

LITERARY FUNCTIONS OF SLAVICISMS  
IN THE WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM

Thesis

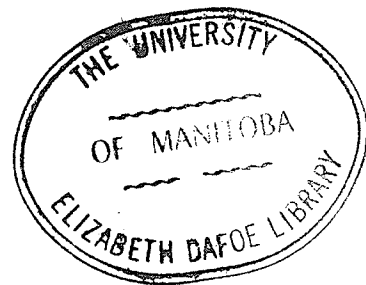
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Master of Arts

By

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IN MEMORY

OF MY

FATHER

TABLE I

THE YIDDISH ALPHABET

The following transliteration system will be used in this thesis for transliterating the Yiddish alphabet:

א	a	ל	l
ב	b	מ	m
ב	b	נ	n
ב	b	ס	s
ג	g	ע	e
ד	d	פ	p
ה	h	ף	f
ו	u	צ	ts
ו	u	כ	k
ו	v	ר	r
ו	oy	ש	sh
ז	z	שׂ	s
ח	kh	ת	t
ט	t	שׂ	s
י	i, y	י	i
	יי	יי	ey
	יי	יי	ey
ק	k		
ק	kh		

TABLE II  
THE RUSSIAN ALPHABET

The following transliteration system will be used in this thesis for transliterating the Cyrillic alphabet:

А а	- a	О о	- o
Б б	- b	П п	- p
В в	- v	Р р	- R
Г г	- g (U)	С с	- s
Г г	- h (U)	Т т	- t
	- g (R)	У у	- u
Д д	- d	Ф ф	- f
Е е	- e	Х х	- kh
ё	- e	Ц ц	- ts
Ж ж	- zh	Ч ч	- ch
З з	- z	Ш ш	- sh
И и	- y (U)	Щ щ	- shch
	- i (R)	Ъ	- -
І і	- ji (U)	Ы	- y
Й й	- j	Ь	- - ,
К к	- k	Э э	- e
Л л	- l	Ю ю	- yu
М м	- m	Я я	- ya
Н н	- n		

(U) - Ukrainian  
(R) - Russian



TABLE III

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE LITERARY WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM

The literary works of Sholom Aleichem from which the Slavisms were taken, put in chronological order, are listed in this table together with the abbreviations which will be used in classifying the Slavisms discussed in our study.

- 1884 Yugend romanen YuR Youth Novels. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1920.
- 1886 Yosile Solovey YS Yosele the Nightingale. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919.
- 1887 Dramatishe shriftn DSh Dramatic Writings. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1917.
- 1887 Yidishe romanen YiR Jewish Novels. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918.
- 1888 Lekoved yom-tov LYT In Honor of the Holidays. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1921.
- 1900 Oreme un freylikhe OUF The Poor and Merry. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919.
- 1900 Mayses far yidishe kinder MFYK Tales for Jewish children. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918.
- 1900 Mayses un fantazyes MUF Tales and fantasies. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1917.
- 1901 Zumer leben ZL Summer life. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918.
- 1901 Kleyne mentshelekh KM The "Little" People. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918.

- 1901 Monologn M Monologues. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond  
oysgabe, 1923.
- 1907 In shturm ISh In the Storm. New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond  
oysgabe, 1918.
- 1907 Motl Peysi dem khazn's MPDKh Motl Peysi the cantor's (son). New  
York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1920.
- 1909-1911 Fun peysakh biz peysakh FPBP From Passover to Passover. New  
York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1917.
- 1892-1913 Menakhem Mendel MM Menakhem Mendel. New York: Sholom Aleichem  
folksfond oysgabe, 1918.
- 1895-1913 Gants Tevye der milkhiger GTDM Tevye the Dairyman. New York:  
Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919.
- 1914-1915 Fun Kasrilevke FK From Kasrilevka. New York: Sholom Aleichem  
folksfond oysgabe, 1920.
- 1913-1916 Fun'm yarid I FY I From the Fair. New York: Sholom Aleichem  
folksfond oysgabe, 1923.
- 1913-1916 Fun'm yarid II FY II From the Fair II. New York: Spetsyele  
"morgan-frayhayt" oysgabe, 1937.
- 1916 Motl Peysi dem Khazn's II MPDKhII Motl Peysi the Cantor's II.  
New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1920.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
PREFACE .....	p. i
CHAPTER I YIDDISH AND SHOLOM ALEICHEM .....	p. 1
A. The Language	
Definition	
Scope in Time and Space	
Slavic Influences on Yiddish	
Incidence of Slavisms in Yiddish	
Literary Works	
B. The Literary Production of Sholom Aleichem and its Appraisal by the Critics	
CHAPTER II SLAVIC INFLUENCES IN THE WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM .....	p.23
CHAPTER III SLAVICISMS AND THEIR STYLISTIC FUNCTIONS .....	p.33
I. Descriptive .....	p.37
a. Qualitative	
b. Quantitative	
c. Social	
II. Humorous .....	p.62
a. Ironic	
b. Satyric	
III. Onomatopoeic .....	p.74
IV. Localisms .....	p.79
a. Nature Description	
b. Social	
c. Irreplaceable Words	
CHAPTER IV THE FUNCTION OF SLAVIC NAMES, PROVERBS, AND POPULAR PHRASES IN THE WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM .....	p.94
a. Characterizing Names	
b. Names Relating to Place (Couleur Locale)	
c. Neutral and Allegorical Names	
CHAPTER V SUMMATION AND AESTHETIC EVALUATION .....	p.104
Bibliography .....	p.106
Appendix	

## LIST OF TABLES

### Table

- I. Transliteration System of Yiddish Alphabet
- II. Transliteration System of Russian Alphabet
- III. List of Literary Works

## PREFACE

Although the influence of Slavic elements on Yiddish has been several times studied and presented, the use of stylistic Slavisms in Yiddish literary works has never before been discussed. The available material of course is very limited and in none of the existing studies has the stylistic usage of Slavisms been analyzed.

In the present thesis I have chosen to study the literary works of Sholom Aleichem, a writer who spent the greater part of his life in the Ukraine. He not only employed elements of Slavic vocabulary in his works but used them to achieve stylistic effects.

The purpose of the thesis is: firstly, to make a selection of the Slavic words and phrases in the writings of Sholom Aleichem; secondly, to delineate the range and intent of their usage; thirdly, to show how Sholom Aleichem utilizes Slavisms and how his use of them enhances his style by adding to it wider dimensions and more subtle nuances; fourthly, to demonstrate this by comparing the effects of such usage with other instances in which Slavisms are not employed; fifthly, to list the Slavisms used by Sholom Aleichem and study their various types. In all, over a thousand Slavisms are dealt with; some are individual words, some whole phrases. They are divided into different categories according to the functions they perform. In the appendix all the Slavisms referred to are listed and classified.

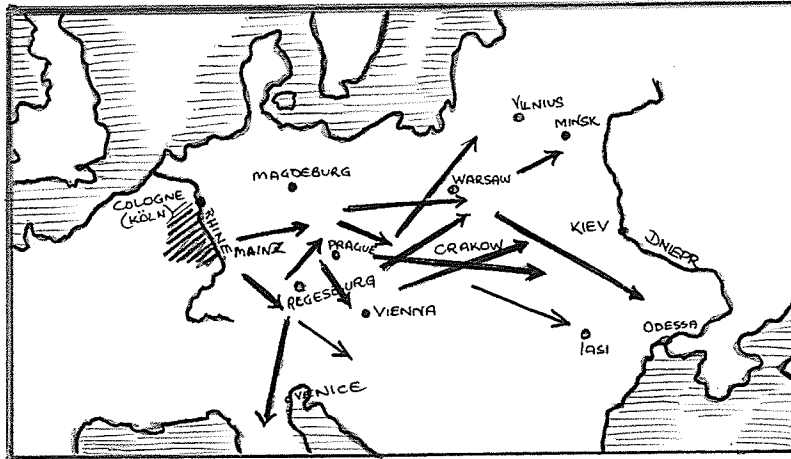
## CHAPTER I

### YIDDISH AND SHOLOM ALEICHEM

#### Part 1:

Yiddish, a language that is about a thousand years old, is the vernacular of the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. It is a separate language within the Germanic language family.<sup>1</sup> Yiddish is written in Hebrew characters and it contains, on a German base, elements drawn from Semitic as well as Romance and Slavic languages. It originated sometime in the tenth century when Jews from Romance-speaking territories moved into the middle Rhine and Moselle basins, to Lorraine and its surroundings, particularly to Mainz, Speyer and Metz.<sup>2</sup> The crusades forced many Rhenish Jews to emigrate. Yiddish moved with them eastward to southwestern and central Germany and from there to Bavaria, Austria, Bohemia and the lands of the Magyars. From the thirteenth century on, Yiddish-speaking Jews settled in growing numbers in Poland, Lithuania, White Russia, Ukraine, Russia, and Romania, with the result that in the course of time Eastern Europe became the center of Yiddish as a spoken medium.

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1. "Sprachsoziologisch ist das Jiddische natürlich nicht als deutsche Mundart zu bezeichnen, sie ist vielmehr als durchaus selbstständige Sprache zu betrachten, bestenfalls als, wie der Terminus lautet, eine Nachsprache des Deutschen". Franz Y. Beranek, "Geleitwort zu dem Buch of Salcia Landman, Liddish Abentauer einer Spraune (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1965), p. 267.
  2. U. Weinreich, "Ashkenaz di yidishe tkufe in der yidisher geshikhte" (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute - YIVO - 1952), pp. 7-17.



This map shows the spread, movement and location of the Yiddish-speaking population from the thirteenth to the twentieth century up to the World War II. <sup>3</sup>

What seemed in the tenth century an unimportant freak of culture became in the fourteenth century, the language of a considerable number of Jews. By the eighteenth century, Yiddish had become the language of nearly all European Jews, with the notable exception of Sephardic Jews.

As a result of the consolidation of the German Empire, in <sup>the</sup> course of which Jews won the rights of citizenship, there was a gradual drift away from Yiddish. Mendelson, Löwinoohn and the exponents of the Haskalah (Enlightenment) movement, the so-called Maskilim, deemed Yiddish to be no more than an illegitimate slang and advocated its replacement by Hebrew or by the language of the country concerned. It was perhaps a consequence of this policy that by the twentieth century only the faintest traces of Western Yiddish were discernible in Alsace and Switzerland. <sup>4</sup> But while the language

3. U. Weinreich, *Basic Facts About Yiddish* (New York: YIVO, 1952), p. 5.

4. See Jacob Picard, "The Marked One", *Great Jewish Short Stories*, edited by Saul Belov (New York: Dell Publishing House, New York, 1963), pp. 259-289. In this story we can find Jewish words and expressions which represent the remnants of Western Yiddish: for example shauchet, shevuaus, sholaum alechem, shabbos, berocho. Mr. Picard's translator says of the characters of "The Marked One" that they speak the local dialects of Baden, Württemberg, the Black Forest and Alsace.

declined in certain regions in Western Europe, there was a very large increase in the number of Yiddish speakers in Eastern Europe. Then, when the great overseas migration of the East European Jews began in the 1880's, Yiddish spread to almost every country in the world, and in effect, became the lingua franca of world Jewry.<sup>5</sup>

On the eve of World War II, more than half of the 16,000,000 Jews of the world spoke, or at least understood, Yiddish. With the destruction of millions of Yiddish-speaking Jews during World War II, the language suffered an enormous setback. Animosity toward Jewish culture and religion in the U.S.S.R. proved a further setback. In addition, the rise of Hebrew in the wake of the re-establishment of the state of Israel, which uses Hebrew as its official language, relegated Yiddish to a secondary position. Nevertheless, concentrated efforts by many Jewish individuals and institutions determined on the preservation of Yiddish have secured for the language a new lease of life.

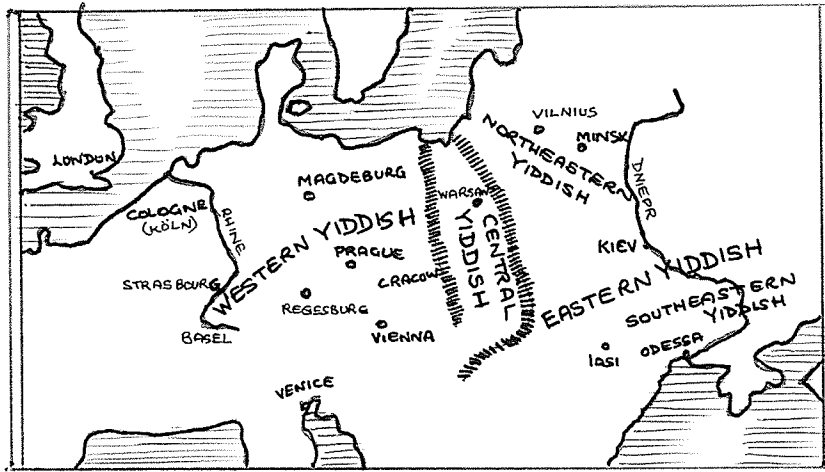
Since Yiddish was spoken by the majority of Jews who had settled within the domain of Germanic and Slavic languages, it was inevitably influenced by these tongues. As a result different dialects developed in different areas.

U. Weinreich classifies the dialectical differences as follows:

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5. The fact that the Glossary of the world renowned Encyclopedia Britannica is also translated into Yiddish serves as evidence of the importance it attributes to this language.





- a) Western Yiddish (bounded in the east approximately by the German-Polish frontier of 1939),
- b) Central Yiddish, also called Polish Yiddish, (extending from the German-Polish frontier of 1939 approximately to the Vistula and San rivers),
- c) Eastern Yiddish (eastward from the Vistula) consisting of the northeastern dialect, also called Lithuanian Yiddish).<sup>6</sup>

It was quite natural that Yiddish speakers living in a Slavic environment should gradually adopt an increasing number of Slavicisms. However strange many of these Slavic words and expressions may have seemed initially, they were gradually incorporated into Yiddish and became an integral part of the language. Indeed, the extent of this absorption was so great that between five and ten percent of the vocabulary of certain Yiddish dialects in their present state is of Slavic origin. As the Jews adjusted themselves to the Eastern European environment, there was a significant linguistic adjustment; hence the presence in Yiddish of Slavic elements gleaned from Polish, Ukrainian and Russian. In an article entitled "Yiddish with or without Slavicisms,"<sup>7</sup> A. A. Roback writes that some Slavic words, such as zaverukhe

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6. Weinreich, Basic Facts About Yiddish, p. 7.

7. A. A. Roback, Der folksgayst in der yidisher shprakh (Paris: Di goldene pave, 1964), pp. 121-131.

(snow-storm), sumatokhe (bustle), khvalye (wave), pratse (labour) and others, actually sound Yiddish. He claims that this indicates that many Slavicisms became an integral part of the language and he demonstrates how a number of German conjunctions were actually replaced by Slavic ones: for example, the German obwohl was replaced by the Slavic khotsh. Many Slavicisms have explicit nuances of meaning that cannot otherwise be conveyed in Yiddish. For example, in the Yiddish vocabulary of German origin there are no words that adequately express the distinction between pratse and horevanye which are Ukrainian words for "labour". Neither is there an adequate German equivalent of khmare, a Slavic word denoting a large, black-grey, heavy cloud; the nearest Yiddish word of German origin is volkn, but this rather suggests a cloud that is grey-blue and relatively light.

German can convey abstract concepts more easily than most other languages, but from the point of view of expressiveness the Slavic languages are vastly richer, because of their greater variety of sounds. Many Slavic adjectives, such as kalamutne (turbulent), modne (strange), tshudne (funny) and others were absorbed into Yiddish. So also were a great number of words related to the new conditions of living, especially the names of tools and appliances unknown to Jewish settlers in Eastern Europe - for example, samovar and lopete (spade). No other Yiddish terms have precisely the same connotations. Furthermore, new areas of social and governmental relationships led to the inclusion of Slavic terms for administrative, legal and social functions, - for example muzhik (peasant) and starosta (head of village or county). These terms were dictated by the administrative authorities; any other nomenclature had to be reserved for pejorative intragroup use. Religious terms of the new neighborhoods were also introduced into Yiddish

so as to distinguish them from religious terms which were long sanctified by Jewish tradition and which, for this reason, could not be confused with Orthodox and Catholic terminology. Hence the distinction between the Slavic bog (God) and Yiddish got, between rebe (rabbi) and pop (priest), and between khoges (Christian holy days) and Yomtoyvim (Jewish feast days). The names of local flora and fauna, of foods and of the culinary specialties of the new environment were inevitably taken over into Yiddish; for instance, dines and kayenes (two different species of melon), fasolyes (beans), varenikes (vareniks-curd or fruit dumpling). Slavic military terminology could not be rendered into Yiddish terms; hence the adoption of the words polk (regiment) and voevoda (commander-in-chief). Jewish involvement in trade naturally led to the direct absorption into Yiddish of Slavic terms for coins, weights and measures - kopekes (pennies), arshin (= 28 inches), pud (= 16 kg.). It also led to the introduction into the language of local terms for articles of clothing, such as shlyape (hat), kolpak (cap), and others.

No Yiddish writings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been preserved, and very few remain even from the fifteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The main reason for this is that throughout the many persecutions which they suffered, the Jews endeavoured first of all to preserve the holy scriptures written in Hebrew and paid considerably less attention to the preserving of writings in Yiddish. However, many old Yiddish ballads and folksongs, anonymously composed and orally transmitted for centuries, from generation to

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8. Israel Zimberg, Toldot sifrut - Israel, edited by David Knani and translated by Mordkhai Amitai (Tel-Aviv: Josef Sherberk, Sifriat Poalim, 1958), IV, p. 23.

generation contain obvious Slavisms. Some of these ballads and folksongs according to J. L. Cohen, a collector and editor of Yiddish folksongs,<sup>9</sup> are believed to date from the fifteenth century.

In one of these songs, the groom inquires about his bride's wisdom. The bride replies:

Du narisher bokher, du narisher khlop  
 Vi hostu nit keyn seykhil in dayn kop.<sup>10</sup>  
 (You fool fellow, you fool boy,  
 Don't you have brains in your head?)

Here the Slavism Khlop (fellow, boy) is used. In a ballad of unhappy love, dating from the fifteenth or sixteenth century, we find Slavic expressions like liube, in "Reyzele liube",<sup>11</sup> (Reisele, my dear) and kletke, as in the following lines:

Azoy vi mot khaimenju in hder kletke arayngezetst, hot er  
 ongehoybn tsu tantsh un tsu shpringen.<sup>12</sup>  
 (As soon as Khaimenyu was put into a cage he began to  
 dance and to jump.)

In another ballad we find a whole Slavic expression used:

"Ludzhe mnye povyadayon as du libst mikh nish".<sup>13</sup>  
 (The people say you do not love me any more.)

All the extant fifteenth and sixteenth century Yiddish ballads and folksongs composed in Russia, Poland and the Ukraine contain Slavisms that correspond to the region of their origin. Kletke (cage) is Russian, khlop (fellow) is

9. J. L. Cohen, Shtudyen vegn yidisher folkshafung (New York: Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut - YIVO, 1952), p. 351.
10. J. L. Cohen, Yidische folkslider mit melodyes (New York: Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut - YIVO, 1957), p. 20.
11. Ibid., p. 14.
12. Ibid., p. 20.
13. Cohen, Yidische folkslider mit melodyes, p. 73.

Ukrainian and povyadayon (tell) is Polish. Sipurei hama'asuyot (Narrative Tales) - a collection of Hasidic tales of the seventeenth century which were carefully recorded at the time by the disciples of Hasidic rabbinical story-tellers abound in Slavisms. In one of these stories we find the expression,

"Azo ful yorn vos du mutshest sikh." <sup>14</sup>

(For many years you have been tormenting yourself);

here the reflexive verb, "mutshest sikh" is of Slavic origin. A few lines later we find another Slavic word used: "un hot zukh arayn gizestst un der karti". . .<sup>15</sup> (and he seated himself in the carriage): here karti is Slavic. The following pages contain numerous Slavisms, of which panis <sup>16</sup> (ladies), apliakh <sup>17</sup> (bald spot), kretshmi <sup>18</sup> (inn), and grabivit <sup>19</sup> (robbed) are but a few examples.

In the eighteenth century Hasidic tales continue to make use of Slavic vocabulary. As Professor S. Dubnov says: "There are many words in the Hasidic tales taken from Russian and Polish, such as zaloga (guarantee, deposit), sond (court), skaski (tales), kvyatn (flowers)." <sup>20</sup>

We can find similar instances of Slavic influence in the style of the great Yiddish litterateur Solomon Etinger (1801-1851), the man who has been called the great-grandfather of Yiddish literature. His famous play,

14. Rabbi Zvi Ari (ed.), Sipurei hamaasiyst (New York: B.R. Israel Aba Rosenfeld and others, 1967), p. 13.

15. Ibid., p. 13.

16. Ibid., p. 20.

17. Ibid., p. 24.

18. Ibid., p. 25.

19. Ibid., p. 23.

20. Shim'on Dubnov, Geshikhte fun khasidizm (Buenos Aires: Congress for Jewish Culture 1957), II, 247.

Serkele, uses terms like: "zikh tsu staren"<sup>21</sup> (to try), luder<sup>22</sup> (lazy), sobak<sup>23</sup> (dog), skalitshet<sup>24</sup> (wounded), tishontse<sup>25</sup> (thousand), palkes<sup>26</sup> (sticks), bideven<sup>27</sup> (to suffer), and klopot<sup>28</sup> (worry). In fact, Slavic elements continue to be an integral part of the literary works of all three of the most prominent Yiddish writers, the founders of classical Yiddish literature: Mendele Mokher Sforim, considered by many to have ushered in the so-called "Golden Age" of Yiddish literature, has been labeled "the grandfather of Yiddish literature," Peretz its "father" and Sholom Aleichem its distinguished "grandchild".

Mendele was a keen observer of Jewish life who satirized certain institutions of the Jewish ghetto, and caustically commented on the backwardness of his people. His language is the language of the ghetto-dweller who had little contact with the gentile population. But it demonstrates the extent of the use of foreign elements in the language of everyday ghetto life, notably words such as gazetes<sup>29</sup> (newspapers), nikhay<sup>30</sup> (let), potraves<sup>31</sup> (dishes), guralnye<sup>32</sup> (distillery), male<sup>33</sup> (little), klepke<sup>34</sup>

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21. Shmuel Rozhanski (ed.), Shlomo Etinger Oysgeklibene shriftn (Buenos Aires: Josef Lipshits fond baym kultur-kongres in Argentine, 1957), I, p. 86.  
 22. Ibid., I, p. 91.  
 23. Ibid., p. 94.  
 24. Ibid., p. 104.  
 25. Ibid., p. 124.  
 26. Ibid., p. 134.  
 27. Ibid., p. 150.  
 28. Ibid., p. 178.  
 29. Shmuel Rozhanski (ed.), Mendele Masoes Binyomin Hashlishi (Buenos Aires: Josef Lipshits fond baym kultur-kongres in Argentine, 1957), IV, p. 29.  
 30. Ibid., p. 30.  
 31. Ibid., p. 34.  
 32. Ibid., p. 37.  
 33. Ibid., p. 39.  
 34. Ibid., p. 40.

(stave), ratunek <sup>35</sup> (rescuing), luche <sup>36</sup> (puddle) and others.

Y. L. Peretz, one of the greatest figures in Yiddish literature, was an original romanticist who became in turn impressionist, symbolist and even expressionist in his form. He tended to employ Hebraisms and Germanicisms rather than Slavisms in his works. As a writer of intellectual leanings, he considered the Slavic element in Yiddish to be too simple for frequent literary use. When he does use Slavic words it is usually in the interests of local colour: drozhkes <sup>37</sup> (droshky), shkole <sup>38</sup> (school), panye <sup>39</sup> (sir), pshekupkes <sup>40</sup> (sales-women), stroy <sup>41</sup> (formation), shenik <sup>42</sup> (bag of straw) and others.

On the other hand, Sholom Aleichem, whose works have enjoyed more popularity than those of either Mendele Mokher Sforim or Peretz, shared none of Peretz' disdain for Slavisms. While he occasionally employed whole Slavic phrases in his literary works, he never used Slavisms to the extent that Peretz used Germanicisms. Two passages, one from Peretz's and the other from Sholom Aleichem's writings, will serve as an evidence of this:

Der himel bedekt zikh mit a grohem volken, es hoyben on falen di bleter; troyerige tsvaygen khapen zikh oyf fun zisen shlof, es fetshvinden di zise khaloymes ... zey tsihen zikh ayn, zey veren kirtser un kirtser ..." <sup>43</sup>

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35. Ibid., p. 49.

36. Ibid., p. 69.

37. Shmuel Rozhanski (ed.), J. L. Perets in 19th yorhundert (Buenos Aires: Josef Lipshits fond fun der literatur gezelshaft baym - YIVO, 1957), XI, p.153.

38. Ibid., p. 203.

39. Ibid., p. 225.

40. Ibid., p. 221.

41. Shmuel Rozhanski (ed.), J. L. Perets in 20th yorhundert (Buenos Aires: Josef Lipshits fond fun der literatur gezelshaft baym YIVO, 1957), XII, p.146.

42. Ibid., p. 174.

43. J. L. Perets, Far kleyn un groys (Warsaw - New York: Internatsionale bibliotek komp., 1920), p. 49.

(The sky is covered with a grey cloud, the leaves begin to fall; sad branches awake from their sweet slumber and their sweet dreams vanish ... they contract, become shorter and shorter...)

This passage is taken from one of Peretz's short stories, "Boymer" (trees). We can find here an abundance of Germanicisms, for example, bedekt (covered), volken (clouds), tsvaygen (branches), zisen (sweet). The following passage is taken from one of Sholom Aleichem's nature descriptions:

"Oykh fun unten, oyf der erd, iz nit shtil; es shpringen, loyfen, krikhen un poyzen arum toyzenterley minim beshefenishen, fligelekh, zhuklekh, verimlekh, shlengelekh, un yashtsherkeslekh fun alerley farben, shpinen un mereshkes alfey-alofim." 44

(Furthermore, on the ground under one's feet, there is a quick flurry of thousands of spiders, ants, lizards, snakes, worms, beetles and flies of all kinds of colours jumping, running, creeping, and crawling around.)

Several slavic words of Russian and Ukrainian origin are used here: poyzen (crawl) is of Ukrainian origin; zhukelekh (beetles), yashtsherkes (lizards) and mereshkes (ants) are all of Russian origin.

If we are to compare these two passages we can say that Peretz's phraseology sounds more German than Yiddish. The language of Sholom Aleichem's passage is closer to the folk speech. "But it must be remembered that Sholom Aleichem was no linguistic innovator; his characters speak the very language of their real-life counterparts— the language of the commercial traveler, of the wealthy man of Yehupetz or the language of Menakhem Mendel." 45

Sholom Aleichem was a realist-humorist, who presented his environment in a natural setting; the great abundance of Slavicisms in his literary works

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44. Sholom Aleichem, Zumer leben, (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1912), p. 39.

45. Roback, Der folksgayst in der yidisher shprakh, p. 124.



is due to his aesthetic of realism, the basis for his description of life in specific folk style. Hence, we find Slavisms on almost every page of his famous literary works, Tevyeh the Dairyman, Menakhem Mendel, From the Fair, Motl Peysi, the Cantor and others. These works, therefore, offer the most suitable material for an analysis of his literary use of Yiddish Slavisms.

Sholom Rabinowitz, who later assumed the pen-name of Sholom Aleichem, was born in the city of Pereyaslav, in the region of Poltava, on March 3, 1859. His childhood was spent in the nearby small town of Voronkov— which, he himself said, was "as big as a minute". But it was there, he says, that "I passed the best, the golden years of my naive childhood". Later he immortalized Voronkov in his writings as Kasrilevke. He tells us in his autobiographical Finem yarid (speaking of himself in the third person) that "no other place in the world is so deeply imbedded in his memory as this blessed Kasrilevke-Voronkov." 46

Sholom early showed superior scholastic aptitude, as well as an uncanny bent for mimicking people and their mannerisms. He was superbly imaginative. "Houses assumed the shape of cities," he tells us, "courtyards became foreign lands, trees were transformed into men and women; girls into princesses, youths into princes; grass became an army of warriors, thorns and thistles were Philistines, Edomites, and Moabites; and I used to wage war on them." 47

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46. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid, (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, (1929), I, p. 10.

47, Ibid., p. 20.

At an early age the little Sholom began to study the Bible and the Talmud. At about ten years of age he wrote, in a notebook of his own make, a Hebrew "treatise" on the Bible and Hebrew grammar. His father— an adherent of the Jewish movement of enlightenment and a fervent reader of neo-Hebrew literature— was tremendously impressed by his penmanship and his grammatical and biblical knowledge.

Sholom's stay in Voronkov came to an end when a dishonest partner brought financial ruin to his father, who then returned with his family to Pereyaslav. There he dragged out a poor living by keeping a wretched little hotel and making raisin wine. In 1872 Sholom's mother died in a cholera epidemic. Along with five other young children, he went to live for a short time with their maternal grandparents in Bohuslav. When the children returned home, they found a shrewish stepmother, whose stock of curses was so ingenious and plentiful that young Sholom collected and alphabetized them - "the first literary work of the future Sholom Aleichem," as he tells us later.

In 1873 he entered the Russian District School where he distinguished himself in his studies. It was at this time that he began to write his first literary work: Der Yidisher Robinson Kruzo (The Jewish Robinson Cruso). He graduated in 1876 with distinction and began to tutor pupils in Hebrew and Russian.

In 1877 he was engaged by an elderly and rich country squire, Elimelech Loyev as tutor for his fourteen-year-old daughter, Olga (whom Sholom later married). The squire, a born ruler of men, maintained stern discipline in his home and on his estate, but was as revered as he was feared by his subordinates.

Sholom Aleichem spent three years in Sofievka. There he continued his voracious reading of both modern Hebrew and Russian, previously begun with the intention to preparing himself for the vocation of a crown rabbi. But he wrote even more than he read. "I wrote every genre of literature that I read," he tells of the period between the age of seventeen and twenty-one. He wrote "lyrical and narrative poems, novels, no end of dramas, and published articles..." I used to send my "works" to all the Jewish and Russian periodicals... and supplied the newspaper offices with fuel for their stoves."

One winter morning in 1879 the young teacher found the house deserted, an envelope on the table containing his accumulated pay, and a sleigh at the door waiting to take him to town. His romance with his pupil had been discovered. In 1880 he was elected rabbiner (crown rabbi) in Luben in the district of Poltava, where he functioned as a government rabbi for three years. In 1883 he married his former pupil, Olga Loyev. At the request of his father-in-law, he gave up the rabbinate and settled in Belozerkov. The year 1883 was an epochal one in his career as a writer: he published his first Yiddish story Tsvey shteyner (Two Stones) in Alexander Zederbaum's Yiddishes folksblat. It was in 1883 also that he first used the pseudonym Sholom Aleichem. Having just married the daughter of a prominent landowner and businessman, he deemed it wise not to hurt his precarious professional and social standing by being known as a "jargon" writer whom women and even uneducated artisans could understand. He therefore refrained from signing his feuilletons and comic sketches with his own name. After the death of his father-in-law in 1885 Sholom Aleichem was named executor of his will. Liquidation of Loyev's extensive holdings left but little time for literary

work, though he continued to write for Folksblat. When he moved to Kiev in 1887 he became active in commerce, trading in grain and sugar and on the stock exchange. But in spite of business pressures which took most of his time, he was still able to devote himself to literature. He wrote wherever and whenever it was possible— on the train, at the market place, on the street and at home. His great literary triumph of the year was a short story, "Dos meser'1" (The Pocketknife), published in Folksblat. The following year, 1888, was one of the most productive years of his life as a writer. He began to publish an ambitious Yiddish literary yearbook, Di yidishe folksbibliotek, to which he attracted the best literary talent of that time. The book contained numerous contributions on varied themes, for the most part written under pen-names. This annual created a sensation in literary circles and gave a fresh impetus to Yiddish literature. In the same year he also published two more Yiddish novels, Stempenyu and Yosile Solovey. In 1890 Sholom Aleichem issued the second volume of Folksbibliotek, which also proved the last. He began the preparation of the third volume of his yearbook when he met with financial disaster on the stock exchange. Having lost all his property he went abroad, living by turns in Paris, Vienna, and Chernowitz. In 1891 he joined his family in Odessa. With the exception of some feuilletons, sketches and a novelette, all written in Russian for the Odeskij bistok and Voskhod, he published nothing in Yiddish or Hebrew that year. In 1892 he published the first series of the letters of Menakhem Mendel. He returned to Kiev in 1893 and until 1899 dabbled in stocks and other business ventures, while devoting every spare moment to writing. "I am asked by people who see me daily: 'When do you write?'" he revealed in a letter to M. Spector. "My word, I hardly know myself.

