

David L. Gold
University of Haifa
davidllgg-01@yahoo.com
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0854-1819>

SAMPLE ENTRIES OF SLAVIC INTEREST IN A DISCURSIVE ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF YIDISH IN PREPARATION

This article, which continues the author's earlier research into Slavic influence on Yidish (Gold 1985, 2009b, and 2009c), consists of ten entries chosen to illustrate the diverse kinds of knowledge needed to solve etymological problems (not in every case, however, has a full etymology been determined) and the diverse kinds of problems that arise.

All the entry heads treated here are Eastern Yidish (none of the few known Western Yidish words of Slavic origin is examined). Students of English and of Israeli Hebrew will find certain etymologies relevant to their work.

Key words: English, etymology, Israeli Hebrew, Slavic, Yidish.

1. אַלימענטן (*ali'mentn*) plural only 'alimony [in non-Jewish law]'

"[...] Yiddish has *mezojnes* pluralia tantum < Hebrew *mezōnōt* 'foods' (I am unable to determine the chronology of this term [...]) ~ *alimentn* (< Ukrainian *alimenty* plural 'foods', pluralia tantum 'alimony'). The source model is probably Ukrainian *xarčuvannja* neuter 'alimony < *xarči* pluralia tantum 'food, provisions', *xarčuvaty* 'to board, feed'" (Wexler 2002: 312–313; *pluralia tantum* should be *plurale tantum*).

After looking at the etymology of Yidish *mezojnes*, we will examine Paul Wexler's suggestion that Eastern Yidish *alimentn* probably comes from Ukrainian.

In the traditional Jewish world (the aggregate of communities guided by the Pentateuch, the Talmud, and later rulings by Orthodox rabbis), alimony in the sense of 'an allowance granted by a court of law to a woman after her divorce or legal separation from her husband' is unknown because a couple's marriage settlement (negotiated, agreed, and signed *before* their marriage) stipulates the husband's obligations to his wife and children in case of divorce or his death.

In the Talmud, much of the tractate of כתובות (*ketubot*) ‘Marriage Contracts’ is devoted to marital and parental responsibilities. There we find Hebrew מזונות (*meznot*) ‘nourishment’ (= the plural form of מזון [*mazon*] ‘food victuals’). Especially in the eleventh chapter of the tractate, אלמנה ניוזנת (*almana nizonet*) ‘A Nourished Widow’, a husband’s obligations to his wife and children are mentioned not infrequently (compilation of the Tractate of Marriage Contracts was probably finished about 1350 years ago). An immediate reflex of Hebrew *meznot* is Yidish מזונות (*me’zoynes*) ‘food; keep; management’, which, like its immediate etymon, alludes to Jewish marriage settlements and Jewish marriage contracts.

Genesis 45:23 is the oldest evidence for Hebrew *mazon* ‘food, victuals’, which comes from the Hebrew verb *zon* ‘feed’, which stands in an etymological relationship of some kind to the Akkadian verb *zanānu* ‘idem’.

Yidish *mezoynes* is thus of clear ancestry back to ancient times.

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By contrast, in the non-Jewish world, alimony, also called *aliment*, *maintenance*, *spousal support*, and *spouse maintenance* in English (cf. too *child maintenance* and *child support*), is appreciably younger: the currently earliest-known evidence for the English word *alimony*, for example, is from about 1613 and for *child support* it is from 1901 (naturally, many other languages, not just English, would have to be examined before we could estimate the approximate age of alimony, child support, and any similar provisions in different non-Jewish societies).

If words so meaning are relatively new in non-Jewish languages, such as English, they are even newer in Yidish: the currently earliest-known use of the Eastern Yidish plural noun אלימענטן (*ali'mentn*) ‘alimony [in a non-Jewish sense]’ occurs in Hodann 1929b, which is Yudel Mark’s translation into Eastern Yidish of Hodann 1929a. Feeling that few readers of his translation would recognize the Yidish word, he defined it: געלט וואָס די מוטער קריגט אויסצוהאַלטן דאָס קינד, — אלימענטן געבוירן נישט-אוםגעזעצלעך (my romanization and translation: *alimentn — gelt vos di muter krigt oystsuhaltn dos kind, geboyrn nit-umgezetslekh* ‘alimony — money received by a mother to maintain her legitimate child’). *Alimentn* is still known to few yidishophones and used by even fewer.

