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Jenisch

Jenisch (Yenish) is a style of speech that is characterized by the insertion of a special vocabulary into local and regional dialects of German. This vocabulary is known only to members of the Jenisch community, and is used to mark ethnic identity as well as to prevent outsiders from understanding key elements of a private conversation. The Jenisch lexicon covers basic, everyday terms and typically includes up to five or six hundred lexical roots. Each Jenisch community has its own in-group vocabulary, but there is considerable similarity between the different varieties. A large proportion of the vocabulary has a long history of serving as a kind of camouflaged lexicon in the speech of marginalized and itinerant populations in the German-speaking areas and neighboring regions, and belonged to what is often referred to as → Rotwelsch, a secret, in-group style of speech that is largely unintelligible to outsiders. These words often exploit figurative associations, as in *Zündling* for ‘fire’, based on the word *zünd* ‘to ignite’, or *Trittling* for ‘foot’, based on the German word *Tritt* ‘kick’. Other words, like *Blamm* ‘beer’ are of unknown origin, but adhere to German rules of word formation and phonology. Alongside these words, which were inherited from medieval German Rotwelsch or secret languages, there are also significant components from other sources. The two principal sources are Romani and Ashkenazi Hebrew. Words of Hebrew origin, such as *laf* ‘no’ (= לאו *lav*) and *Schuck* ‘market’ (= שוק *šug*), entered Jenisch with the Ashkenazi pronunciation employed when Hebrew words

were integrated in the Judeo-German speech of German Jews. Their immediate origin was probably the in-group secret lexicon of Jewish traders, which employed a particularly high density of Hebrew-derived vocabulary in order to camouflage meaning.

Jenisch in its present form can be traced back to the 18th century, when populations of itinerant travelers were invited to settle in villages in southwestern Germany and neighboring regions, but carried on their mobile trades. Typically, itinerant traders were offered protection in villages belonging to private landowners in return for taxation, or sought shelter in remote locations, often at the edge of forests and close to state boundaries. Clusters of villages populated by Jenisch people are found throughout southwestern Germany, Switzerland, and parts of Austria. The settlements created a stable social framework within which individual varieties of Jenisch emerged, while mobility and contacts throughout the region continued to enrich these varieties with new and fashionable vocabulary.

Jenisch continues to be employed in the same region by those who continue the tradition of mobile services. Many members of the young generation have broken away from the traditions, however, and have settled in towns and cities, where they have no use for an in-group vocabulary, and where this vocabulary is therefore no longer used and is not being passed on. Precise figures regarding the number of users do not exist, but estimates range from twenty thousand to forty thousand (→ Germanic Languages, Hebrew Loanwords).

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For sound recordings:

<http://languagecontact.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/ELA/languages/Jenisch.html>

YARON MATRAS
(University of Manchester)

Jewish English, Hebrew Component in

The influence of Hebrew on the English spoken by Jews is restricted mainly to the lexicon. Like other Diaspora communities, Jews in English-speaking countries use some words of Hebrew origin, especially (or solely) when communicating with other Jews. The number of Hebrew loanwords in Jewish English is not known with any precision, but estimates range from 500 to 2500. These words belong to various semantic domains, including religious observance (e.g., *shacharit* 'morning service' [< שחרית *šəḥarit*], *Pesach* 'Passover' [< פסח *pesaḥ*], *tsitsis* 'ritual fringes' [< ציצית *šišit*], *riboyno shel oylam* 'God' [< ריבוננו של עולם *ribbono šel 'olam*]) (these and the following words are spelled here according to variable and non-standardized community norms), lifecycle events (e.g., *pidyon haben* 'ritual of redemption of the first-born son' [< פדיון הבן *pidyon hab-ben*], *bat mitzvaḥ* 'girl's coming-of-age ceremony' [< בת מצוה *bat mišva*], *mazel tov* 'congratulations' [< מזל טוב *mazal ṭov*], *levaya* 'funeral' [< לוויה *levaya*]), values (*kol yisrael arevim zeh bazeh* 'all Jews are guarantors for each other' [< כל ישראל ערבים זה בזה *kol yišra'el 'arevim ze baz-ze*], *tikkun olam* 'repairing the world' [< תיקון עולם *tiqqun 'olam*], *bal tashchit* 'do not waste/destroy' [< אל תשחית *bal tašhit*] *shlom bayis* 'domestic (marital) harmony' [< שלום בית *šelom bayit*]), Jewish camping and Israel travel (e.g., *tsrif* 'cabin'

[< צריף *šrif*], *rosh edah* 'unit head' [< ראש עדה *roš 'eda*], *madricha* 'female counselor' [< מדריכה *madriḳa*], *shilshul* 'diarrhea' [< שלשול *šilšul*]), adverbs and interjections (e.g., *agav* 'by the way' [< אגב *'agav*], *benenu* 'between us' [< ביננו *benenu*], *bekitzur* 'in short' [< בקיצור *be-qišur*], *ma la'asot* 'what can I do' [< מה לעשות *ma la'asot*]), and greetings and politeness (e.g., *shalom*, *chevre* 'hello, friends' [< שלום, חבר'ה *šalom, ševre*], *beshalom* 'in peace' [< בשלום *be-šalom*], *kol tuv* 'all the best' [< כל טוב *kol ṭuv*], *todah merosh* 'thanks in advance' [< תודה מראש *toda me-roš*]).

Because of the mass immigration of Ashkenazi Jews to English-speaking lands in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Hebrew words in Jewish English are often heavily influenced by Yiddish and Ashkenazi Hebrew. Many words have multiple pronunciations, drawing from Ashkenazi Hebrew, Israeli Hebrew, and English (e.g., *Súkes/Sukót* 'Holiday of Tabernacles' [< סוכות *sukkot*], *kípah/kipáh* 'skullcap' [< כיפה *kippa*], *Chanike/Chanukah/Hanukah* 'Hanukkah holiday' [< חנוכה *hanukka*]). While many Hebrew loanwords are ultimately of biblical origin, their meanings and uses have often changed significantly in various periods of Hebrew and Yiddish, or through independent developments in Jewish English (e.g., *kiddush* 'wine blessing, small celebratory meal after services' [< קידוש *qidduš*], *Navi* 'prophet, Prophets section of the Bible' [< נביא *nabi*], *sforim* 'Jewish religious books' [< ספרים *sefarim*]).

Hebrew loanwords are integrated into English in various ways. Plurals can be from Hebrew, Yiddish, or English (e.g., *Shabbatot/Shabbosim/Shabbats/Shabboses* [< ספרים *sefarim*]). Yiddish plays a major role in the morphosyntactic integration of Hebrew adjectives and verbs, especially among Orthodox Jews. For example, Orthodox Jews use verbs with target-language morphology (e.g., 'They *kasher*ed the kitchen', i.e., 'rendered it kosher' [< כשר *kašer*]), periphrastic verbal forms (e.g., 'It might *be meorer* the *tayva*', i.e., 'arouse the lust' [< מעורער את הטבע *me'or'er 'et baṭ-ṭeva*]), and a Yiddish adjective suffix before nouns (e.g., 'He's a very *choshuve* man', i.e., 'important' [< חשוב *xašuv*]). English-speaking Jews exhibit great variation in use and pronunciation of Hebrew words, depending on their religiosity, Jewish education, Israel connection, age, and other factors.