I write while walking, running, sitting in somebody's office, riding on the street car, and while somebody is worrying me about an unhewn forest, a high-priced country estate, a factory— that's just the time when the most beautiful images emerge. Yet you can't tear yourself away for a moment to put it all down on paper. Confound business! Confound everything." 48

During these years he published his first story about Tevye, the comedies Mazel Toy, A doctor, Der get. He continued to write the stories about Tevye the Dairyman and the letters of Menakhem Mendel, and wrote Stories for Jewish Children, Shlim-Shlim mazel and other works through the years 1899-1901. A series of novels and stories "Kol-nidrey", "Dray shkheynim", Tsvey **Brider**" and others were published in the 1902-1904 period. In 1905 he toured Lithuania and Baltic provinces and was accorded wildly enthusiastic receptions at public appearances. The stormy acclaim that he received everywhere was due not only to his overwhelming popularity as a writer but also to his uncommon skill as a reader of his own works. The year 1905 was a fateful one for the Jews of Russia. The Tsar's October manifesto which promised "freedom of conscience, of speech ... and of association" was promptly followed by a wave of bestial pogroms, incited and directed by St. Petersburg.

Unnerved by pogroms in Kiev and economically broken Sholom Aleichem decided to emigrate to the United States. He left Russia in December and, lacking travelling expenses, stopped for several months in Lemberg, where he renewed his literary activity. In the following year he toured and was warmly received in many centres in Austria, Rumania, Switzerland, Belgium, France, and England. He arrived in New York with his wife and youngest son

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48. M. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama (London, Ontario: The Jewish Observer, 1948), p. 349.

in October, leaving the rest of the family in Geneva.

In the United States Sholom Aleichem received a warm welcome. He was tremendously impressed by the warmth of American Jewish audiences in the cities he visited. He hoped to find a brilliant future in America. But he was too deeply rooted in European traditions and mode of life to fit easily into the American scheme of things. He left New York in June 1907 to join his children in Geneva. At that time he began to write one of his famous works, Motl Peysi dem khazn's. The twenty-fifth anniversary of his literary career as a Yiddish writer was celebrated all over the world.

In 1908 Sholom Aleichem, after having suffered an acute attack of tuberculosis while in Baranovitch and having been bed-ridden for seven weeks, could not take part in these celebrations and went to Narvå to recuperate. The next six years he spent in various health resorts in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. During these years he wrote the novel Di blondzhende shtern and continued his work on Menakhem Mendel and Gants Tevye der milkhiger. A bladder disease which developed in 1913 gave him agonizing pain, but only unsufferable physical pain could ever keep him from writing. He did much of his work while bed-ridden, frequently during brief respites from pain. "What do you mean, not write?" he said in one of his letters of the period. "How can a man get up in the morning, eat and drink and walk about - and not write? How is such a thing possible? Can a man stand it? How long can he live that way?"<sup>49</sup>

After an absence of five and a half years he went back to Russia in 1914. On his return to Vilnius, Riga, Kiev and other cities and villages he was enthusiastically received by the local population.

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49. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 251.

When World War I broke out he went once again with his family to the United States. In spite of poor health he began to work on an autobiographical novel Fun'm yarid (From the Fair) which remains uncompleted. He died on May the thirteenth, 1916. His funeral was attended by hundreds of thousands, the most numerous procession of men and women ever to follow the hearse of a Jewish writer (his works— about twenty volumes in all— are now published all the world over).

Those who mourned Sholom Aleichem thought that he ranked among the three most talented interpreters of the Jewish soul. His popularity far exceeded that of the other two members of the Yiddish classical triumvirate, Mendele Mokher Sforim and Yitskhok Leybush Peretz. He does not equal Mendele's richness of imagination or Peretz's profound insights into the eternal problems. Yet Sholom Aleichem, who is read by the average Jew, most clearly and lovingly articulates his desires, his unrealized dreams, his unsolved worries and his daily interests, vividly depicting his perennial frustrations and keeping alive the hope of the reader of average achievements. Unlike Peretz, who celebrates the heroic and the unusual individual, Sholom Aleichem did not interest himself in the rebel or the saint, but in the average Jew.

Sholom Aleichem wrote his own epitaph. It is characterized by that genuine humor blended with tragedy which is typical of all his work. Here too laughter camouflaged his tears.

"Here lies a simple-hearted Jew,  
Whose Yiddish womenfolk delighted;  
And all the common people too,  
Laughed at the stories he indited.  
Poked fun at life as but a jest,  
Laughed up his sleeve at all that mattered;

When other men were happiest,  
 Alas, his heart was bruised and shattered.  
 Most often when his audience  
 Applauded and was laughter-ridden,  
 He ailed, which God's omniscience  
 Alone remarked - He kept it hidden. 50

Written by the Author  
 Translated by I.G.

In his stories, sketches and comedies Sholom Aleichem depicted the principal traits of the psychology of the average Jew. The masses were displayed in everyday life in their struggle for existence in an unfriendly environment. He describes them in the market-place, at home, at gatherings, assemblies, and meetings, in times of joy and sorrow. And well could he do so, for he himself had experienced the various ups and downs of the checkered life of the Jews in Eastern Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. He had the opportunity to observe it in all aspects in the small town as well as in the large city. As A. Roback aptly expresses it, "Sholom Aleichem's Tevye, the dairyman, Shimele Soroker, his Menakhem Mendel, the typical luftmentch, the tender child characters, like Motl Peysse the Khazzn's boy, his vivid descriptions of Yehupetz, Boiberik, or Kasrilevke will, so long as Yiddish is understood, remain classical symbols of modern Jewish life with its joy and grief—a centuries-long caravan of calamities tempered and allayed by the inner current of faith and hope." 51

Sholom Aleichem discovered the Jewish child, alive and active, endowed with a rainbow of talents and moods, childish feelings and motives.

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50. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 183.

51. A. A. Roback, The Story of Yiddish Literature (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, (American Branch) 1940, p. 112.



He discovered a child who is merry and able to enjoy the surrounding world, the beauty of nature, who is endowed with a charming soul and graced with an abundance of love and charity.

In the score of volumes that comprise Sholom Aleichem's literary legacy there are three groups of stories, all written within a period of fifteen to twenty years, in which his art and talent, his views on life and the various changes caused by inner and external conditions which affected Jewish life in Russia at different times are reflected and expressed at their best. These three groups of stories are singled out for special scrutiny in this study.

The first group is Gants tevye der milkhiger. Tevye represents the typical Shlemiel non-hero, the average Jew, the honest, pious, impractical, suffering head of a family. The joys and sorrows which Tevye experiences with his five daughters and sons-in-law are typical of the vicissitudes of life in thousands of Jewish homes. Although life's severe trials assail Tevye's simple being, he wipes away the unwelcome tear, finds comfort in spiritual admonitions, remains morally immaculate, and rejoices that he still lives in God's beautiful world full of sunlight. This book could be named "The Book of Fate and Faith". For in it Tevye, in spite of his many misfortunes and troubles, never loses his hope and faith in God.

The second group of stories (written in the form of letters exchanged between the principal character, Menakhem Mendel, and his wife) was composed during the years 1892 to 1909. Menakhem Mendel is also a type representative of a large group of Jews whose ineptness in commerce, coupled with a vivid but uncontrolled imagination, causes them to plunge into all kinds of adventures and speculative undertakings which only lead to failure

and disaster. But the undaunted spirit, the great faith and optimism of these Jews is not crushed and they try again and again. As Trunk mentions in Tevye and Menakhem Mendel in the World's Fate, this book could be renamed "The Book of Fate and Play".

The third principal work of Sholom Aleichem, Motl Peyse dem khazn's (Motl, the Son of Peyse the Cantor), though apparently a continuous work, is in reality a collection of stories. Each chapter is essentially a separate tale and the only connection is that Motl Peyse, after whom the book is named, is the narrator of each. It consists of two parts, written in 1907 and 1915, that present a series of group-portraits, and delineate a wide variety of characters. In it the writer pictures Kasrilevka in the 1880's as modernization changes the lives of its inhabitants and emigration removes many familiar faces. The larger part of the book is therefore devoted to a description and portrayal of the migration to America of the inhabitants of Kasrilevka, their adventures on the road, and their initial steps in adjustment to a new life. Motl Peyse dem Khazn's parallels the autobiographical Fun'm yarid and belongs to the same genre.

It is these works especially that have been the subject of the greater part of recent reappraisals of the writer by modern critics. In an article entitled "Only One Sholom Aleichem", Itsik Manger described the writer as a great innovator in Yiddish literature:

"Magic is the word of Sholom Aleichem. He has created characters so typical of his people that they rise to the heights of the universal." <sup>52</sup>

In "Sholom Aleichem's Tiny People", H. W. Grafstein mentions the special

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52. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 15.

devotion paid by the author in his stories to the average "little" people and to children:

Sholom Aleichem is above everything else the chronicler of the lives of two segments of society, the "Little People" and the "Small People" - the hapless and the young. 53

Louis Talstein, another laudatory commentator, assesses the literary importance of Sholom Aleichem as follows:

Sholom Aleichem's greatness as a man lay in his broad humanity; his greatness as a Jew lay in complete self-identification with his people; his greatness as a writer lay in his ability to encompass in his works the manifold aspects of Jewish life in the Pale of Settlement. A pioneer in a new literature, he led a successful crusade on behalf of Yiddish, thus opening fresh vistas to writers of talent as well as to thousands of readers." 54

Mykola Bazhan, in an article written on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of Sholom Aleichem's death, describes him as an alert chronicler of the lives of these "little" people:

"He will never return - this sorrowful and alert shining light of Kasrilevka and Yehupetz, this creator of these wonderful heroes represented by Motl and Tevye the Dairyman; but nevertheless he still remains with us and with lively human tenderness weeping with hunger-dried lips and rejoicing at everyday human happiness." 55

And finally, Christopher Dafoe in a recent article, "Master of Yiddish Humor", comments on the universality of the works of Sholom Aleichem:

"His work is a panorama of human life. He writes of things that are common to all humanity. The accent is Jewish, the men and communities of which he writes carry all the trappings of Jewish life as it was and, in some ways, still is, but his stage is the world and the men and women who live between the covers of his books are all members of the great human family." 56

53. Ibid., p. 42.

54. Simon Noveck, Great Jewish Personalities in Modern Times (Clinton, Mass: B'nai B'rith Department for Adult Jewish Education, 1960), II, p.225.

55. M. Bazhan, "The Undying Grief," Vitchyzna (Kiev, U.S.S.R.) No.5 (1966), p. 176.

56. Winnipeg Free Press, January 21, 1967, p. 15.

## CHAPTER II

### SLAVICISMS IN THE WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM

Slavic culture exerted a great influence on Sholom Aleichem's life. He received his secular education in Russian and began to write in that language at an early age. He even dreamt of a career as a Russian writer:

"I feel that in this language I too have a share. At school I devoted most of my time to it, and after graduation I applied myself to its mastery until I fairly felt at home in it." <sup>1</sup>

In 1884 he published in Russian the stories "Man of Dreams" and "Fish Charif the Hero"; another Russian tale, his "Grandmother's Romance", appeared in 1891. A year later Odesskie Novosti carried twenty-five prose poems by him, the themes for which were drawn from the lives of children. In addition to rendering in Yiddish some stories he had originally written in Russian, he translated a number of his Yiddish stories into Russian.

A great admirer of Russian literature and its masters, Sholom Aleichem once declared that his models were not Zederbaum or Yehalel (Y. L. Levin), but rather Gogol, Pushkin, and Lermontov. Among his personal papers his executors found the following free translation of an excerpt from Gogol's Dead Souls:

"It seems that I am fated for a long time to walk hand in hand with these odd creations of mine, and to observe the great and tumultuous scene of life through revealing laughter and hidden tears." <sup>2</sup>

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1. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 51.
  2. Ibid., p. 51.

These words express succinctly what he felt to be his mission among the Jewish people, even as they convey Gogol's sense of mission among the Russians. When he came to describing the life of the simple average Jew in his dealings with the surrounding peasant population, Sholom Aleichem had already mastered the language and literature of Russia and of the Ukraine. In order to present a truly realistic picture of his people in the manifold aspects of their daily lives he borrowed generously from their own Slavic-influenced speech. He used his borrowings with that sense of nuance and meaning which befits a writer intimately acquainted with at least two Slavic languages.

Even in his early literary works such as Stempenyu and Yosile Solovey and in his comedies, A doktor and Der get, we find a great number of Slavic expressions. In one of his earliest novels, Yosile Solovey, I have counted three hundred and seventy-one words of Slavic origin and seven Slavic phrases. There are three hundred and thirty-nine Slavic words and eight full Slavic phrases in Dramatishe shriftn, an early collection of his dramatic writings. His book of short stories, Oreme un freylekhe (Poor and Merry) contains over four hundred and fifty Slavic words and no less than ten complete Slavic phrases. Two hundred and seventy-eight Slavic words and twenty-seven longer expressions and phrases are found in his famous Gants Teyve der milkhiger. I find two hundred and fifty-seven Slavicisms and thirteen Slavic expressions in his Menakhem Mendel. Slavicisms abound in every one of his books; there is scarcely a page of his writings that does not offer one or more examples of this characteristic of his art - the borrowing from Slavic tongues of single words and, occasionally, of whole

phrases, but most commonly of nouns and verbs rather than of adjectives and adverbs. The methods for acclimatizing them to their new Yiddish environment are various and ingenious.

Some of the Slavic nouns employed by Sholom Aleichem were taken directly into Yiddish and were simply rendered in Hebrew letters, for example, samovar<sup>3</sup> (samovar). On the other hand, a great many of his Slavisms are formed by adding to the Slavic root the Yiddish noun-endings: -e, -es, -el, -ek, -en, -n, -er. The word khate<sup>4</sup> (hut), for example, is formed by adding to khat, (the root of the Ukrainian word khata, (hut) the singular -e ending of Yiddish nouns. Strunes<sup>5</sup> (strings) is formed by adding the -es plural ending of Yiddish nouns to strun-, the root of the Russian word struna (string).

In his adaptation of adjectives he operates according to similar principles. Frequently he merely renders the Slavic word into Hebrew characters, as in the case of mirovoj<sup>6</sup> (conciliator), an original Russian word. More often, however, he adds Yiddish adjectival endings to Slavic adjectival roots: tshikave<sup>7</sup> (interesting) is formed by the addition of -e to tsikav, the root of the Ukrainian adjective tsikavyj (interesting) (the ts sound is changed into tsh).

His procedure is basically similar when he uses Slavic verbs in Yiddish. Taking the root of the appropriate Slavic verb, he forms the infinitive simply by adding the Yiddish -n or -en ending, as in the case of

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3. Sholom Aleichem, Gants Tevye der milkhiger (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919), pp. 116, 117, 132.
  4. Ibid., pp. 210, 213, 214.
  5. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid, I, p. 199.
  6. Sholom Aleichem, Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 226.
  7. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid, Vol. I, p. 30.

trishtshen<sup>8</sup> (to crackle), where the root of the Ukrainian verb trishchaty (to crackle) is trishch- and the ending -en. The past tense of verbs of Slavic origin is formed similarly to that of Yiddish verbs<sup>9</sup> - by using the Slavic past participle along with the appropriate form of the Yiddish auxiliary verb, hobn or zayn (to have or to be). If a Slavic word is employed in the past verbal form, it usually consists of the Yiddish auxiliary verb and the Slavic past participle, which is constructed by (a) prefixing ge- and (b) adding -n, -en, -t or -et to the base of the Slavic verb; we may take as an example, hot ge shushket<sup>10</sup> (whispered); here geshushket is the past participle of the verb shushken (to whisper) and hot the past tense of hobn. In this case the base of the Ukrainian verb shushkaty (to whisper) is shushk-, and in the process of formation of the Yiddish version of the word the y is omitted.

The present tense of Slavic verbs used in Sholom Aleichem's works is formed by adding to the root of the appropriate verbs the endings of Yiddish verbs, e.g. pishtshet<sup>11</sup> (squeals) is formed from pishch, the root of Ukrainian verb pishchaty, by adding -et, the present tense ending of the Yiddish third person singular.

Some of the adverbial Slavicisms used by Sholom Aleichem are taken from the Russian or Ukrainian and become Yiddish by being rendered in Hebrew letters: the Ukrainian adverb khodorom<sup>12</sup> (in disorder), the Russian adverb bokom<sup>13</sup> (sideways) are examples. But the majority of the Slavic adverbs

8. Ibid., p. 225.

9. The past tense in Yiddish covers the English past, present perfect, progressive past, and emphatic past tenses. It also covers all the German verbal past tenses.

10. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid I, p. 204.

11. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid, p. 192.

12. Sholom Aleichem, Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 208.

13. Fun'm yarid, p. 251.

taken into Yiddish undergo a slight change, the Yiddish -e replacing the Slavic -o ending, as in the case of dribnitshke<sup>14</sup> (trifling), which is based on the Ukrainian word dribno (small).

Sholom Aleichem drew heavily on all three major Slavic languages: Ukrainian - e.g. harmatn<sup>15</sup> (cannons), Russian - e.g. otkritke<sup>16</sup> (post card), and Polish - e.g. dembene<sup>17</sup> (oaken). But he did not borrow words from these languages in an indiscriminate manner.

In many instances Sholom Aleichem uses words of Slavic origin for purposes of conveying local colour. In such instances, he simply drew on the Slavic-influenced language of the local Jewish population. The Ukraine is the locale of his mythical Kasrilevke,<sup>18</sup> which he called the town of the "little" but merry people; in dealing with this region he frequently drew on Ukrainian. In one of his stories, "Di shtodt fun di kleyne mentshelekh," he uses a number of almost unchanged Ukrainian words: oyf tsikavest<sup>19</sup> (for interest), taken from the Ukrainian word tsikavist' (interest); kozak,<sup>20</sup> the name of a Ukrainian dance, and others. He also frequently uses Ukrainian names of local plants and dishes which had found their way into everyday Yiddish usage, such as sonishnik<sup>21</sup> (sunflower), an original Ukrainian word;

14. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 121.

15. Ibid., p. 182.

16. Menakhem Mendel (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918), p. 13.

17. Oreme un freylekhe (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919), p. 17.

18. The town Kasrilevke does not exist. The name is invented by the author. Some critics suggest that it comes from kathriel (poor fellow); (cf. Maurice Samuel, The World of Sholom Aleichem); some say that it is derived from kathri-el (my crown is God).

19. Sholom Aleichem, Kleyne mentshelekh (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918), p. 13.

20. Ibid., p. 16.

21. Ibid., p. 14.



koyletsh<sup>22</sup> (bread), taken from the Ukrainian word kulich (bread); varenikes<sup>23</sup> (meat, fruit or curd dumplings), taken from the Ukrainian varenyky (meat, fruit or card dumplings), and borshtsh<sup>24</sup> (soup made of beetroot, cabbage, meat, etc.), an original Ukrainian word, borshch.

He draws on Polish when describing the Polish landed classes. The name of one of his fictional Polish landlords is a good example; he is called Dembe-Dembo-Dembitski<sup>25</sup> (Oak-Oak-Oaken), a combination of three Polish words. The original Polish word for oak is dab. Again when the author wishes to emphasize, or suggest, that an estate or piece of property is rented from a Pole, he also uses words of Polish origin. He uses kretshme<sup>26</sup> (inn) in his tale "The Magnificent Tailor", thus hinting that the inn is rented from a Pole. The original Polish word for "inn" is karczma. In describing Russian governmental officials and institutions he drew on Russian: e.g. gorodovoy<sup>27</sup> (policeman) - the original Russian word; staroste<sup>28</sup> (village elder) - taken from the Russian word starosta (village elder), and shkoles<sup>29</sup> (schools) - derived from the Russian word shkola (school).

It is notable that on a great many occasions the author renders dialogue in one of the Slavic languages in the interests of verisimilitude.

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22. Sholom Aleichem, Fun'm yarid, I, p. 34.  
 23. \_\_\_\_\_ . Oreme un freylekhe, I, p. 21.  
 24. \_\_\_\_\_ . Mayses far yidishe kinder (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1918), pp. 162, 163.  
 25. Sholom Aleichem Oreme un freylekhe, p. 184.  
 26. Ibid., p. 17.  
 27. Sholom Aleichem, Menakhem Mendel, pp. 26, 31.  
 28. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, pp. 205, 227, 228.  
 29. Fun'm yarid, I, p. 172.

For example, conversations between a Jew and someone of a different ethnic origin are given in Ukrainian,<sup>30</sup> Russian<sup>31</sup> or Polish.<sup>32</sup>

We also find that very frequently he chooses to employ local Slavic words, when he wishes to express a precise meaning or nuance, or to represent a particular sound, which no Yiddish word could express. These words were also incorporated into Yiddish, since Yiddish as a language was relatively poor in colourful vocabulary. Whenever he uses such words, he merely imparts to them their original meaning. For example, khalyastre<sup>34</sup> (mob, crowd), a word of Ukrainian origin, describes a crowd of simple folk running in disorder; oysgemutsheter<sup>35</sup> (tired out), a word of Russian origin, stresses the extent of tiredness, weariness, of a person in a manner which no earlier Yiddish word could express. The same is true of the use of the Ukrainian word kalamuthe,<sup>36</sup> which is used to express the condition of wavering uncertainty; no other Yiddish word would express the same. In fact each one of these Slavisms describes definite characteristic traits or conditions of mind so precisely that no appropriate Yiddish word could replace it satisfactorily.

Many of the Slavic words employed by Sholom Aleichem are onomatopoeic, for example balaken<sup>37</sup> (to converse, discourse), taken from the Ukrainian verb balakaty (to converse, discourse); geshushket<sup>38</sup> (whispered),

30. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 22.

31. Ibid., p. 122.

32. Ibid., p. 183.

34. Ibid., p. 68.

35. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 151.

36. Ibid., p. 206.

37. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 211.

38. Fun'm yarid, p. 207.

derived from the Ukrainian verb shushkaty (to whisper); and khropet<sup>39</sup> (snores), taken from the Ukrainian verb khropty (to snore). These and many others are local words directly incorporated into Yiddish, since most of them produce a sound very similar to that described. But it is important to note that Sholom Aleichem employed a great number of Slavic words strictly for portraying various nuances of situation, character or personality. Bosyak<sup>40</sup> (ragged fellow), a word of Ukrainian origin, characterizes a boy who belongs socially and morally to the lowest class of society; shkoles<sup>41</sup> (schools), a word of Russian origin, refers to the governmental schools, as opposed to private Jewish schools (called kheyder), and has very definite connotations of assimilation.

Sholom Aleichem was not content merely to use current Slavic words in his works; he also invented many Slavic neologisms, especially in naming towns and persons. Three such town-names are Kozodoyevke<sup>42</sup> (Goat milking), Zlodoyevke<sup>43</sup> (Villainous), and Khaplapovitsh<sup>44</sup> (Snatching — Grasping). The Slavic roots of his chosen character names are equally colourful: for example Pertshik<sup>45</sup> (Peppered one), Korzshik<sup>46</sup> (Small Biscuit), Lopite<sup>47</sup> (Spade), and Smile<sup>48</sup> (Pitch). At other times, in order to express nuances and meanings for which he had no ordinary words he created new words, basing his own neologisms on those which popular creativity had

39. Mayses far yidishe kinder, p. 207.  
 40. Fun'm yarid, I, p. 116.  
 41. Ibid., p. 172.  
 42. Sholom Aleichem, Oreme un freylekhe, p. 22.  
 43. Ibid., p. 29.  
 44. Ibid., p. 9.  
 45. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 97.  
 46. Menakhem Mendel, p. 184.  
 47. Ibid., p. 186.  
 48. Ibid.

formed. For example, to convey shades of meaning for which there was no adequate Slavic or Yiddish word or expression, he resorted to the use of Hebrew or Yiddish words to which he supplied Russian and Ukrainian suffixes. The word tipushevate<sup>49</sup> (a little foolish) is an interesting example. Here the Hebrew word tipesh (fool) is the root; added to it are the Russian diminutive suffix -evat and the Yiddish ending -e. Another example of such ingenious word-coining is yungermantshik<sup>50</sup> (a small-sized young man): here the Russian diminutive suffix -chik is added to the Yiddish word yungerman. Similarly trifnyak<sup>51</sup> (the forbidden one) is an amalgam of a Hebrew word tarif (forbidden) and the Russian suffix -nyak - by which an adjective is transformed to a noun. Maltsever<sup>52</sup> (the man from Maltzev) is arrived at simply by adding the Yiddish suffix -er to a Slavic name.

The Slavic names used and invented by Sholom Aleichem are of great significance; <sup>53</sup> they often characterize in a humorous way and describe certain qualities of individual persons or whole villages and their inhabitants; one

49. Sholom Aleichem, Mayses un fantazyes (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1917), p. 82.
50. Ibid., pp. 51, 130.
51. Ibid., p. 14, 35.
52. Menakhem Mendel, p. 50.
53. Russian writers, as has been previously mentioned, greatly influenced Sholom Aleichem's art. Nicknames and characteristic names had certainly been used in Yiddish literature prior to Sholom Aleichem; for example Mendele in his famous Magoes Binyomin Hashlishi uses names such as Senderl di Yidene (Senderl the Jewess); one of Peretz's stories is named "Fishke der Krumer" (Fishke the Crooked). But Sholom Aleichem, in the usage and invention of many of his names, follows the example of his Russian and Ukrainian predecessors: Nekrasov, Saltykov-Shchedrin and Gogol, in whose works we find names of towns as Rabilovka (town of robbers), Kostolomovka (town of bone breaking), and names of persons such as Korobochka (box-like) and Derzhimorda (muzzle-holder).

might choose as examples Korobke 54 (box-like), Trihubekhe 55 (tripple lip), Korzvik 56 (little cake), all of which are names of people - names invented by the author; among the extant Slavic town-names used by him are Zlodzeyevke 57 (town of robbers), and Pishi-yabede 58 (poisoned pen town).

Sholom Aleichem did not confine himself to borrowing individual words from the Slavic; occasionally he lifted whole proverbs from the Slavic folk speech: "nye myela baba khlopote kupila porosyat" 59 ("the woman had no other trouble, so she bought some suckling-pigs"), and "ne vir sobaki" 60 ("do not believe a dog") are typical examples. Such phrases had no lesser impact on his craft than his unexpectedly fresh use of citations from sacred scripture. As a writer, he was so keenly attuned to the language of his people, drawing so deeply from the popular national wellsprings, that often "we can not know whether we quote Sholom Aleichem or draw from the common source".<sup>61</sup>

It is evident from the foregoing that the use of Slavisms endowed the works of Sholom Aleichem with a robust flavour and ethnic colour which in Yiddish literature is sans pareil.

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54. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 65.

55. Gants Tevye der Milkhiger, p. 84.

56. Menakhem Mendel, p. 184.

57. Oreme un freylekhe, pp. 10, 17.

58. Ibid., pp. 9, 57, 98.

59. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 50.

60. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 95.

61. Jud. Mark, "Sholom Aleichem's Verterlekh - geshafn oder geyarshnt," Di Tsukunft (New York, May 1946), pp. 43-53.

## CHAPTER III

## SLAVICISMS AND THEIR STYLISTIC FUNCTIONS

In his use of conventional Slavicisms and of Slavic neologisms, Sholom Aleichem conveyed to his readers a vivid and lively picture of the realities of life as he personally saw it and, at the same time, enhanced the Yiddish language by enriching it with new subtleties of meaning.

The words of Sholom Aleichem have more than glossary meanings. From the study of his use of words there emerges more that is germane to an understanding of his thoughts than from any other aspect of his technique. His words are the incorporation of the speech and thought of his civilization.<sup>1</sup>

We have mentioned in the previous chapter that Sholom Aleichem drew heavily on the Slavic-influenced Yiddish of the ordinary ghetto Jew. Most of the Slavic words used by him retain their original colourful and subtle nuances, and many of them are employed intently for purposes of humor. His "yidishe troyke"<sup>2</sup> does not simply mean "a Yiddish troika," since most of the Jews of the little villages were poor and did not have enough money to buy and support three good horses. Most of them possessed a shabby horse and wagon. The "yiddishe troike" described by the author consisted of three shabby mares harnessed abreast, which carried little Sholom and his brothers to Pereyaslav. When the author uses zakonik<sup>3</sup> (lawful) it is to suggest the very opposite meaning - normally with sarcastic reference to an unscrupulous lawyer or notary. He also draws on Slavic

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1. David Rome, "Chaucer and Sholom Aleichem," Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 63.

2. Fun'm yarid, p. 64.

3. Ibid., p. 171.

sources for satirical purposes. For example, he uses Russian vocabulary in describing a rich Jew, Shimele Soroker, who out of desire for familiarity with the aristocracy, spoke a broken Russian rather than Yiddish.<sup>4</sup> He uses a similar device in the Menakhem Mendel series, describing an "intelligent" bride who spoke a mixture of Russian and Yiddish<sup>5</sup> and was most amusingly frustrated in her desire to marry an intellectual.

In many cases only the chosen Slavic word could adequately express the author's precise meaning and arouse definite feelings in the reader; for example, the use of the Ukrainian verb, gebidevet<sup>6</sup> (suffered want, lacked the necessities of life) arouses in the reader a feeling of compassion for the hard-working, poor man in question. The employment of the Ukrainian word znakhar<sup>7</sup> (quack) hints at the backwardness of the person dealt with. At other times, Slavic words are used solely for comic purposes: as, for example, in the telegram exchange between the two matchmakers in Menakhem Mendel<sup>8</sup> where the phrases "telegramiruyte skol'ko naprotiv" (telegraph: How much does the other side offer?) and "rabotayte nabavke" (work on a raise) are merely intended to raise a laugh. As an "ingenious humorist" - indeed, one of the greatest in Yiddish literature - he had a remarkable gift for epigram. His epigrams are often enriched with Slavic words and proverbs which have the effect of at once crystalizing the life and portraying the character of the speaker. An example of this is his use of the Ukrainian proverb, "na koni i pid konem"<sup>9</sup> (on the horse and beneath the

4. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 45.
5. Menakhem Mendel, p. 196.
6. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 193.
7. Fun'm yarid I, p. 60.
8. Menakhem Mendel, p. 197.
9. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 49.

horse) quoted by Menakhem Mendel as he describes to Tevye the ups and downs of his turbulent life; fate has dealt unkindly with Mendel, who claims he has seen his fortunes decline no less than ten times. The quoted proverb expresses aptly and succinctly the very essence of the character and the experience of the speaker. The same may be said of the appropriateness of the expression, "Ne bulo i Mikite hroshe i ne bude" <sup>10</sup> (Mikita has never had a penny and will never have one) which Tevye uses as he meditates on the possibility of the peasants' unleashing a pogrom against him. Yet his basic optimism relieves his unfortunate fate: "The storm will calm down; the sky will clear off; things will return to their former course and I will remain penniless as I was." <sup>11</sup> The optimistic note in the proverb used here humorously lessens the basic tragedy of Tevye's situation.