Ukrainian could thus not have stimulated the coinage of *mezoynes* and, as we will now see, it in all likelihood does not figure in the history of *alimentn* either.

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If Yudel Mark (1897–1975) coined *alimentn*, he was influenced not by Ukrainian (up to and including the time he made the translation, he had lived in what are now Lithuania and Latvia and, though not having read everything he published in Yidish, I have read much from his pen and do not recall his mentioning

Ukrainian even once) but by the presence of the German plural noun *Alimente* ‘alimony’ in the German text he was translating (at least in Hodann 1924 *Alimente* appears on pages 55 and 59; according to the index [p. 119ff.] of that edition, it is also used on page VII but no page is so numbered).

If he did not coin *alimentn*, the word could not date to much before 1921 (and certainly not have existed when Paul Wexler believed that the second stage of his imagined but unevidenced two-tiered relexification of Yidish occurred), it is a borrowing of German *Alimente*, Polish *alimenty*, and/or Russian алименты with the expected replacement of the plural marker of those words by a Yidish one and it is another of the many later additions to the vocabulary of Eastern Yidish in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, most of which came from one, two, or three of the major non-Jewish languages of higher non-Jewish culture in Eastern Europe: German, Polish, and Russian (see paragraph 4 in entry 10 for another example).

In summary, two Yidish words, one old, the other new, both irrelevant to Wexler 2002.

2. (...אויף. *betn* [af]) ~ (...אויף. *פֿאַרבעטן* (*far'betn* [af...]) ‘invite (to + [an event])’

Since all the morphemes in the above-mentioned syntagms, including the preposition *af* ‘to’, are of German origin, one might expect the syntagms to be of that origin, but German **verbeten* (*auf*...) seems to be absent in any sense.

Rather, they are in all likelihood translations of Belarusian запрашаць (на...) ‘invite (to...)', Polish *zapraszać* (na...) ‘idem’, and/or Ukrainian запросити (до...) ‘idem’.

3. טאַטקעס (*tatkhes*) plural ‘big leaves of a certain as yet unidentified plant growing by the river flowing through Łagów kielecki (formerly opatowski), used by Jews (and non-Jews?) living in the town as a topical medication on the skin to prevent infection’

Tatkhes is a plural noun consisting of a stem (*tatkhe-*) and a marker of the plural (-s). I have been unable to elicit a singular form (**tatkhe?* **tatekh?* **tatekhe?* **tadkhe?* **tadekh?* **tadekhe?* **tarkhe?* **tarekh?* **tarekhe?*), which is presumably of Polish origin.

Jadwiga Waniakowa, who has published on Slavic, especially Polish botanical vocabulary, writes, “Jeśli chodzi o identyfikację opisywanej przez Pana rośliny, to może być to jakiś gatunek łopianu (*Arctium*), ponieważ łopian ma duże liście i często rośnie w pobliżu wody, tworząc zarośla. Co więcej, roślina ta ma działanie antybakteryjne i przeciwzapalne, więc jej liście mogły być stosowane, żeby zapobiec infekcjom. Podana przez Pana nazwa z języka jidisz jest dla mnie tajemnicza, nie jest podobna do żadnej znanej mi polskiej nazwy gwarowej łopianu” (email, 14 February 2025), that is, ‘With respect to identify-

ing the plant you describe, it may be some species of burdock (*Arctium*), because burdock has large leaves and often grows near water, forming thickets. Moreover, this plant has antibacterial and anti-inflammatory properties, so that its leaves could be used to prevent infection. The Yidish name you have provided is a mystery to me. It is not similar to any Polish dialectal name for burdock that I know of’.

4. מאָדנע (*‘modne*) undeclined or declined. 1. (now obsolete?) ‘fashionable, in fashion, in vogue, stylish’. 2. ‘odd, peculiar, queer, singular, strange, weird’

The question is how did *modne* come to have two extremely different meanings. Is the word actually two homonyms or is it a non-homonym that acquired one or both of its meanings in an unusual way? As we will now see, the second possibility is right; certain events in Eastern Ashkenazic society during the nineteenth century account for sense 2; and that meaning is non-etymological.

