Some Apparent Orthographic Inconsistencies in American Family Names of Yiddish Origin*

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For THE CULTURAL HISTORIAN, the study of the forms and se-
mantic content of the personal and family names borne by people
of the Jewish faith at various times and places is a subject of end-
less fascination.[1] In America today one of the most striking features
of the non-Slavic family names in use among the descendents of

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* In this study we have used the following transcription conventions: phonemic
transcriptions enclosed in slants, e.g. /xayim švar¢/; citations in their original
orthography either in italics or enclosed in angle braces, e.g. ⟨Chaim Schwartz⟩;
and the transcription conventions of the International Phonetic Association with
the following modifications:

1. /y/ and not /j/ is used for the initial sound in English *yet* and for the second
element in the diphthongs /ey/, /oy/, /ay/.
2. /š/ and /č/ have been used for /ʃ/ and /tʃ/.
3. /¢/ has been used for /ts/.

It should be noted that in our transcription convention /x/ = the German *ach-Laut*,
the velar spirant found in German *Buch*.

[1] The whole subject of the type-persistence of Jewish personal names through
the ages is worthy of a separate study. The following facts will briefly indicate its
scope:

a) the practice of /a nomen nox/ "a name after (someone)." The child must be
named after a relative, always one who is deceased, preferably one noted for his
(or her) learning and piety.

b) The persistence of Hebrew personal names and the tradition of learning
which made them transparent to their bearers.

c) The translation of Hebrew names into the local language, e.g., both Heb.
/¢ipore/ and Yiddish /foygl/ "bird" occurring as girls' names in Yiddish.

d) The questions of selection of names. Among the hundreds of personal names
which occur in the Old Testament, only a relatively small set are traditionally used,
at least among Eastern European Jews, particularly when contrasted with the
great number of non-Biblical Hebrew names used, e.g., *Ruth* and *Adam* are not
traditional names, but the non-Biblical /Xaye/ "life" (fem.) and /Simxe/ "joy"
(masc.) are.

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Jews of East European origin is the degree of Germanicization which these names exhibit in their written form, as, for example, *Rosenthal* < /rozentol/, *Rothbart(h)* < /roytbord/, *Mandelbaum* < /mandelboym/.[2]

East European Yiddish family names of German origin, whenever and wherever acquired, were composed of common Deutschonic[3] lexemic material and their constituent morphemes in Yiddish were subject to the same phonological changes as were the other morphemes in the language; a fact not shown by the Germanicized spelling.

Although knowledge of German was practically non-existant in pious Jewish communities (and the majority of village Jewish communities were in their piety, and because of outside pressures, very much turned in upon themselves and very unreceptive to outside intellectual influences,[4] there were a number of factors which made for the adaptation of names to German orthographic models:

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e) The sets of names, always masculine, derived from the names of animals which symbolize the 12 tribes (cf. Jacob's blessing of his children in Genesis 49), such as Hebrew *Ari*, Yiddish /Leyb/ "lion," symbol of Judah; Hebrew /Çvi/, Yiddish /Herš/, dim. /Heršl/ "deer," symbol of Naphtali; Yiddish /Volf/ "wolf," symbol of Benjamin; and of names of virtues and other abstract qualities, usually feminine, such as Yiddish /Gitl/ "goodness (dim.)," /Golde/ "gold," /Blume/ "blossom," /Šeyne/ "beautiful (= pious and learned)." Although Hebrew forms of these names do not occur today, they undoubtedly represent a very old tradition because analogs for them can be found in Judeo-Spanish.

[2] The names cited in this paper are taken from the 1965 telephone directories for Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, and Queens. They represent, of course, only a small and impressionistic sampling designed to illuminate the problem at hand. A full-scale and exhaustive study of the forms, content, and re-shaping of Yiddish names in America would be richly rewarding, but is beyond the scope of the present investigation. Citations are labelled:
M = Manhattan; M-Cl = Manhattan Classified, Bk = Brooklyn; Bx = The Bronx; Q = Queens.
Page and column citations (e.g. 1597b) are given to the 1965 Directories.