Occasionally, Sholom Aleichem uses Slavic songs in the interests of irony; we find one such example in one of his stories for children:

Nyet, nyet nitshevo  
 Nye boimsya nikovo  
 Tol'ko boga odnovo. <sup>12</sup>

(No, no nothing  
 We are not afraid of anybody  
 Only of God alone.)

This fragment of a song in Russian is recited by a group of young children who considered themselves great heroes, but were subsequently thrashed in their "battle" with a few shepherds, and came home all in shreds. It characterizes in an ironic way the children's mood, their high spirits and their arrogance.

10. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 225.

11. Ibid.

12. Sholom Aleichem, Mayses far yidishe kinder, pp. 112, 113.



To distinguish between these various functions of Slavic words and phrases we have decided to examine them in the following categories: 13

- I. Descriptive
  - a) qualitative (A)
  - b) quantitative (B)
  - c) social (C)
- II. Humorous
  - a) Ironic (D)
  - b) Satirical (E)
- III. Onomatopoeia (F)
- IV. Localisms
  - a) Description of Nature (G)
  - b) Social (H)
  - c) Irreplaceable (I)

Since a scrutiny of every Slavic word and phrase used by Sholom Aleichem would be a formidable and lengthy undertaking, the Slavicisms will be chosen and analyzed according to the following criteria:

- (i) frequency of occurrence - the Slavicisms analyzed here occur at least twice in Sholom Aleichem's works;
- (ii) common usage - those that frequently recur in everyday conversation;
- (iii) Slavicisms especially relevant to economic conditions and social environment.

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13. The letter appearing in parentheses will be used in the Appendix to designate the function of the Slavicism.

Since many of the Slavic words analyzed are polyfunctional, each of these is placed in the category that best suits its prevailing literary function.

The words in each category are analyzed according to the following criteria:

- (a) the Slavicism is given in its original transliterated form and translated into English;
- (b) the main source from which the Slavic word is taken is given in abbreviated form, as outlined in Table III;
- (c) the regular nominative case of the nouns is given if the Slavicism is found to be in any other case; if the word is a verb, the infinitive is given;
- (d) original Slavic words corresponding to the Slavicism are given in Ukrainian, Russian and Polish;
- (e) sentences in Yiddish are transliterated according to the transliteration system given in Table I.

#### CATEGORY 1: DESCRIPTIVE

##### A. Descriptive Slavicisms: Qualitative

The category of descriptive Slavicisms consists of three subdivisions: qualitative, quantitative and social.

The qualitative subdivision contains Slavicisms of Ukrainian and Russian origin: nouns such as astrog (jail), adjectives such as oysgemutsheter (exhausted), adverbs such as kalamutne (turbulently), and verbs such as opgevoeyvet (obtained by force), which denote a special quality of character or state of mind.

astrog (jail) (FY I, p. 107): ts.

cf. Ru. ostrog (jail)

. . . Un er hot zikh geshvoren, az zayn nomen vet nit heysn Nisel, oyb er vet ot dem sheygets, dem hultay, dem grobn yang . . . nit araynpakn in astrog arayn, vintsigstens, oyf finf un tsvantsik yohr.

(He swore that his name wasn't Nisel, if he did not put that rascal, that boor, that low-life into jail for at least twenty-five years.)

The Yiddish counterpart 'tfise' could have been used, instead of astrog, but perhaps with less effect; Tfise, a word of Hebrew origin, is always used with the express suggestion that the person is being incarcerated unjustly. Thus tfise would be the ideal word to use with reference to the case of Joseph who though innocent was flung into jail. In one of the old Hasidic tales we find the word used rather lightheartedly:

Ver es vet makhn a shlekht ponim zol men dem mentshn khapn un men zol un ayn zetsun un der tfise. 14

(Anybody making a horrid face should be grabbed and thrown into jail.)

Cases of extreme violence occurred very rarely among the Jews and since astrogs were reserved for criminals convicted of grave violence or of other heinous crimes, there is no Yiddish synonym for this word.

baran (a castrated male sheep) (FY I, p. 8): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. Po. baran (sheep, wether)

. . . Nor Nisel hot im gepakt, gebundn vi a baran - un<sup>az</sup> s'iz gevorn tog, hot men zey beyden, Feygel di moyd un Khvedor dem shrayber, opgefirt in volost arayn.

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14. Rozenfeld, and others, Sipurey ma'asiyot, p. 24.

(. . . but Nisel caught him, trussed him like a sheep, and at daybreak both he, Fedor the Writer, and Feigel the Maid, were taken to the district. . .)

The Slavic word baran is used here because the author wishes to emphasize that the captives in question are guilty; baran connotes the impotence of a shackled sheep, and for the Jewish reader is devoid of the connotations of gentleness and innocence evoked by the Yiddish word sheps:

"Ikh fil az nebikh Yakovn by Levanen iz biter, un hit mit im di shepsn." 15

(I feel that Jacob's life at Levan's place is a sad one, and I look after the sheep with him.)

bosyak (ragged fellow, guttersnipe) (FY I, p. 116): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. bosyak; Po. bosiak (ragged fellow, vagabond)

. . . a yungl a yosem un borviser, mit mamzerishe oygn, mit a tseshpaltener lip - a rekhter bosyak.

(. . . a boy, an orphan, with bare feet, sly eyes and split lip; a real guttersnipe.)

Bosyak, a word of Ukrainian origin, describes a young fellow who belongs to the lowest class of society. It is pejorative in character and is also very often used by the common Ukrainian peasant. The noun is relevant to the outward appearance and class of the person described.

The Yiddish word oysvurf (no-good) would not be appropriate, as it describes a worthless character of any age: "Me hot ir gedarft araynrukn aza oysvurf vi mayn Khaim Traytl." 16 (She should have got such a worthless character such as my Hayim Traitl.)

15. Shimon Prug, Ale shriftn, (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1910.), II, p. 165.
16. M. Sembatyon, "A zekste veltteyi," in Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, edited by Juda Jofe un Juda Mark. (New York: Komitet farn groysn verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, 1966) I, p. 226.

kalemutne (turbid) (GTDH, p. 206): ts.

cf. Uk. kalamutnyi; Ru. mutnyi; Po. metny (turbid)

Do iz mir shoyrn gevorn get kalemutne oyfn  
hartsn" . . .

(At this point I became really confused. . .)

The word kalemutne is vividly descriptive here, indicating Tevye's state of mind when a group of hitherto friendly peasants came to unleash a pogrom against him. Normally the word kalemutne refers to weather conditions. The expression "sevodnya pogoda kalamutnaya" (the weather is murky, today) suggests overcast and murky skies, dirty, mud-covered streets, and falling sleet. Likewise, when one says "voda kalamutnaya," it is to describe water that is muddy, turbid, unclear. In the quoted sentence the author uses this word for the description of Tevye's state of mind, suggesting the unpleasant psychological climate in which Tevye, full of fear and uncertainty, finds himself on hearing the unexpected news.

The word kalemutne derives from the Ukrainian peasant's lexicology: the peasants, being outdoor people, frequently employ words that primarily refer to natural phenomena, in order to describe psychological conditions.

The Jews of that time, on the contrary, were indoor people, spending most of their time in study, and had little time to enjoy the out-of-doors; hence it is not surprising that they borrowed such descriptive Slavic expressions as the one in question. In Yiddish several words would be required to describe what this one Ukrainian word expresses so succinctly.

lapes (paws) (FY I, p. 145): lape

cf. Uk. Ru. lapa; Po. lapa (paw)

Shoyn zol hobn khevre derkent dos gantse voronkover  
mebl: dem kaylekhigen royten tish oyf dray lapes ? . . .

(Was it possible that the company had already recognized  
the furniture of Voronko, the round red table on three  
legs? . . .)

The author here uses the Slavicism lapes, since the Yiddish counterpart, shverefis (heavy feet), would not adequately describe the large, ungainly legs of that old-fashioned, massive table. Lapes (paws), normally used with reference to the paws of a bear, has that desired element of the grotesque which the author could not convey with the conventional Yiddish expression.

oysgemutsheter (exhausted) (GFDH, p. 151): ts.

cf. Uk. zmuchyty; Ru. izmuchit'; Po. zmęczyć (to exhaust)

Eynmol farnakht kum ikh tsu fohren aheym a  
tsebrokhener fun'm tog un eyn oysgemutsheter  
fun'm arumloym ibei di datshes in Boyberik . . .

(One evening I returned home worn out from  
the whole day and racked with fatigue from  
running around the cottages of Boiberik . . .)

The Slavic word of Ukrainian origin used here, oysgemutsheter, stresses the extent of tiredness, weariness of the person described, and evokes compassion for the subject. The Yiddish counterpart, oysgematerter (worn out), would not be suitable here because it connotes the enduring of torture for some ideal. The Yiddish concordance - Groyser verterbukh fun der Yiddisher shprakh - gives an example of the use of this adjective with reference to the flag of Israel - and it is obvious that the word is being used symbolically:

Un di fon di vays-bloye, shoy'n fun shturems  
oysgematert . . . 17

(And the white and blue flag is already worn out  
by storms . . .)

In "Du host in der vayt", a poem by Mani Leib, we find the word  
used more conventionally:

'Ikh bin gegangen tsum shayn, oysgematert in vundn. 18

(I walked towards the light, tortured and wounded.)

The verb zmuchyty would also have been used by the Ukrainian peasant to  
describe the effects on him of oppression by his landlord.

oysgetripet (worn out) (GTDH, p. 47): oystripen.

cf. Uk. tripati (to fray); Ru. trepat' (to wear out); Po. trzepac' (to wear out)

Got vet helfn, makh ikh un khap a kuk oyf zayne  
malbushim nebach: oysgetripet in a sakh erter, un  
di shtivl mkhile tsetrent sakones nefoshes.

(God will help, I said, and looked at the poor  
fellow's garment: it was worn out in many places  
and the boots were so ripped, if you pardon the  
expression, as to endanger his life.)

Oysgetripet, the Ukrainian word used here, not only means "worn out", but  
suggests that the garment was torn in places and generally badly frayed.  
The word, in the present context, has symbolic significance too, for the  
apparel of the man suggests the pitiable condition of his life. This is  
a description of Menakhem Mendel at the nadir of his fortunes - he is left  
with nothing at all. The few descriptive words give us a vivid picture of

17. Avraham Reyzin, "In hol of independens," Groyser verterbukh fun der  
yidisher shprakh, p. 185.

18. Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, p. 185.

his condition. A Yiddish counterpart for oysgetripet is the word tserisn (torn); it is too confined in meaning to have the same effect as the Slavic term because it does not suggest the state of shabby decrepitude conveyed by the author's chosen term; for example:

. . . zayn kapote tserisn, di shikh oysgedreyt<sup>19</sup>  
 (. . . his robe torn, the shoes bent).

opgeblyakevet (faded) (FY, Vol. I, p. 181): opblyakeven

cf. Uk. poblyaknuty; Ru. pobleknut'; Po. zblaknąć (to fade)

Farshteht zikh, az der rebe Moyshe-Dovid Ruderman in der shabesdiger geventener kapote, mit'n opgeblyakevet plusen hitel, vi a latke oyf'n kop iz ohk'geven b'tokh haboim.

(It is understandable that rabbi Moshe David Ruderman in his quilted Sabbath mantle and his faded plush cap, which looked like a pancake on his head, was also among the guests.)

The choice of the Slavic term here might best be explained by the fact that the obvious Yiddish alternatives, opgebrokehene (grown bare) and farvelkte (withered) do not adequately convey the exact condition of the article described. Each of the Yiddish words listed is too precise in meaning: to take one example: "Tkh bin a farvelkter blat, du bist an oyfblihende blum"<sup>20</sup> (I am a withered leaf, you are a blossoming flower.)

19. Sholem Miler, Fun'm yidishn Kval, (Winnipeg: Dos yidishe vort, 1937) p. 134.  
 20. Sh. Prug, Ale shriftn, (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1910) I, p. vii.



opgevoyevet (obtained by force) (FY, I, p. 181): opvoveven.

cf. Uk. odvoyuvaty; Ru. otvovevat'; Po. odwojowac' (to obtain by force)

. . . un oysgeglet ihm dos letste resht fun di peyelekh,  
vos zi hot koyrn - opgevoyevet - bay ihr zun.

(. . . She straightened out the last strands of the side-locks, which after a struggle she had prevailed on her son to wear.)

The traditional mother is here trying to prevent her son from becoming "modern". Opgevoyevet - based on the Russian word, otvovevat' - emphasizes the element of physical force and determined effort on the part of the mother who is bent on her son's continuing to wear side-locks. It is a verb that has immediate connotations of forceful struggle; this is not true of its Yiddish counterpart, oysgekemft (got by struggle), which has a much milder meaning.

Since violence rarely played a part in Jewish life, the Yiddish language is notably deficient in vocabulary related to or descriptive of violence.

Oysgekemft suggests the psychological rather than physical aspects of struggle; at least it does not necessarily imply violence:

"Der ideal iz yemolt vert, ven er iz . . . an oysgekemfter,  
ober nit a fartik-gegebener." 21

(The ideal, then, is of great value when it is won by struggle, rather than when it is readily granted.)

Hence we can appreciate the appropriateness of Sholom Aleichem's choice of the Slavicism in question. He leaves no doubt as to the mother's mood, for the Slavic verb voevat' (to wage war, to be at war) was used in many verb-forms - and always with a very strong meaning.

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21. Judl Mark, "Eynhaytlekhe folksshul," Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, p. 198.

spravke (information, inquiry) (FY I, p. 159): ts.

cf. Uk. sprava (matter, file); Ru. spravka (information, inquiry)

Nokhem hot im tsugezogt, az vet makhen a "spravke",  
lozen nur di kinder kumen aheym."

(Nahum promised that he would make inquiries the very  
moment the children came home.)

For the underlined word Sholom Aleichem uses spravke, a Russian word, in preference to its Yiddish counterpart, oysforshung (investigation), because the latter was normally used with reference to crime rather than less serious misdemeanours, and consequently would have connotations of legal procedure rather than of family discipline. The connotations of oysforshung are obvious in the following statement: "Itst hot er shoyn nit gehat tsu ton mit an oysforshung, nor mit myatezhnikes." 22 (Now he didn't have to trouble himself with an investigation but [had to deal with] the rebels themselves.)

The origin of spravke is the Russian word spravka, which is used in those state institutions where information is made available to citizens.

tesen (to cut, hew, square) (FY I, p. 175): ts

cf. Uk. tesaty; Ru. tesat'; Po. ciosac' (to cut)

Sayden amol, az a yungl hot shoyn shtark dekutshet  
oder nit gevolt davnen, oder er hot gehat aza farshtoptn  
hop, khotsh "fleker tesen", demolt iz shoyn der rebe  
Ruderman aroys fun di keylim.

(Whenever a boy greatly irritated him, or did not want  
to pray, or proved to be a dull-witted dunce, then rabbi  
Ruderman lost his temper.)

Here the expression "fleker tesen" is taken from a commonplace Russian saying about a stupid person: "khot' kol na golove teshi" - which suggests that his head is so block-like that one could knock chips off it. Yiddish has no counterpart for this word.

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22. Yekhazkiel Kotik, "Mayne zikhroynes," Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, p. 318.

B. Descriptive Slavisms: Quantitative

The quantitative subdivision consists mostly of local official Russian and Ukrainian words, but all of them have a quantitative essence. Therefore most of them are poliyfunctional.

volostnoy (district-adjective) (FY I, p. 81): ts.

cf. Ru. volost' (small rural district)

. . . un Nisel (geven a id a giber) hot zikh geranglt mit Khvedor dem volostnoy shrayber fun dorf, vos hot ihm tsebisen un tseblutigt di hent . . .

(. . . and Nisel - brave Jew that he was - fought with Fedor, the district perman, who bit and injured him . . .)

Volostnoy is an adjective formed from the Russian noun volost', meaning a small rural district. This Slavicism has no Yiddish counterparts, as it refers to a provincial subdivision in much the same way as the English words "county" or "shire", and was directly adopted by Yiddish-speaking settlers in Russia.

gromade (commune, community) (FY I, p. 91): ts

cf. Uk. hromada; Ru. Po. gromada (commune, community)

. . . arayn mit a glock, un hot geshikt rufen tsu zikh dem starshine mit der gantser "hromade", un hot zikh tsheshrien oyfzey . . .

(. . . he went in with a bell, sent for the elder and his whole clique, and started to shout at them. . .)

The Ukrainian word hromade is a collective noun used to describe a rather small group of people of common interests. It might be translated into English rather loosely as "gang" or "clique". Since the select group in question happens to be the "cronies" of a village elder, the choice of a convenient and well-known Slavic term rather than a less apt Yiddish word is understandable.

gehulyet (had a good time) (FY I, p. 160): hulyen.

cf. Uk. hulyaty; Ru. gulyat'; Po. hulać (to have a good time)

Un khevre hoben genumen oysnutsen zeyer frayhayt oyfn same breytstn oyfn, zikh bakant mit vu ergits a yungel, nisht ibergekloyben, mit yeden geshlosen khevreshaft, gehulyet vi di rekruten, eyder me git zey op in der dinst.

(And the fellows made use of their freedom in the fullest sense of the word, got acquainted with any fellow without being choosy, became friends with everybody, had a very good time like recruits before being drafted.)

The Slavicism of Ukrainian origin used here conveys the sense of "to have a good time" in all its possible interpretations. There is a sense of intensification about this word - a sense of "unconfined joy".

There exists a saying in Yiddish, "hulye kabtsn" which means "be merry poor fellow since you have nothing to lose anyway."

The Yiddish expression zikh farbrakht would merely mean "had a good time" in a limited manner. Therefore gehulyet is quantitative in essence.

gubernye (province) (MM, p. 137): ts.

cf. Uk. huberniya; Ru. guberniya; Po. gubernia (province)

Mir hobn koyln in poltaver gubernye . . .

(We have coal in the province of Poltava . . .)

The Slavicism gubernye is taken from a local Russian word guberniya, meaning province. Since with regard to political and juridical districts Eastern European Jews normally adopted the official terminology of the regions in which they settled, there is no Yiddish synonym for this word.

zemske (provincial) (FY I, p. 23): ts.

cf. Uk. zem'skyj; Ru. zemskij (provincial)

. . . er iz geven a posesor, tsugeshtelt burakes in zavod, gehaltn di zemske potsht, gehandelt mit twueh . . .

(. . . he was a land owner, who delivered beets to the factory, owned the provincial post-office, dealt in grain . . .)

Zemske is derived from the Russian word zemskaya, meaning "provincial". It is a local word and is, also, quantitative, as it describes a prescribed region in the country.

The Yiddish word provintsye is not used here, since zemske is the official word describing a part of the state.

kruzhnoy (district - adj) (MM, p. 209); ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. okrug (district)

. . . iz faran a "kruzhnoy" agent inspektor, vos makht agentn-inspektiores . . .

(. . . there is a district-inspector, who appoints assistant-inspectors.)

Kruzhnoy is an adjective based on the word okrug, which is common to Ukrainian and Russian and can be translated into English by the adjective "region" and "district".

uezd (district) (MM, p. 137): ts.

cf. Ru. uezd (district)

. . . mir hobn ayzn in kanyever uезд . . .

(. . . we have iron in the district of Kanev . . .)

The Slavicism uvezd is taken from a local Russian word for district. It is an irreplaceable official term corresponding to the English word "riding" or perhaps "constituency"; there is no Yiddish synonym.

utshastkes (sections, wards) (FY I, p. 202): utshastek.

cf. Uk. Ru. uchastok (section)

Di shtodt gufe iz ayngeteylt gevorn in utshastkes.

(The town itself was divided into sections.)

Utshastkes, which might best be translated by the French word quartier or the British term "ward" is based on the Russian word uchastok. The word has a quantitative essence, describing an officially designated small portion of a town.

khalyastre (rabble, mob) (OUF, p. 68): ts.

cf. Uk. khalastra (rabble, mob)

Un a gantse khalyastre iden mit ferkatshete poles un vayber mit untergeshtekte kleydlekh, mekhile hobn zikh gelozt loyfn eyner ibern andern.

(And a whole crowd of Jews, men holding up the fronts of their coats and women with the skirts of their dresses tucked up, began to run one after the other.)

The Slavicism khalyastre is taken from a collective Ukrainian noun khalastra describing a crowd of simple folk running in disorder. Extreme emotion is not implied here. The Yiddish words kampanye (company) and grupe (group) do not have this connotation and, for that reason, are not appropriate here; e.g.

Zey zaynen geven a gantse kampayne yunge layt, vos zaynen gezesn oyf hest un hobn shtudirt. <sup>23</sup>

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23. Sholom Aleichem, Yugend romanen, p. 17.

(They were a whole company of young men who boarded and pursued their studies there.)

tsherede (herd, flock) (OUF, p. 61): ts.

cf. Uk. chereda; Po. trzoda (herd, flock)

. . . ven iden zaynen oyfgeshtanen geyn davnen, vayber  
in mark arayn un meydlekh tsu der tsherede hot men  
gefunen Shimon-Eyli dem shnayder zitsen oyf der erd  
un di tsig lebn ihm.

(When the men got up to pray, the women went to market -  
and the girls to attend to the flock. Shim'on Eli was  
found sitting on the ground with the goat beside him.)

Here the author uses a derivative of the Ukrainian collective  
noun chereda. Since the Jews were not farmers traditionally, they normally  
adopted the agricultural, bucolic, and pastoral terminology of the regions  
in which they settled.

### C. DESCRIPTIVE SLAVICISMS: SOCIAL

The social subdivision consists of different Slavic words of  
Ukrainian and Russian origin, most of them nouns. These are replaceable  
words denoting, and differentiating between, people of different class  
standings. Some of these words are meliorative, others pejorative.

barishne (young lady) (MM, p. 196): ts.

cf. Ru. baryshnya (young lady)

Fun destvegn vet ir nit gefinen bay undz eyn barishne,  
vos zol nit zayn znakome mit Emil Zolya, mit Pushkinen  
un afilu dazhe mit Gorkin.

(You will not find at our place a single young lady who is  
not acquainted with Emile Zola, Pushkin and even with Gorki.)

The Russian word barishnva suggests a young lady of the upper classes. The author puts the Yiddish derivative, barishne, in the mouth of a young lady who introduces herself to the matchmaker Menakhem Mendel, and speaks a mixture of Yiddish and Russian in order to impress upon him that she is of a high-class family and of superior intelligence. Here the author is satisfying those "upper-crust" Jews who, in their eagerness to assimilate, preferred to converse in a mixture of Yiddish and Russian rather than in simple Yiddish.

The word barishne is meliorative in essence and has connotations of a higher social rank; no Yiddish word conveys the same meaning.

vetshere (supper) (MM, p. 203): ts.

cf. Uk. vecherya (supper); Ru. vecher; Po. wieczor (evening)

Un mikh hot er ibergelozt eynem aleyn zikh tserekhenen  
mit der bale-boste far der vetshere vos ikh hob  
beshtelt far akht parshoyn.

(And he left me alone to settle accounts with the land-  
lady for the supper which I had ordered for eight persons.)

The author uses vetshere, a word of Ukrainian origin, for "supper".

This indicates that the speaker is of humble origin, because while Jews of the upper classes used the Yiddish word avntbroyt for "supper", low-class Jews used the Ukrainian peasant's term, vetshere. Indeed, the speaker here is a man in humble circumstances - he is a poor matchmaker. If the author were referring to a wealthier or more cultured man, he would not have used the Slavicism in question:

Der tate . . . vasht zikh un est zayn avntbroyt. <sup>24</sup>

(The father . . . washes himself and eats his supper.)

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24. J. L. Perets, "Dray mol gerufn". Groyser verterbukh fun der yidisher shprakh, p. 67.



hultay (knave, rogue) (FY I, p. 107): ts.

cf. Uk. hul'tyaj (knave, rogue); Ru. gulyaka (reveller, idler);

Po. hultaj (rogue).

. . . un er hot zikh geshvorn, az zayn nomen vet nit  
heysen Nisel, oyb er vet of dem sheygets, dem hultay,  
. . . nit araynpaken in astrog arayn, vintsigstens,  
oyf fünf un tsvantsik yohr.

(. . . he swore that his name was not Nisel if he  
wouldn't put that rascal, that reveller into jail  
for at least twenty-five years.)

The Slavicism hultay is a pejorative one. It normally refers to a low-class idler who is a drunkard, and who is generally independable. It is a commonplace of Ukrainian peasant vocabulary and describes a lout. The Yiddish counterparts leydikgeyer (idler), grober yong (rough fellow) would not give a complete description of such a person. In Der Yidisher muzhik, a novel by M. Spektor, there is an example of the use of grober yung (rough fellow) to describe a man who is unambitious rather than roguish:

Farkoyft di shtub, di shnitkrom, alts, un fort in  
dorf arayn . . . dos past far a grobn yungatsh. <sup>25</sup>

(Having sold his house, his store, and everything,  
he goes off to the country; this can only be expected  
from a rough (that is, irresponsible) fellow.)

gebidevet (suffered want, lacked the necessities of life) (GTDH, p. 193):

bideven.

cf. Uk. biduvaty; Ru. bedstvovat'; Po. biedować (to live in poverty)

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25. Shmuel Rozhanski (ed.), M. Spektor: Der yidisher muzhik (Buenos Aires: Literatur-gezelshaft baym Yivo in Argentine, 1963), p. 18.

. . . opgehorevet mit dem azoy fil johren, ineynem gebidevet, ineynem farshvartst gevorn . . .

(. . . (I) toiled with it (i.e. my horse) throughout so many years; (we) suffered want together, went through dark days together. . .)

Gebidevet, a Slavicism of Ukrainian origin, is used here with reference to Tevye, the milkman, who as a result of a series of hardships, was forced to sell his horse. The Yiddish counterpart, gelitn (suffered) would have the connotation of moral or physical suffering and would have been used, for instance, to describe the effects of racial prejudice suffered by Jews in their oppressive Eastern European environment at the time. Gebidevet, on the other hand, suggests social and economic rather than racial oppression; it also describes the circumstances of the Ukrainian peasant who, as a result of his landlord's oppression, lacks the amenities of life, just as here it describes the condition of the penniless Jew, Tevye. That gelitn has connotations of physical illness is clear from the following example:

Zayn gezunt-far di akht yor vos er hot gelitn - hot zikh ongehoybn tsu farbesern.<sup>26</sup>

(His health - after eight years of suffering - began to improve.)

gebushevet (raged) (FY I, p. 202): busheven.

cf. Uk. bushuvaty; Ru. bushevat', Po. buszowac' (to rage)

Der untergang hot ober nit azoy gikh gevolt avek, un di kholere hot gebushevet oyf vos di velt shteht.

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26. Sholom Aleichem, Yugend romanen, p. 18.

(The catastrophe did not show signs of abatement and the cholera epidemic raged unremittingly.)

Here the catastrophe in question is an outbreak of cholera in a small village; its ravages caused the death of many, sometimes wiping out whole families, and affecting the poor mainly. The author chooses to use the Slavic verb of Russian origin, gebushevet (raged), because of its connotations of the ruthlessness of a hateful enemy bent on destruction.

The Yiddish counterpart geshturemt (stormed or raged) is used mainly to describe climatic disturbances and also to convey the idea of the pent-up fury of an individual, as we can see in the following example:

Nor der laykhter tsiter in ire shpits finger hot  
farratn dem shturm vos hot gebroyzt in ir. <sup>27</sup>

(Only the light trembling of the tips of her fingers  
betrayed the storm which raged within her.)

delo (case, trial) (FY I, p. 92): ts.

cf. Ru. delo (trial)

Un s'iz gevoren a "dyelo", un me hot ihm mekhile  
ayngezetst un gemishpet.

(A trial was set up and he was sentenced and put  
in jail.)

The author here uses the official Russian word delo, thus showing that the authorities were determined to bring the wrong-doer to justice. The man in question was Nisel Rabinovitz, who had transgressed the law by tearing up

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27. "Viazoy a yidish yingl hot gefunen zayn mamem", Der tog-morgen zhurnal (New York, June 7, 1968).

an official paper ordering the expulsion of a helpless Jew from his home town.

Since the Yiddish counterpart, protses (process, trial), as popularly used at the time, had connotations of innocence, it would not have been really à propos; the word protses would properly apply to the trial of Dreyfus, for example, or more recently, of Beiles, a Ukrainian Jew, falsely accused of ritual murder.

zakones (laws) (FY, p. 88): zakon.

cf. Uk. Ru. zakon (law)

Shtendik hot er zikh mit emitsen, oder far emitsen geloden, un ihm hot zikh oysgemohlt, az er veyst ale zakones.

(He constantly argued with somebody or for somebody, and it seemed to him that he knew all the laws.)

Whenever the author describes things associated with official authorities, for example regulations or laws issued by the public authorities, or positions in government or civil service, he uses the official word in the appropriate Slavic language. On the other hand, when referring to laws and positions of importance in Jewish life, he uses Yiddish terms.

Zakones, the word employed in the quoted statement, refers to the laws of the country, not to Jewish laws - for which the word is gezets:

Di yidishe poezye in undzer mame loshn hot zikh ir gants bezundere velt; ihr eygenem himl, ihr erd; ihre gezetsen fun sheynkayt. <sup>28</sup>

(Poetry in Yiddish, our maternal tongue, has its own specific world: its own sky; its own earth; its own laws of beauty.)

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28. Prug, Ale Shriftn I, p. V.

kazna (public funds, treasury) (FYI, p. 151): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. kazna (public funds)

Zeyer foter, Yitshkhok-Yenkel, iz ayn ~~ofgekumener~~  
nogid, lodt zikh kol yomav mit "kazna", trogt ayn  
oyheringel in linken oyher . . .

(Their father, Yitzchak-Yankel, is a Jew who became  
rich, dealt the whole time with public funds, [and  
who now] wears an earring in his left ear. . .)

There is an insinuation, in this sentence, that the man's wealth is the  
result of embezzlement of public funds.

Kazna is an official Russian word, and since the Jews had no  
governmental institutions of their own, the absence of a precise Yiddish  
counterpart is understandable. The Yiddish word fond (fund) refers to  
money collected by the community for humanitarian purposes - to aid dis-  
abled persons, orphans and such:

Der tsil iz tsunoyftsubrengen di forshteyer fun ale  
vilner farbandn . . . mitn tsvek tsu shafn a vilner  
fond. <sup>29</sup>

(The aim is to gather representatives of all the organi-  
zations in Vilnius . . . with the purpose of creating a  
Vilnius fund.)

This expression comes from a newspaper article; the fund in question is  
meant to help finance charitable and especially cultural organizations.

laskave (benevolent) (GTDH, p. 175): ts.

cf. Uk. laskavyi; Ru. laskovyi; Po. laskawy (benevolent)

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29. Der tog, (New York: June 2, 1968), p. 10.