During the second half of that century, when small but growing numbers of Eastern Ashkenazic Jews abandoned traditional Ashkenazic clothing in favor of non-Jewish clothing (the differences from generation to generation are often seen in photographs of two or three generations of the same family), they saw their new clothing as fashionable whereas to the Jews who still dressed traditionally it seemed strange (sense 1 of the word is thus the older one and sense 2 the newer one). With the passing of time, the older meaning went out of use and only the newer one has remained.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Harkavy 1925 and 1928 show both meanings (‘stylish, fashionable; strange’) whereas some forty years later Weinreich 1968 gives only the newer one (‘strange, odd, queer, singular’).

Eastern Yidish *modne* comes from Polish *modny* and possibly Russian модный; Belarusian модны and Ukrainian модний probably do not figure in the history of the Yidish word; and Czech *módní* in all likelihood does not either.

Wiktionary: The free dictionary (last edited on 21 May 2024, consulted on 9 February 2025) asks us to believe that (1) “/’mudnə/” is the Southern Yidish pronunciation of *modne* (no such pronunciation has ever existed in any Yidish lect; the diaphoneme in the first syllable of the word is not A₂ or A₃, but O₁, which is reflected as short /o/ [ɔ] in all idiolects having the word), (2) “modnen” is the dative and accusative masculine singular and the dative neuter singular forms of the word (no such form has ever existed in any Yidish lect; read instead *modnem*), and (3) the word is fully declined (it is fully declined in certain idiolects and fully undeclined in others).

See the last paragraph of entry 6.

5. מאַניעפּאָל (*‘manyepol*) ‘inn, tavern’ gender? plural מאַניעפּאָלעס* (*‘manyepoles*) and/or מאַניעפּאָלן* (*‘manyepoln*)

My mother, born in 1912 in Łagów opatowski (now kielecki), where she lived till 1927, told me that to her knowledge the only yidishophone in the town

who used the word *manyepol* ‘inn, tavern’ was her paternal grandmother, born in 1855 or thereabouts probably in Zaręby kielecki, where she definitely lived till moving to Łagów. All the others, she said, used שענק (*shenk*).

Naturally, in the absence of systematic fieldwork we cannot be sure about “all the others,” but my mother’s statement nonetheless has value: probably the safest conclusion to draw is that my great-grandmother brought *manyepol* with her from Zaręby when she moved to Łagów, where, we may guess, at least the (great?) majority of yidishophones in the twentieth century used *shenk*.

With respect to etymology, the word *manyepol* alludes to propination: “in Polish, *propinacja* [...], from Latin and Greek *propino*, ‘to drink one’s health,’ signifies in Polish law the right of distilling and selling spirituous liquors. This right was granted to the noble landowners by King John Albrecht in 1496, and became one of their most important sources of revenue. After the partition of Poland this right was confirmed for the former Polish territories by the Russian Government. The right of propination, exercised mostly by Jews on behalf of the nobles, proved a decisive factor in the economic and partly in the social life of Russo-Polish Jewry” (Dubnow 1916: 67; for a list of all the passages in Dubnow 1916–1918–1920 dealing with propination, see Dubnow 1920: 345–346).

Thus, *manyepol* ‘inn, tavern’ < ‘propination, exercised mostly by Jews’ < Polish *monopol* ‘monopoly, right of exclusive sale’.

6. נודניק (*nudnik*) is the gender-unmarked and masculine singular form of a noun the other forms of which are feminine singular נודניצע (*nudnitse*), gender-unmarked, mixed-gender, or masculine plural נודניקעס (*nudnikes*), and feminine plural נודניצערס (*nudnitses*). 1. ‘bore’. 2. ‘pest’

Till now, the consensus has been that the Eastern Yidish noun *nudnik* was coined in Eastern Yidish, two of the several expressions of the consensus being:

1. “[The English word *nudnik* comes] from Yiddish נודניק (*nudnik*) < root of נודיען (*nudyen*, ‘to bore’) + ניק (-nik, ‘noun-forming suffix’)” (*Wiktionary: The free dictionary*, last edited on 27 September 2024, consulted on 13 February 2025).

2. “Yiddish *nudnik*, from *nudyen* to bore, from Polish *nudzić*, from *nuda* boredom” (*Merriam-Webster.com Dictionary*, accessed on 9 February 2025).