[3] Linguistics lacks a term to designate those languages which are descended from Old High German—Old Franconian, namely, Modern Standard German and the German dialects, Modern Dutch and Flemish, and Modern Yiddish and Afrikaans. The term *Germanic* is too broad, and *Teutonic* has unwanted connotations, both national and linguistic. We therefore propose the rather inelegant designation *Deutschonic* until a better is found.

[4] Mark Zborowski and Elizabeth Herzog, *Life is With People* (New York, 1952) is an extremely perceptive description of traditional East European Jewish village life, written from the point of view of cultural anthropology.

1) The immigration of German Jews to the United States preceded the beginning of East European Jewish immigration by at least a generation. By the time the East European immigrants began to arrive in the 1880's, the German Jewish community was already well established and provided a convenient model for Westernization and Americanization.[5]

2) In those areas where Jews lived under German or Austro-Hungarian rule, their names had, for tax and other administrative purposes, acquired an orthographic form which corresponded to contemporary German spelling conventions, although the spoken form of the name – when it was used – continued to reproduce the local Yiddish phonetic realization of its morphemic constituents. In areas where the civil administration was Slavic speaking, the names were simply represented phonetically according to the conventions of the local national alphabet.

3) The East European Yiddish-speaking Jew felt himself to be speaking a kind of German. Yiddish for him was not really a language in its own right, but simply a debased form of German (a /žargon/ as many elderly Yiddish speakers still refer to it today[6]) and what could be more natural than bringing the orthography of his name into accord with that of Standard German, based on the models he found either in Germany or in the United States.

4) There was no particular attachment to the family name, which had often been imposed from above and which was not used within the community.[7] The bearer did not really care what form his family name had, as long as it fitted in to the system of his new community.

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[5] Cf. N. Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 140.

[6] Cf. Max Weinreich's deliniation of the history of the term *Jargon* as applied to Yiddish in his article "/Yidiš/" in Vol. /yidn-b/ of the /Algemeyne Entsiklopedie/ (Paris, 1940), pp. 26 f. From being a despicative in the writings of Moses Mendelssohn and the Haskalah-ists, the term *Jargon* became "neutral" in the late Nineteenth Century among Sholem Aleichem and his circle; however today it again has a despicative sense for most linguistically naive speakers of Yiddish.

[7] As can be seen from the works of Sholem Aleichem, I. L. Peretz, Mendele Mocher-Sforim and others who depict traditional Jewish life in the villages of East Europe, the family name was not used within the community. The usual method of designating an individual was patronymic for the child: /Baše, Isroyel dem Šuster's/ "Basha (lit. *bas-ya* "daughter of God," a common fem. name) [the child of] Israel the Shoemaker" and, for the adult, occupational (/Isroyel der Šuster/) or

5) Reinforcing the traditional disregard of Yiddish in the He-
brew-centered,[8] Jewish community was the Haskalah movement
(discussed later) which also considered Yiddish to be merely a de-
based form of German. This, in turn, led to a movement which,
having failed in its attempt to convert all speakers of Yiddish into
speakers of German (equally unimportant to the traditional, pious
Jew), tried at least to import into Yiddish as many German words
as possible (the so-called /dayčmeriš/ words).

The process of Germanicization is well-known and basically
straightforward. The cases of interest to the student of onomastics
are those which do not follow this pattern. In some few cases, the
pattern is another fairly obvious one. The Polish or other Roman-
alphabet Slavic or Hungarian form has been brought over intact
to the United States; e.g. /rayxman/ spelled *Rajchman*, according
to Polish orthographic conventions, for the expected *Reichman(n)*,
and /šapiro/ spelled *Sapiro*, according to Hungarian conventions,
for the expected *Schapiro* or *Shapiro*.[9] In certain other cases a
Cyrillic alphabet form was simply transliterated into English; e.g.
/¢exmayster/ as *Tsechmaister*, for the expected *Zechmeister*.

Processes of Anglicization and simplification occurred later,
usually in the second – or first native-born – generation; cf. the
various compounds of Yiddish /grin/ anglicized to *Green-* rather
than the Germanicized *Gruen-*, and the /šteyn/'s becoming *Steen's*
or *Stone's*.

What is of particular interest is the very considerable number of
cases where the written form in use today does not follow any of
the above ready-made systems of orthographic realization but is
rather an attempt to represent the original Yiddish pronunciation.