Mir hobn a groysn got, zog ikh, un Tevye iz nit fun di . . . vos vet zikh avekzetsn, zog ikh laskave broyt.

(We have an all-powerful God, and Tevye is not one of those loafers who will fold his hands and live on the bread of charity.)

The Slavicism laskave is used here by Tevye in a manner that suggests his faith and his proud self-reliance. Though he is impoverished, he is determined never to depend on the charity of the benevolent. The word laskave comes from the everyday vocabulary of the Ukrainian peasant, whose dependence on his landlord led to his continual expectation of "favours". The Yiddish counterpart nedove (charity), a word of Hebrew origin, would not be suitable here, as it does not refer to men in Tevye's unfortunate circumstances but, rather, to beggars:

An oreman iz gekumen tsu Rotshildn zibn azeyger inderfri betn a nedove.<sup>30</sup>

(A poor man came to Rothschild at seven o'clock in the morning to ask for charity.)

obizhayen (to offend, treat badly) (GTDH, p. 211): ts .

cf. Uk. obydzhaty; Ru. obizhat' (to offend, insult)

Tsi bin ikh nit geven, zog ikh, adoni porets, bay dir aleyn, zog ikh, vifl mol beten dikh far di goyim zolst zey azoy nit obizhayen.

(Did I not plead with you frequently, sir, on behalf of the peasants, and beg you not to treat them badly.)

The word obizhaen is normally used with reference to the ill-treatment of the poor and lowly by those who are rich and powerful. This is the

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30. Miler, Fun'm yidishn kval, p. 290.

explanation of its use in the present context - the unjust treatment of peasants by the district police, at the instigation of an unscrupulous landlord. The Yiddish counterpart, baleydikn (to offend), would not be adequate here as it refers explicitly to verbal abuse - for example;

Zey firn oys getray dem dozikn bafel un shporn  
bikhlal nisht ayn keyn baleydikungen oyfn adres  
fun di kemfer. 31

(They executed his command literally, sparing no insults in their address to the partisans.)

ovnutrenikh (internal) (FY I, p. 92): ovnutreni

cf. Uk. vnutrishnij; Ru. vnutrennij; Po. wewngtrzny (interior, internal)

Nor di geshikhte mit'n tserisenem prigovor un di  
mayses mit'n gubernator un mit'n "minister ovnutrenikh  
i vnyeshnikh dyel" zenen aroyf, vi boymel oyf'n vaser. . .

(But the story about the tearing of the expulsion warrant and the tales involving this supposed friendship with the governor and the minister of internal and external affairs emerged like oil on the water.)

The Slavic ovnutrenikh is taken from the Russian word vnutrennij (internal).

Since there is reference here to a governmental institution, the Ministry for Internal and External Affairs, the official Slavic word is used rather than the corresponding Yiddish word, inerlekhe (internal), which had no connotations of public office. The very use of ovnutrenikh immediately suggests position in governmental circles.

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31. Ilustrirte velt-vokh (Tel-Aviv, March 20, 1968), p. 10.

paskudne (nasty) (MM, p. 68): ts.

cf. Uk. paskudnyi; Po. paskudny (nasty)

. . . v'hashey'nis, zayvisn, az ikh bin a gantse vokh  
gelegn in Boyberik, dos heyst, kholile nisht mesukn,  
nor a paskudne shlafkayt. . .

(. . . secondly, you should know that I was lying in  
bed a whole week in Boiberik, not with a serious—  
God forbid!—but a nasty sickness.)

The Ukrainian word paskudne is a pejorative word used by low class Jews  
and Ukrainian peasants to describe what is unusually deplorable. When  
used as a noun, paskudnyak means "a despicable fellow". As an adjective  
it suggests "more than unpleasant", hence "nasty". The Yiddish counterpart,  
shlekhte (bad), does not have the same connotations:

An elterer yid velkher hot dem gantsn lebn lib gehat  
dem bitern tropn, hot gelitn fun shlekhte oygn.<sup>32</sup>

(An elderly Jew, who during his whole life liked the bitter  
drop, suffered from bad sight.)

sluzhishtshes (office clerks) (FY, Vol. p. 97): sluzhishtsher

cf. Uk. sluzhanets; Ru. sluzhashchij; Po. służący (clerk)

Ihr zo!t a kuk ton bay Efras'n a kantor mit  
sluzhishtshes, tshort vas poberi.

(You should see the office of Efrase with its  
office clerks, deuce take you.)

The Slavicism sluzhishtshes is used here because the author refers to  
clerks working in a public institution as opposed to clerks employed in  
a private business firm. The Yiddish words ongeshtelter or beamter would  
have been used in the latter case. Sluzhishtshes, furthermore, has

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32. Miler, Fun'm yidishn kval, p. 287.



connotations of social and even racial distinction, because Jews were scarcely ever employed in governmental offices at that time. On the other hand, beamter simply means a clerk employed in a privately owned business (there is no sense of racial distinction here); example: "In Kherson hot zikh Prug bakent mit a kleynem beamtn." <sup>33</sup> (In Kherson, Prug got acquainted with a minor clerk.)

Ongeshtelter has the same significance as beamter:

Er molt far unz dem halbn un gantsn yidishn inteligent . . .  
dem handls ongeshteltn un dem arbeter. <sup>34</sup>

(He describes to us the half and complete Yiddish intellectual, the business clerk, and the worker.)

tshinovnik (high official) (FY I, p. 88): ts.

cf. Uk. chynovnyk; Ru. chinovnik (official, civil servant)

Bikhlal iz Nisel Rabinovitsh geven mit natshalstve oysgebunden, un hot gefirt dos shtedtl b'yad ramah, glaykh vi er volt aleyk geven a natshalnik, a tshinovnik.

(Nisel Rabinovtitz was very well acquainted with headquarters and had powerful influence in the little town, as if he himself were a leader or a [government] official.)

The author here uses the Russian word tshinovnik a word which usually denotes a high-ranking Czarist official who was responsible for many kinds of administrative formalities.

The Yiddish counterparts ongeshtelter (office clerk), beamter (clerk) signify clerks serving in private establishments. Jews were not allowed to hold important official positions at the time. <sup>35</sup>

33. Prug, Ale shriftn I, p. v.

34. Polik Zalf, Unzer kultur hemshekh, (Winnipeg: Universal Printers, 1956), p. 45.

35. See the word sluzheshes, which would have the same counterparts.

shtshogel (dandy, fop) (FY I, p. 87): ts.

cf. Uk. shchygol'; Ru. shchegol'; Po. szczygiel (dandy, fop)

. . . Nisel Vevik's, oder vi er hot zikh shoyn di  
letste tsayt gerufen bay zayn familjenomen, Nisel  
Rabinovitsh, geven shoyn gor a veltlikher, getrogn zikh vi  
a shtshogel . . .

(. . . Nisel son of Vevik, or Nisel Rabinovitz - for  
lately he had got into the habit of using his second  
name - was a worldly man, who dressed like a dandy.)

The Slavicism shtshogel (dandy) is used here to describe a worldly fellow  
who insists on being different from other people and who dresses and be-  
haves in such a way as to draw attention to himself. It is mildly  
derogatory.

The Yiddish counterpart, frant (fashionable gentleman), des-  
cribes a man distinguished by apparel only, and for this reason would not  
fully convey the author's meaning. Neither would the Yiddish word aristokrat  
(aristocrat) which refers to someone of noble birth, and therefore would be  
unsuitable when not used in this strict sense - for example:

"Er der aristokrat, der eyropeisher inteligent - hot genumen  
oyskern dos farmoyshevte yidishe shtub in'm shtetl es zol  
shener un reyner vern." <sup>36</sup>

(He, the aristocrat, the European intellectual, began to  
sweep the old crowded Jewish home on the little village,  
as he wanted it to be nicer and cleaner.)

Here the word aristokrat refers to one of the prominent writers in  
Yiddish literature, J. L. Peretz.

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36. Zalf, Unzer kultur hemshekh, p. 41.

shkrab (ragged boy, worn out shoe) (GTDH, p. 32): ts.

cf. Uk. shkrob; Po. skrob (a worn out shoe)

Shkrab vet shoyn shkrabediker nit veren . . .

(A worn-out shoe cannot become more worn out. . .)

The word of Ukrainian origin shkrab, whether we translate it as "ragged boy" or "worn out shoe" serves as a symbol of the destitution of the lower classes. The author coins the quoted phrase to show the condition of Tevye, who because of his extreme poverty, felt that any money which a rich cottage-owner might offer him would do nothing to alleviate his poverty.

There is no Yiddish counterpart for shkrab; a number of words would be necessary, and the effect of neat conciseness would be lost.

## CATEGORY II: HUMOROUS

### D: Humorous Slavicisms: Ironic

Sholom Aleichem used a great number of everyday Russian and Ukrainian words for the sake of humour; some are used ironically, some for satiric purposes. In this section a number of Slavic words which are used for purposes of irony are analysed in terms of their function in the sentences in which they appear.

bratishek (brother) (MM, p. 72): ts.

cf. Uk. bratyshka; Ru. bratok; Po. braciszek (brother - diminutive)

. . . der bratishek dayner, dayn Berel Binyomin,  
hot shoyn khasene gehat. . .

(Your little brother, your [own little] Ber'l Benjamin,  
has already married. . .)

The Ukrainian diminutive noun bratishkek is used here ironically. Menakhem Mendel's wife informs her husband that his ~~bro~~ther has re-married, though he has been a widower for less than two months. She uses the diminutive, which suggests affection, but obviously wishes to convey her strong disapproval of such irreverence. The Yiddish counterpart, bruderl (diminutive of bruder) would not have been really appropriate, because it refers to size and age primarily. In fact the normal form of the word bruder, is frequently invested with connotations of affection and sympathy, but it does not so easily lend itself to irony as does bratishkek because it needs an accompanying adjective:

Far aykh, mayne orime brider un shvester, vos zenen  
tsuzeyt un tseshpreyt oyf der velt . . . <sup>37</sup>

(For you, my poor brothers and sisters who are scattered  
and dispersed throughout the world. . .)

nash (our) (GTD, p. 161): moy .

cf. Uk. Ru. nash; Po. nasz (our)

O du reboyno shel oylom, nash bog. . .

(O you Lord of Heavens, our God)

The Slavic words, nash bog are applied here in an ironic sense. Tevye refers to God complaining of his misfortunes, especially the difficulties he has had because of his five daughters.

The Russian expression nash bog suggests the merciful and helpful God in whom the poor and lowly relied. The usual Yiddish expression for "our God" is "unser got", but that simply acknowledges that God is the

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37. Prug, Ale shriftn, I, p. 61.

creator of us all, rich and poor. Tevye uses "nash" (which has definite connotations of trust in God's goodness) rather ironically here, for he is really upbraiding God for allowing him too much misfortune.

nepremenno (certainly) (MFYK, p. 78)

cf. Ru. nepremenno (certainly, without fail)

Ihr vilt nepremenno oyf Peysakh? - makht  
er tsu der mamen.

(Do you want it for Passover for sure? - he asks mother.)

The Russian word nepremenno is used here in the interests of irony. The speaker is a cobbler, who, knowing well that everyone wants his shoes ready for the approaching holiday, ironically asks a lady customer if she is certain that she wants the job quickly done. The irony lies in the fact that when speaking to people in authority Jews usually tried to use Russian, the official language. The boot-maker is in fact impudently mocking his customer. Had nepremenno been replaced by the commonly-used Yiddish words, beshtimt (definitely) or avday (certainly), the effect of mockery would have been lost. For example:

Avday ken Yisroel grindn azelkhe yishuvim. . . 38

(Israel can certainly create such settlements.)

peshekhoden (pedestrians) (FY I, p. 99): peshekhod.

cf. Uk. pishokhod; Ru. peshekhod; Po. piechur, pieszy (pedestrian)

38. "Moshe Dayan's kloze diburim tsu di araber," Der tog-morgen zhurnal (New York, June 10, 1968).

A kleynikayt! A jungl iz aleyh geven in Pereyaslav  
 un aleyh gezen mit zayne eygene oygn on a shir hayzer  
 mit zayne eygene oygn on a shir hayzer mit blekh gedekt,  
 mit peshekhoden oyf ale gasn.

(A trifle! He, a mere youngster, all alone in Pereyaslav,  
 saw with his own two eyes an endless number of tin-roofed  
 houses and [crowds of] pedestrians on every street.)

Here the author humorously comments on the awe of a youngster on his first visit to a large town. The words a kleynikayt (a trifle) ironically minimize the importance of the scene witnessed by the boy. In this sentence the use of the Russian word peshekhod, rather than the Yiddish term fusgeyer (pedestrian) is interesting. First of all, the Slavic term suggests the lower classes in general, as opposed to the upper classes, who rode in coaches and britzkas; secondly, this word implies that the young boy in question is fairly ignorant.

pidpalek (kindling) (OUF, p. 67): ts.

cf. Uk. pidpal (kindling); Ru. podpalivat' (to kindle); Po. podpalenie  
 (kindling)

Ir zent shoyn greyt oyfn pidpalek, fartig arum un arum,  
 ober vu iz di tsig?

(You have already got the kindling prepared, but where  
 is the goat?)

The goat in question is the nanny-goat belonging to Shim'on Eli which proved to be a male when Shim'on arrived home (it had been exchanged by a prankster innkeeper). Shim'on's neighbours, deeming the goat possessed by the devil, decided to slaughter it, but the animal escaped.

Sholom Aleichem chooses to describe the crowd's readiness for slaughter as pidpalek (fire-tinder), in the context ironically giving it

overtones of "sacrificial kindling" (the irony lies in the fact that the "victim" is absent). Pidpalek is a Slavic word which found its way into everyday Yiddish use from Ukrainian; a possible alternative would be shpener, but this simply means wood-chips, and not necessarily kindling.

stolir (carpenter) (FY I, p. 15): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. stolyar; Po. stolarz (joiner, carpenter).

Yeder mentsh iz geglikhn tsu a stolir - a stolir  
lebt un lebt, dernokh shtarbt er - azoy iz a  
mentsh oykh.

(Every man might be compared to a carpenter: just  
as a carpenter lives for years and years and then  
dies, so does everyone else.)

The Yiddish word for carpenter, tishler, was little used in Russia and the Ukraine, as few Jews practised the joiner's trade. The Slavic word stolir was the local term and was absorbed into Yiddish.

Stolir, based on the Russian stolyar, is used with wry humor in the present context. Behind this apparently naive statement lies the suggestion that even the carpenter, who works with so much energy and dedication that one might suspect he considers himself immortal, will one day die, and that the rest of us, whether or not we give so little thought to our mortality, are equally subject to Death's tyranny.

tolk (sense) (GTDM, p. 207): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. tolk (sense)

Adarabe, zog ikh, efsher gefint zikh do tsvishn aykh  
eyner, vos vet . . . dergehn do a tolk? . . .

(On the contrary, I say, maybe there is one among you  
who will be able . . . to understand how this makes sense?)

This statement is made by Tevye as he argues with a group of peasants who have come to carry out a pogrom. He asks, quite ironically, how they can be sure that they are fulfilling the will of God. He uses the Slavic term tolk (sense) rather than the Yiddish equivalent, bavustzayn; it was Sholom Aleichem's practice, when rendering dialogue between a Jew and non-Jew, to use Slavic terms popular in Yiddish rather than current Yiddish synonyms of these words.

Tolk has an added advantage in the context, because "dergehn a tolk" (to come to understanding) commonly denoted the effort to come to an understanding in a confusing situation. Bavustzayn has a more general meaning - understanding, awareness:

Un mit dem bavustzayn fun zeyer koyakh viln zey itst dergreikhn fulshtendike glaykhbarekh ~~tikayt~~.<sup>39</sup>

(And with an awareness of their strength they want to achieve absolute equality.)

troyke (a team of three horses) (FY I, p. 124): ts.

cf. Uk. trijka; Ru. Po. trojka; (a team of three horses)

Dos iz geven a yidishe troyke.

(It was a Jewish troika.)

The author here uses the Russian word troyka in conjunction with the adjective yidishe, Jewish, for ironic purposes. The adjective detracts from the sense of grandeur associated with the ownership of a troika, and the expression conveys the idea of a team of horses consisting of three worn-out jades.

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39. "Frayhayt, frayhayt - di eybike benkschaft," Ilustrirte velt-vokh (Tel-Aviv, April 10, 1968), p. 2.



There is a Yiddish word, draygespan, which simply means three horses yoked together (harnessed to a plough, for example), but it should not be confused with troika, which has definite connotations of admirable gracefulness.

farpravet (bettered) (LYT, p. 10): farpraven.

cf. Uk. popravity; Ru. popraviti'; Po. poprawić\* (to better)

. . . hob ikh gebrakht fun dort a vayn . . . shoyn  
etlikhe mol gemisht, dergosen, farpravet, . . . un  
halt zikh nokh ad hayom hazeh . . . mit zayn geshmak,  
mit zayn vaser . . .

(. . . from there I brought some wine . . . which I  
have already mixed several times, added water, improved  
it, . . . and I keep it to this day . . . [with all its]  
flavour and acquacity [lit. "wateriness"].)

The word of Ukrainian origin farpravet is used here ironically.

The person describes how good and tasty his wine is, especially after it has been "bettered" by adding water.

#### E. Humorous Slavisms: Satirical

However sympathetic an author may be to the foibles and shortcomings of his own people, however lighthearted he may be in treating them with gentle irony, if he has the true objectivity of an artist, inevitably he finds it opportune to cast a cold eye on life and castigate certain characters with a few biting lashes of satire. In this section, a number of the Slavic words used by Sholom Aleichem for this purpose are examined and commented upon.

bulbevater (potatoe-like) (FY I, p. 283): ts.

cf. Uk, bul'bovyj (potatoe-like); Po. bulwa (potato)

Oyf ihr geshrey iz gekumen tsu loyfen fun a zaytik  
alkirel, eyn alter, a nideriger, in tales un tfilin,  
mit a meshune megushemdik ponim, mit a breyter  
bulbevater noz. . .

(Having heard her shout, there ran in from a side  
door, a squat old man bedecked in prayer-shawl and phylac-  
teries, his face strange, his nose potatoe-like.)

The Slavicism bulbevater (potato-like) is used for descriptive purposes -- to depict the facial appearance of the oldster, but its primary function is to suggest sinister ugliness, for the author is describing this character quite unsympathetically. It would have been pedantic for the author to use the Yiddish counterpart, kartofelner (potato-like), in this context, because the Jews, who did not engage in farming, absorbed into their everyday vocabulary the agricultural terms of local (in this case, Ukrainian) farmers.

harmaten (cannons) (FY I, p. 80): ts

cf. Uk. harmata; Po. armata (cannon)

. . . zeyer gantse mishpokhe, di Rabinovitshes, heyst  
es, hoben fun geboyren, a modne kartn shlof, khotsh  
nem un trog zey aroys mit di betlekh, khotsh shist  
zey mit harmaten.

(. . . their whole family, the Rabinovitzes, have from  
birth such a heavy sleep that they could be transported  
out of doors in their beds [and continue sleeping] even  
if cannons were fired.)

Though there is a Yiddish word for cannons -- kanonen -- the more commonly used word in Eastern Yiddish is harmaten, a word absorbed from the military terminology of Eastern European states. The author's

choice of the Slavic term stems from the fact that kanonen was never used colloquially. The reference to harmaten is entirely comic in intent, because the Rabinovitzes to whom cannon-defying sleep is a family legacy, are scared into mightily insomnia by a "brownie". This "brownie" turned out to be Feigel the Maid and Fedor the Writer.

geht (dribnitshke (ambles mincingly) (FY I, p. 27): ts.

cf. Uk. dribno khodyty (to walk taking small steps)

Ru. drobnyj (fractional); Po. drobny (small)

. . . un alemen krint er iber, ober alemen, afile dem reben aley, vi er shmekt tabeke un vi er geht dribnitshke mit di kleyne fiselekh . . .

(. . . and he imitates everybody, absolutely everybody, even the rabbi himself - his manner of sniffing tobacco and his mincing gait. . .)

The word of Ukrainian origin dribnitshke vividly describes the characteristic gait of the rabbi as he ambles along attending to his responsibilities in everyday cheder life. The young fellow referred to here enjoyed mocking the rabbi, and caricatured his idiosyncracies and failings. There is no adequate Yiddish synonym for dribnitshke, a word which is essentially satiric, in that it has no connotations of admiration.

zakonik (lawyer) (FY I, p. 171): ts.

cf. Uk. zakonnyk (one who keeps to the letter of the law);

Ru. zakonik (lawyer)

. . . zayn foter der alter Tamarkin iz aley, a trifnyak, a id, a "zakonik", a shrayber fun proshenyas . . .

(. . . his father, old Tamarkin himself, a scoundrel, a Jew, a shyster, a writer of applications . . .)

The Slavicism zakonik is used here with satiric intent. Though the word literally means "lawyer", it was popularly used with a touch of innuendo and might best be translated as shyster. The man referred to in the quoted phrase was far from respected by the local population, and the author portrays him in a scornful way. The Yiddish word, advokat (lawyer), would suggest a respectable lawyer rather than one despised for dishonesty, and would have none of the connotations of disapproval surrounding the employed Slavicism, as is obvious from the following phrase: "A yidisher advokat in Winipeg dertseylt mikh. . ." 40 (A Jewish lawyer from Winnipeg tells me . . .)

zverinets (menagerie) (ZL, p. 20): ts.

cf. Uk. zvirynets'; Ru. zverinets; Po. zwierzyniec (menagerie)

A gantser zverinets! - zog ikh shtilerheyt.

(A whole menagerie - I say silently.)

The Russian word zverinets is used here in its original form. it is uttered with sarcasm and an air of disapproval by one of the relatively poor summer residents of Boiberik who is describing the inhabitants of the town. He speaks quite caustically about a teacher, a clerk, an agent, a cantor of the synagogue, two students and two women among others. He feels that his fellow residents are best described collectively as a menagerie.

lisine (bald spot) (GDM, pp. 183, 187, 185): ts.

cf. Uk. lysina; Ru. lysina; Po. lysina (bald spot)

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40. Miler, Fun'm yidishn kval, p. 234.

Azoy makht er tsu mir, rukt arayn dem tsigayr in di tseydn arayn un kukht mir glaykh in di oygn arayn un di lisine glantst.

(So he tells me, as he puts his cigar between his teeth and stares at me straight in the eyes, and his bald spot shines.)

The word lisine, of Ukrainian or Russian origin, is employed here in order to convey a sense of disapproval, if not loathing, of the person described. Tevye, the speaker, disliked his son-in-law, Pidhatzur, the person described, because the young man was ashamed of Tevye's profession and wanted to get rid of him. Therefore he always mentions him with disapproval and a sense of annoyance.

napudele (scarecrow) (FY I, p. 217); ts .

cf. Uk. puhalo; Ru. pugalo (scarecrow)

Zitst vi a napudele oyf der kelni, shmaysht di ferdlekh, smotsket zey tsu mit di grobe lipen . . .

(He sits like a scarecrow on the coach-box, lashes the horses, and makes sucking noises through his coarse lips . . .)

The youngster in the story, mockingly describes the stock-still, taciturn coachman who on the journey from Pereyaslav to Boguslav did not utter a single word. The Slavicism, napudele (scarecrowlike), colourfully describes the indifferent detachment of the coach-driver and, at the same time, crystalizes the attitude of the displeased young passenger. It is a local word incorporated into Yiddish.

sobake (dog) (MFYK, p. 69): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. sobaka (dog)

Vos mer nogid mehr sobake.

(. . . the richer a person is, the more doglike he is.)

The Slavicism sobake is employed here in a description of a bunch of poor but merry children in fancy dress celebrating the festival of Purim. They mock those who are rich, and sarcastically compare them to dogs - that is, with reference to their "dog-in-the-manger" propensities. The author's choice of the word sobake is related, in all probability to the Russian proverb, "Sobaka na sene sidit, sama ne est i drugim ne daet" (A dog sitting on hay, does not eat, itself, and does not give to others.) The stinginess of the rich is hinted at.

The Yiddish counterpart, hunt (dog) in any case, would have been inappropriate in the context because it would have connotations of cruelty and brutality rather than of miserliness: for example:

Dem man flegt zi rufn krumer hunt. . .<sup>41</sup>

(She used to call this man a vicious dog.)

khrukele (the grunting thing) (GTD, p. 225): ts.

cf. Uk. khryukaty; Ru. khryukat' (to grunt)

. . . khrukele hot zikh a loz geton iber yidishe shtedt un shtedtelekh mit oyfgebundene hent un genumen makhn a takhles fun yidishn hob un guts . . .

(. . . the grunting thing went through Jewish cities and towns with loosened hands and began to destroy Jewish property and goods. . .)

The Slavic word of Ukrainian origin, khrukele, is used in sarcastic reference to the pogroms that were unleashed upon the Jews during the years 1904-1905. The executors of those pogroms are compared to "grunting things", pigs, destroying everything within their reach.

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41. Sholom Aleichem, Yugend romanen, p. 25.

shtshiren (grin) (OUF, p. 62): ts.

cf. Uk. shchyryty (to grin)

Beser firt im op zheym un shikt rufen dem doktor,  
nisht shteyn ot-a-do un shtshiren di tseyn.

(You had better take him home and send for the  
doctor rather than stay here and grin stupidly.)

The author is describing the taunting of a poor tailor who is nonplussed by the practical jokes played upon him by a friend, who has replaced his she-goat with a billy-goat, thus giving the locals the occasion of suggesting that the goat is the devil incarnate.

A crowd of people surround the tailor, and many of them make fun of him instead of pitying him. Shtshiren, a Slavicism of Ukrainian origin, is used here in a sarcastic way. The crowd is being denounced for its wrong attitude towards a poor man. This Slavic word has no concise Yiddish counterparts.

### CATEGORY III: ONOMATOPOEIA

#### F. Onomatopoeic Slavicisms

The Russian and Ukrainian languages, as we have previously mentioned, are very colourful because of their great variety of sounds, and many of Russian and Ukrainian words exactly resemble the sound they describe.

Yiddish speakers living in a Slavic environment absorbed many of these onomatopoeic words into their own vocabulary, especially when there were no onomatopoeic equivalents in Yiddish. In fact, a perusal of any English-Yiddish dictionary <sup>42</sup> quickly convinces us that Yiddish was

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42. See, for example, the verb "to buzz" in English-Yiddish Dictionary. The Yiddish equivalents are zhumen and sheptshen - both of them onomatopoeic words of Slavic origin.

singularly deficient in onomatopoeic expressions, and that most onomatopoeic words now current in the language are of Russian, Ukrainian or Polish origin. Indeed, a study of onomatopoeic words used by Sholom Aleichem shows that, in most cases, he was confronted with a choice of words of Slavic origin. In this section examples of four types of onomatopoeic diction are examined:

(i) Words echoing the sounds of conversation:

balaken (to converse, discourse, talk) (GTDM, p. 211): ts.

cf. Uk. balakaty (to converse, discourse)

Ikh hob, zogt, er, keyn tsayt nit mit dir tsu  
balaken puste reyde.

(I don't have time, he says, to talk to you numbskulls.)

Since this is part of a conversation between Tevye and a peasant, the author uses the Ukrainian verb balaken in preference to the Yiddish word plaplen, a word which might equally suggest the sounds of worthless conversation.

geshushket (whispered) (FY I, p. 204): shushken.

cf. Uk. shushkaty; Ru. shushkat'sya (to whisper)

. . . friker aroysgetribn di kleyne kinder in droysn  
aroyse, un hot zikh dort mit ihm lang-lang geshushket,  
biz der tate iz gekumen.

(. . . first of all, she chased the little children  
out of doors and [then] whispered with him for a long  
time until their father arrived.)

Shushken has a Yiddish counterpart, aynroymen, but this word does not have the onomatopoeic qualities of the word chosen by the author.



zaike (stammerer) (FY I, p. 238): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. zaike; Po. jakala (stammerer)

. . . vos vet dikh ahren, az du vest shoyn  
tsushraybn nokh eyn vort - "Berl-zaike?"

(. . . would you mind adding another word [not  
simply "Berl" but] Berl, the stammerer?)

(ii) Slavic words describing less communicative human noises:

pishtshet (squeals) (FY I, p. 192): pishtshen.

cf. Uk. pyschaty; Ru. pishchat'; Po. piszczeć (to squeal)

. . . in T'hilim - pishtshet der suflyor fun hinter  
der kanape . . .

(. . . in T'hilim - squealed the prompter from  
behind the sofa. . .)

The word pishtshet is of Ukrainian origin. It is used here to describe  
a soft-voiced youngster who, in his role of prompter, whispers squeakingly.

smotsket (smacks his lips) (FY I, p. 201); smotsken.

cf. Uk. smoktaty (to smack)

. . . shmayst di ferdlekh, smotsket zey tsu mit di  
grobe lipn . . .

(. . . he lashes the horses and smacks his thick lips.)

khlipet (sobs, whimpers) (MFYK, p. 201): khlipen.

cf. Uk. khlypaty; Po. chlipac' (to sob)

. . . un emitser veynt shtilerheynt, ziftst un khlipet . . .

(And somebody quietly weeps, sighing and sobbing. . .)

The Slavic word khlipet is of Ukrainian origin.

khropet (snores) (GDM, p. 88): khropen.

cf. Uk. khropty'; Ru. khrapet'; Po. chrapac' (to snore)

. . . arum halbe nakht, di gantse shtub shloft  
geshmak, der khropet, der fayft. . .

(Around midnight, the whole household is sleeping peacefully, one snoring, the other making whistling noises.)

The onomatopoeic word used here is also taken from the Ukrainian.

(iii) Words reflecting the sounds of human action:

genyantshet (to nurse, tend a child) (FY I, p. 175): nyantshen.

cf. Uk. nyan'chyty; Ru. nyan'chit'; Po. nianczyć'

(to nurse, tend a child)

. . . porlekhvayz aroysgetrogn di pomenitse, eyntsikvayz  
gebrakht tsu trogn vaser fun'm goyishen brunen, un al pi  
goyrl genyantshet zikh mit'n kind.

(. . . in pairs they carried out the slop-pail, one by one  
they brought water from the common well, and according to  
lot took care of the child.)

getupet (to stamp - that is, to walk heavily) (FY I, p. 91): tupen.

cf. Uk. tupaty; Ru. topat'; Po. tupai (to stamp)

. . . un getupet mit di fis vi an emeser spravnik.

(. . . and he stamped his feet like a real village policeman.)

The onomatopoeic word here is of Ukrainian origin.

spilshlive (hasty) (FY I, p. 90): ts.

cf. Uk. zapal'nyj; Ru. vspyl'chivyj; Po. zapalczywy (hasty)

. . . un di korsuner zenen ale "spilshlive". . .

(. . . and all the people of Korsun' are hot-tempered. . .)

The Slavic word used here is of Russian origin.

(iv) Words echoing familiar everyday noises

huden (buzz) (FY I, p. 138); ts.

cf. Uk. hudity; Ru. gudet'; Po. huczeć' (to buzz)

Un di gantse velt iz nokh ful mit fligelekh un mureshkes, vos zhumen un huden . . .

(And the whole world is yet full of flies and ants, which buzz, hiss and hum. . .)

Huden is a word of Ukrainian origin.

trishtshen (crack) (FY I, p. 225): ts.

cf. Uk. trishchaty; Ru. treshchat'; Po. trzeszczeć' (to crack)

. . . makht mit der pleytse aroyf un arop, aroyf un arop, azh di beyner trishtshen.

(. . . he moves his shoulder up and down, up and down, till the bones crack.)