The consensus rests on the fact that a search of dictionaries of recent Polish does not turn up **nudnik*. However, since contact between speakers of Yidish and of Polish goes back hundreds of years, we must also examine earlier Polish texts and dictionaries, where such a word, meaning ‘bore, boring person’, comes to light:

1. “Jaki też z WacPana prawdziwie nudnik, maruda nieznośny !” (Franciszek Zabłocki [1754–1821], *Wielkie Rzeczy I Cóż Mi To Wadzi*, 1792).

2. “*ciemiega* ‘manty, zmudnik, nudnik, który sam nie wie, czego chce, innych bez potrzeby kłopoce | ein langweiliger confuser Mensch” (Linde 1807: 294; single quotation marks added here and below).

3. “*mantyk* ‘zmudnik, nudnik, ciemięga, sam nie wie czego chce, innych bez potrzeby kłopoce | ein langweiliger, lästiger Mensch” (Linde 1809: 27).

4. “*maruda* ‘nudnik, gawęda” (idem, p. 35).

5. “*nudnik* ‘człowiek nudny, drugich nudzący | ein langweiliger Mensch” (idem, p. 339). Preceding the entry head is the abbreviation *Tr.*, which stands for either (1) “*Troca* dykcyonarz” (= an unspecified pre-1810 printing of Troc 1822) or (2) “tłumacz. Telemaka. 8” (= an unspecified Polish translation of *Livre Huitième* [Chapter 8] of François Fénelon’s *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, which is presumably Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski’s [1726], Michał Abraham Trotz’s [1750], Ulrich Christian Saalbach’s [1775], or Ignacy Franciszek Stawiarski’s [1806]).

Unable to see any of the translations, I have read the original text of chapter 8 of Fénelon’s novel and find it to contain no word or collocation that could reasonably be translated by Polish *nudnik*. Linde must therefore have had in mind Trotz’s dictionary when preposing that abbreviation to the entry head (non-monosemous abbreviations should be avoided unless the cotext disambiguates them, which is not the case here), at least one edition of which, as we will see in the next paragraph, contains the word.¹

6. “*Nudnik* [...] ‘ein langweiliger Mensch. homme ennuyeux” (Troc 1822: 1346). “*Nudziarz* ‘bore, etc.” does not appear at all.

7. “Szczęśliwy, kto samotném ciesząc się schronieniem, / Dzieli swe chwile, mądrym znaną tylko sztuką: / Między lubą nadzieją, i tkliwém wspomnieniem, / Miedzy spoczynkiem, nauką. / Szczęśliwy, kto zasypia z wolną trosków głową, / Ani co jutro będzie, tém się we snach trudzi. / Którego nudnik ciężką, nieusypia mową, / Ani téż natręt przebudzi” (Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz [1758–1841], untitled poem written no later than 1832).

8. “*Giaura*’ szelmę i nudnika skończyłem przepisywać, zjadł mi więcej miesiąca” (Adam Mickiewicz, in a letter written in January 1833, where *Giaur* is George Gordon Byron’s *The Giaour*).

9. Two dictionaries by the same author (one of them written in collaboration with another author) strongly suggest, but do not prove, that Polish *nudnik* survived into the 1840s and maybe the 1850s. Here is my reasoning (9.1–9.4):

9.1. The author of Łukaszewski 1847, a dictionary of ‘foreign and rare’ words in Polish, knew the Polish word *nudnik* (as may be inferred from his using it in a definition: “*Mantyk* ‘zmudnik, nudnik, człowiek, który sam nie wie czego

¹ Linde died in 1847. The second edition of his dictionary, published between 1854 and 1860, reprints verbatim et literatim the four entries quoted above from the first one (Linde 1807 and 1809). Because printings, reprintings, and editions of a dictionary may retain material from earlier ones that was once current but no longer is yet their authors fail to label it *archaic* or *obsolete* (which could be the case here), we cannot tell whether the second edition is or is not evidence that Polish *nudnik* was still used in the 1850s.

Since the authors of Karłowicz et al. 1904 state their source for Polish *nudnik* to be Linde’s dictionary (“L.” stands for “Słownik Lindego,” by which is presumably meant Linde 1809), their dictionary gives us no further evidence for the word.

In the present article, see the second paragraph of section 9.4 in entry 6 on Łukaszewski — Mosbach 1905.

mu brakuje” [p. 183]). Had he considered it foreign, rare, or both, he would have made an entry for it, but he did not.

