* (but also *gedultec*); *gelt* < M.H.G. *gēlt* (*gēld-* but also *gēlt-*). I can suggest no definite rule for such differences of treatment as *blind* < M.H.G. *blīnt* (*blīnd-*) < O.H.G. *blint* (*blint-*) and *vint* < M.H.G. *wint* (*wind-*) < O.H.G. *wint* (*wint-*). Possibly *-nd* forms are generalized in words where medial *-nd-* occurs often (e.g. *blind* because supported by inflected *blīnds* and *blīndy*), but *-nt* forms where medial *-nd-* either occurs infrequently (thus, M.H.G. *būndel* would not be of frequent enough occurrence

to influence *bunt*, hence itself suffers analogical levelling to *bintl*_g, which can hardly be directly traced to O.H.G. *buntil*) or has become obsolete in Judeo-German (thus M.H.G. *hēnde* had to develop, with loss of *-e*, to Judeo-German *hend*, which could not maintain its *-d* against singular *hant*, hence itself suffers analogical levelling to *hent*, which can hardly be directly traced to O.H.G. *hēnti*); *bunt* and *bindŋ* appear contradictory, but can be readily explained, as they would not be felt to be connected closely enough to influence each other. In *úntr*_g < M.H.G. *under* < O.H.G. *untar*, *-nd-* has, as in modern German, again become hardened to *-nt-*, probably because of following *-r* (cf. M.H.G. *winter* < *wintar*); similarly *híntr*_g < M.H.G. *hinder*. As for Judeo-German *gelt* as contrasted with *feld*, it should be noted that O.H.G. has correspondingly *gēlt* but *fēld*.

- e. Different from these examples of *-nt* and *-lt* from M.H.G. *-nd-* and *-ld-* are certain cases of initial *t* < normal M.H.G. *d* (cf. *p* < *b*, 10 d): *taitš* < M.H.G. *diutsch*, *tiutsch* (also *fartaitšŋ* 'to translate' < M.H.G. *diutschen*, *tiutschen* 'auf deutsch sagen, erklären'); *túŋk*_g < M.H.G. *dunkel*, *tunkel* (M.H.G. *tunkel* is normal, hence this example belongs rather under M.H.G. *t*); *tétl*_g 'date' < M.H.G. *datel* (*tétl*_g may be assimilated from **détl*_g; why *ɛ* instead of expected *o*?).

16. M.H.G. *t*.

- a. This sound, aside from cases of M.H.G. *-t*: *-d-*, has been kept in all positions: *ton* < M.H.G. *tuon*; *túm*_g < M.H.G. *tumel* 'betäubender Schall, Lärm'; *təl* < M.H.G. *teil*; *kótŋ* 'tomcat' < M.H.G. *kater*; *víntr*_g < M.H.G. *winter*; *zint* 'since' < M.H.G. *sint*; *bet* < M.H.G. *bētte*; *reŋ* < M.H.G. *rót*; *gívált* < M.H.G. *gewalt*; *nont* 'near' < M.H.G. *nāhent* (note also Judeo-German comparative *néntr*_g).
- b. It is not easy to see why *-tl*_g has become *-dl*_g in *bérdl*_g, diminutive of *bort* 'beard' < M.H.G. *bart*. Perhaps original **bértl*_g was transformed by analogy of diminutives in *-ndl*_g (see 15 c).

Initial *tw-*, as in modern German, has developed to *tsv-*: *tsvíngr̥* < M.H.G. *twingen*; *tsvógr̥* 'to wash one's head' < M.H.G. *twahen*, past participle *getwagen*; *tsvórax* < M.H.G. *twarc* (*twarg-*) 'Quarkkäse' (this word may have been directly derived from Slavic, e.g. Polish *tvarog*, from which it was borrowed by M.H.G., in which case Judeo-German *tsv-* < *tw-* < *tw-* would have taken place after Judeo-German had become isolated from other German dialects; this, however, is rendered very improbable by parallel form *zwarc* in late M.H.G.).

- d. Medial *-tw-* has become *-p-* in: *épas* 'something' < M.H.G. *ët(e)waz* (cf. Latin *b* < *dw* in *bis*, *p* < *tw* in *postis*).—How explain *rátvgr̥* 'to save'? It is undoubtedly connected with M.H.G. and O.H.G. *rétten* < West Germanic **hraddjan* < Urgermanisch **hradjan*, but cannot be directly derived from it. Perhaps parallel to **hradjan* with *j*-suffix was **hradwan* with *w*-suffix > O.H.G. *(*h*)*ratwan* > M.H.G. **ratwen*, dialectically preserved in Judeo-German as *rátvgr̥*. In that case *-tw-* > *-p-* may hold only in normally unaccented words.
- e. *-st* has become *-s* > *-z*, because of lack of accent, in: *iz* < M.H.G. *ist*. Similarly, *-rtvgr̥* has become *-rvgr̥* in: *éntfarn* 'to answer' < M.H.G. *entwürten*.