Trishtshen is a Slavic word of Ukrainian origin.

shorokh (rustle) (FY I, p. 140): ts

cf. Ru. shorokh; Uk. shurkhit (rustle)

Es hot zikhober in der finster nokh gehert a farshtikter gelekhter fun beyde tsdodim un a shorokh fun hey.

(But a muffled laughter from both sides and a rustle of hay was still heard in the dark.)

The Yiddish counterpart geroysh denotes a stronger noise than a rustle;

hence shorokh the Slavic word of Russian origin is more precise.

CATEGORY IV: LOCALISMSG. Localisms: Nature Description

As has been previously stated, the Jews were largely indoor people, while the majority of Ukrainian and Russian dwellers of the small village worked out of doors and were mostly farmers. For this reason, because Yiddish is singularly deficient in the names of flowers, trees, birds and animals, <sup>43</sup> Jews in Russia and the Ukraine absorbed into their language Slavic terminology for various forms of plant and animal life and for most forms of plant and animal life, as well as for different facets and phenomena of the world of nature. This section examines a number of these words.

blishtshet (to gleam, glitter) (OUP, p. 23): blishtshen.

cf. Uk. blishchaty; Ru. blestet'; Po. blyszczec' (to glitter)

Der taykh shaynt, akegn der zun, blishtshet  
vi mit dimenten . . .

(The river, shining beneath the sun, glitters as  
if diamond-studded.)

In this piece of nature-description, the author again chooses to use a Slavic word, blishtshet, a term appropriated from the day-to-day vocabulary of the Ukrainian peasant, in preference to the Yiddish word glantz (glitters), which would better suit a learned Jew's choice of terminology.

zhabes (toads, frogs) (GDM, pp. 82, 152): zhabe

cf. Uk. Ru. zhaba; Po. zaba (frog)

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43. See Maurice Samuel, The World of Sholom Aleichem (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), pp. 194-3.

. . . zumer-leben, di zhabes fun dervayten kvaken;

(. . . summer-life, the frogs croak away in the distance.)

The Yiddish counterpart, frosch, is of German origin. The author chooses to use the more familiar word zhabe, which found its way into everyday use in the vocabulary of Jews in the Ukraine.

zhuk (beetle) (OUF, p. 59): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. zhuk; Po. żuk (beetle)

Zelten-zeltn fliht durkh a zhuk mit tselozte fligl.

(On rare occasions a beetle flies over, his wings extended.)

This Slavic word of Ukrainian or Russian origin has no Yiddish counterparts.

kveytl (flower) (FY I, p. 138): ts.

cf. Uk. kvit; Ru. tsvetok; Po. kwiat (flower)

. . . dos broyt shoyng lang aropgenumen, nor vu-nit-vu varft zikh durkh a kveytl.

(The crops had long been harvested, but here and there an ear of corn or a flower could still be seen.)

The author here chooses to use kveytl, a word of Ukrainian origin, in preference to its Yiddish counterpart, blum (flower), since in this passage he strives for greater realism by describing nature in the everyday language of the peasant rather than in the more poetic vocabulary of the litterateur. Blum, on the other hand, is poetic rather than technical, and occurs frequently in verse:

Es blihen di boymer es shprotsen di blumen. 44

(The trees blossom, the flowers sprout.)

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44. Prug, Ale shriftn II, p. 90.

livade (meadow) (MFYK, p. 108): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. levada; Po. lewada (meadow)

. . . Oyf der livade!

(To the meadow!)

Here the word livade occurs in a discussion among children about where they should go and play. One of them suggests that they go to a nearby meadow. The dialogue of the youngsters is rich in words of Russian and especially of Ukrainian origin, especially in those words adopted from peasant vocabulary and constantly used by the less educated Jews.

The other Yiddish word for meadow is lonke; it is also of Slavic origin, but is more poetic, deriving as it does from the Russian word lono (bosom); therefore lonke suggests "the bosom of nature" rather than meadow.

osyen (fall, autumn) (GTDM, pp. 11, 62): ts.

cf. Uk. osin'; Ru. osen'; Po. jesien' (autumn)

. . . tsvey mol in johr eyn mol osyen-tsayt, . . . un dos andere mol arum "nove-god . . . bin ikh, keyst dos demolt a shtodt yid.

(. . . twice a year, for a while during autumn, and again around New Year . . . I become a town Jew.)

Again we find a word of Russian origin used in preference to a Yiddish term in the interests of verisimilitude, because the less educated Jews freely used Slavic names for the seasons of the year, for example, rather than the Yiddish names. An educated Jew would have used herbst (autumn, fall), the normal literary word. For example, the title of one of Shimon Prug's songs is "Herbst-lider"<sup>45</sup> (Autumn-songs).

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45. Ale shriftn II, p. 103.

pyavkes (leech) (OUF, p. 23): pyavke.

cf. Uk. p'yavka; Ru. piyavka; Po. pijawka (leech)

Ot iz der taykh . . . ful mit pyavkes un mit zhabes . . .

(Here is the river . . . full of leeches and frogs . . .)

This word has no Yiddish counterparts.

romashkes [(ox-eyed) daisy] (OUF, p. 30): romashke.

cf. Uk. Ru. romashka; Po. rumianek (daisy)

A varen vintl hot . . . tsugetrogen ihm tsu der  
noz a geshmaken reyakh fun myente, fun romashkes.

(A warm wind . . . wafted to his nostrils a pleasant  
perfume of mint and ox-eyed daisies.)

sosnes (pine-tree) (GTDM, p. 112): sosne.

cf. Uk. Ru. b. sosna (pine-tree)

Der vald iz alts nokh grin, di sosnes shmekn.

(The forest is still green, the pine-trees yield  
their scent.)

The Yiddish counterpart of German origin, fikhten-baum, was not used in  
Eastern Europe.

khmare (cloud) (FY I, p. 21): ts.

cf. Uk. khmara; Po. chmura (cloud)

Velkhe shtodt farmogt aza hoykhn barg oyf yener  
zayt beys-midresh, vos zayn shpits dergreykht  
kim'at biz der khmare?

(What other city has behind its ~~synagogue~~ such a high  
mountain, its peak almost reaching to the clouds?)

The Ukrainian word khmare describes a heavy, over-hanging, dark-grey cloud. Volkn, the Yiddish counterpart would not have been apt here because it denotes a less dense, grey-white cloud, rather than grey-black cumulus. We find Sholom Aleichem using this word figuratively in the following sentence:

Vos bedayt der volkn vos hot zikh plutsim ibergetsoygn  
oyf dayn sheyn gesikht? <sup>46</sup>

(What is the meaning of the cloud which suddenly  
overshadowed your face?)

#### H. Localisms: Social

This subdivision of local words differs from the sub-section in the category of Descriptive Slavisms in that the words listed and analyzed here do not, for the most part, have Yiddish counterparts. The function of the following words - some of which refer to the official or administrative side of life - is to distinguish between people of different social status, especially in terms of belongings and attitudes.

bebekhes (rags, old bedding, intestines) (GTM, p. 210): ts.

cf. Uk. bebekhy (rags)

Vifl tsayt, ashteyger, darfst du hoben, Tevel,  
zolst konen farkoyfn dayn khate mit dayne ale  
bebekhes?

(How much time, then, Tevel, would you need in order to  
sell your hut and all your rubbish?)

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46. Yugend romanen, p. 11.



Bebekhes, a word of Ukrainian origin, is used with reference to the belongings of a poor man (in the present instance, Tevye,) which consisted of old bedding, plain dishes and simple furniture. It is a local word which was commonly used by the poor Ukrainian peasant. By using this particular word, the author conveys to us at once a vivid picture of Tevye's financial status.

A Yiddish alternative, shmates (rags), is also of Ukrainian origin; it refers mostly to clothing only. For example:

Zey hobn lib ikh ontsuton in shmates abi zey  
zaynen reyn . . . <sup>47</sup>

(. . . They like to wear rags, as long as they  
are clean. . .)

domevikes (house demons, hobgoblins) (GTDM, p. 134): domevik.

cf. Uk. domovyk; Ru. domovoj (house demon)

. . . Ikh bin gor nit aza grober nar, ikh zol  
gloybn in leytsim, domevikes . . .

(I am not such a fool to believe in scoffers,  
hobgoblins, and things like that. . .)

Domevikes, a word of Ukrainian origin, is the name for the house-devils in which backward superstitious people believed. Normally it would not be used by educated people. Hence, its use suggests that the person concerned is of humble background.

znakhar (quack) (FY I, p. 60): ts.

cf. Uk, Ru. znakhar; Po. znakher (quack)

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47. "Dos gan-eydn indzele Taniti," Ilyustrirte velt vokh (Tel-Aviv, March 20, 1968)

Dos dozike mitel iz bashtanen in dem, vos me hot ale kinder opgeshikt tsum altn Trofim, a goy, a znakhar, vos hot sharfe negl . . .

(That remedy consisted in sending all the children to old Trofim, a gentile, a quack, who has sharp nails . . .)

The Ukrainian word znakhar is used here because the man in question is a local, non-Jewish practitioner of folk medicine, and the local Ukrainian word for "quack" is an obvious choice. Secondly, there is an implied comment on the social status of the family, because only low-class Jews and peasants sent their children to quacks.

karetēs (coaches, carriages) (FY I, p. 243): karete.

cf. Uk. Ru. Po. kareta (coach, carriage)

Es shtehen shoyn tsugegreyt ferd un karetēs . . .

(The horses and coaches are waiting, ready to go . . .)

The Slavicism karete, a local Slavic word, is the name of a type of carriage common in nineteenth-century Eastern Europe. Usually the representatives of the wealthier class used carriages. Poor people generally used wagons, carts or britzkas. Therefore the word has a socially differentiative significance.

There are no Yiddish counterparts.

lineykes (large wagons) (FY I, p. 243): lineyke.

cf. Uk. linyjka; Ru. linejka; Po. linijka (wagonette)

Es shtehen shoyn tsugegreyt ferd un karetēs un lineykes un hint fun kol haminim.

(The horses-drawn coaches, lineikas, wagonettes, as well as a great variety of dogs, are all ready to go.)

The author describes the preparations for the hunt which had been carried out by the Polish landlord and his friends. These wealthy people did not travel to the forest in simple wagons such as those usually used by the poor, but in coaches, wagonettes and britzkas.

A word of Russian origin lineykes is a local word which has connotations of social superiority. The mere use of the word indicates the affluence of the owner.

natshalstve (authority) (FY Vol. I, p. 82): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. nachal'stvo (authority)

Oyf der khaseneiz geven di gantse shtodt un  
natshalstve.

(All the townspeople, including the authorities,  
were present at the wedding.)

The Slavicism used here is a local word. It distinguishes the leaders of the community, who played a decisive role in the life of the people, from the remainder of the town's population, and therefore suggests their social and political superiority.

svitke (mantle, worn by Ukrainian peasants) (FY I, p. 226): ts.

cf. Uk. svyta; Po. switka (mantle)

A rakhmones oyf a iden, vos iz gevorn a goy. Tsulib  
vos? Tsulib dem, er zol ontuhn a groye svitke, a groys  
mokhnate hitel un veren a helfer baym poromshtshik, a  
batrak?

(A Jew who turns gentile should be pitied. And for what  
reason? [Is it not] because he wants to wear a gray mantle  
and a big, shaggy hat and become a helper of the ferry  
owner, a labourer?)

The Slavicism svitke is a local Ukrainian word. It is used by the author purposefully, because by reference to this humble article of clothing he at once illustrates the obvious transformation of the convert - in terms of external appearance - and deploras his new status. Jews at that time, especially in the small villages where the religious laws were strictly observed, did not wear short mantles made of coarse cloth, but long mantles, called kapotes made of cotton or gabardine. The use of the Slavic word svitke, immediately suggests the distinctive dissimilarity in outward appearance between Jew and non-Jew.

starshi kozir (stronger trump) (FY I, p. 167): ts.

cf. Uk. starshyj kozyr; Ru. starshij kozyr'; Po. starszy kozera  
(elder stronger trump)

Un geshpilt hot men in "trilistik", oder in "starshi kozir" - a shpil, vos di arestanten shpilen in di turmes.

(And they played "three pages" or "stronger trump-card" - a game which the prisoners play in jail.)

The Slavicism starshi kozir is the name of a card-game played in Russia. There is no Yiddish term for this, as the Jews who played the game adopted its local name.

The author's choice of these particular games stems from the fact that he wants to describe the behaviour of children who are left to their own devices. They play the same card-games as low-class prisoners play; they behave like the lower class people.

uratnik (village magistrate) (GTDM, p. 194): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. uryadnik; Po. urzędnik (village policeman)

. . . Ikh vel benken nokh'n staroste mit'n uratnik.

(I will miss the village chief and the village  
magistrate.)

Uratnik is a local Ukrainian and Russian word for a village magistrate - one of the administrative leaders of the little town. It is a local irreplaceable word, and has connotations of social prominence.

tsherta (pale of settlement) (FY I, p. 176): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. cherta (line, boundary)

Do vet, dakht mir, zayn dos ort optsumohlen dem kheyder vi er hot oysgezehn in yene tsayten, bikhdey di kumendike doyres, vos velen zikh interesiren mit'n amolign yidishen leben in der gliklikher "tsherta", zoln es hobn far di oygen.

(This, it seems to me, will be the right place to describe how the cheder looked in those days, in order that those of the coming generations who are interested in Jewish life of the past in the happy "pale" should have it before their eyes.)

Tsherta is a Yiddish condensation of the Slavic term "cherta osedlosti" (the Jewish pale), the official term for the special ghettos in which the Jews lived in Russia and the Ukraine during the reign of the czar. This word has no Yiddish counterparts.

shkoles (schools) (FY I, p. 172): shkole.

cf. Uk. Ru. shkola; Po. szkoła (school)

. . . zayne verter zenen mkuyem gevorn, az a yidish kind lerent in di shkoles, iz er mukhen unzumen tsu der shmud.

(. . . this proved the truth of his statement that if a Jewish child pursues his studies at the schools he is ready to convert.)

The local Russian word shkoles is used here because the author wanted to differentiate between the Russian governmental schools and the private Yiddish ones called kheyder.

Any Jew who was proficient in reading and writing Russian was regarded with suspicion by his own people, because they felt that he was on the road to assimilation - to the shortening of beard and gaberdine, removal of the earlocks, the consumption of forbidden meats, and the final horror of apostasy.

#### I. Localisms: Irreplaceable

There is a category of Slavic words which Sholom Aleichem uses solely in the interests of local colour. These are words which found an essential place in the day-to-day vocabulary of Yiddish speakers in Eastern Europe - words which, because they are peculiarly local names for certain gastronomic specialties, vegetables and plants, and for certain household utensils, have no non-Slavic equivalents in Yiddish and are, therefore, irreplaceable. Of these we find Sholom Aleichem ~~uses~~ frequently use the names of foodstuffs; hence, of the twelve irreplaceable Slavic words discussed in this section, eight are terms for Ukrainian and Russian breads, vegetables and other dishes, three represent essential appurtenances of Ukrainian and Russian peasant households, and one is the name of a local dance. The presence of these terms in his works stimulates the reader's imagination because they are essential elements in conveying the social and domestic atmosphere which surrounds the colourful characters so ably created by the author.

blines (flatcakes) (FY I, p. 119): blin.

cf. Uk. blynets; Ru. Po. blin (flatcake)

. . . un Rude-Basye, vos bakt beygl un blines,  
hot bay ihm oysgetreyslt a halbn korzh fun buzen . . .

(. . . and Rude-Basya, who bakes round cracknels  
and pancakes, shook from his bosom half a dry  
buckwheat cake.)

borsht (beet-soup, borstch) (GTDM, pp. 100, 126): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. borshch; Po. barszca (borstch)

Der borsht, zogt zi, shteht oyf'n tish  
shoyn a sho.

("The borsch," she said, "is already standing  
on the table.")

Borsch is the national soup of Ukraine. It is a mildly tart vegetable  
soup with beets predominating, made with a base of a rich meat stock. <sup>48</sup>

varenikes (boiled dough which is stuffed with either cheese, potatoes,  
fruit or sauerkraut) (FY I, pp. 102, 108): varenik.

cf. Uk. varenyk; Ru. varenik; (boiled dough)

Der oylem hot shoyn dervayl lang opgegesn di  
varenikes, geven epes modne oyfgeroynt . . .

(Meanwhile the people had finished eating the  
curds and were somehow strangely exalted . . .)

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48. Savella Stechishin, Traditional Ukrainian Cookery. (Winnipeg:  
Trident Press, 1967), p. 49.

Varenyky, a popular Ukrainian dish, is "a type of dumpling made of a soft dough and filling. Cottage cheese is the favorite and most commonly used filling for varenyky, but other fillings are also favored." 49

haleshkes (small balls or pellets of dough, dumplings) (GTDM, p. 96):

haleshke.

. . . bikhlekh shlingt er vi haleshkes.

(. . . he swallows books like dumplings.)

"Halushky is a Ukrainian name for dumplings made of a batter or thick dough mixture. Various ingredients are added for tenderness, texture, flavor, and food value." 50

dinis (melons) (FY I, pp. 20, 99): dine.

cf. Uk. Ru. dynya; Po. dynia (melon)

. . . tishlekh . . . mit gantse berg frishe shmekendike epelekh un barlekh, dinis un kavenes. . .

(. . . little tables . . . with whole pails of fresh-smelling apples pears and different kinds of melons. . .)

fasolis (beans) (FY I, p. 146): fasole.

cf. Uk. fasolya; Ru. fasol'; Po. fasola (bean)

. . . di mame Khaye-Ester hot gebrakht tsu trogn fun kikh nit aza gehoybene vetshere: tsugevarente kashe mit fasolis. . .

(. . . the mother, Chaya-Ester, brought from the kitchen a far from promising dinner: warmed up cereal with beans . . .)

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49. Stechishin, Traditional Ukrainian Cookery, p. 196.

50. Ibid., p. 212.



korzh (cake, biscuit) (FY I, p. 119): ts.

cf. Uk. korzh (biscuit)

. . . un Rude-Basye, vos bakt beygl un blines, hot ba ihm oysgetreyslt a halbn korzh fun buzem . . .

(. . . and Rude-Basya, who bakes round cracknels and pancakes shook from his bosom half a dry buckwheat cake.)

"Flour and fat are staples of even the poorest families. Evidence of this is the popular Ukrainian saying: 'Poverty has taught us to be thankful even for crackling korzhyky.'" 51

koyletsh [twisted (braided, plaited) bread] (FY I, p. 34): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. kalach; Po. kołacz (a kind of fancy bread)

. . . er volt zikh nit opgezogt fun a shtikel gebrotene tsung, a gefilt helzl, oder khotsh a shtikl koyletsh. . .

(. . . he was not going to deny himself a piece of roasted tongue, or of stuffed neck, or at least a piece of bread. . .)

"Kalach or kolach is a braided, ring-shaped bread. The name is derived from a Ukrainian word "kolo" meaning a circle, which is an old symbol of eternity and general welfare. The kalach is featured at various religious and family rituals." 52

kanat (rope) (FY I, p. 224): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. kanat (rope)

Nokh a minut - un der parom, mit'n vilen fun eyn mentshen, vos hot zikh ongelehent mit'n gants en koyakh iber'n groben kanat, iz avek zayn veg gants shtil . . .

51. Stechishin, Traditional Ukrainian Cookery, p. 441.

52. Ibid., p. 330.

(A minute later - and the ferry, - by the will of one man, who leaned with all his strength over the thick rope, went on its way quite silently.)

kozak (cossack) (FY I, p. 85): ts.

cf. Uk. kozak; Ru. kazachok; Po. kozak (cossack)

Tantsn a "khosid" a "kozak" . . . fun dem iz opgeredt.

(As for dancing either a "Masid" or a "Cossack" . . . there was no question about [his great ability] .)

podpitshnik (compartment under the oven or stove normally for storing

kitchen utensils. It is interesting to note that this warm

compartment was often used as a pen for chickens.) (FY I, p. 176):ts.

cf. Uk. pidpichnya; Po. podpiecek (space under the oven)

Untern oyun a "podpitshnik". Dort hodevet men oyfes geveynlkh oyf parnose.

(There is a compartment under the oven. There one usually raises fowl for sustenance.)

samovar (samovar) (MFYK, p. 163): ts.

cf. Uk. Ru. samovar; Po. samovar (samovar)

. . . koylen tsum samovar hot men gekoyft. . .

(the coal for the samovar had already been bought. . .)

## CHAPTER IV

### THE FUNCTION OF SLAVIC NAMES, PROVERBS, AND POPULAR PHRASES IN

#### THE WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM

"Man has three names: one by which his parents call him; another, by which he is known to the outside world, and a third, the most important of all, the name which his own deeds have procured him."

(Tanchuma Vayayakel) <sup>1</sup>

Names always play an important role in literary works. Very often we get acquainted with our fictitious heroes through their peculiar names - we get a definite image of the person described. Frequently names speak for themselves, characterizing, denoting, describing main peculiar traits. In the literary works of Sholom Aleichem we find a considerable number of names of Slavic origin. These are of great importance. Many of them are endowed with a characteristic essence. The fictitious person or town in Sholom Aleichem's works appear to us real and typical, because he was particularly adept in bestowing amusing and descriptive names upon his characters, whether the chosen appellation was in Yiddish or taken from a Slavic language. The name of his mythical Kasrilevke will serve as a good example:

What is the origin of the name Kasrilevke? It is as follows: In our town, as everyone knows, a poor man is called by a variety of descriptive names, depending on the degree of his poverty: he may be hard-up, or needy, or in straits, or in dire straits; he may be an impoverished man; a receiver of gifts, and indigent fellow; destitute, poverty stricken, a pauper, or a

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1. Nathan Gottlieb, A Jewish Child is Born (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1960), p. lll.

dyed-in-the wool pauper. Each of these epithets is uttered in a different tone. There is still another name for a poor man: a kasriel or a kasrilik. This word is pronounced in a totally different note, for example: "My, am I ever a kasrilik." A Kasrilik then is not just the commonrun of indigent, not just a ne'er-do-well. He is the kind of a poor man - if you know what I mean - who does not lose heart because of poverty. Quite the contrary, he takes a certain pride in his situation. This type is also called "a jolly beggar." <sup>2</sup>

Here is another example of peculiar name usage: In a story called "A vort far a vort" (Tit for Tat) Sholom Aleichem describes a man by the name Reb Nakhman Lokakh: "To be sure his name was really Nakhman Nosan. He was called Nakhman 'Lokakh', however, for the reason that lokakh is the Hebrew for 'he took' and nosan for 'he gave'. And this Nakhman Nosen never gave anything away; he always took." <sup>3</sup>

The author's own chosen pseudonym, Sholom Aleichem, (the common daily greeting of Jews which literally means "peace be with you") is so down to earth and at the same time so meaningful. "Peace be with you - my poor and suffering brethren, it says, I am with you and am writing for you." His choice of this peculiar pseudonym shows his awareness of its appropriateness in terms of his function as a writer.

In naming his fictitious heroes, whether he gave them a Yiddish name or a name of Slavic origin, Sholom Aleichem followed the conventional, nineteenth-century, Russian trend of calling low-class people simply by their first name. When referring to persons of little consequence it was customary to use the somewhat humiliating diminutive -ka, as Vas'ka Aleshka,

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2. Sholom Aleichem, Kleyne mentshelekh, p. 10.

3. Grafstein, Sholom Aleichem Panorama, p. 148.

indeed, among the common people, it was a mark of respect to address a man by his family name without the addition of the given name, or to call him by his name and patronymic.

Jews were late in adopting surnames and did not take them until compelled to do so. Poland required Jews to adopt family names as early as 1821, while Russia did not oblige them to do so until 1844. Most of the common people were called by their first name - often with the addition of the name of the village in which they were domiciled; for example, Shimele Soroker, which is the name of a poor tailor means Shimele (the diminutive of Shim'on) from the town of Soroki, (this is the Slavic name of a little town in Belorussia). Often Sholom Aleichem adds peculiar characterizing nicknames to the forename of his fictitious hero; Asne di kurelapnitske<sup>4</sup> (Asna the hen-grabber), for example, has the nickname, Kurelapnitske - a compound Ukrainian word consisting of kura (hen) and lapat' (to grasp); Motl-Kosoj<sup>5</sup> (Motl the Squinter), gets his nickname from the Russian adjective kosoj (skew eyed); Solovej<sup>6</sup> (Yossel the Nightingale) is the name given to a boy who had a beautiful tender voice.

The author uses the respectful patronymic Semyon Makarovitsh<sup>7</sup> (Semen Son of Makar) when referring to Shimele Soroker after this man had become rich and was now most eager to abolish his old name and to become familiar with the aristocracy.

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4. Kleyne mentshelekh, p. 25.

5. Dramatishe shriften, p. 153.

6. Yosile Solovey. (New York: Sholom Aleichem folksfond oysgabe, 1919), p. 51.

7. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 178.

E. Smith in his book The Story of Our Names classifies all names into four categories: local, occupational, patronymical and descriptive.<sup>8</sup>

J. B. Rudnycky in his article "Functions of Proper Names in Literary Work"<sup>9</sup> presents the following typology of the functions of names in literary work: (i) meaningful names - names relevant to the quality of literary characters, (ii) names relating to the place of action (couleur locale), and (iii) names relating to the time of action (couleur historique).

I. G. Tarnawecy in her work "Names in Poetry"<sup>10</sup> allocates the literary names in poetry to the following categories: local, historical, biblical, mythological, characterizing and others.

If we were to analyze all the names employed by Sholom Aleichem: Yiddish names, names of Hebrew origin and Slavic names or nicknames, we could find an abundance of local, historical, biblical, characterizing, occupational patronymic and descriptive names assigned to the categories defined by all three of the above-mentioned authors. But most of the names of Slavic origin used in the works of Sholom Aleichem can be attributed to the three following categories:

- a) Characterizing names (J)
- b) Names relating to place (K)
- c) Other: Neutral and Allegorical Names (L)

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8. E. Smith, The Story of Our Names (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 44.
9. Rudnycky "Functions of Proper Names in Literary Work," Stil-und Formprobleme in der Literatur. (Heidelberg, 1959), pp. 378-383.
10. I. Tarnawecy, Names in Poetry (Munich-Winnipeg), published by the Ukrainian Free University, 1966), p. 13.

The characterizing personal Slavic names used by Sholom Aleichem peculiarly and subtly describe different traits, defects and nuances of character or personality or various physical features. Most of them are surnames of persons, such as Pertshik<sup>11</sup> (the peppered one), the name of one of the sons-in-law of Tevye who possessed a mind as sharp as pepper and who used to "swallow" books like dumplings; it is derived from the Ukrainian word perets (pepper). The surname Katshalki<sup>12</sup> (rolling pin) is a descriptive name chosen by the author for a leader in the community of Kozodoevka; it is derived from the Ukrainian noun kachalka (rolling pin); the name Babishke<sup>13</sup> (grandmother) appears on a list of marriage candidates found by Menakhem Mendel which apparently belonged to some matchmaker. This name comes from the Ukrainian word babyshka or babochka (grandmother); other Slavic names on the same list are Korzhik<sup>14</sup> (little biscuit), derived from the Ukrainian noun korzh (biscuit), Tonkinog<sup>15</sup> (one with thin feet), derived from a Russian compound adjective tonkinogij (slender-footed), and Lopite<sup>16</sup> (spade). Quite peculiar are the names of the community elders of Zlodeevka: Kapote<sup>17</sup> (gown-like) is derived from the Ukrainian noun kapot (robe); Vikidaylo<sup>18</sup> (chucker-out) owes its origin to the Ukrainian noun vykydajlo (bar-room bouncer), and in Katshen<sup>19</sup> (cabbage-stalk) the Ukrainian noun kachan (cabbage-stalk) is employed.

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11. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 101.

12. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 66.

13. Menakhem Mendel, p. 186.

14. Ibid., p. 184.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., p. 186.

17. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 54.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

Some of the other characteristic Slavic personal names are Soloveytshik<sup>20</sup> (little nightingale), derived from the Russian noun solovej (nightingale); Kolten<sup>21</sup> (plica), a Russian noun, and Krendelman<sup>22</sup> (Pretzel-like man) where krendel' (knot-shaped biscuit) is a Ukrainian word.

The Slavic characteristic names of towns and villages employed by Sholom Aleichem are of great interest. For example, the name of a little town called Kozodoyevke<sup>23</sup> (goat-milking) humorously suggests that the town has no lack of milking goats. This compound name is derived from two Russian words koza (goat) and doit' (to milk); Zlodoyevke<sup>24</sup> (the town of villains), is derived from the Russian word zlodej (villain); the name Kostolomevke<sup>25</sup> (the town of bone-breaking) is a compound noun formed from the Russian noun kost' (bone) and the Russian verb lomat' (to break); Khaplapovitsh<sup>26</sup> (town of snatching and grasping) is derived from two Ukrainian verbs khapat' (to snatch) and lapat' (to grasp); Rabilovke<sup>27</sup> (town of robbers) has its origins in the Ukrainian verb hrabyty (to rob), but the initial "h" was dropped. Every one of these names obviously speaks for itself and the reader gets a vivid and lively picture of the town and its inhabitants.

Every story or novel written by Sholom Aleichem, whether fictional or autobiographical, appears in the correct natural and realistic setting, not only because of his bestowing many of his heroes with peculiar, characteristic, and very often amusing names, but also because of insistence

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20. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 153.  
 21. Ibid.  
 22. Ibid., p. 101.  
 23. Oreme un freylekhe, pp. 55, 66.  
 24. Ibid., pp. 57, 58, 64.  
 25. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 210.  
 26. Oreme un freylekhe, pp. 9, 51.  
 27. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 210.



on using real geographical locations and place names - Kiev,<sup>28</sup> Krivorog,<sup>29</sup> (Krivoj Rog) Vasilkov <sup>30</sup> (Vasil'kov), Talni <sup>31</sup> (Tal'noe) - the names of famous rivers - Volge <sup>32</sup> (Volga), Dnyeper <sup>33</sup> (Dnepr) - and well-known streets - Kreshtshatik <sup>34</sup> (Kreshchatik), - and by mentioning the holy days and festivals of the local population with whom the Jews dealt - such as Bokrove <sup>35</sup> (Pokrov), October 1, the Christian feastday of St. Mary the Protectress.

Sholom Aleichem also employs in his works a great number of Slavic neutral names originating from the Russian system of names and reflecting the social status of the person. When he chooses names such as Khvedke <sup>36</sup> (Fed'ka) - a diminutive - Ivan <sup>37</sup> and Yaydokhe <sup>38</sup> (Evdokiya), it is to denote local Ukrainian or Russian people on the lower rungs of the social ladder. On the other hand, when we find him giving to characters who are obviously Jewish personal Slavic names, it is for reasons of verisimilitude - since Jews of higher social standing used to alter their Yiddish names for the purposes of assimilation: Matvey (a variation of Motl) and Sasha (which comes from Sender) are the altered names of the children of a rich Jewish merchant. <sup>39</sup>

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28. Menakhem Mendel, p. 172.  
 29. Ibid., p. 173.  
 30. Ibid., p. 71.  
 31. Ibid., p. 47.  
 32. Fun'm yarid, I, p. 219.  
 33. Menakhem Mendel, pp.51.  
 34. Ibid., p. 74  
 35. Ibid., p. 11.  
 36. Gants Tevye der Milkhiger, p. 123.  
 37. Ibid., p. 62.  
 38. Fun'm yarid, p. 238.  
 39. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 45.