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characterizing (/Berele Šlimazel/ "Berele the Unlucky" [< OHG *slimb* "oblique,
sloping > bad" + Hebrew *mazel* "luck"]). In direct address, the child was called by
a diminutive form of his personal name (e.g., /Bašele/), the woman by her personal
name, the man with the honorific "Reb" prefixed to his name, a strange woman as
"/Baleboste/" "mistress," a strange man as "Reb Yid."

[8] Cf. the opposition in Yiddish between /mamelošn/ "mother tongue" = Yiddish
and /lošnkoydiš/ "holy tongue" = Hebrew. The connotation here is that /mame-
lošn/ was fit only for the purposes of daily life, but /lošnkoydiš/ was the only language
worthy of study and "real" use, i.e., scholarly writing about the Bible.

[9] As with so many of the examples cited here, the spelling *Sapiro* is not entirely
unambiguous. It may stem from two possible sources: (a) the Hungarian ortho-
graphic convention of ⟨s⟩ for /š/, or (b) it may be an attempt to represent the spoken
form in that part of the North Eastern Yiddish dialect in which all /š/ > /s/.

Examples are *Rosentool, Roytburd, Inzel, Rosenbarg, Starn, Stanbarger, Shpritzer, Steinshleifer, Shteinshleifer, Strum, Greenspan, Greenspon, Greenspoon, Greenspun, Grinshpon, Grinspan, Grinspoon.*

Before discussing individual names, it will be necessary to outline briefly the major dialect differences in Modern Yiddish which they reflect. The two main dialects of Yiddish which are important for this study are what have been termed by Herzog (1965)[10] Central Yiddish (CY) and North-east Yiddish (NEY) (traditionally /Galicyaniš/ and /Litvak/ respectively).

Consonantism is fairly uniform throughout Yiddish and differs from that of Standard German only in the following ways: /s/ and /z/ contrast in all positions in Yiddish; /x/ and /h/ are separate phonemes; OHG /pf/ has been simplified to /f/ initially, /p/ medially and finally. OHG /s/ from Proto-Gmc. /s/ has developed differentially into both /s/ and /š/ in positions other than morpheme initial in a manner the conditioning factors of which are still not altogether clear; for example /eršt/ "first," Std. German /erst/, but /first/ "prince," German /Fürst/. OHG /s/ from Proto-Gmc. /t/ is uniformly /s/ in all dialects of Yiddish; however, in the Litvak dialect proper, the opposition /s/ : /š/ was neutralized in favor of /s/ in all positions.

The differential vocalic development of the two major dialects of Yiddish can best be seen in the following table, in which they are also contrasted with their OHG point of origin and, for comparison, with Modern Standard German (MSG).

As general regularities, applicable to all Yiddish dialects,
OHG er > ar   OHG *herza*   MSG *Herz*   Yid. /har¢/ "heart"

> (with the same inconsistency as in the equivalent English development of the same feature, cf., *derk > dark,* but *clerk* yielding both *clerk* and *clark*)

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[10] Marvin I. Herzog, *The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland,* Publication 37 of the Indiana University Research Center in Anthropology, Folklore and Linguistics (Bloomington, 1965). This work also includes a list of Yiddish correspondences to Polish place and river names (pp. 293–297) which should be of great interest to students of toponymy. E.g., such correspondences as

	Yiddish:		Polish:	
	Apt		*Opatów*	
	Ger		*Góra Kalwarja*	
	Lodmir		*Włodzimierz*	

OHG u > MHG ü ∼ Yid. i   MSG *über* Yid. /iber/ "over"
OHG o > MHG ö ∼ Yid. e   MSG *Götzendiener* Yid. /geȼendiner/
"idolator"
     (both the results of i-umlaut).