9.2. Lukaszewski — Mosbach 1850: 269, 1852: 269, and 1873: 447 give pride of place to the Polish word *nudnik*: they have an entry for it (“*Nudnik* -a, *m.* der langweilige Mensch” in 1850 and 1852 and “*Nudnik* Langweiliger Mensch” in 1881) and at the entry for *nudziarz* they refer readers to the one for *nudnik*: “*Nudziarz* -a, *m.* v. nudnik,” where *v.* means ‘see’).

9.3. Lukaszewski — Mosbach 1850: 457 translate the subentry head *ein langweiliger Mensch* as ‘nudnik, maruda’ (s. v. *langweilig*), thus without ‘nudziarz’ even as a non-first translation.

9.4. “*Nudnik* ‘der langweilige Mensch’” (Lukaszewski — Mosbach 1865: 265). “*Nudniarsz* v. nudnik” (ibidem).

Since Lukaszewski — Mosbach 1905: 447 treat the Polish words *nudnik* and *nudniarz* exactly as Lukaszewski — Mosbach 1850 and 1852 do, one of these possibilities must be right: (1) Polish *nudnik* continued to be used into the twentieth century; (2) by 1905 the word was no longer used but was inadvertently retained in the printing of that year. Beware of authors and publishers who claim that they or their dictionaries are ‘fully revised’ (“Vollständig umgearbeitet”), ‘definitive’ (such as *The Oxford English Dictionary*), ‘complete’ (such as *The Complete Hebrew-English Dictionary*), the Voice of Authority (such as Merriam-Webster), and so on.

Inasmuch as Polish has had far greater documented influence on Yidish than the latter has had on the former, we should conclude that at least for a statistical reason Polish *nudnik* > Eastern Yidish *nudnik* is likelier than vice versa.

Aharon Dolgopolsky (d. 20 July 2012), who was born in Moscow in 1930 and left the Soviet Union in 1976, told me that in his experience нудник and нудница were Ashkenazic Russian only (that is, the words had not passed into the Russian of non-Jews) and Avrom Honigstein (d. 10 November 1988), who grew up in interbellum Warsaw, told me that in *modny* ‘odd, peculiar, queer, singular, strange, weird’ (see section 4) was Ashkenazic Polish only. Those usages thus do not figure in the etymologies of Yidish *modne* and *nudnik*. Rather, they are immediate reflexes of those Yidish words.

7. סאַפּעזאַנקע (*sape'zhanke*, plural סאַפּעזאַנקעס [*sape'zhankes*]) designates any of a number of cultivars (such as *Pyrus* ‘Sapieżanka’) of the bergamot pear (*Pyrus communis*)

The word comes from Polish *sapieżanka* ‘idem’ (whence Belarusian сапешка ‘idem’), a name that commemorates the Sapieha family (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sapieha>), who introduced it into Poland.

In British and Irish English the word *robin* is the common name of *Erithacus rubecola* whereas in American and Canadian English it is the common name of *Turdus migratorius*. That difference arose after speakers of British and Irish

English arrived in North America, saw *Turdus migratorius*, which looked to them like *Erithacus rubecola*, and therefore dubbed it *robin*.

The same happened at least once to *sapezhanke* after my father, who was born in Anykščiai, then in Russia and now in Lithuania, where he lived for about fifteen years (during the first decade and a half or so of the twentieth century), came to the United States, saw Bartlett pears, a cultivar of *Pyrus communis*, for the first time, mistook them for bergamot pears (at least to a nonbotanist the two resemble each other), and therefore called them *sapezhankes*, which we use to this day to designate both kinds of pears.

8. פרייווע ('prive). a female given name

It seems that no convincing etymology has been proposed for *prive*. In light of the existence of the Judezmo female given name בכורה (*bo'xora*), often (or obligatorily?) bestowed on a couple's first daughter (note too Judezmo בכור [*bo'xor*], often [or obligatorily?] bestowed on a couple's first son), this etymology is suggested as possible: < Kenaanic female given name [form?] < Kenaanic noun [form?] 'first' < Czech feminine ordinal number *prvá* 'first'.²

The pianist, composer, and conductor André Previn (1929–2019) was formerly named Andreas Ludwig Privin (= *prive* + Russian *-in*).