To denote a person of higher social standing Sholom Aleichem often uses his family name without the addition of the given name; for example, he refers to a certain musician simply as Vigdortshuk<sup>40</sup> (Vigdorshuk) and to a prominent landowner as Simerenko;<sup>41</sup> at other times he prefers to use the individual's given name and patronymic for the same purpose: Salomon Oskarovitsh (Salomon Oskarovich) and Oskar Salomonovitsh (Oskar Salomonovich) are the names of a father and son in a rich, aristocratic, Jewish family that is on the road to assimilation.<sup>42</sup>

Occasionally Sholom Aleichem uses allegorical names. For example, one of Tevye's daughters, Chava, refers to her friend Fedor as the second Gorki,<sup>43</sup> praising his knowledge and wisdom. We find another such allegorical name in Menakhem Mendel when a prospective bridegroom is compared to Turgeniv<sup>44</sup> (Turgenev).

Even from these few examples it is obvious that the different Slavic names employed by Sholom Aleichem help to convey to the reader a true, realistic and natural picture of the Jewish people and their environment. The same may be said of the Russian proverbs and sayings which he often incorporated into his writings. Since Yiddish was relatively poor in colourful vocabulary, proverbs and songs, the Jews of Eastern Europe, being familiar with many of the Ukrainian and Russian sayings, often employed them in their everyday speech. The author, at the core of whose art was the desire to present to the reader a lifelike and descriptive

40. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 153.

41. Fun'm yarid II, p. 195.

42. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 153.

43. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 124.

44. Menakhem Mendel, p. 185.

picture, occasionally employs popular Slavic proverbs and sayings, some of them in their original form, some in an altered rendering; they very often help portray and characterize the speaker, and, at the same time, enhance the author's style with a special ethnic flavour. An example of this is his use of the Ukrainian proverb, "Dali otshe dali serdtse" <sup>45</sup> (Out of sight, out of mind; or, more literally "the farther from the eyes, the farther from the heart".) This phrase is uttered by Menakhem Mendel's mother-in-law, as she condemns him for having forsaken the family while far away from home. Indeed almost every utterance of Menakhem Mendel's mother-in-law caricatures her homely wisdom.

Another interesting example is his use of the Russian proverb, "Tshem tshort ne shutit" <sup>46</sup> (poka bog spit) - (The full translation is: You can never tell how the devil can wreak mischief, when God is sleeping.) This piece of folk wisdom is uttered by Tevye's son-in-law, Pidhatur, who is ashamed of the older man's occupation as a milkman and wants to get rid of him by sending him to Israel. "You cannot tell," he says to Tevye, "what might happen one of these days, since I am personally acquainted with the governor and other persons of high rank." The Russian proverb used here characterizes Pidhatur's unlimited desires to advance his social standing.

The Polish saying "Yaki tatko, taki dzyetsko" <sup>47</sup> (like father like son) is used as a disapproving comment on a spoiled child, the son of a Jewish merchant, whose every whim and demand was satisfied by his indulgent parents. "Duren dumkoyu bogatyet" <sup>48</sup> - (Duren' dumkoyu bogateet), originally

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45. Menakhem Mendel, p. 20.

46. Gants Tevye der Milkhiger, p. 183.

47. Dramatishe shriftn, p. 47.

48. Gants Tevye der milkhiger, p. 155.

a Ukrainian adage which means, "The fool gets rich by thinking," is uttered by the unfortunate Tevye as he thinks about Shprintze, his youngest daughter, who fell in love with the son of a rich widow. Maybe, he thought, God will help me, and I, Tevye, will become rich through my daughter, Shprintze. The Ukrainian and Russian proverbs discussed here, as well as many others that appear in the writings of Sholom Aleichem heighten the realism of his character-portrayal and, for this reason, are an important element in his art. Sholom Aleichem's principle of reflecting the actualities of life as completely as possible even in the smaller details of his stories led to his employing numerous Russian and Ukrainian words and phrases in rendering dialogue between Jews and non-Jews. Quite frequently the use of such words contributes greatly to the comic quality of certain incidents. As an example, one might choose the following description of a Jewess buying a chicken in the market-place:

"Tsuesh, tsuesh! A sho tabi za kurke?  
 Yaka Kurka! Tse piven, a ne kurka!  
 Nehay bude piven! A sho tobi za kurke?" 49

(Listen, listen! How much do you want for the chicken?  
 What kind of chicken! It is a cock, not a chicken!  
 Let it be a cock! How much do you want for the chicken?)

The Jewish lady, unsure of her terminology, uses the words piven (cock) and kurka (chicken) rather indiscriminately, much to the chagrin of the fowl merchant. This rather innocuous incident might be looked upon as an example of the ease and the humour with which Sholom Aleichem used names and proverbs and popular phrases for his own purposes.

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49. Oreme un freylekhe, p. 12.

## CHAPTER V

### SUMMATION AND AESTHETIC EVALUATION

The analysis of the various functions of different Slavic words and phrases in the literary works of Sholom Aleichem reveals that the author employed in his works many Slavicisms <sup>with</sup> skill and knowledge. The Yiddish language of his world is a folk language relatively poor by comparison with other languages, lacking vocabulary for such everyday things as flowers, trees, birds and words suitable to nature description, and also notably poor in subtle distinctions and in synonyms - a language that, for these reasons was very apt to be influenced by the vocabulary and idiom of those countries where Jewish communities were established. It is not surprising, then, that a writer of merit such as Sholom Aleichem should find the traditional Yiddish language too poor an instrument for his artistic purposes, and that he should draw upon the resources of the Slavic languages with which he was so familiar. Since he spent the greater part of his life in Ukraine, the Slavicisms most frequently employed in his works are of Ukrainian origin. Most frequently these are nouns, and this is understandable since Yiddish was short of names for a great number of simple, common things.

Of over a hundred words analyzed in this study sixty-seven are nouns; of the rest twenty-two are verbs, eleven adjectives and three adverbs. A great many of these Slavicisms comprise the social sub-category in the category of Descriptive Slavicisms and Localisms. This can be explained by the fact that the language of Sholom Aleichem's world is the language of his poor town-fellows, people who, very often, were deprived of the

basic necessities of life - people who in a very real sense were in the world and in many ways not of it. Therefore many of our author's Slavisms are suggestive of the social status of his people. Many others are used in an essentially humorous manner, as well befits an author who was a wit as well as a humanitarian. This is especially true of his use of Slavic names and nicknames: most of them are traditional and popular, but are given a flavour of good-natured humour. And whenever Slavic proverbs and popular sayings enrich his work, they are given a specific ethnic colour that the reader, whatever his background, cannot fail to appreciate. The reader of Sholom Aleichem finds himself transferred very quickly into the homely, simple and goodhearted atmosphere of the Middletown Jews of Eastern Europe by the incomparable authenticity of the language and the authentic folk-humour of the author.

We could write a Middletown of the Russian-Jewish Pale basing ourselves solely on the novels and stories and sketches of Sholom Aleichem, and it would be as reliable a scientific document as any "factual" study; more so, indeed, for we should get, in addition to the material of a straightforward social inquiry, the intangible spirit which informs the material and gives its living significance.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Samuel, The World of Sholom Aleichem, p. 7.

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APPENDIX

INVENTORY OF SLAVICISMS FOUND IN  
WORKS OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM

This inventory contains Slavisms found in the literary works of Sholom Aleichem.

The Slavisms are arranged alphabetically according to the Russian system.

1. Column one lists Slavic words as they are originally used by Sholom Aleichem. These are transliterated in accordance with the transliteration system given in Table I.
2. In column two appears the English translation of that word.
3. Column three gives the reference to the particular work in which the word appears; titles of these works are given in abbreviated form, as listed in Table III; this is followed by volume number and page reference, as listed in Table III.
4. Column four indicates the function of the Slavism in question. The letter appearing in the square brackets refers to the categories on pages 36 and 97.
5. Column five contains the Yiddish synonym or nearest corresponding word in the case of replaceable words.

The Ukrainian, Russian or Polish word from which the Slavism listed in the first column is derived is also given, along with its English translation. If the English translation is the same as in column two, it is indicated by the letters 'ts', meaning "the same."

- abuzhane 'monkey', M 69; [A] 'malpe'.  
From Ru. obezivana 'ts'.
- avants 'payment on  
account, MM 209; [C] 'hantgelt'.  
From Ru. avans 'ts.'
- ambaren 'barns', FY II,  
199; [I] 'shayern'.  
From Ru. ambar 'ts.'
- Anton 'Anthony', GTDM  
123; [L].  
From Ru. Anton 'ts.'
- arabuzes 'water melons', FY I,  
138; [I] 'kavenes'.  
From Ru. arbuz 'ts.'
- araynekatshet 'rolled in', MM 215; [A] 'arayngedreyt'.  
From Ru. kachat 'to rock, swing'.
- aroysekalupet 'scooped', FY I,  
72; [A] 'aroysekratst'.  
From Uk. kolupaty 'to pick, scoop'.
- aropkatshen 'to roll down', MFYK  
228 [A] 'aropdreyen'.  
From Ru. kachat 'to rock, swing'.
- arungeyamevet 'to tow', FY I  
249; [A] 'arungebunden'.  
From Ru. lyanka 'strap'.



- arshin 'arshin'  
(-28 inches)', OUF 66; [I] 'arshin'.  
From Ru. arshin 'ts'.
- aslobodet 'freed' MM 184; [C] 'bafrayt'.  
From Ru. or Uk. svoboda 'freedom'.
- asobe 'person', MM 195; [C] 'perzenlekhkayt'.  
From Ru. or Uk. osoba 'ts'.
- astrog 'jail', FY I,  
243; [C] 'tfise'.  
From Ru. ostrog 'ts'.
- akhote 'hunt', FY I,  
243; [C] 'yakht'.  
From Ru. okhota 'ts'.
- Babishke 'Granny', MM 186; [J] 'Bobe'.  
From Ru. babushka 'ts' or Uk. babushka 'ts'.
- babski 'women's', OUF 58; [A] 'vaybersher'.  
From Uk. babs'kyj 'ts'.
- bagazh 'luggage', ISh 64; [I] 'gepek'.  
From Ru. bagazh 'ts'.
- balaken 'to talk', GTDM  
211; [F] 'plaplen'.  
From Uk. balakaty 'to discourse, converse'.
- balvapen 'to botch', DSh 13; [E] 'beshmutsen'.  
From Uk. lyapaty 'to blot'.
- bandure 'bandore', FYO 170; [I].  
From Uk. bandura 'ts'.

- bankes 'gallipots', FY II, 92; [D]  
From Ru. or Uk. banka 'ts'.
- baran 'castrated ram', FY I 81; [A] 'sheps'.  
From Ru. or Uk. baran 'wether'.
- Barditshev 'Berdichev', MM 97; [K]  
From Uk. Berdichev 'ts'.
- barishne 'young lady', MM 196; [C] 'meydl'.  
From Ru. baryshnya 'ts'.
- barke 'wooden barge', FY I 223; [I]  
From Ru. or Uk. barka 'ts'.
- batkovshtshine 'homeland', GTDM 215 [D] 'heymland'.  
From Uk. bat'kivshchyna 'ts'.
- batrak 'farm laborer', FY 226; [C] 'poyer'.  
From Ru. or Uk. batrak 'ts'.
- bashtan 'melonfield', MFYK 131; [G]  
From Ru. or Uk. bashtan 'ts'.
- bashtanshtshik 'one who grows melons', MFYK 128 [L]  
From Ru. or Uk. bashtanshchik 'ts'.
- bebekhes 'rubbish', GTDM 210; [H] 'shmates'.  
From Uk. bebekhy 'ts'.
- bezditnitse 'childless', YS 163; [A] 'kinderloz'.  
From Uk. bezditnyi 'ts'.
- belebetshest 'prattle', GTDM 216; [F] 'bolben'.  
From Uk. belebenity 'ts'.

- bik 'bull', MFYK  
178; [A] 'aks'.  
From Ru. or Uk. byk 'ts'.
- blines 'pancakes', FY I 119; [I].  
From Ru. blin 'pancake'.
- blintses 'flatcakes', GTDM 58; [I].  
From Uk. blynets 'flatcake'.
- blishtshet 'shines', OUF 23; [G] 'glantsn'.  
From Uk. blyshchaty 'to shine'.
- Bohslav 'Boguslav', FY I, 227 [K].  
From Uk. Bohuslav 'ts'.
- bokon 'sideways', MFYK 16; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. bokon 'ts'.
- bolvan 'blockhead', FY II 11; [C] 'dumkop'.  
From R. bolvan 'ts'.
- blotes 'bogs', LYT 24; [D] 'zump'.  
From Ru. or Uk. boloto 'bot'.
- boren 'zikh(' 'to fight' MFYK 105; [A] 'shlogn 'zikh)'.  
From Ru. borot'sya or Uk. borotysya 'ts'.
- borshysh 'borsht', MFYK 162; [I].  
From Uk. borshch 'ts'.
- bosyak 'ragged fellow', FY I, 116; [C] 'oysvurf'.  
From Ru. or Uk. bosyak 'vagabond'.
- bratishek 'little brother', ME 72; [E] 'bruderl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. bratyshka 'ts'.
- britshkes 'britzka', GTDM 39; [H].  
From Ru. brichka or Uk. brychka 'ts'.

- bulaner 'dun' GTDM 176; [D] 'tunkl broyn'.  
From Ru. or Uk. bulanyj 'ts'.
- bulbevater 'potato-like', FY I, 283; [E] 'kartofelner'.  
From Uk. bul'bovydnyj 'ts'.
- bulbes 'potatoes', FY I, 247; [G] 'kartofel'.  
From Uk. bul'ba 'potato'.
- bulke 'wheat bread', GTDM 18; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. bulka 'roll'.
- buryan 'tall weeds', FY II, 197; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. buryan 'ts'.
- burtshet 'mutters', MFYK 227; [F] 'murmalt'.  
From Ru. burchat or Uk. burchaty 'to mutter'.
- bukhentses 'blows', FY I, 206; [A] 'klep'.  
From Uk. bukhanets 'blow'.
- vashne 'important', FYII, 103; [D] 'vikhtig'.  
From Ru. or Uk. vazhnyi 'ts'.
- valinkes 'valenki', LYT III; [I].  
From Ru. valenki 'felt boots'.
- varenikes 'varenik', OUF 21; [I].  
From Uk. varenyky 'ts'.
- varstek 'joiner's bench', MUF 50; [H] 'varshtat'.  
From Ru. verstak 'ts'.
- Varsho 'Warsaw', NM 46; [K] 'Varshe'.  
From Po. Warszawa 'ts'.
- Vasilkov 'Vasil'kov', NM 63; [K].  
From Uk. Vasil'kov 'ts.'

- vasilkover 'man from Vasil'kov',  
 Vasil'kov', MM 67; [L].  
 From Uk. Vasil'kov 'Vasil'kov'.
- vatoven 'wadded', MFYK 43; [A].  
 From Ru. or Uk. vata 'wadding'.
- velosiped 'bicycle', DSh 50; [H].  
 From Ru. or Uk. velosiped 'ts'.
- velosipedl 'little bicycle', DSh 101; [I].  
 From Ru. or Uk. velosiped 'bicycle'.
- Verotshke 'Verochka', DSh 101; [L].  
 From Ru. Verochka 'ts'.
- verst 'verst (3500 ft.)' GTDE  
 22,68. [I].  
 From Ru. or Uk. versta 'ts'.
- vesne 'spring', YS 103; [G] 'friling'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. vesna 'ts'.
- vetshere 'supper', FY I 57; [C] 'avntbroyt'.  
 From Uk. vecherya 'ts'.
- Vigdortshuk 'Vigdorchuk', DSh 153; [L].  
 From Ru. Vigdorchuk 'ts'.
- vidite '(you) see', MM 196; [C] 'lehr zet'.  
 From Ru. videt 'to see'.
- Vikidaylo 'throwing out', OUF 54; [J] 'Aroysvarfndiker'.  
 From Uk. vykydajlo 'ts'.
- Vinokur 'distiller', OUF 54; [J] 'Distillerer'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. vinokur 'ts'.

- vishnyak 'cherry brandy', OUF 48; [I].  
From Uk. vyshnivka 'ts'.
- vneshnikh 'external', FY I, 92; [C] 'oyserlekhe'.  
From Ru. vneshnij 'external'.
- vozdukh 'air', MUF 21; [D] 'luft'.  
From Ru. vozdukh 'ts'.
- voyene 'military', FY II, 45; [C] 'militerishe'.  
From Ru. voennyi 'ts'.
- vokzal 'station', YIR 118; [A] 'ayzenban-stantsye'.  
From Ru. or Uk. vokzal 'ts'.
- Volge 'Volga', LM 47; [K].  
From Ru. Volga 'ts'.
- Volodi 'Volodya', DSh 50; [L] 'Wolf'.  
From Ru. Volodya 'ts'.
- volostnoy 'district (adj.)', FY 81; [B].  
From Ru. volostnoj 'ts'.
- vortshet 'grumbles', GTDM 115; [F].  
From Ru. vorchat' 't grumble'.
- voronkover 'man from Voronka', FY I, 225; [L].  
From Uk. Voronka 'Voronka'.
- halushkes 'small boiled dumplings', GTDM 96; [I].  
From Uk. halushka 'small boiled dumpling'.
- harnaten 'cannons', FY I, 80; [E] 'kanonen'.  
From Uk. harnata 'cannon'.
- harmonike 'accordian', GTDM 109; [E].  
From Uk. harmoniya 'accordian'.

- holedrantses 'ragamuffins', FY II, 11; [C] 'laydak&s'.  
From Uk. holodranets 'ragamuffin'.
- holostoy 'single', GTDM 173; [A] 'unferhayrat'.  
From Ru. kholostoj or Uk. kholostyj 'ts'.
- holrubet 'fondled', YS 142; [A] 'tsertlen'.  
From Uk. holubyty 'to fondle'.
- horbater 'hump-backed', FY II, 47; [A] 'hoykerdiker'.  
From Uk. horbatyj 'ts'.
- hromade 'small community' FY I, 91; [B].  
From Uk. hromada 'ts'.
- huden 'to hum', FY I, 138; [F].  
From Uk. hudity 'ts'.
- hulon 'with rumble', FY I, 234; [F] 'mit brumen'.  
From Uk. hul 'rumble'.
- hultay 'knave', FY I, 107; [C] 'shyets'.  
From Uk. hul'tyj 'ts'.
- hultayke 'knave' (fem.) DSh 11; [C] 'oysvarf'.  
From Uk. hul'tyaka 'ts'.
- hulyake 'merry fellow', FY I, 88; [C] 'leydikgeyer'.  
From Uk. hulyaka 'idler'.
- gazeten 'newspapers', IS 22; [C] 'tsaytungen'.  
From Ru. gazeta 'newspaper'.
- gabidavet 'suffered want', GTDM 193; [C] 'gelitn'.  
From Uk. piduvaty 'to suffer want'.
- gaboret 'fought', GTDM 212; [A] 'gekemft'.  
From Ru. borot'sya or Uk. borotvsya  
'to fight'.

- sebushevet 'raged', FY I, 202; [C] 'geshturent'.  
From Ru. bushevat 'to rage'.
- segruzet 'loaded', FY I 23; [C] 'onloden'.  
From Ru. gruzit 'to load'.
- sehulvet 'had a very good  
time', FY I 160; [B] 'zikh  
farbrakht'.  
From Uk. hulyaty 'to carouse'.
- sekatshet 'rolled', FY I, 57; [A] 'gekayklt'.  
From Ru. kachat or Uk. kachaty 'to roll'.
- sekovete 'forged', GTDM 127; [C] 'geshaidte'.  
From Ru. kovat 'to forge'.
- sekontshet 'finished', GTDM 211; [A] 'geendikt'.  
From Ru. konchat 'to finish'.
- sekontsheten 'one who finished', RM 196; [C] 'geendikt'n'.  
From Ru. konchat 'to finish'.
- seldve 'guild', RM 52; [H].  
From Ru. or Uk. gil'diya 'ts'.
- semutshet (zikh) 'suffered', GTDM 57; [C] 'gelit'n'.  
From Ru. much-it'sya or Uk. muchytysya  
'to suffer'.
- senvantshet 'tended (a child), FY I 175; [F] 'oyfgepast'.  
From Ru. nyan'chit or Uk. nyan'chyty  
'to tend a child'.
- seporvadkevet 'restored order', YS 236; [D] 'gemakht  
ordenung'.  
From Ru. or Uk. porvadok 'order'.



- geslyasket 'splashed', FY I,257; [F] 'geshprišt'.  
From Ru. pleskat' or Uk. pleskaty 'to splash'.
- gepoyet 'gave to drink', YB 204; [C] 'ongetrunken'.  
From Ru. poit' or Uk. poity 'to give to drink'.
- gestrashet 'threatened', MM 55; [C] 'gedroht'.  
From Ru. strashit' or Uk. strashyty 'to frighten'.
- gestrakhevet 'insured', MM 55; [C] 'farzikhert'.  
From Ru. strakhovat' or Uk. strakhuyaty 'to insure'.
- getupet 'stamped', FY I,91; [F] 'geklyapt'.  
From Uk. tupaty 'to stamp'.
- gekhyopet 'snored', OUF 59; [F]  
From Uk. khropty 'to snore'.
- geshentshet 'whispered', OUF 28; [F] 'ayngeroymt'.  
From Ru. shentat' or Uk. sheptaty 'to whisper'.
- geshushket 'whispered', GTDM 109; [F] 'ayngeroymt'.  
From Uk. shushkaty 'to whisper'.
- gilzes 'cigarette wrappers', MM 172 [I]  
From Ru. or Uk. gil'iza 'cigarette wrapper'.
- Glukhiv 'Gluchov', MM 134; [J]  
From Ru. Glukhov 'ts'.
- Gorki 'Gorki', GTDM 124; [L]  
From Ru. Gor'kij 'ts'.

- gorodovoy 'policeman', MM 26; [C] 'politsist'.  
From Ru. gorodovoi 'ts'.
- gospodin 'gentleman', MM 211; [C] 'herr'.  
From Ru. gosnodin 'ts'.
- grizote 'rupture', MM 49; [C] 'brukh'.  
From Ru. gryzt' 'to gnaw'.
- groshn 'pennies', GTDM 109; [I].  
From Ru. grosh 'penny'.
- grebli 'weirs', GTDM 152; [I].  
From Uk. hreblya 'weir'.
- grive 'mane', FY II, 56; [D].  
From Ru. griva 'ts'.
- grivins 'ten-copeck pieces' MFYK 48; [I].  
From Ru. grivennik 'ten-copeck piece'.
- subernye 'province', MM 137; [B] 'provintsye'.  
From Ru. suberniya 'ts'.
- guralnes 'distilleries', MM 137; [I] 'distilirung'.  
From Uk. gural'nya 'distillery'.
- davay 'let us', FY I, 163; [C] 'lomir'.  
From Ru. davaj 'ts'.
- dazhe 'even', MM 196; [D] 'oyb afilu'.  
From Ru. dazhe 'ts'.
- datshes 'cottages' GTDM 82; [C] 'zumer hayzer'.  
From Uk. or Ru. dacha 'summer house'.
- datshnikes 'cottage dwellers' GTDM 112; [C].  
From Ru. dachnik or Uk. dachnyk 'cottage dwellers'.

- dashok 'hovel', MFYK 18; [I]  
From Uk. dashok 'ts'.
- dekutshet 'annoyed', FY 174; [A] 'deresen'.  
From Ru. dokuchat' or Uk. dokuchaty 'to annoy'.
- delo 'case', FY I, 92 [H]  
From Ru. delo 'ts'.
- dembene 'oaken', OUF 17; [H]  
From Po. dab 'oak'.
- desyatine 'desiatina'  
(measure of land), MFYK 128; [I]  
From Ru. desyatina or Uk. desyatyna 'ts'.
- dinis 'melons', FY I, 20; [I]  
From Ru. or Uk. dynya 'melon'.
- dishel 'shaft', GTDM 28; [I]  
From Uk. dyshel' 'ts'.
- Dnyeper 'Dnieper', FY I, 219; [K]  
From Ru. Dnepr 'Dnepr'.
- dobre 'good', IM 30; [D] 'gut'.  
From Ru. or Uk. dobryi 'ts'.
- doli 'fate', IM 30; [D] 'shikzal'.  
From Ru. or Uk. dolya 'ts'.
- Dombe 'oak', OUF 184; [J]  
From P. dab 'ts'.
- domovik 'house demon', FY 78; [H]  
From Uk. domovyk 'ts'.
- donoshtshil' 'informer', FY II 11; [C] 'moser'.  
From Ru. donocshik 'ts'.

- dotshinenves 'deal', FY I, 127; [C].  
From Uk. chynvty 'to execute'.
- draga 'dear', LYT 84; [A] 'tayere'  
From Po. droga 'ts'.
- dribnitske 'small', FY I 27; [E] 'kleyninke'.  
From Uk. dribno 'ts'.
- drimelt 'naps', YiR 144; [I].  
From Uk. drimaty 'to nap'.
- durin 'fool', FY I, 235; [A] 'nar'  
From Ru. or Uk. duren 'ts'.
- dyshenke 'darling', GTDM, 187; [C] 'neshome'.  
From Ru. or Uk. dushen'ka 'ts'.
- Efim 'Efim', DSh 162; [L].  
From Ru. Efim 'ts'.
- zhabes 'frogs', GTDM 152; [G] 'froshn'.  
From Uk. zhaba 'frog'.
- zhalovanye 'salary', MM 159; [C] 'gehalt'.  
From Ru. zhalovan'ie 'ts'.
- zhvave 'active', FY I 144; [A] 'lebedike'.  
From Uk. zhvavyi 'ts'.
- zhedne 'greedy', OUF 38; [C] 'gerik'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zhadnyi 'ts'.
- zhilet 'vest', MPDKh 19; [C] 'vest'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zhilet 'ts'.
- Zhitomir 'Zhitomir', MM 22; [K].  
From Uk. Zhitomir 'ts'.
- zhmeni 'handful', MM200; [C] 'hoyfen'.  
From Uk. zhmenya 'ts'.

- Zhmerinke 'Zhmerinka', IM 200; [K]  
From Uk. Zhmerinka 'ts'.
- zhmurkes 'blind man's buff', FY I, 139; [C] 'blinde ku'.  
From Ru. zhmurki or Uk. zhmurky 'ts'.
- zhuk 'beetle', F4 II, 160; [G]  
From Ru. or Uk. zhuk 'ts'.
- zhulikes 'rogues', ISh 63; [C] 'shvindlers'.  
From Ru. zhulik or Uk. zhulyk 'rogue'.
- zhumen 'to buzz', FY I, 221; [F]  
From Ru. shum 'noise'.
- zavtra 'tomorrow', LYT 46; [D] 'morgen'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zavtra 'ts'.
- zavoden 'factories', IM 124; [C] 'fabriken'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zavod 'factory'.
- zavodtshik 'factory owner', IM 130; [C] 'fabrikantn'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zavod 'factory'.
- zavtriklekh 'little breakfasts', IM 73; [D] 'frishtiklekh'.  
From Ru. zavtrak 'breakfast'.
- zaika 'stammerer', FY I, 238; [F] 'shtamerer'.  
From Ru. zaika or Uk. zaiika 'ts'.
- zakladne 'mortgage', IM 104; [C] 'mashken'.  
From Ru. zakladnaya 'ts'.
- zakones 'laws', FY I, 88; [C] 'gezetsen'.  
From Ru. or Uk. zakon 'law'.
- zakonik 'lawyer', FY I, 171; [e] 'gezetsful'.  
From Ru. zakonik or Uk. zakonyk 'ts'.

- zametshatelne 'wonderful', NUF 14; [A] 'vunderbar'.  
From Ru. zamechatel'no 'ts'.
- zapasnoy 'spare, reserve', 1Sh 61; [C] 'rezervirter'.  
From Ru. zapasnoj 'ts'.
- zasedanyes 'meetings', MM 132; [C] 'sitzungen'.  
From Ru. zasedanie 'meeting'.
- zastup 'spade', FY II, 204; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. zastup 'ts'.
- zatirkes 'kind of dumpling  
soup', GTDM 33; [I].  
From Uk. zatirka 'ts'.
- zatshepet 'hooked', GTDM 21; [I].  
From Ru. zatsevit' 'to hook'.
- zverinets 'menagerie', ZL 20; [E] 'menasherye'.  
From Ru. zverinets 'ts'.
- zenske 'provincial', FY I, 23; [B] 'provintsyele'.  
From Ru. zenskij or Uk. zen'skvi 'ts'.
- Zlodeyevke 'town of villains', OUF 10; [J].  
From Ru. zlodej 'villain'.
- znakone 'familiar', ME 196; [C] 'bekant'.  
From Ru. znakomyj 'ts'.
- znakhar 'quack', FY I, 60; [C] 'tsoyberer'.  
From Ru. znakhar or Uk. znakhar 'ts'.
- Zolatusakin 'Zolatushkin', FY II, 153; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. zoloto 'gold'.

- zontikel 'little umbrella', GTDM 76; [C] 'shirenol'.  
From Ru. zontik or Uk. zontyk 'umbrella'.
- Ivan 'Ivan', FY I, 236; [L].  
From Ru. or Uk. Ivan 'ts'.
- izvozhtshik 'waggoner', 1Sh 61; [C] 'furman'.  
From Ru. izvozchik 'ts'.
- imenyes 'estates', EM 109; [C] 'fermesens,  
guts'.  
From Ru. imenie 'estate'.
- kazarnes 'barracks', LYT 126; [C].  
From Ru. or Uk. kazarna 'barrack'.
- kazna 'treasury', FY I, 151; [C] 'fond'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kazna 'ts'.
- kalbasne 'sausage factory', LYT 75; [A] 'vursht fabrik'.  
From Ru. kolbasa 'sausage'.
- kalbasnik 'sausage-maker', LYT 75; [A].  
From Ru. kolbasnik 'ts'.
- kalemutne 'turbid', GTDM 206; [A] 'shlekht'.  
From Uk. kalamutnyi 'ts'.
- kalike 'cripple', YS 10; [C] 'kripl'.  
From Uk. kalika 'ts'.
- kalitshen 'to cripple', MUF; [D] 'makhn far  
a kripl'.  
From Uk. kalichyty 'ts'.
- kamish 'rush', MFK 27; [G].  
From Ru. kamysh 'ts'.

- kanat 'rope', FY I, 224; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. kanat 'ts'.
- kanarik 'canary', YS 18; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. kanarejka 'ts'.
- Kanvev 'Kanev', FY I 229; [K].  
From Ru. Kanvev 'ts'.
- kanyever 'one from Kanev', MM 137; [L].  
From Ru. Kanvev 'Kanev'.
- kanikules 'holidays', FY II, 132; [C] 'ferien'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kanikuly 'ts'.
- kantor 'office', GTDM 173; [C] 'kantselarye'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kontora 'ts'.
- kantorel 'little office', MM 138; [C] 'kleyne  
kantselarye'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kontora 'office'.
- kantshik 'whip, lash', MFYK 103; [I].  
From Uk. kanchuk 'ts'.
- kapelish 'hat', LYT 26; [C] 'hut'.  
From Uk. kabelyukh 'ts'.
- kapelishel 'little hat', MM 173; [C] 'hitl'.  
From Uk. kabelyukh 'hat'.
- kapet 'drips', MFYK 156; [A] 'trifen'.  
From Ru. kapat or Uk. kapaty 'to drip'.
- kapetshke 'little', MFYK 79; [A] 'a bisl'.  
From Ru. kaplya 'drop'.