The following partial table of vowel correspondences can be set up
(there were other vocalic nuclei in OHG but they show no differ-
ential development in MSG and Yiddish). [SLY = Standard Literary
Yiddish]:

OHG	MSG	NEY	CY	SLY
i:	ay	ay	a:	ay
⟨mîn⟩	⟨mein⟩	/mayn/	/ma:n/	/mayn/ "mine"
i	i	i	i	i
⟨bin⟩	⟨bin⟩	/bin/	/bin/	/bin/ "am"
ey	ay	ey	ay	ey
⟨stein⟩	⟨Stein⟩	/šteyn/	/štayn/	/šteyn/ "stone"
e	e	e	e	e
⟨bet⟩	⟨Bett⟩	/bet/	/bet/	/bet/ "bed"
a:	a:	o	u:	o
⟨slâfen⟩	⟨schlafen⟩	/šlofn/	/šlu:fn/	/šlofn/ "sleep"
a	a	o, a	u, a	o, a
⟨stat⟩	⟨Stadt⟩	/štot/	/štut/	/štot/ "city"
⟨ackar, acchar⟩	⟨Acker⟩	/aker/	/aker/	/aker/ "field"
o:	o:	ey	oy	oy
⟨scôno⟩	⟨schon⟩	/šeyn/	/šoyn/	/šoyn/ "already"
o	o	u, o	i, o	u, o
⟨fona⟩	⟨von⟩	/fun/	/fin/	/fun/ "from, of"
⟨Got⟩	⟨Gott⟩	/got/	/got/	/got/ "God"
u:	au	oy	o:	oy
⟨hût⟩	⟨Haut⟩	/hoyt/	/ho:t/	/hoyt/ "skin"
uo	u	u	i	u
⟨bruoder⟩	⟨Bruder⟩	/bruder/	/brider/	/bruder/ "brother"
u	u	u	i	u
⟨hunt⟩	⟨Hund⟩	/hunt/	/hint/	/hunt/ "dog"
ou/au	au	ey	oy	oy
⟨boum⟩	⟨Baum⟩	/beym/	/boym/	/boym/ "tree"
io	i:	i	i:	i
⟨tiof⟩	⟨tief⟩	/tif/	/ti:f/	/tif/ "deep"

There are, of course, numerous apparent exceptions to this – the development of Yiddish was no more orderly than that of any other natural language, due to dialect borrowing and other factors of cross-influence.

Although Yiddish has probably been written since at least the Twelfth Century – the earliest dated manuscript is the Yiddish Codex of 1382 in the Cambridge University Library[11] – until the mid-Nineteenth Century the position of Yiddish with respect to Hebrew continued to be much the same as that of the Western European vernaculars with respect to Latin in the Middle Ages. While there was a certain amount of literary production, things written in Yiddish were regarded by the pious Jew as essentially frivolous and any attempt to standardize the orthography would have been seen as an unnecessary expenditure of time and energy on an unworthy object. With the Haskalah Movement, the Jewish "Enlightenment" which began in Germany in the Eighteenth Century under the leadership of Moses Mendelssohn and spread throughout liberal circles in East European Jewry, there came an attempt to bring Yiddish into conformity with the German of the day (of which the Haskalah leaders considered it to be a debased form) both in vocabulary and orthography. In imitation of German, silent *h's* were added and unstressed /i/ was written with *'ayin*, the Yiddish analog of German ⟨e⟩, instead of the until then traditional *yodh*; for example, ⟨געזעהען gezehen⟩ in place of ⟨גיזען gizen⟩ on the analogy of German ⟨gesehen⟩.

There were some attempts to regularize Yiddish spelling on the part of the *Episkorsim* (the liberals, < Epicurus, the symbol to the pious of worldliness), but because of the fragmented condition of the East European Jewish communities, their lack of status, and a lack of interest on the part of the majority of Jews, the attempts to establish super-dialectal writing conventions remained for the most part an ideal rather than a reality. Yiddish remained for the great majority of its speakers a medium of private communication and each man continued to be his own spelling master, writing at least quasi-phonemically his own idiolect. The phonetic distance

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[11] Leo Fuks, "On the Oldest Dated Yiddish Manuscript" in U. Weinreich (ed.), *The Field of Yiddish* (New York, 1954), pp. 267–274; but cf. B. Lincoff, *A Study in Inflectional Morphologic Development* (Unpublished Dissertation, New York University, 1963).

between any two Yiddish dialects is, however, small enough so that the speaker of any one dialect can read anything written by the speaker of another with relatively little difficulty.