17. M.H.G. *h* (as spirant), *ch*.

As was noted above, no distinction is made in Judeo-German between guttural *x* and palatal *x'* (as in modern German *ich*), but both are represented by guttural *x*. This feature may be archaic rather than due to levelling.

- a. It is kept in all positions except before *s*: *laixt* < M.H.G. *lihte*; *nox* < M.H.G. *noch*; *nox* < M.H.G. *nách*; *zix* < M.H.G. *sich*; *kalx* < M.H.G. *kalch* (parallel to normal *kalk*) < O.H.G. *kalch*; *marx* 'marrow' < M.H.G. *march* (parallel to *mark*); *gix* 'quick' < M.H.G. *gách*; *šux* 'shoe' < M.H.G. *schuoch* (note analogical plural *šix* < M.H.G. *schuohe*); *hex* < M.H.G. *hóch* (note analogical

comparative *héxy*: < M.H.G. *hæher*); *bílxy* 'more proper' < M.H.G. *billich* 'gemäss, geziemend' (*g* of modern German *billig* is secondary in origin).

- b. Before *s*, as in modern German, it has become *k*: *oks* < M.H.G. *ohse*; *vakst* 'grows' < M.H.G. *wähset*.
- c. Before diminutive $-\frac{1}{2}$ nouns ending in *l* insert *x*: *špílxl*₂ 'plaything', diminutive of *špil* < M.H.G. *spil*; *maílxl*₂ 'diminutive of *moil* 'mouth' < M.H.G. *múl*; *kélxl*₂ 'little throat, voice' < M.H.G. *kël*. I doubt if this $-xl$ is in any way connected with modern German diminutive *-chen*.
18. M.H.G. *h* (as aspirate).
- a. It is preserved initially: *halz* < M.H.G. *hals*; *hon* < M.H.G. *hane* 'cock'; *hot* < M.H.G. *hát*; *ahín* < M.H.G. *hin*.
- b. Between vowels, as in modern German, it disappears: *laíen* 'to lend' < M.H.G. *líhen*; *nont* 'near' < M.H.G. *náhent*. For M.H.G. $-êhe-$ and $-êhe->-e-$ see 3 b and 4 b of Vowels. *h* has also disappeared in *fránn* 'present' < *vorhanden*.
- c. In a few words *h* is inorganic: *hailn* 'to hurry' < M.H.G. *ílen*; *hórævn* 'to work hard' < *arben*, *areben* (Swiss *arben*, Nassau *erwæ*; see Kluge, *Deutsches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. Arbeit) with *v* < *b*, see 10 b.
19. M.H.G. *g*.
- a. Normally *g* is preserved (as voiced lenis); it occurs also finally (< M.H.G. $-c$), probably by analogy of medial $-g-$; it has nowhere undergone spirantization to γ (as in modern German *táγə*) or *j* (as in modern German *véjə*). Examples are: *gut* < M.H.G. *guot*; *gel* 'yellow' < M.H.G. *gël*; *zógŋ* < M.H.G. *sagen*; *négl* 'nails' < M.H.G. *négele*; *veg* < M.H.G. *wëc* (*wëg-*); *karg* < M.H.G. *karc* (*karg-*). It is preserved also after *ŋ*: *zíngŋ* < M.H.G. *singen* (contrast modern German *zíng*); *jung* < M.H.G. *junc* (*jung-*) (contrast modern German *juy*).
- b. In certain words with M.H.G. $-c$: $-g-$ Judeo-German has generalized $-k$: *tsvayk* 'tongs, pincers' < M.H.G. *zwange* (note retention of *w* as *v* in Judeo-German); *sok* 'juice' <

M.H.G. *soc*, *sog-* (parallel to more normal *suc*, *sug-*), which, however, is more likely borrowed, as indicated by its *o*-vocalism, from Russian *sok* 'juice' (Germanic loan-word) than directly derived from M.H.G. In nouns and adjectives ending in M.H.G. *-ic* (*-ig-*) Judeo-German has regularly *-ik*: *kínik* < M.H.G. *künic* (*künig-*); *hónik* < M.H.G. *honic* (*honig-*); *lebédik* 'alive' < M.H.G. *lebendic* (*lebendig-*).