9. שמענדריק ('*shmendrik*) plural שמענדריקעס ('*shmendrikes*). masculine (and feminine?). 'contemptible person, foolish person, good-for-nothing. ineffectual person'

The (regional?) Eastern Yidish pejorative noun *shmendrik* (> Israeli Hebrew pejorative noun שמנדריק 'idem') consists of the Yidish pejorative prefix *shm-* (of Medieval German origin according to Max Weinreich) and the (regional?) Eastern Yidish pejorative noun *mendrek* 'know-it-all' (< the pejorative Polish noun *mędrek* 'idem' = the Polish adjective *mądry* 'wise' [<< Proto-Slavic *mōdrъ 'idem'] + the Polish suffix *-ek* [<< Proto-Slavic *-ькѣ]).

The currently earliest-known use of the word is in Avrom Goldfadn's Yidish play קאמישע חתונה (אָדער די שמענדריק, (*Shmendrik, oder di komishe khasene* 'Shmendrik, or the comical wedding'), first staged in 1877. Two possibilities present themselves: (1) Goldfadn coined the name of the protagonist by combining Yidish *shm-* and Yidish *mendrek* and as a result of the popularity of the play the protagonist's name became the pejorative Yidish common noun *shmendrik* or (2) *shmendrik* was a pre-existing pejorative Yidish common noun, which Goldfadn chose as the name of the protagonist. So far as I can tell, nobody has offered evidence for or against either explanation.

² Judezmo *boxora* (< ?) < Hebrew בכורה 'first daughter'. Judezmo *boxor* (< ?) < Hebrew בכור 'first son'.

10. The formation of count nouns in Eastern Yidish by diminutivizing mass nouns

The influence of Belarusian, German, Polish, Russian, and/or Ukrainian on Eastern Yidish presumably explains the existence of count nouns which are formally diminutives of mass nouns and which, being count nouns, have plural forms, unlike mass nouns, which do not.

All the etymologies suggested below are tentative because essential information, for example, evidence showing when and where the Yidish diminutives have been used, is lacking.

Only the Yidish words are translated below, it being understood that the corresponding ones in the other languages mentioned have the same meaning (for example, the first sentence of paragraph 1 implies that German *Gras* and *Gräschen* respectively mean 'grass' and 'blade of grass').

1. גראָז (*groz*) 'grass' → גרעזל (*grezl*) 'blade of grass'. Any of these three possibilities may be right:

1.1. If Western Yidish has an analogous pair of words, German *Gras* → *Gräschen* > Western Yidish [forms?] > Eastern Yidish *groz* → *grezl*.

1.2. If *grezl* occurs on Belarusian speech territory, Belarusian трава → травінка could have been a model.

1.3. If *grezl* occurs on Ukrainian speech territory, Ukrainian трава 'grass' > травінка 'blade of grass' could have been a model.

1.4. If *grezl* arose in folk Yidish, Russian трава → травінка is unlikely to have been a model because Ivan IV, grand prince of Moscow and all Russia and later tsar and grand prince of all Russia, banned Jews from his territories and his successors continued that policy, but when the First Partition of Poland, in 1772, brought large numbers of Jews under Russian rule (numbers which increased significantly with the partitions of 1793 and 1795 and with Russia's receiving the duchy of Warsaw at the Congress of Vienna), the Russian government in 1791 established the Pale of Settlement (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pale_of_Settlement), an area with changing boundaries over the years, within which most Jews in the country were required to live; a linguistic consequence of the Pale was that most Jews had little or no exposure to Russian (in Łagów opatowski, for example, the only native speaker of Russian from the 1890s to 1917 was the town's one policeman, an ethnic Russian who fled eastward when news of the Russian revolution in the latter year reached him).

For 'blade of grass', Polish appears to have only *źdźbło trawy*, which could not have stimulated the coinage of *grezl*.

2. זאַמד (*zamd*) 'sand' → זעמדל (*zemdl*) 'grain of sand'. Any of these possibilities may be right:

2.1. If *zemdl* arose on Belarusian speech territory, Belarusian песок → пясчынка could have been a model.

2.2. If *zemdl* arose in folk Yidish, Russian песок → песчинка is unlikely to have been a model (see paragraph 1.4 above).

Since Polish seems to have only *ziarno piasku* for 'grain of sand' and Polish *piaseczek* (formally a diminutive) means 'fine sand', that language presumably does not provide a possible model for *zendl* (unless *piaseczek* once meant *'grain of sand').