- kapetshkele 'tiny', DSh 60; [D] 'a kleyn  
bisele'.
- From Ru. kaplya 'drop'.
- Kapote 'robe-like', OUF 54; [J].
- From Ru. or Uk. kapot 'robe'.
- kapote 'robe', MFYK 56; [I].
- From Ru. or Uk. kapot 'ts'.
- kapotkelekh 'small robes', MFYK 85; [I].
- From Ru. or Uk. kapot 'robe'.
- kapotukhe 'large robe', MFYK 94; [E].
- From Ru. or Uk. kapot 'robe'.
- karben 'roubles', OUF 33; [I].
- From Uk. karbovanets 'rouble'.
- karate 'coach', FY I, 243; [H].
- From Ru. or Uk. kareta 'ts'.
- karnose 'snub-nosed', GTDM 74; [A] 'kurtsnozike'.
- From Ru. kurnosvi 'ts'.
- karobke 'box', FY I, 234; [D] 'kestl'.
- From Ru. or Uk. korobka 'ts'.
- kartyozhnik 'gambler', MM 122; [C] 'kortnshpiler'.
- From Ru. kartézhnik 'ts'.
- Kasoy 'squint-eyed', DSh 155; [J].
- From Ru. kosoj 'squint-eyed'.
- katorzhne 'penal  
(servitude)', LM 207; [H].
- From Ru. katorzhnyi or Uk. katorzhnij 'ts'.

- katorzhnik 'convict', FY II,12; [C].  
From Ru. katorzhnik or Uk. katorzhnyk 'ts'.
- Katerineslav 'Ekaterinoslav', MM 172, [K].  
From Ru. Ekaterinoslav 'ts'.
- katori 'who', GTDM 117; [D] 'vellkher'.  
From Ru. kotoryi 'ts'.
- katsapes 'Russians  
(in scorn)', FY I,61; [C].  
From Uk. katsap 'Russian'.
- Katshalke 'Rolling-pin', OUF 66; [J].  
From Uk. kachalka 'ts'.
- Katshen 'Cabbage-stalk', OUF 54; [J].  
From Uk. kachan 'ts'.
- katshen 'to roll', FY I, 143; [A] 'kayklen'.  
From Ru. kachat or Uk. kachaty  
'to rock, swing'.
- katshkes 'duck', GTDM 54; [G] 'entel'.  
From Uk. kachka 'ts'.
- kashe 'porridge', MUF 22; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. kasha 'ts'.
- kashket 'peak-cap', MFYK 92; [I].  
From Uk. kashket 'ts'.
- kashtanever 'chestnut', GTDM 176; [A] 'broyner'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kashtanovyj 'ts'.
- kvaken 'croak', GTDM 82; [F].  
From Ru. kvakat or Uk. kvakaty 'to croak'.

- kveytl 'flower' FY I, 138; [G] 'blum'.  
From Uk. kvit 'ts'.
- kvitantsye 'receipt', MM 216; [H].  
From Ru. kvitantsiya or Uk. kyvtantsiya 'ts'.
- kesheni 'pocket', MM 104; [I].  
From Uk. kyshenya 'ts'.
- Keshenev 'Kishenev', GTDM 143; [K].  
From Ru. Kishenev 'ts'.
- kislitse 'codlin', FY II, 11; [G].  
From Uk. kyslytsya 'ts'.
- kishkes 'guts', FY I, 136; [C] 'gederem'.  
From Ru. kishka or Uk. kyshka 'gut'.
- kishkelekh' 'little guts', OUF 16; [C] 'gederemlekh'.  
From Ru. kishka or Uk. kyshka 'gut'.
- klepke 'stave', GTDM 53; [D].  
From Uk. klepka 'ts'.
- klotshkevate 'ragged', MFYK 53; [A].  
From Ru. klochkovatyj 'ts'.
- knyazen 'princes', YS 107; [C] 'furshtn'.  
From Ru. or Uk. knvaz 'prince'.
- koze 'goat', MFYK 145; [D] 'tsig'.  
From Ru. or Uk. koza 'ts'.
- kozak 'name of Uk. dance',  
FYI, 85; [K].  
From Uk. kozak 'ts'.

- kozak 'Cossack', FY I, 257; [K].  
From Uk. kozak 'ts'.
- Kozodovevke 'goat miling', OUF 14; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. koza 'goat' and doit or doity 'to milk'.
- kozerok 'peek', OUF 31; [I].  
From Ru. kozerek or Uk. kozyrok 'ts'.
- kozorem 'tramp (with)', MFYK 190; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. kozorem 'ts'.
- koyletsh 'braided bread', FY I, 34; [I].  
From Uk. kulich 'ts'.
- koleyke 'line, row', FK 95; [C] 'roy'.  
From Ru. koleya 'rut, track'.
- Kolish 'thick soup', GTDM 83; [I].  
From Uk. kulich 'ts'.
- kolpakes 'high caps', FY I, 99; [A].  
From Ru. kolpak 'ts'.
- koltenes 'plicas', MFYK 39; [A].  
From Ru. koltun 'plica'.
- Koltun 'plica', DSh 153; [J].  
From Ru. koltun 'ts'.
- komares 'mosquitoes', MFYK 186; [G].  
From Ru. or Uk. komar 'mosquito'.
- kopike 'kopeck', MM 53; [I].  
From Uk. kopijka 'ts'.

- kobit 'hoof', OUF 66; [I].  
From Ru. kopyto 'ts'.
- korave 'rough', YS 173; [A] 'grob'.  
From Ru. or Uk. korvavyi 'ts'.
- korenyet 'eradicated', GTDM 223; [E] 'oysgevortselt'.  
From Ru. koren 'root'.
- korenoy 'wheel horse', FY I 125; [D].  
From Ru. korenoi 'ts'.
- Korets 'Korets', MM 188; [K].  
From Ru. Korets 'ts'.
- korzh 'biscuit', FY I, 119; [I].  
From Uk. korzh 'ts'.
- Korzhhik 'little biscuit', MM 184; [J].  
From Uk. korzh 'biscuit'.
- Korobke 'Box-like', OUF 65; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. korobka 'box'.
- kostvol 'Polish Roman  
Catholic Church', YS 49; [C] 'kleyster'.  
From Ru. kostel or Po. kostiol 'ts'.
- Kostolomevke 'Bone-breaking', GTDM 210; [J].  
From Ru. kost 'bone' and lomat 'to break'.
- Kotelnikov 'Kotel'nikov', FY II, 100; [J].  
From Ru. kotel 'copper'.
- kotshere 'poker', MM 60; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. kochersa 'ts'.
- koshek 'basket', OUF 12; [C] 'korb'.  
From Uk. koshyk 'ts'.

- koshmar 'nightmare', FY II, 145 [A] .  
From Ru. or Uk. koshmar 'ts'.
- krasavitse 'beauty', FY I, 127; [A] 'sheynhayt'.  
From Ru. krasavitsa 'ts'.
- Krementshuk 'Kremenchug', MM 172; [K] .  
From Ru. Kreman'chug 'ts'.
- kresle 'arm-chair', YiR 26; [A] 'lehnshtul'.  
From Ru. kreslo 'ts'.
- kretshme 'inn', FY I, 243; [C] 'gast-hoyz'.  
From Ru. or Uk. korchma 'ts'.
- Kreshtshatik 'Kreshchatik', MM 49; [K] .  
From Uk. Kreshchatik 'ts'.
- krivde 'injustice', OUF 10; [C] 'ungerekhtikayt'.  
From Ru. krivda or Uk. kryvda 'ts'.
- Krivorog 'Krivoi Rog', MM 172; [K] .  
From Ru. Krivoi Rog 'ts'.
- kropive 'stinging-nettle', FY II, 197 [I] ;  
From Ru. krapiya 'ts'.
- Krendelman 'Knot-shaped  
biscuit', YiR 101 [J] .  
From Ru. or Uk. krendel 'ts'.
- kreпки 'strong', MM 186; [D] 'shtark'.  
From Ru. krenki 'ts'.
- kruzheykes 'little laces', YiR; [C] 'shpitsn'.  
From Ru. kruzhevo 'lace'.

- kruzhnoy 'district', KH 209; [B] 'segnit'.  
From Uk. okruzhnyi or Ru. okruzhnoj 'ts'.
- krupnik 'buckwheat pudding  
with curds', OTDM 83; [I].  
From Ru. krupnik 'ts'.
- kudlas 'dishvelled head', FK 61; [C] 'tseshoybert'.  
From Uk. kudly 'ts'.
- kukle 'doll', DSh 217; [A] 'popke'.  
From Ru. kukla 'ts'.
- kukushke 'cuckoo', DSh 31; [I].  
From Ru. kukushka 'ts'.
- kulak 'fist', DSh 24; [A] 'foyst'.  
From Ru. or Uk. kulak 'ts'.
- kuptsis 'merchants', KH 63; [C] 'hendler'.  
From Ru. kupets or Uk. kupets 'ts'.
- Kurelannitshke 'hen-grabber', KH 24; [J].  
From Uk. kura 'hen' and lapat 'to grab'.
- kutsheres 'curled hair', YS 200 [A] 'gekrayzelte  
hor'.  
From Uk. kucheri 'ts'.
- kutshne 'disordered head  
of hair', FY I, 127; [A] 'tseshoybert'.  
From Uk. kuchma 'ts'.
- lapes 'paws, large hands' MFYK 220; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. lapa 'paw, large hand'.

- lapke 'little paw', MFYK 226; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. lapka 'ts'.
- laskave 'benevolent', GTDM 175; [C].  
From Uk. laskavyi 'ts'.
- laske 'favour', MCM 103; [C] 'toyve'.  
From Uk. laska 'ts'.
- late 'patching', OUF 9; [C].  
From Uk. lata 'ts'.
- latnik 'one who patches', OUF 9; [C].  
From Uk. lata 'patch'.
- latsn 'lapel', GTDM 174;  
From Ru. or Uk. latskan 'ts'.
- lezhanke 'stove-couch', FY I, 87; [C].  
From Ru. or Uk. lezhanka 'ts'.
- lemeshke 'weaking', OUF 33; [A].  
From Ru. lemekh 'ploughshare'.
- lesiped 'bicycle', DSh 51; [C] 'fahrrad'.  
From Ru. or Uk. velosiped 'ts'.
- livade 'meadow', MFYK 108; [G] 'lonke'.  
From Uk. levada 'ts'.
- livak 'left-handed', FY I, 96; [A] 'gelinkter'.  
From Uk. livak 'ts'.
- lineykes 'large wagonettes', GTDM 183; [H].  
From Ru. lineika 'ts'.
- lisine 'bald spot', GTDM 185; [E] 'plikh'.  
From Ru. lysina or Uk. lysyna 'ts'.



- litke 'calf (of the leg)' GTDM 132; [C] 'ikre'.  
From Uk. lytka 'ts'.
- litshne 'personally', GTDM 183; [C] 'perzenlekh'.  
From Ru. lichno 'ts'.
- loder 'idler', FY II, 11; [C] 'leydikgeyer'.  
From Ru. lodyr 'ts'.
- Lokey 'servant', DSh 153; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. lakej 'ts'.
- Lopite 'spade', MM 186; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. lopata 'ts'.
- lopete 'spade', FY I, 176; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. lopata 'ts'.
- loonet 'bursts', GTDM 23; [C] 'platst'.  
From Ru. lopnut or Uk. lopnuty 'to burst'.
- Loshek 'hinny', GTDM 84; [J] 'moyl-eyzl'.  
From Ru. loshak 'ts'.
- loshekal 'little hinny', MFYK 124; [A] 'kleyn  
moyl-eyzl'.  
From Ru. loshak 'hinny'.
- mayontkes 'estates', FPBP 21 [D] 'farmegns'.  
From Po. maetek 'estate'.
- mahrish 'gift', GTDM 73; [A].  
From Ru. masarych 'ts'.
- Mazepovke 'mazepovka', FM 125; [L].  
From Ru. Mazepa 'mazepa'.
- malines 'raspberries', MFYK 125; [I].  
From Ru. malina or Uk. malyna 'raspberry'.

- mamalise 'hominy', MUF 13; [I].  
From Ru. mamalisa or Uk. mamalyga 'ts'.
- marozhene 'ice-cream', MM 33; [I].  
From Uk. morozhene 'ts'.
- maslinke 'buttermilk', OUF 35; [I] 'putermilkh'.  
From Ru. or Uk. maslo 'butter'.
- Matvey 'Matthew', DSh 51; [L] 'Notl'.  
From Ru. Matvey 'ts'.
- Mashe 'Masha', DSh 64; [L].  
From Ru. Masha 'ts'.
- mashenikes 'swindlers', MUF 42; [C] 'shwindlers'.  
From Ru. moshennik 'swindler'.
- medliven 'linger', FY II, 158; [C] 'lang vartn'.  
From Ru. medlit 'ts'.
- merzavtses 'villains', YiR 34; [A] 'ferdorbene  
mentshn'.  
From Ru. merzavets 'villain'.
- mizinikl 'the youngest little  
son', DSh 78; [I].  
From Ru. mizinet or Uk. mizynets  
'little finger'.
- mizinke 'the youngest  
daughter', GTDE 172; [I].  
From Ru. mizinet or Uk. mizynets  
'little finger'.
- mirovoy 'Justice of Peace',  
(sudya) GTDE 226; [H].  
From Ru. mirovoy sudya 'ts'.

170

mlintses 'pancakes', GTDM 83; [I].  
From Uk. mlynets 'pancake'.

Mohliv 'Mogilev', GTDM 144; [K].  
From Uk. Mohilev 'ts'.

mohliver 'one from Mogilev', NM 99; [L].  
From Uk. Mohilev 'Mogilev'.

molodets 'brave', MPYK 107 [E].  
From Ru. molodets or Uk. molodets 'fine fellow'.

moldavan 'Moldavian', NM 216; [L].  
From Ru. moldavanin or Uk. moldavanyn 'ts'.

molotshne 'dairy', NM 137; [A] 'a plats  
vu men makht puter'.  
From Ru. molochnaya 'ts'.

monastir 'cloister', FY II, 60; [C] 'kloyster'.  
From Ru. monastyr or Uk. monastyr 'ts'.

monetshikes 'coiners', GTDM 109; [H].  
From Ru. monetchik 'coiner'.

mordashnik 'heavy faced', LYT 83; [A].  
From Ru. mordastvi or Uk. mordatvi 'ts'.

morde 'muzzle', FY I, 126; [A] 'ponim'.  
From Ru. or Uk. morda 'ts'.

morde 'muzzle', GTDM 194; [D].  
From Ru. or Uk. morda 'ts'.

morde 'muzzle', MPYK 213; [E].  
From Ru. or Uk. morda 'ts'.

- nokhnate 'shaggy', FY I,126; [A] 'horig'.  
From Ru. or Uk. nokhnatyj 'ts'.
- muzhtshine 'men', M 239; [A] 'man'.  
From Ru. muzhchina or Uk. muzhchyna 'ts'.
- muzhikes 'peasants', FY II,194; [C] 'poyerim'.  
From Ru. muzhik or Uk. muzhyk 'peasant'.
- mudrik 'wise one', FY I,125; [J] 'Kluger'.  
From Ru. or Uk. mudryj 'ts'.
- mundir 'uniform', l Sh 177; [C] 'uniforme'.  
From Ru. mundir or Uk. mundyr 'ts'.
- murken 'to mumble', EM 45; [F].  
From Uk. murkaty 'ts'.
- murliken 'to purr', FY II,124; [F].  
From Ru. murlykat 'ts'.
- mutshen 'to torment', MM 24; [C] 'matern'.  
From Ru. muchit or Uk. muchyty 'ts'.
- myakhki 'soft', GTDM 219; [D] 'veykh'.  
From Ru. myaskij 'ts'.
- myatsh 'ball', FY I,169; [C] 'pilke'.  
From Ru. myach or Uk. m'yach 'ts'.
- naplyevat 'spit', l Sh 140; [E] 'onshpayen'.  
From Ru. naplevat 'ts'.
- napudele 'scarecrow', FY I,217; [E].  
From Ru. or Uk. puralo 'ts'.

- naprimer 'for example', MM 208; [C] 'tsum bayshpil'.
- From Ru. naprimer 'ts'.
- naroyet 'offered', GTDM 204; [D] 'forgeschlogen'.
- From Ru. naryad 'duty detail'.
- nasvadet 'pressed', MM 57; [C] 'zikh on-gezetst'.
- From Ru. nasedat or Uk. nasidaty 'to press'.
- nastoykes 'liqueurs', GTDM 29; [I].
- From Ru. or Uk. nastojka 'ts'.
- nakhal 'lout', DSh 113; [A] 'grober yung'.
- From Ru. nakhal 'ts'.
- natshalnik 'head, chief', FY I, 88; [C] 'shef'.
- From Ru. nachal'nik or Uk. nachal'nyk 'ts'.
- natshalstve 'authorities', FY I, 82; [C] 'onfirers'.
- From Ru. or Uk. nachal'stvo 'ts'.
- nash 'our', GTDM 161; [D] 'unzer'.
- From Ru. or Uk. nash 'ts'.
- nevezhdes 'ignoramus', DSh 112; [A] 'umvisnde'.
- From Ru. nevezhda 'ts'.
- Nemirov 'Nemirov', MM 185; [K].
- From Ru. Nemirovo 'ts'.
- Nyepet 'Dniepr', MM 172; [K].
- From Ru. Dneper 'ts'.
- nepremenno 'certainly', MFYK 79; [D] 'beshtimt'.
- From Ru. nepremenno 'ts'.
- nyesmotrya 'in spite', MM 196; [C] 'nit kukndik oyf'.
- From Ru. nesmotrya 'ts'.

- nikakikh 'none', MFYK 159; [D] 'gornisht'.  
From Ru. nikakikh 'ts'.
- Nikolayevski 'Nikolaevskaya, MM 138; [L].  
From Ru. Nikolaevskaya 'ts'.
- nove-god 'New Year', GTDM 11; [C] 'nay-yor'.  
From Ru. novyi god 'ts'.
- novobrantses 'recruits', LYT III; [C] 'rekrutn'.  
From Ru. novobranets or Uk. novobranets 'recruit'.
- nosilshtshik 'porter', YiR 118; [C] 'treger'.  
From Ru. nosil'shchik 'ts'.
- nyantshen 'to nurse', FY I, 264; [F].  
From Ru. nyan'chit' or Uk. nyan'chytv 'ts'.
- obizhaen 'to offend', GTDM 211; [C] 'baleydikn'.  
From Ru. obizhat' 'ts'.
- obrazovanve 'education', MM 196; [C] 'bildung'.  
From Ru. obrazovanie 'ts'.
- obrazoveter 'educated', MM 196; [C] 'gebildeter'.  
From Ru. obrazovanie 'education'.
- ovnutrenyekh 'internal', FY I, 92; [C] 'inerlekhe'.  
From Ru. vnutrenniy 'ts'.
- Odes 'Odessa', MM 12; [K].  
From Ru. Odessa 'ts'.
- ovsgemutshet 'exhausted', MM 83; [C] 'oysgematert'.  
From Ru. muchit' or Uk. muchyty 'to torment'.
- ovsgemutsheter 'tormented', GTDM 151; [A] 'oysgematertec'.  
From Ru. muchit' or Uk. muchyty 'to torment'.

<u>oysrenashet</u>	'tended',	MM 46;	[C]
	From Uk. <u>vypasaty</u> 'to tend'.		
<u>oyssetripet</u>	'worn out',	GTDM 47;	[A] 'tserisn'.
	From Uk. <u>tripaty</u> 'to tear'.		
<u>oyskorenyen</u>	'eradicate',	MFYD 189;	[D] 'oysvortslen'.
	From Ru. <u>koren'</u> 'root'.		
<u>oysstikeven</u>	'to piece',	OUF 9;	[C] 'tsuzamenshteln'.
	From Uk. <u>shtukuvaty</u> 'ts'.		
<u>okrep</u>	'dill'	GTDM 216;	[I]
	From Uk. <u>ykrip</u> 'ts'.		
<u>ongebrekhet</u>	'to bang',	MFYK III;	[A] 'ongeshlogn'.
	From Uk. <u>bukhaty</u> 'ts'.		
<u>ongenordevet</u>	'tortured',	OUF 59;	[C] 'ongehorevet'.
	From Uk. <u>morduvaty</u> 'to torture'.		
<u>ongetshevet</u>	'pestered',	MFYK 44;	[A]
	From Uk. <u>prychevty</u> 'to hitch, hook'.		
<u>opreblyakevete</u>	'faded',	MM 214;	[A] 'opgekrokhene'.
	From Uk. <u>blyaknuty</u> 'to fade'.		
<u>oprevoevet</u>	'got by force'	FY I, 181;	[A] 'opgekemft'.
	From Ru. <u>voevat'</u> 'to fight'.		
<u>opisen</u>	'inventories',	MM 119;	[H] 'bashraybung'.
	From Ru. <u>opis'</u> or Uk. <u>opys</u> 'list'.		
<u>optshepen</u>	'leave alone',	OUF 30;	[H] 'iberlozn'.
	From Uk. <u>prychevty</u> 'to hitch, hook'.		
<u>osyen</u>	'fall',	GTDM 62;	[G] 'herbst'.
	From Ru. <u>osen'</u> 'ts'.		
<u>Osip</u>	'Osip',	YiR 24;	[K]
	From Ru. <u>Osip</u> 'ts'.		

- Oskar 'Oskar', YIR 153; [K]  
From R. Oskar 'ts'.
- otvetshavest '(you) answer' DSh 19; [A] 'entferst'.  
From Ru. otvechat' 'to answer'.
- otizne 'travelling allowance', FY I, 110; [C] 'opfor gelt'.  
From Ru. otezd 'departure'.
- otkritke 'postcard', MM 92; [C] 'postkart'.  
From Ru. otkrytka 'ts'.
- padbokom 'under side', DSh 16; [A] 'unter der zayt'.  
From Ru. bok 'side'.
- padeshves 'soles', MFYK 82; [C] 'zoyln'.  
From Ru. podoshva 'sole'.
- padol 'hem', MM 70; [C] 'zoyrn'.  
From Ru. podol 'ts'.
- Peyterberg 'Petersburg', MM 56; [L].  
From Ru. Peterburg 'ts'.
- palazhenye 'condition' MM 208; [D] 'lage'.  
From Ru. polozhenie 'ts'.
- palito 'coat', MFYK 77; [C] 'mantl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pal'ito 'ts'.
- palonke 'ice-hole', KM 43; [I].  
From Uk. polonka 'ts'.
- polumesik 'soupplate', MFYK 56; [I].  
From Uk. polumysok 'ts'.
- palutshet 'received, got', MM 196; [C] 'erhalten'.  
From Ru. poluchit' 'to receive, to get'.



140

pameshtshikes 'landowners', MM 109; [C] 'gutbazitser'.  
From Ru. pomeshchik 'landowner'.

pampeshkes 'puffs, doughnuts', GTDM 181; [I].  
From Uk. panpushka 'puff, doughnut'.

pani 'sir', GTDM 95; [C] 'her'.  
From Uk. pan 'ts'.

Pantaley 'Pantelej' FY II, 164 [L].  
From Ru. Pantelej 'ts'.

parasha 'father', ZL 15; [C] 'foter'.  
From Ru. parasha 'ts'.

papirosnik 'cigarette man', GTDM 97; [L].  
From Ru. papirosnik 'ts'.

parakhod 'steamer', FY II, 16; [I].  
From Ru. parokhad 'ts'.

pare 'steam', MPYK 230; [I].  
From Ru. par or Uk. para 'ts'.

parik 'wig', DSh 80; [I].  
From Ru. parik or Uk. paryk 'ts'.

parom 'ferry', FY I, 216; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. parom 'ts'.

paromshtshik 'ferry-man', FY I, 226; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. parom 'ferry'.

partatsh 'spoiler', FY II, 12; [I].  
From Ru. portit 'to spoil'.

parkhes 'scabs', MUF 37; [C].  
From Ru. parsha or Uk. parshi 'scab'.

- pastudne 'nasty', MM 68; [C] 'shlekhte'.  
From Uk. pastudnyj 'ts'.
- pastudnitses 'mean woman', GTDM 123; [C] 'shlekhte  
froy'.  
From Uk. pastudnytsya
- patiletshnikes 'kicks', FY I, 207; [A] 'shleg'.  
From Uk. tilo 'body'.
- patle 'tufts of hair', GTDM 123; [E].  
From Uk. patlya 'ts'.
- pakhves 'arm-pits', FY II, 179; [I] 'unter di  
orems'.  
From Uk. pakhva 'arm-pit'.
- pakhir 'plough-man', FY I, 27; [E] 'akerer'.  
From Ru. pakhar 'ts'.
- patshken 'to soil', DSh 12; [E] 'shautsig  
makhn'.  
From Ru. pachkat 'ts'.
- nashe 'feed, grass (on  
the pasture)', GTDM 149; [G].  
From Uk. pasha 'ts'.
- nashol 'let's go', GTDM 129; [C] 'lomir geyn'.  
From Ru. poiti 'to go'.
- pelene 'covering', NFYK 130; [I] 'ferhilung'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pelena 'ts'.

- nerveseldye 'first guild', MM 52; [H].  
From Ru. or Uk. gil'diya 'guild'.
- Pereyaslav 'Pereyaslav', FY I, 229; [K].  
From Ru. Pereyaslav 'ts'.
- Pertshik 'peppered', GTDM 97; [J].  
From Ru. perets or Uk. perets 'pepper'.
- petrishke 'parsley', GTDM 39; [I].  
From Ru. petrushka 'ts'.
- petshatek 'start', DSh 121; [D] 'onhoyb'.  
From Uk. pochaty 'to start'.
- Petshi-khvost 'stove's tail', OUF 51; [J].  
From Ru. pech 'stove', Khvost 'tail'.
- petsheritses 'meadow mushroom' MM 15; [I].  
From Uk. pecheytsya 'ts'.
- peshekhodn 'pedestrians', FY I, 99; [D] 'fusgeyers'.  
From Ru. peshekhod 'pedestrian'.
- pidvorkes 'villas', FY I, 157; [C] 'viles'.  
From Uk. pidvarok 'villa'.
- pidzhak 'coat', DSh 161; [C] 'rok'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pidzhak 'ts'.
- pidzhakel 'little coat', FK 61; [C] 'rekl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pidzhak 'coat'.
- pidkoves 'horse shoe', MM 59; [I].  
From Uk. pidkova 'ts'.
- pidvaleb 'kindling', OUF 67; [D] 'shpener'.  
From Uk. pidval 'firing'.

- pidsvinek 'grown-up suck-  
ing pig', DSh 51; [C] 'khazer'.  
From Uk. pidsvynok 'ts'.
- pidsmetene 'whey', OUF 35; [I].  
From Uk. pidsmetana 'ts'.
- pisk 'squeak', OUF 13; [F].  
From Uk. pysk 'ts'.
- piskate 'squeaky', M 14; [A].  
From Uk. pysk 'squeak'.
- piskele 'little mouth', MFYK 173; [E] 'maylkhele'.  
From Uk. pysk 'squeak'.
- piskes 'big mouths', MFYK 47; [D] 'mayler'.  
From Uk. pysk 'squeak'.
- pitaklekh 'five copeck coins' MFYK 49; [I].  
From Ru. pyatak or Uk. p'yatak 'five copeck coin'.
- pitakel 'little five  
copeck coin', MFYK 17; [I].  
From Ru. pyatak or Uk. p'yatak 'five copeck coin'.
- Pishi-yabede 'poisoned-pen town' OUF 98; [J].  
From Ru. pisat 'to write' and yabeda 'slander'.
- pishtshet 'squeals', FY I, 192; [F].  
From Ru. nishchat or Uk. nyshchaty 'to squeal'.
- plati 'dress', MFYK 95; [C] 'kleyd'.  
From Ru. plat'e 'ts'.
- plyotkas 'gossips', FY II, 144 [C] 'bereyderay'.  
From Uk. plitka 'gossip'.

- pletshen 'to talk nonsense', OUF 53; [A] 'plaplen'.  
From Ru. plesti or Uk. plesty 'ts'.
- plyesket 'to applaud', FY I, 86; [F].  
From Ru. pleskat' or Uk. pleskaty 'ts'.
- pluteve 'confuse' MM 68; [A] 'reydn  
narishkaytn'.
- From Uk. plutaty 'ts'.
- plyukh 'heavy rain', MM 120; [F].  
From Uk. plyukhaty 'to fall down'.
- plyame 'spot', MPDKh 14; [A] 'flek'.  
From Uk. plyana 'ts'.
- plyasken 'to splash', MFYK 224; [A] 'tseshpritsen'.  
From Ru. pleshat' or Uk. pleskaty 'ts'.
- povtirne 'repeated', GTDM 202; [D].  
From Ru. or Uk. povtornyj 'ts'.
- nohane 'impure, foul', DSh 25; [A] 'shlekht'.  
From Uk. pohanyj 'ts'.
- pohibel 'ruination', OUF 59; [C] 'tseshterung'.  
From Uk. pohybel' 'ts'.
- podlosten 'meannesses', GTDM 207; [C] 'shlekhtskaytn'.  
From Ru. podlost' 'meanness'.
- podtakeven 'to say yes', RUF 43; [E].  
From Ru. poddaktivat' 'ts'.
- povezd 'train', MM 192; [C] 'ban'.  
From Ru. poezd 'ts'.

- po-zakonu 'according to the law', FYI, 91; [H] 'loytn gezets'.  
From Ru. po-zakonu 'ts'.
- pozhaluvsta 'please', M 204; [C] 'bite'.  
From Ru. pozhaluista 'ts'.
- poyzhe 'scramble', GTDM 81; [G].  
From Uk. povzty 'to scramble'.
- podbokom 'under the side', YiR 144; [A] 'unter der zayt'.  
From Ru. bok 'side'.
- podbitshnik 'space under the oven', FY I, 176; [I].  
From Uk. pidnichchya 'ts'.
- podradn 'contracts', GTDM 176; [C] 'kontrakt'.  
From Ru. podryad 'contract'.
- podratshnik 'contractor', GTDM 184; [C] 'kontrakter'.  
From Ru. podryadchik 'ts'.
- podyake 'thanks', YiR 102; [C] 'dank'.  
From Uk. podyaka 'ts'.
- pokoyove 'housemaid', GTDM 178; [C] 'dinst'.  
From Uk. pokojivka 'ts'.
- Pokrove 'name of a holiday', FY I, 22; [K].  
From Ru. or Uk. Pokrov 'ts'.
- pokrishke 'cover, lid', GTDM 73; [D] 'dekl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pokryshka 'ts'.
- poles 'skirts, flaps', YS 165; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. Pola 'skirt, flap'.

- 152
- polyosken 'to splash', FY I, 20; [F].  
From Ru. poloskat' or Uk. poloskaty 'ts'.
- politse 'shelf', MFYK 92; [I].  
From Uk. polytsya 'ts'.
- polkovoy 'regimental', MFYK 177; [H].  
From Ru. polkovoj 'ts'.
- polne 'full', GTDM 102; [D] 'ful'.  
From Ru. polnyj 'full'.
- polozhenye 'position', GTDM 183; [C] 'lage'.  
From Ru. polozhenie 'ts'.
- polonik 'large wooden spoon' FY I, 234; [A] 'groyse lefl'.  
From Uk. polonyk 'ts'.
- polonke 'ice-hole', MM 43; [I] 'lõkh in ayz'.  
From Uk. polonka 'ts'.
- poltaver 'one from Poltava', MM 137; [L].  
From Ru. Poltava 'Poltava'.
- polyubovnitse 'mistress', MM 15; [C] 'gelibte'.  
From Uk. polyubovnytsya 'ts'.
- Polyakov 'Poliakov', GTDM 183; [J].  
From Ru. polyak 'Pole'.
- pomenitse 'slops', FY I, 175; [H].  
From Uk. pomyinytsya 'ts'.
- ponetsh 'help', MFYK 144; [A] 'hilf'.  
From Uk. ponich 'ts'.
- ponaprasno 'in vain', MM 196; [C] 'unzist'.  
From Ru. ponaprasnu 'ts'.