- c. In a few cases Judeo-German has *k* < M.H.G. *g* not alternating with *-c*: *béykn̩* 'to long for' < M.H.G. *bangen* 'bange werden', *benge* 'Angst, Sorge'; *kúkn̩* 'to look' < M.H.G. *gucken* (here *g—k* may have become assimilated to *k—k*). Compare *t* < M.H.G. *d* (15 e) and *p* < M.H.G. *b* (10 d).
- d. In *art* (e.g. *es árt mir nit* 'it does not concern me, I don't care') *g* seems to have been syncopated between *r* and *t*; cf. M.H.G. *arget* 'macht besorgt, arg'.
- e. *g* has developed as hiatus-filler in *gišrígñ*, past participle of *šraíon* 'to yell'. Possibly *r—g* as dissimilated product of *r—r* of M.H.G. *geschriren*.

20. M.H.G. *k*.

This sound is everywhere preserved: *korn* < M.H.G. *korn*; *kez* 'cheese' < M.H.G. *käse*; *klen* < M.H.G. *klein(e)*; *krixñ* < M.H.G. *kriechen*; *knéd̩* 'dumpling' < M.H.G. *knödel*; *hákñ* < M.H.G. *hacken*; *zak* < M.H.G. *sac* (*sack-*); *avék* 'away' < M.H.G. *enwëc* (not levelled out to *avég* because no longer felt to be connected with *veg* 'way'). M.H.G. *qu* (i.e. *kw*) appears as *kv*: *kvéñ* 'to bubble with joy' < M.H.G. *quellen*.

Such, in brief, is the history of the Middle High German vowels and consonants in Judeo-German. It will have been noticed that the changes in the Judeo-German consonant system, when compared with its Middle High German prototype, are not as radical as in the case of the vowels and that many of the important consonantal developments

are common to modern German. As in the vowel system, so also in the consonant system, simplification, though to a less degree, has taken place (e.g. M.H.G. *pf* is represented by *p* or *f*, according to its position).

ACCENT.

In stress accent no changes have taken place, the stem (normally the first) syllable, according to the well-known Germanic law of accent, regularly receiving the stress. In *lebädik* 'alive' < M.H.G. *lebendic* the accent falls on the first syllable, not, as in modern German *lebendig*, on the second; the lack of stress in the second syllable is probably responsible for the syncope of the *n*. With the Judeo-German accent of this word cf. the following from the epic of 'Küdrün' (I, 29):

'Si sprach: "sô rîche nieman ist lébendic erkant".'

Exceptions to the general law of Germanic accent are exceedingly rare. A case in point is *švestrykînd* 'cousin' (literally 'sister's (or brother's) child').

Hebrew loan-words (Hebrew words are either ultimate or, far less frequently, penultimate in accent) accommodate themselves so far to the German rule that, if ultimate in accent, they throw their stress back to the penultimate syllable; words of more than two syllables, however, cannot be accented back of the penult. This sweeping and simple law of penultimate accentuation of Hebrew words holds, it should be noticed, not merely for such as have been incorporated into Judeo-German, but for the present pronunciation of Hebrew in general. In the case of naturalized words a final vowel (whether followed by a consonant or not) has, in accordance with the genius of the

German language, been weakened to the dull *a*. Thus Hebrew *x^azír* 'pig' > Judeo-German *xázr*; *lāšōn* 'language' > *lósŋ*; *gannāβ* 'thief' > *gánaf*; *mišpāχá* 'family' > *mišpóxa*. In reading Hebrew as such, however, these final vowels are not reduced; the words given above are then pronounced: *xázir*, *lósŋ*, *gánov*, *mišpóxo*. These examples show incidentally that the Hebrew *ā* and *ō* developed, together with the Middle High German *â* and *ô*, into *o* and *e* respectively.

As regards the accentuation of the Slavic (Russian and Polish) loan-words, the rule is, on the whole, to keep the native accent. It should be noted that such words hold relatively the same position in Judeo-German that, e.g., French words with un-German accent (such as *Position*, *raffiniert*) hold in modern German.

Besides stress accent, a very important factor in the pronunciation of Judeo-German is the musical intonation of the sentence. In the normal pronunciation of sentences there is a very considerable variation of musical cadence. Simple statements, interrogation, surprise, indignation, emphatic insistence, irony, and many other moods are differentiated by these differences of cadence; it would be possible, indeed, to construct a rather long series of types of sentence-cadence for the pronunciation of word groups in various emotional keys, some of which would show excessively violent rises and falls in pitch. This mobility of musical expression gives Judeo-German much of its characteristic acoustic effect. The rhetorical effectiveness of Judeo-German speech is increased by the use of a large number of modal particles (cf. German *doch*, *ja*, *schon*, *wohl*, *mal*), which are partly Middle High German, partly Slavic, and partly Hebrew in origin. Altogether, they neatly hit

off many nuances of mental attitude and despair in many cases of adequate translation.

I trust that I have shown that a thorough investigation of the phonology, morphology, and vocabulary of Judeo-German will prove abundantly fruitful to students of German dialectology.