Even today there are at least four separate orthographic conventions in use in printed materials in Yiddish:

1) The heavily Germanicized system, derivative of the Nineteenth Century "reforms," e.g., /ir/ spelled אֵיהֽר, with a silent ה in imitation of German ⟨*ihr*⟩ "her," ⟨*Ihr*⟩ "you (pl.)." Today this system is most often found on greeting cards.

2a) The reformed-traditional, or Polish system, which retains silent *aleph's* i) before initial vocalic *yodh* or *vav*, and ii) medially to prevent any sequence of three *yodh's* or three *vav's*, but not silent *he*. Hebrew words are spelled in accordance with Hebrew orthography, unpointed. This is the writing convention generally used in the Yiddish press in the United States.

2b) The Soviet system, which differs from 2a mainly in that Hebrew word are spelled out phonetically.

3) The YIVO (/Yidiše Visenšaftlixe Institut/) system, which is largely the work of Max Weinreich. It differs from 2a mainly in that it omits medial silent *aleph* but retains Hebrew orthography for words of Hebrew origin. This system is used primarily in any book published by YIVO.

4) The die-hard, or traditionalist, system, which is no system at all.[12] This tradition, largely Galician, insists on representing all phonetic distinctions present in the writer's speech. It is, essentially, a throwback to the pre-Haskalah dialect spelling base. All the other orthographic systems are essentially superdialectal, reflecting no one dialect but rather making maximum use of dialect forms which would prevent orthographic homonymy – essentially, Standard Literary Yiddish. While speakers of other dialects *can* read materials written in the traditionalist system, it poses the greatest difficulty of any of the systems in use today.

Despite cultural pressures a small minority of Jews felt an attachment not only to their family names but also to the way they pronounced them. While these people were not willing to accept a

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[12] For a recent example of Traditional orthography, see S. Birnbaum, "/Zeks Hundert Yor Tehilim Af Yidiš/" in *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday* (The Hague, 1964), pp. 526–500 (Roman pagination of a Yiddish article).

ready-made German spelling, they still, as the survey of orthographic systems shows, had no feeling that there was only one "correct" way to spell anything Since the Roman alphabet was foreign to them, they were willing to accept (or use) any sequence of alphabetic symbols and any mixture of orthographic traditions which they hoped would produce the desired result: that a speaker of English would reproduce with reasonable accuracy the sound of their names. For example, someone who had the name /zixerman/ might pick the German form *Sichermann*, but would probably simplify this to *Sicherman* (Bk. 12 vs. none with the double-*n* form, and the same proportion holds true for the other boroughs of New York and for Nassau County); on the other hand, a minority which wished to retain the initial /z/ spelled the name *Zicherman* – they disregarded the fact that the usual phonetic value of ⟨ch⟩ in English is /č/, and adopted the German convention that ⟨ch⟩ = /x/, but not that ⟨z⟩ = /¢/.

Such systemic inconsistencies are common: /šmulevi¢/ as *Shmulevitz* or *Shmulewitz* (M 1527b); /šteynšlayfer/ (NEY), /štaynšlayfer/ (CY) as *Shteinshleifer* or *Steinshleifer* (M 1495c). In both German and Yiddish morpheme initial /s/ before stops, liquids, and nasals became /š/. In Yiddish orthography this /š/ is always explicitly represented by ⟨ש⟩. German, however, is inconsistent in its representation of this automatic feature, writing ⟨sch⟩ before *l, m, n, r, w*, but ⟨s⟩ before *t, p*; /sk/ had become /š/ in OHG before Yiddish and German split. The few words with this sequence borrowed independently by both languages since that time are treated differently in each: e.g., the word for *slave* is in German ⟨Sklave⟩ /sklave/, but in Yiddish /šklaf/.

The descendents of German and Yiddish speakers show the same tendencies towards simplification. The common German and Yiddish family name pronounced /švar¢/ ("black") in both languages is often found as *Swartz* (M 1593a – 25 examples) and twice in M as *Swarts* instead of the expected *Schwartz*. *Shwartz* is found twice in M (1496d). While there is no example in Greater New York of *Shvarts*, there are some *Svartz* (Bk 1353b – 1, M 1628 – 1), as well as *Schwarcz* (Bk 1236d – 6), *Schwarc* (Bk 1236d – 1), *Schvarcz* (Bk 1336b – 2), and *Schvartz* (Bk 1236 – 1); ⟨sch⟩ = /š/ is only a German convention, ⟨cz⟩ = ¢ is only Hungarian, ⟨c⟩ = /¢/ is only Polish.