- poperek 'across', MFYK 156; [A] .  
From Ru. or Uk. poperek 'ts'.
- popusay 'parrot', MFYK 182; [I] .  
From Ru. popusaj 'ts'.
- poradkes 'orders', OUF 32; [D] 'ordenungeo.  
From Ru. or Uk. porjadok 'order'.
- poselenye 'settling', GTDM 204; [C] 'bazitsung'.  
From Ru. poselenie 'ts'.
- poseshtshaen 'to attend', MM 196; [C] 'bazukhn'.  
From Ru. poseshchat 'ts'.
- posteles 'bedding', GTDM 185; [C] 'betgevant'.  
From Ru. postel 'ts'.
- postoronkes 'traces', GTDM 202; [D] 'leytses'.  
From Uk. postoronky 'ts'.
- potraves 'dishes', FY II, 191 [C] 'maykholim'.  
From Uk. potrava 'dish'.
- polkhir 'plough-man', MM 29; [A] 'akerer'.  
From Ru. pakhar 'ts'.
- pravde 'truth', FY I, 282; [D] 'emes'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pravda 'ts'.
- praven 'to serve', KM 27; [A] 'servirn'.  
From Uk. pravyty 'ts'.
- praves 'rights', FK 33; [C] 'rekht'.  
From Ru. or Uk. pravo 'right'.
- pravozhittelstve 'residence permit', M 229; [H] .  
From Ru. or Uk. pravo 'right' and Ru.  
zhittel'stvo 'residence'.



- prezhenitse 'omelette', M 67; [I] 'faynkukhn'.  
From Uk. pryazhyty 'to fry with butter'.
- prihlushet 'damped down'  
From Ru. priglushit' or Uk. pryhlushyty  
'to damp down'.
- prigovor 'sentence', FY I, 91 [H].  
From Ru. prigovor 'ts'.
- priziv 'levy', M 226; [I].  
From Ru. prizyv 'ts'.
- prikre 'vexing', MM 191 [A].  
From Uk. prykryj 'ts'.
- printsedatel 'chairman', M 227; [H] 'onfirer'.  
From Ru. predsedatel' 'ts'.
- pripetshik 'fore part of an  
oven', MPYK 226; [I].  
From Uk. prypichok 'ts'.
- pristav 'ward inspector', FY I, 80; [H].  
From Ru. pristav or Uk. prystav 'ts'.
- pristyazhne 'trace-horses', FY I, 125; [D].  
From Ru. pristyazhnaya 'trace-horse'.
- prisyadkes 'squatting', YIR 144; [A].  
From Ru. vorisyadku 'ts'.
- pritshepe 'caviller', GTDM 218; [E].  
From Uk. prychepea 'ts'.
- prishtshes 'pimples', M 84; [I].  
From Uk. pryshch 'pimple'.

prose 'millet', KM 26; [I]  
 From Ru. or Uk. proso 'ts'.

proste 'simple', M 121; [A]  
 From Ru. prostoj or Uk. prostyj 'ts'.

prostorne 'spacious', MFYK 77; [D] 'geran'.  
 From Ru. prostornyj 'ts'.

protokol 'report', NE 172; [C] 'report'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. protokol 'ts'.

proshenye 'application', FY I, 171; [A] 'bite'.  
 From Ru. proshenie 'ts'.

proshkes 'powders', Y3 16; [I] 'puder'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. poroshok 'powder'.

psaltir 'Psalter', GTDM 226; [C].  
 From Ru. psaltyr or Uk. psaltyr.

puhatsh 'horn-owl', OUF 60; [I].  
 From Uk. puhach 'ts'.

pod 'pood(-16.38 kg)', GTDM 114; [I].  
 From Ru. or Uk. pod 'ts'.

puzate 'big-bellied', DSh 121; [C] 'groysboykhig'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. puzatyj 'ts'.

Pupik 'navel', OUF 54; [J].  
 From Ru. or Uk. pup 'navel'.

pustepasnikes 'idlers', MUF 26; [C] 'leydikgeyers'.  
 From Ru. or Uk. pusto 'empty( and Uk. pasty  
 'to pasture'.

- pyavkes 'leeches', OUF 23; [G].  
From Ru. pyavka or Uk. p'yavka 'leech'.
- pyate 'heel', GTDM 75; [E] 'knafel'.  
From Ru. pyata or Uk. p'yata 'ts'.
- Rabilovke 'town of robbers', GTDM 210; [J].  
From Ru. grabit' 'to rob'.
- ragozhes 'bast mats', FY I, 124; [D] 'mates'.  
From Ru. or Uk. ragozha 'bast mat'.
- Radomishl 'Radomyshl', MM 22; [K].  
From Ru. or Uk. Radomyshl' 'ts'.
- radomishler 'one from  
Radomyshl', MM 184; [L].  
From Ru. or Uk. Radomyshl' 'radomyshl'.
- razgovor 'conversation', DSh 201; [C] 'geshprekh'.  
From Ru. razgovor 'ts'.
- pazoren 'to ruin', FY I, 91; [C] 'tseshtern',  
From Ru. razoryat' or Uk. razoryaty 'ts'.
- ramashkes '(ox-eyed) daisy', OUF 30; [G].  
From Ru. or Uk. ramashka 'ts'.
- Rastov 'Rostov', GTDM 144; [K].  
From Ru. Rostov 'ts'.
- rendar 'lease-holder', OUF 50; [H].  
From Ru. arenda 'lease'.
- reshete 'sieve', FY II, 193 [I] 'zip'.  
From Ru. or Uk. resheto 'ts'.

- retsheni 'of buckwheat', OUF 37; [I].  
From Uk. hrechanyj 'ts'.
- Rzhishtshev 'Rzhishchev', FY I, 229; [K].  
From Ru. Rzhishchev 'ts'.
- rozhikel 'small horn', MFYK 81; [E].  
From Ru. rozhek 'ts'.
- roskosh 'luxury', GTDM 78; [C] 'lyuksus'.  
From Ru. roskosh 'ts'.
- rubel 'rouble', EM 69; [I].  
From Ru. rubl' 'ts'.
- sazhe 'soot', MFYK 91; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. sazha 'ts'.
- samestayatelni 'independent', EM 185; [C] 'zelibststendik'.  
From Ru. samostoyatel'nyj 'ts'.
- samovar 'samovar', MFYK 163; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. samovar 'ts'.
- samovolets 'self-willed', FY I, 25; [C] 'sheygets'.  
From Ru. samovol'nyj 'ts'.
- sapet 'puffs', M<sup>11</sup> 188; [F].  
From Ru. sopet' 'to puff'.
- saroker 'one from Soroki', EM 171; [L].  
From Ru. or Uk. Soroki 'Soroki'.
- sakhirni 'of sugar', EM 186; [C] 'fun tsuker'.  
From Ru. or Uk. sakhar 'sugar'.
- Sasha 'Alexandr', DSh 47; [L].  
From Ru. Sasha 'ts'.

- svaes 'piles', FY II, 81; [I].  
From Ru. svaya 'pile'.
- svobodne 'free', LYT, 108; [C] 'fray'.  
From Ru. svobodno 'ts'.
- svinyake 'pig-like', MFYK 70; [E] 'khazerish'.  
From Ru. svinya or Uk. svynya 'pig'.
- svite 'retinue', MFYK 130; [H].  
From Ru. svita 'ts'.
- svitke 'mantle', FY I, 226; [H].  
From Uk. svyta 'ts'.
- svishtshen 'to whistle', GTDM 154; [F] 'fayfn'.  
From Ru. svistet' or Uk. svvstaty 'ts'.
- svoletsh 'scum', FY, II; [C] 'oysvurf'.  
From Ru. svoloch' 'ts'.
- svolotshes 'scums', YIR 34; [A] 'oysvurf'n'.  
From Ru. svoloch' 'scum'.
- sdatshe 'change', GTDM 185; [C] 'reshte'.  
From Ru. sdacha 'ts'.
- Semyon 'Simon', DSh 178; [L].  
From Ru. Semen 'ts'.
- semetshkes 'sun-flower seeds', OUF 23; [I].  
From Ru. semechko 'sun-flower seed'.
- serdtse 'heart', GTDM 76; [D] 'harts'.  
From Ru. serdtse 'ts'.
- Sinbir 'Siberia', OUF 33; [K].  
From Ru. Sibir' 'ts'.
- Simerenko 'Simerenko', FY II 195; [L].  
From Ru. Simerenko 'ts'.

- sipke 'powdery', GTDM 21; [D].  
From Uk. syvkyj 'ts'.
- sitsen 'cotton', KM 45; [C] 'kartunene'.  
From Ru. sitets or Uk. sytets 'ts'.
- skatines 'brutes', FY I, 97; [E] 'beheymes'.  
From Ru. skotina 'brute'.
- skidkele 'little deduction', MM 17; [C].  
From Ru. or Uk. skovoroda 'ts'.
- skot 'cattle', GTDM 201; [C] 'beheyne'.  
From Ru. or Uk. skot 'ts'.
- skotine 'brute', GTDM 194; [C] 'beheyne'.  
From Ru. skotina 'ts'.
- skripendike 'squeaking', FY I, 196; [F].  
From Ru. skrip or Uk. skryp 'squeak'.
- skripkes 'squeaking (boots)', OUF 30; [F].  
From Ru. skrip or Uk. skryp 'squeak'.
- slyedovatel 'inspector', MM 55; [C] 'inspektor'.  
From Ru. sledovatel 'ts'.
- sline 'saliva', -YS 162; [I].  
From Uk. slyna 'ts'.
- sloyekl 'little jar', FY I, 134; [I].  
From Ru. sloj 'jar'.
- sloyes 'jars', MM 120; [C].  
From Ru. sloj 'jar'.
- sluzh 'serve', MPYK 226; [C] 'din'.  
From Ru. sluzhit or Uk. sluzhyty 'to serve'.

- sluzhba 'service', GTDM 182; [C] 'dienst'.  
From Ru. or Uk. sluzhba 'ts'.
- sluzheshtshes 'employees', FY I, 97; [C] 'beamtēts'.  
From Ru. sluzhashchij 'employee'.
- slup 'post', FY II, 81; [I].  
From Po. slup 'ts'.
- slukh 'rumour', FY II, 138; [C] 'klang'.  
From Ru. or Uk. slukh 'ts'.
- slyad 'track', GTDM 223; [E] 'shpur'.  
From Po. slyad 'ts'.
- smalyen 'to singe', MFYK 186; [A] 'tsubrenen'.  
From Uk. smalyty 'ts'.
- snarkerey 'snivelling', MUF 28; [D].  
From Ru. snorkat 'to snivel'.
- smetene 'sour cream', 1Sh 10; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. smetana 'ts'.
- Smile 'Pitch', NM 186; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. smola 'pitch'.
- smitshik 'bow', NM 39; [A] 'boygen'.  
From Ru. or Uk. smychok 'ts'.
- smole 'pitch', GTDM 112; [I] 'pekh'.  
From Ru. smola 'ts'.
- snotritel 'supervisor', FY II, 49; [C] 'oyfzeer'.  
From Ru. snotritel 'ts'.

- smotsket 'smacks', FY I 217; [F].  
From Uk. smoktaty 'to smack'.
- snopes 'sheafs', FY II, 193; [I].  
From Ru. snop 'sheaf'.
- sobake 'dog', MFYK 69; [E] 'hunt'.  
From Ru. or Uk. sobaka 'ts'.
- sobstvenno (govorya) 'as a  
matter of fact', MM 196; [C] 'eygentlekh'.  
From Ru. sobstvenno govorya 'ts'.
- sovest 'conscience', GTDM 26; [A] 'gevisn'.  
From Ru. sovest 'ts'.
- sovest 'conscience', GTDM 226; [E] 'gevisn'.  
From Ru. sovest 'ts'.
- soderzhankes 'kept women', MM 98; [H] 'kepsvayber',  
From Ru. soderzhanka 'kept woman'.
- solovey 'nightingale', FY I, 47; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. solovej 'ts'.
- sonishnikes 'sunflower', FY I, 138; [I].  
From Uk. sonyashnik 'ts'.
- Sonitshke 'Sonechka', MM 194; [K].  
From Ru. 'Sonechka' 'ts'.
- sorokes 'magpies', MUF 34; [G].  
From Ru. or Uk. soroka 'magpie'.
- sosnes 'pine-trees', GTDM 112; [G].  
From Ru. or Uk. sosna 'pine-tree'.



- spivake 'singer', MFYK 70; [D] 'zinger'.  
From Uk. spivaty 'to sing'.
- spilshlive 'hasty', FY I, 90; [F].  
From Ru. vsplychivyyj 'ts'.
- spodek 'plate', OUF II, [I] 'teler'.  
From Po. spodek 'tsi'.
- spotiket 'stumbled', GTDM 32; [A].  
From Uk. spotykatvsya 'to stumble'.
- spraves 'matters', MFYK 159; [C] 'gesheftn'.  
From Uk. sprava 'matter'.
- sprayke 'information', FY I, 159; [A] 'oysforshung'.  
From Ru. or Uk. sprayka 'ts'.
- spravnik 'police officer', FY I, 91; [H] 'politsist'.  
From Uk. spravnyk 'ts'.
- stanovoy 'district police officer',  
officer', FY I, 80; [H].  
From Ru. stanovoj 'ts'.
- staroste 'head of a village'. FY I, 89; [H].  
From Ru. or Uk. starosta 'ts'.
- starshi kozir 'stronger trump-  
card', FY I, 167; [H].  
From Ru. starshij 'older' and kozvo 'trump-card'.
- starshina 'official, elder', FY I, 89; [H].  
From Uk. starshyna 'ts'.

- statetshne 'staid', FY I, 260; [A] 'solid'.  
From Uk. statechnyj 'ts'.
- stezhke 'footpath', FY II, 151 [I].  
From Uk. stezhka 'ts'.
- steli 'ceiling', MM 116; [I] 'sufit'.  
From Uk. stelya 'ts'.
- stoy 'stand', GTDM 20; [C] 'shtey'.  
From Ru. stoyat or Uk. stoyaty 'to stand'.
- stoyke 'bar, counter', YS 173; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. stojka 'ts'.
- stolyar 'carpenter', FY I, 15; [D] 'tishler'.  
From Ru. or Uk. stolyar
- storozh 'guard', YIR 119; [C] 'vekhter'.  
From Ru. or Uk. storozh 'ts'.
- stryantshe 'attorney', GTDM 100; [U].  
From Ru. stryapchij or Uk. stryapchyj 'ts'.
- Strishtsh 'Stryy', OUF 9; [K].  
From Uk. Stryj 'ts'.
- strotshne 'express', MM 184; [A] 'dringende'.  
From Uk. strok 'term'.
- struzh 'guard', GTDM 124; [H] 'hiter'.  
From Po. struż 'ts'.
- strunes 'strings', FY I, 199 [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. struna 'string'.
- stukolke 'Ukrainian dance', MFYE 139; [I].  
From Uk. stukalka 'ts'.

- stupes 'mortars', FY I, 260; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. stupa 'mortar'.
- stusakes 'blows', FY I, 206; [A] 'klep'.  
From Uk. stusan 'blow'.
- sumatokhe 'bustle', YS 98; [A] 'tuml'.  
From Ru. sumatokha 'ts'.
- sunnekayt 'sadness', GTDM 24; [A] 'umet'.  
From Uk. sunnyj 'sad'.
- sutulevate 'round-shouldered', FY I, 147 [A].  
From Ru. sutulovatyj or Uk. sutulavatyj 'ts'.
- stshitaet 'counts', NM 196; [C] 'halt'.  
From Ru. schitat' 'to count'.
- Talni 'Tal'noye', NM 185; [K].  
From Ru. Tal'noe 'ts'.
- Tanara 'Tamar', I Sh 12; [L].  
From Ru. Tanara 'ts'.
- tafli 'window pane', FY I, 176; [A] 'kakhle'.  
From Uk. takhlya 'ts'.
- tarabanest 'clatter', GTDM 138; [F].  
From Ru. tarabanit' or Uk. tarabanyty 'ts'.
- tarakan 'cockroach', LFKK 139; [G].  
From Ru. tarakan 'ts'.
- Taratayke 'Two-wheeled cart', NM 185; [J].  
From Ru. or Uk. taratajka 'ts'.
- tatshke 'wheel-barrow', GTDM 81; [H] 'vegl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tachka 'ts'.

- teletses 'heifers', DSh 141; [C] 'kalb'.  
From Uk. telytsya 'heifer'.
- Teletsi 'Heifer', MFYK 178; [J].  
From Uk. telytsya 'ts'.
- tesen 'to hew', FY I, 175; [A] 'shnitsn'.  
From Ru. tesat or Uk. tesaty 'ts'.
- teser 'hewer, cutter', MI 60; [A] 'shnitser'.  
From Ru. tesat or Uk. tesaty 'to hew'.
- ti 'you', GTDM 169; [A] 'du'.  
From Ru. or Uk. ty 'ts'.
- tikves 'pumpkins', FY I, 138; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. tykva 'pumpkin'.
- tolk 'sense', GTDM 227; [D] 'begrayf'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tolk 'ts'.
- tolmatsh 'interpreter', MFYK 130; [H] 'iberzetsen'.  
From Uk. tovmach 'ts'.
- Tonkinog 'one with thin feet', MI 184 [J].  
From Ru. tonkij or Uk. tonkyj 'thin' and Ru. or Uk. noga 'foot'.
- toptshen 'to trample', GTDM 186; F 'tretn'.  
From Ru. toptat or Uk. toptaty 'ts'.
- torbe 'bag', YS 157; [C] 'zak'.  
From Ru. or Uk. torba 'ts'.
- Torseniv 'Turgenev', MI 185; [I].  
From Ru. Turgenev 'ts'.

- torges 'market', GTDM 144; [H] 'oysfarkoyf'.  
From Ru. or Uk. torg 'auction, market'.
- totshen 'to gnaw', YB 169; [C] 'esn'.  
From Ru. tochit' or Uk. tochyty 'ts'.
- totshet 'gnaws', DSh 32; [A] 'est'.  
From Ru. tochit' or Uk. tochyty 'to gnaw'.
- trask 'crack', GTDM 203; [F].  
From Ru. tresk 'ts'.
- trasken 'to crack', MUR II; [E].  
From Ru. treskat' 'ts'.
- treter 'side-walk', GTDM 59; [I].  
From Ru. trotuar 'ts'.
- Trihubekhe 'Triple-lip', GTDM 84; [J].  
From Uk. huba 'lip and try 'three'.
- trishtshen 'to crack' FY I, 225; [F].  
From Uk. trishchaty 'ts'.
- troyke 'a team of three horses', FY I, 124; [D] 'draygoshpan'.  
From Ru. or Uk. troika 'troika'.
- trubatsh 'trumpeter', MPYK 124; [A] 'trampar'.  
From Ru. or Uk. trubach 'ts'.
- tuzhurke 'short coat', FY II, 149 [I] 'kurtser mantl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tuzhurka 'ts'.
- tuluplekh 'small sheepskin coats', MPYK 36; [C] 'beltslekh'.  
From Ru. tulup 'sheepskin coat'.

- tuman 'fog', G 'nepl'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tuman 'ts'.
- tuneyadets 'sponger', DSh 108; [A] 'leydikgeyer'.  
From Ru. tuneyadets 'ts'.
- turmes 'jails', I Sh 8; [C] 'tfises'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tyurma 'jail, prison'.
- tkhoyn 'polecat', MFYK 139; [G].  
From Uk. tkhir 'ts'.
- uvazhaven 'to respect', YS 158; [C] 'respektirn'.  
From Ru. uvazhat 'ts'.
- uезд 'district', MM 137; [B].  
From R. uezd 'ts'.
- uездne 'district', FY 169; [H].  
From Ru. uezd 'ts'.
- umenyer 'one from Uman', MM 99; [K].  
From Ru. Uman 'Uman'.
- untergepolnevet 'filled up', YS 86; [C] 'ongefilt'.  
From Ru. polnyj 'full'.
- urok 'lesson', FY II, 50; [C] 'lektsye'.  
From Ru. or Uk. urok 'ts'.
- uratnik 'village magistrate' GTDM 207; [H].  
From Ru. uryadnik or Uk. uryadnyk 'ts'.
- utshastkes 'districts', FY I, 202; [B].  
From Ru. or Uk. uchastok 'district'.
- utshebne 'educational', MM 196; [H] 'bildung'.  
From Ru. uchebnue 'ts'.

- Fanitshke 'Phillis', DBh 119; [L] 'Feygl'.  
From Ru. Fanechka 'ts'.
- farpravet 'bettered', LYT 10; [D] 'tsurekht-  
gemakht'.  
From Uk. pravyty 'to correct'.
- fartukh 'apron', FPBP 36; [I] 'shirts'.  
From Uk. fartukh 'ts'.
- fartshepet 'hooked', GTDM 58; [I].  
From Uk. zacheptyty 'to hook'.
- fasolis 'beans', FY I, 146; [I].  
From Uk. fasolya 'bean'.
- fasolkile 'little bean', MFYK 34; [I].  
From Uk. fasolya 'bean'.
- farkatshet 'rolled up', FY I, 204 [A].  
From Uk. kachaty 'to roll'.
- farlyubet 'fell in love', GTDM 159; [E] 'farlibt'.  
From Ru. lyubit or Uk. lyubyty 'to love'.
- farmutshet 'exhausted', OUF 61; [C] 'farmatert'.  
From Ru. muchit or Uk. muchyty 'to torment'.
- farsapeter 'puffed', FY II, 23; [F].  
From Ru. sopet 'to puff'.
- fartshadet 'fumed', GTDM 192; [E].  
From Ru. chad 'fumes'.
- ferkatshete 'rolled up', OUF 68; [A].  
From Uk. kachaty 'to roll'.

- ferkovete 'forged', MFYK 29; [A] 'farshteynerte'.  
From Ru. kovat' 'to forge'.
- ferlyabet 'besmeared', MFYK 222; [D] 'farsbmirt'.  
From Uk. lyabaty 'to besmear'.
- khadobe 'cattle', GTDM 206; [H].  
From Uk. khudoba 'ts'.
- khalyastre 'rabble', OUF 68; [E] 'grupe'.  
From Uk. khalastra 'ts'.
- khapers 'graspers', M 144; [A].  
From Uk. khapaty 'to grasp'.
- khap-lap 'catch-grasp', DSh 59; [A].  
From Uk. khap-lap 'ts'.
- Khaplapovitch 'Catching-grasping' OUF 51; [J].  
From Uk. khapaty 'to grasp' and lapaty  
'to catch'.
- khate 'hut', GTDM 210; [C].  
From Ru. or Uk. khata 'ts'.
- Khvastev 'Khvastov', MM 191; [J].  
From Uk. khvastatysya 'to boast'.
- khvat 'dashing fellow', FY I, 80; [A] 'khevremant'.  
From Ru. khvat 'ts'.
- Khvedke 'Fed'ka', GTDM 123; [L].  
From Ru. Fedor 'Fedor'.
- khmare 'heavy cloud', FY I, 21; [G] 'volkn'.  
From Uk. khmara 'ts'.



- Khmelnik 'Hopman', MM 185; [J].  
From Ru. khmel' 'hop'.
- khlipet 'sobs', MFXI 201; [P].  
From Ru. khliip 'sob'.
- khodorom 'in disorder', GTDM 208; [A].  
From Uk. khodorom 'ts'.
- khodotayes 'solicitors', MM 99; [H].  
From Ru. khodataj 'solicitor'.
- kholive 'boot-top', OUF 30; [D].  
From Uk. khalyava 'ts'.
- khomotes 'horse-collars', FY I 227; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. khogut 'horse-collar'.
- khraket 'expectorates', ZL 26; [F].  
From Ru. 'kharkat' 'to expectorate'.
- khropet 'snores', GTDM 88; [F].  
From Ru. khrapet' 'to snore'.
- khrukele 'grunting thing', GTDM 225; [E] 'khazer'.  
From Ru. khryuket' 'to grunt'.
- khutor 'farm', GTDM 147; [I].  
From Ru. khutor 'ts'.
- Tsaritsen 'Czariczin', MM 186; [H].  
From Ru. Tsaritsyn 'ts'.
- tsebalevet 'spoiled', M 78; [A] 'tselozt'.  
From Ru. balovat' 'to spoil'.
- tseyushet 'nasty', MM 65; [A].  
From Uk. yushytyaya 'to run'.

tsenoyfreakut-

- sheburet 'put together', GTDM 133; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. kucha 'heap'.
- tsekh 'workshop', OUF 21; [H] 'fabrik'.  
From Ru. or Uk. tsekh 'ts'.
- tsibele 'onion', H 19; [I].  
From Uk. tsybulya 'ts'.
- tsicelni 'brickworks', MFYK 108; [L].  
From Po. cicelnia 'ts'.
- tsikave 'interesting', KM 107; [A] 'interessante'.  
From Uk. tsikavyj 'ts'.
- tsikavest 'interest', MFYK 57; [A] 'interes'.  
From Uk. tsikavist 'ts'.
- tsusetulyet 'leaned', KM 29; [A] 'tsugedrikt'.  
From Uk. prytulytysya 'to lean'.
- tsurekovet 'forged', MFYK 103; [A] 'tsugesmidt'.  
From Uk. prykovannyj 'ts'.
- tsurepleshtshet 'flattened', OUF 11; [A].  
From Uk. pryolyushchenyj 'ts'.
- tsucetshebet 'importuned', MFYK 226; [A].  
From Uk. prycheptytsya 'to importune'.
- tsutsik 'whelp', DSh 55; [A].  
From Uk. tsutsyk 'ts'.
- tshed 'charcoal fumes', GTDM 137; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. chad 'ts'.

- tsadet 'smokes', MFYK 202; [A]  
From Ru. chadit' or Uk. chadyty 'to smoke'.
- tshadne 'smoky', LYT 38; [A] 'roykhnig'.  
From Ru. or Uk. chad 'smoke'.
- tshaynik 'tea-kettle', FY II 118; [I]  
From Ru. chajnik or Uk. chajnyk 'ts'.
- tshakhnen 'to pine away', LYT 62; [C]  
From Ru. chakhnut' or Uk. chakhnuty 'ts'.
- tshakhotochne 'consumptive', LYT 62; [A]  
From Ru. chakhotochnyj 'ts'.
- tshemodan 'suit-case', M 35; [C]  
From Ru. or Uk. chemodan 'ts'.
- tshemodantshiki 'small suit case', GTDM 168; [C]  
From Ru. or Uk. chemodan 'suit case'.
- tshepat 'clutches', MFYK 55; [I]  
From Ru. tseplyatsya 'to clutch'.
- tsherede 'flock', MFYK 187; [B]  
From Uk. chereda 'flock, herd'.
- tsherta 'pale', FY I, 176; [H]  
From Ru. cherta 'ts'.
- tshetvert 'quarter', M 215; [I] 'fertl'.  
From Ru. chetvert' 'ts'.
- tshikaves 'interest', GTDM 212; [A] 'interes'.  
From Uk. tsikavist' 'ts'.
- tshinovnik 'official', FY I, 38; [C] 'ongeshtalter'.  
From Ru. chinovnik or Uk. chynovnyk 'ts'.

- tshiste 'pure', GTDM 177; [E] 'reyne'.  
From Ru. chistyj or Uk. chystyj 'ts'.
- tshobotes 'boots', MFK 94; [I].  
From Uk. chobit 'boot'.
- shalashen 'huts', FY II, 169 [I].  
From Ru. shalash 'hut'.
- shakhte 'mine', MH 172; [C] 'koylgrub'.  
From Ru. or Uk. shakhta 'ts'.
- sheleshtshet 'rustles', MFK 95; [F].  
From Ru. shelestet or Uk. shelestity  
'to rustle'.
- shelnish 'roguish', MH 212; [A].  
From Ru. or Uk. shel'na 'rogue'.
- sheptshet 'whispers', FY I, 217; [F] 'aynroyen'.  
From Ru. sheptatj or Uk. sheptaty 'to whisper'.
- shishke 'cone', GTDM 136; [C].  
From Ru. shishka or Uk. shyshka 'ts'.
- shkoles 'schools', FY I, 172; [H].  
From Ru. or Uk. shkola 'school'.
- shkrab 'worn out shoe', GTDM 32; [C] 'alter shukh'.  
From Uk. shkrab 'ts'.
- shkrabes 'worn out shoes', MFK 38; [A] 'alte shikh'.  
From Uk. shkrab 'worn out shoe'.
- shlyve 'breaching', MFK 65; [E] 'leytses'.  
From Ru. or Uk. shlyva 'ts'.

- shlyames 'helmets', GTDM 76; [C].  
From Ru. shlem 'helmet'.
- shlyakh 'road', GTDM 58; [H] 'veg'.  
From Uk. shlyakh 'ts'.
- shnokhtelyakes 'rags', GTDM 69; [E].  
From Uk. shnattya 'ts'.
- shorokh 'rustle', FY I, 140; [F].  
From Ru. shorokh 'ts'.
- shoizarnes 'pantries', GTDM 79; [C] 'shafes'.  
From Uk. spvzharnya 'pantry'.
- shram 'scar', MFYK 231; [D].  
From Ru. or Uk. shram 'ts'.
- shtukes 'things', FY I, 159; [A] 'shtiklekh'.  
From Ru. or Uk. shtuka 'thing'.
- shturkh 'push', MFYK 22; [A] 'shtup'.  
From Uk. shturkh 'ts'.
- shushket 'whispers', GTDM 206; [F].  
From Ru. shushkat'sya 'to whisper'.
- shtshavel 'sorrel', IH 88; [H].  
From Ru. or Uk. shchavel 'ts'.
- shtshagel 'dandy', FY I, 87; [C] 'frant'.  
From Ru. shchegol 'ts'.
- shtsherbate 'notchy', H 24; [A] 'tseshpoltn'.  
From Uk. shcherbatyi 'ts'.
- shtshipel 'nipping', GTDM 135; [A].  
From Uk. shchypaty 'to nip'.

- shtshibelyave 'lispings', RUF 63; [I].  
From Ru. or Uk. shebelyavyi
- shtshipet 'twitches', GTDM 82; [A] 'tsupt'.  
From Uk. shchypaty 'to twitch'.
- shtshiren 'to grin', FY I, 206; [E].  
From Uk. shchyryty 'ts'.
- yabednikes 'sneaks', MI 24; [A] 'noset'.  
From Ru. yabednik or Uk. yabednyk 'sneak'.
- Yavdokhe 'Evdokiya', FY I, 238; [L].  
From Ru. Evdokiya 'ts'.
- yak 'how', GTDM 56; [A] 'viazoy'.  
From Uk. yak 'ts'.
- yakosh 'somehow', BM 76; [A] 'vi nit iz'.  
From Uk. yakos' 'ts'.
- yashtsherkes 'lizards', IM 128; [E].  
From Uk. yashchirka 'lizard'.
- yashtshik 'box', FY I, 175; [C] 'kestl'.  
From Ru. yashchik or Uk. yashchyk 'ts'.