4. קלאפס (*klops*) 'meatloaf' → קלעפסל (*klepsl*) 'meatball'. Polish *klops* → *klopsik* was in all likelihood the model.

5. קרייד (*krayd*) 'chalk' → קריידל (*kraydl*) 1. 'piece of chalk'. 2. 'crayon'. Polish *kreda* → *kredka* and/or Russian мел → мелок was in all likelihood the model. Sense 2 is another of the many later additions to the vocabulary of Eastern Yidish (see *alimentn* in entry 1 for another one).

6. שטויב (*shtoyb*) 'dust' → שטייבל ~ שטייבל (*shtaybl ~ shteybl*) 'mote of dust, particle of dust, speck of dust'. One or both of these possibilities could be right: (1) if Western Yidish has an analogous pair of words, German *Staube* → *Stäubchen* > Western Yidish [forms?] > Eastern Yidish *shtoyb* → *shtaybl ~ shteybl*, (2) in relatively recent times, German provided a model.

7. שניי (*shney*) 'snow' → שנייעלע (*'shneyele*) 'flake [of snow], snowflake'. Belarusian снег → снѣжынка and/or Polish *śnieg* → *śnieżynka* was in all likelihood the model.

Whether or not any of the foregoing possibilities occurred, any number of the preceding Yidish count nouns could have also arisen spontaneously, that is, within Yidish, under no alloglossic influence.

Since research for the present article uncovered no possible alloglossic models for the following Eastern Yidish count nouns, at least tentatively we assume them to be spontaneous Eastern Yidish coinages:

8. So far as I know, העגל (*hegl*) 'hailstone' and העגעלע (*'hegele*) 'small hailstone' (← האגל [*hogl*] 'hail') are my coinages. The Polish mass noun *grad* 'hail' and count noun *grad* 'hailstone' could not have stimulated the coinage of those diminutives.

9. זייף (*zeyf*) 'soap' → זייפעלע (*'zeyfele*) 'flake of soap, soapflake'. To express the latter meaning, Polish seems to have only *platek mydła*, which could not have stimulated the coinage of that diminutive.

10. טייג (*teyg*) 'dough' → טייגל (*teygl*) 'pellet of dough', whence the lexicalized plural טייגלעך (*'teyglekh*) 'a confection made of pellets of dough cooked in honey' > Eastern Ashkenazic English *teyglekh* 'idem'. Polish does have diminutive forms of *ciasto* 'dough', namely, *ciastko* and *ciasteczko*, but neither seems to mean 'pellet of dough'.

Belarusian and Ukrainian should be checked for possible additional models, besides the Polish ones, for those Yidish diminutives.

Though not quite an example of the diminutive-forming device discussed above, the following etymology is noted for being similar: Polish count noun *zegar* 'clock' > Eastern Yidish count noun זייגער (*'zeyger*) 'clock' [the plural of which is זייגערס (*'zeygers*)] + Yidish diminutive suffix ל- (-l) = Eastern Yidish count noun זייגערל (*'zeygerl*) 'watch' (literally, 'small clock'), the plural of which is (*'zeygerlekh*). Polish *zegarek* 'watch' (literally, 'small clock') was the model for *zeygerl*.

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Дејвид Л. Голд

ПРИМЕРИ ОДРЕДНИЦА ЗНАЧАЈНИХ ЗА СЛАВИСТИКУ ИЗ ДИСКУРСИВНОГ ЕТИМОЛОШКОГ РЕЧНИКА ЈИДИША У ПРИПРЕМИ

Резиме

Овај чланак, који представља наставак претходних ауторових истраживања словенског утицаја на јидиш (Голд 1985, 2009б и 2009в), садржи десет одредница изабраних са циљем да илуструју различите врсте знања које су потребне за решавање етимолошких проблема (иако у неким случајевима пуна етимологија још увек није утврђена), као и различите врсте проблема који се при томе јављају.

Све лексичке јединице обрађене у овом чланку припадају источном јидишу (ниједна од неколико познатих речи западног јидиша словенског порекла није обрађена). Студенти енглеског и хебрејског језика могу у појединим етимологијама пронаћи релевантан материјал за рад.

Кључне речи: Енглески језик, етимологија, изреалски хебрејски, славистика, јидиш