Aside from the orthographic variations noted above – which show us nothing more, really, than human inconsistency – four classes can be noted in these names:

1) forms and their simplifications that are either German or Yiddish, e.g., *Schwartz, Goldschmidt, Schneider*;

2) names which are marked as usually or exclusively Jewish because of their semantic content, e.g., *Goldberg, Rosenthal* (but note Alfred Rosenberg, National Socialist Minister of Labor and presumably "pure Aryan");

3) names which by their phonology or morphology are Yiddish, but unmarked as to dialect area, e.g.:

Shpetner ([-ner] is nomen agentis only in Yiddish)

Inzel (in German the sibilant is voiceless)

Shpigler (the German would have /i:/, represented ⟨ie⟩)

Griner (the German would be *Grüner* or *Gruener*, with possible spelling simplifications or Anglicizations to *Gruner* or *Greener*);

4) the most interesting class – names which can, at least provisionally, be localized as to dialect area.

The classification of names in Group 4 is based on Herzog's *The Yiddish Language in Northern Poland*, the first major publication of materials from the great *Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* (LCAAJ) which was begun under the general editorship of the late Uriel Weinreich. Herzog's work treats chiefly of a rectangular area roughly bounding the cities of Warsaw, Brest-Litovsk, and Lomza; this area was selected because it straddles the bundle of isoglosses separating CY and South-eastern Yiddish (SEY) from NEY. In order to treat this area it was necessary for Herzog to give some account of both CY and NEY. His treatment of SEY is much sketchier, since the Atlas material for this area is not as complete as it is for the others.

Given the current state of Yiddish dialect studies, it is not yet possible to localize every name which shows non-German orthographic features, other than into the grossest general dialect areas. The following lists are a mere sampling of some of the names which show features, almost always vocalism, which can be definitely assigned to one or the other major dialect area. An exhaustive investigation of name lists such as the Greater New York Telephone Directories would undoubtedly reveal many more. It is important

to realize however that the percentage of dialect-marked names is a relatively small one. For every form of a morph which is dialectally characterized, there are probably a hundred or more which are simply written as the equivalent German ones. Of course, as can be seen by inspection of the table on p. 255, there are also a great number of names that can be either German or one or both of the major Yiddish dialects.

Examples of names preserving NEY characteristics follow (note: MSG forms are in fact the norm to be expected for the Yiddish names).

Karsh (Bk 704d) "cherry" – MSG *Kirsch* – CY /kerš/ cf. Herzog, Fig. 5:56.

Rosenthol (M 1420b) "rose-dale" – MSG *Rosent(h)al* – CY /rozntul/ Note the Germanicizing convention of ⟨th⟩ for /t/.

Rosenworcel (Bk 1166b) "rose-root" – MSG *Rosenwurzel* – CY /roznvur¢l/. Note that ⟨c⟩ = /¢/ is Polish orthography, but ⟨s⟩ = /z/ is German.

Shlofmitz (Bk 1270a) "sleeping cap = nightcap" – MSG *Schlafmütze* – CY /šlufmi¢/.

Shuchman (M 1271c) "shoe-man" – MSG *Schuhmann* – CY /šixman/

Examples of names preserving CY characteristics are

Nudelman (M-Cl 953d) "needle-man" – MSG *Nadelmann* – NEY /nodlman/

Oigman (Bk 1013a) "eye-man" – MSG *Aug(e)mann* – NEY /eygman/

Roisen (Q 1069d) "roses" – MSG *Rosen* – NEY /reyzn/

Roitburd (M 1373b) "red-beard" – MSG *Rot(h)bart(h)* – NEY /reytbord/

Roithner (Q 1064d) "one who makes red" – MSG *Roth(n)er* – NEY /reytner/

Roitman (Q 1064d) "red-man" – MSG *Rothmann* – NEY /reytman/

Rosenbojm (M 1385d) "rose-tree" – MSG *Rosenbaum* – NEY /rozenbeym/

Rosentool (M 1388b) "rose-dale" – MSG *Rosent(h)al* – NEY /rozntol/

Shlufman (Bk 1270 a) "sleep-man" – MSG *Schlafmann* – NEY
/šlofman/
Shoichet (Bk 1270 b) "slaughterer" – NEY /šeyxet/
Note: words of Hebrew origin underwent the same sound
changes as did words of Deutschonic origin.
Shtob (Bk 1271 c) "dust" – MSG *Staub* – NEY /štoyb/
Shulim (Bk 1271 d) "peace" – NEY /šolim/ cf. *Shoichet*
Taigman (Bk 1358 c) "dough-man" – MSG *Teigmann* – NEY
/teygman/
Tiger (Bk 1358 c) "dough-maker" – MSG *Teiger* – NEY /teyger/
Vanston (Bk 1412 c) "tartar" – MSG *Weinstein* – NEY /vayn-
šteyn/
Note Anglicization of the second morph. Under this group
also belong many *Winstons* from the same source.
Wanshel (Bk 1436 d) "cherry – the dark type used for making
wine" – MSG: not attested. NEY /vaynšel/.

It is interesting to notice also cases of hyperurbanisms: e.g.,
Walkenfeld (Bk 1431 c) and *Walkenstein* (M-Cl 1378 d). Knowing
that some Yiddish /o/ = MSG /a/, these families have turned all /o/
into /a/, changing Yiddish /volkn/ = MSG *Wolken* into what they
obviously thought was its normal MSG counterpart, **Walken*.

Also, many a /¢ukerman/, MSG *Zuckermann*, anglicized to *Suger-
man* – but some took no chances nad wrote it *Shugerman* (Bk
1271 c).

One of the most noteworthy features of the dialectally localizable
names is that the preponderant majority of them are of CY origin.
The reason for this may be explained by the cultural features
which also separate CY from NEY.

The late Nineteenth Century saw, basically, two opposed cultural
waves sweeping over East European Jewry – the westernizing in-
fluence of the Haskalah movement, and the ingrowing influence of
Hassidism, which can best be likened to the pietistic, "enthusiatic,"
movements which swept contemporary Protestant Christianity, and
which originated in the SEY area.[13] Haskalah-ism was strongest in
the Jewish communities in Russia and Lithuania – which is the

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[13] Cf. Herzog, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–28, which includes "genealogies" of the Hassidic
Master-Disciple relationships and maps showing the waves of influence disseminated
by culture centers such as Ger, Kock, Apt, and Alexander (figs. 2:5–2:9).

area of NEY, while Hassidism was strongest in the Ukraine and Poland – SEY and CY. Where the resistance to "westernization" was strongest, there too we find greater efforts to retain some orthography which will preserve the pronunciation of the name in the speaker's dialect of Yiddish.

The close cultural connection between CY and SEY is borne out also by the many maps of cultural isoglosses shown by Herzog in *The Yiddish Language* (op. cit.).[14]

The classification of names offered in this paper is, of course, tentative. As more material from the LCAAJ becomes available, finer pinpointing of the place of origin will become possible.

For the moment, the most worthwhile conclusion which can be drawn is that while there is often whim and inconsistency in orthography – and even treatment of morphs (e.g. *Tenenbaum,* where the first morph is a representation of Yiddish pronunciation, while the second morph is Standard German, or *Herszfield,* where the first morph is a representation of the Yiddish pronunciation in Polish orthography, but the second a translation into English of the original /feld/) – much more often the apparent "inconsistancies" – i.e., divergence from the expected norm of Nineteenth Century German orthography – represent an honest attempt to preserve the original pronunciation, as it was realized in the various dialects of Yiddish.

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[14] *The Language and Culture Atlas of Ashkenazic Jewry* represents an interesting departure from previous work of its kind in that an attempt is made to elicit for traits of non-verbal culture and to correlate the "culturo-glosses" thus obtained with the dialect areas determined on the basis of normal linguistic evidence. Examples of such traits are Fig. 2:1, Seasoning of Sabbath Fish (with and without sugar); Fig. 2:2, Preparation of Farfl (cut or chopped) [farfel = a type of small noodle]; Fig. 2:11, Eating of Tomatoes; Fig. 2:14, Ladder on Hallah; Fig. 2:31, Hand on Hallah [Hallah = Loaf of Holiday Bread].